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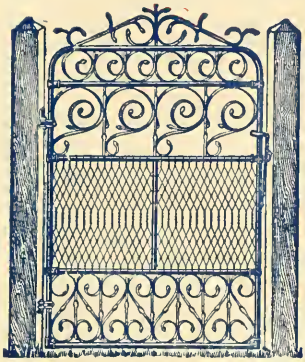

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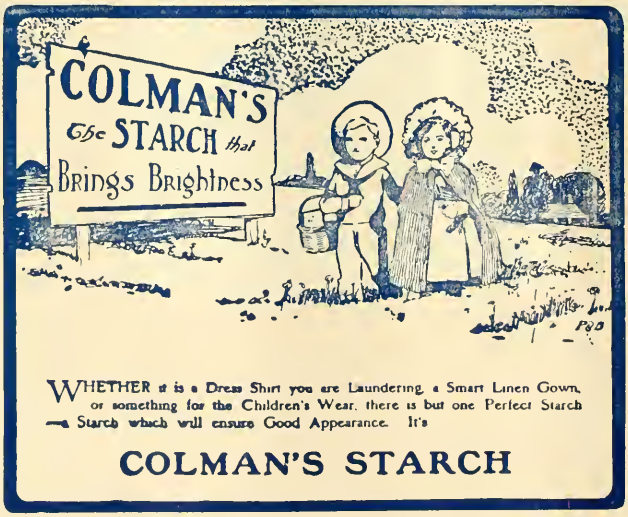

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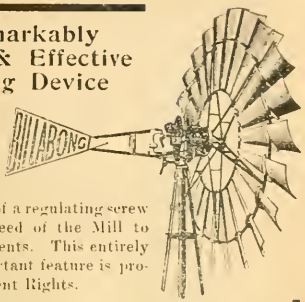

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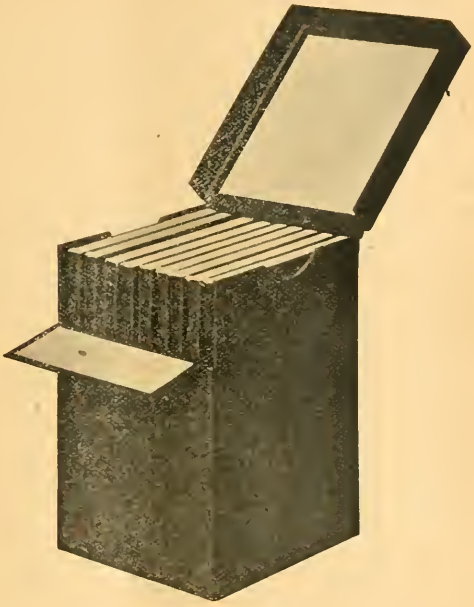

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THE HISTORY OF THE MONTH.

MELBOURNE, January 24, 1912.

Federal Labour Conference.

The event of the month has been the annual meeting of representatives of the Federal Labour Party. It is an event which may mean much, for here were gathered together representatives of the Labour Party who were entrusted with the duty of the preparation of a programme which followers of the party throughout the Commonwealth are expected to follow obediently. This conference is the High Court of the party. It is rather a strange thing that the party which contains so many clamorous elements should be led by a small gathering of some thirty-six men. At the same time it must be remembered that they were there as delegates, so that the feeling of the party in the States was fully represented. The proceedings were closed to the Press, and a kind of *Hansard* report was issued daily. There was little flamboyance about the reports. The leaders are getting wise in that they have dropped the spread-eagleism of earlier days, and sit hard upon Mr. O'Malley, who still occasionally indulges in it, when he can no longer endure the pressure of his colleagues, and goes in for a bout of wordy dissipation. Whatever may have been said in conference as to the iniquity of a man being an employer, no breath of it reached the world outside. The reports that were issued were drab in colour and were models of modest brevity.

The Referendum Again!

For all that, the position is stated clearly. Nothing has been modified. The most important feature of the conference was the decision to re-submit the propositions of the referendum with regard to an amendment of the Constitution. Much as its wisdom may be questioned, one cannot but admire the pluck of the conference in determining to re-submit the proposals in face of the overwhelming defeat that the party suffered at the first time of asking. It was the kind of beating that should have given the combatant the assurance that his cause was hopeless. But the party is going to tackle the fight again, and in the same way and on the same ground. It is not even going to accept any part of the scheme from the States as a gift. After the defeat of the referendum, Mr. Holman, of New South Wales, who with Mr. McGowen, had strongly opposed it, and who had received the severe condemnation of the New South Wales conference, proposed that the States should voluntarily hand over certain powers, such as the restriction of monopolies, to the Federal Government. At the time, the Government did not enthuse over the proposal, but it was persisted in by Mr. Holman. Out of that proposal, the conference of Premiers really arose. Primarily, it was summoned to discuss that important suggestion. But the Hobart conference took the ground away from the Premiers. There was no doubt that the Premiers' conference would yield certain powers, but even with this probability in view, the Labour conference went on its way, quietly ignoring the hand that was held out. "Really," said the party in effect, "we do not want any gifts, thank you. If we can, we are going to take these things, and a good many more, whether you like it or not."

Federal Aims.

Moreover the Hobart conference passed some strong resolutions concerning loyalty to the decisions of the conference that may have the effect of making Mr. Holman and Mr. McGowen consider their position. Clearly there is to be no room for any variation in opinion. Mr. Holman's proposals lay in the line of—(1) giving the Federal Government power to control or acquire monopolies beyond the boundaries of any State; (2) providing that an award of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court should supersede that of any other industrial authority, in order that new protection might become operative, and inconsistencies among State awards rectified. But the Federal Government wants much more than that. It aims at controlling transport, and a resolution of the Hobart conference as to the desirability of the Commonwealth owning lines of steamers is only a corollary of the power it is seeking through constitutional amendment. One can of course quite appreciate the position the Labour Party takes up. If they accepted any offers of olive branches from State Governments, they emphatically stated that the position assumed by Mr. Holman, Mr. McGowen and

others of the New South Wales party was correct, and sat in judgment on their conference, and especially the Australian Workers' Union, which dealt such stinging blows at Labour men who dared to oppose the Federal party. And there is possibly a feeling that dignity would be offended if any overtures were accepted. Certainly, if they were, it would be a great triumph for Mr. Holman, and a complete vindication of the stand that he took. Surely no one would object to be given most of the things, and the most important, that he has been fighting for. If he does, there is some other governing reason. And burrowing behind the Hobart Conference's quiet ignoring of any probable proposals, one finds the reason. An acceptance would mean that Mr. Holman was right in his methods, and the Federal Party wrong. So, even though the Federal Government could this year get the greater part of the control it wants, it refuses to take it, and so attempts to "save its face." One wonders how much true conviction lies behind the brave front of the party. Had the proposal come from opponents it would have been different. It came from the Party's own ranks.

The Order of the Programme.

The conference rearranged its programme somewhat, changing the position of some of the planks. It stands now as follows:—(1) Maintenance of a White Australia. (2) Maintenance of graduated tax on unimproved land values where estates are over £5000 in value. (3) Effective Federation. The inclusion in the Constitution of the powers asked for on April 20, 1911. (4) The new protection. (5) Nationalisation of monopolies. (6) Arbitration Act amendment. (7) Navigation laws. (8) Commonwealth freight and passenger steamers. (9) Restriction of public borrowing. (10) General insurance department, with non-political management. (11) Commonwealth sugar refinery. (12) Civil equality of men and women. (13) Naval and military expenditure to be allotted from proceeds of direct taxation. (14) Initiative and referendum. (15) Uniform laws of marriage and divorce. One effect of the Federal Government's refusal to accept any proposals that are made will be to strengthen the State parties. It will mean organisation and conflict, and in that regard the Labour Conference was not tactful.

What will the Insurgents Do?

What will Mr. Holman and Mr. McGowen do? They have persisted in their desire to give the Federal Government most of what it wants, and says it wants badly and cannot do without, but will do without rather than accept it from these gentlemen, and so are running counter to the resolution of the highest court of the party, a court which insists that if any body does not follow their commands, they must go out. And these two gentlemen have put up such a brave fight and borne so much opprobrium from their own party that it can hardly be conceived that they will dumbly fall into line. One cannot help hoping that for the sake of sweet consistency they will hold fast to their lines. It is a national calamity when no regard is held for her by politicians, or anyone else, for that matter.

Mr. Fisher and History.

One of the most notable features of the Conference was the leadership assumed by Mr. Watson. If he continues to tread the path he is pursuing, he will be Prime Minister again some day. Another notable thing was the prominence again given to Mr. Fisher's lamentable ignorance of history—his forgetfulness of dates and happenings. He is continually having to be put right. His latest flight of fancy was an incursion to the regions of the history of sweating and the means taken to abolish it. His statement implied that the advent of the Labour Party to Federal power marked the beginning of an era when sweating was first successfully combated. Evidently for Mr. Fisher the sun rose for the first time when Labour came into prominence at Federation. Prior to that the world had struggled along in Stygian darkness. The facts are that the most herculean efforts to fight sweating have been made by men not associated with the Labour Party, and were made before the Labour Party was born. The Hon. Samuel Mauger, who I note with pleasure has already decided to contest a seat at the next Federal elections, and the Rev. A. R. Edgar, are the two men who must have the honour given them of wearing the laurel in connection with this great and righteous cause. Twenty years ago they unfurled their banner, and a mightily unpopular one it was, but they fought valiantly and won. Does Mr. Fisher forget that the great principle of wages boards, which constitute the ideal of industrial conciliation machinery, was brought in by Sir Alexander Peacock, and without any pressure either? Fortunately future historians, writing a hundred years hence, will have authentic records to draw upon. Some of the best things done for the democracy in Australasia have been done by men who stood in the Liberal interest for the whole of the people.

Preferential Voting.

One must regret that the Hobart Conference rejected a motion affirming the desirability of using the preferential voting system at Federal elections. One could hardly wonder at it, of course, for had it been used at the last elections, the Labour Party would have been defeated. As it is, they held power on a total minority vote. There is not the slightest likelihood that a measure like this will be passed during the reign of the Labour Party. It is rather a reflection on any party that it is unwilling to adopt a method that more than

any other reflects the political views of the people. Probably a motion like this will not appear on future agenda papers. It is not a good thing to advertise the fact that one is not willing to do manifestly good and fair things. The Conference also decided that only resolutions that had passed the State Councils would in future be allowed on the official list for discussion. At the recent conference resolutions were received from any Council. Some of them expressed the wishes of the party in plain and unequivocal language and were therefore unwelcome. Some of them were too silly to be considered by the conference.

Savings Banks Proposals.

Mr. Fisher seems to be floundering with regard to his Savings Banks scheme. It is true that it passed the House without much opposition from his own side, but then anything can be put through with a dutiful and obedient following. But outside opposition has been tremendous, and no wonder, even from those Governments that are governed by Labour, like New South Wales, South Australia and West Australia. The reason is that there is no warrant for this high-handed proposal. Here are institutions that are doing splendid work, and against which absolutely nothing can be urged, and yet the Federal Government in a piratical fashion attempts to grab their business. That is not a pleasant term to use, and it grates on one's literary sensibilities, but it is what the action of the Government amounts to. Now, seeing that the States are objecting to be robbed in this graceless fashion, Mr. Fisher comes forward with a proposal that the States should hand over the banks, and that the Federal Government should allow them seventy-five per cent. of new business for loans. What a specious proposal! It would mean that Mr. Fisher would have prosperous and growing concerns to work on instead of launching out into an unknown sea.

What the Proposal Means.

What would Mr. Fisher think if, instead of having an assured salary, come bad or good times, he ran a business, a prosperous business, conducted on such good lines that no one could cavil at it, good wages being paid, good conditions being observed, a business that in every way was a benefit to the community, with no suggestion of monopoly or any other unholy thing. But there comes along a person who intends to become a competitor, a person with big resources behind him, and with opportunities to cut the ground from under Mr. Fisher's feet. Mr. Fisher promptly and vigorously objects, when the new competitor informs him that he is going to be snuffed out anyhow, but that if he doesn't like entering upon a big battle, he can surrender his right and title in the concern in consideration of being paid a share of the profits. That is what the proposal of Mr. Fisher amounts to, but Mr Fisher as a private person fighting for his business would be a very different man to Mr. Fisher, Prime Minister, grabbing the States' legitimate business. The fact is that the States have catered splendidly for the people, and in most cases they supply the funds to the Governments for developmental works. Here again the State Labour Governments come into conflict with the Federal Labour Party, which says the decision of the Hobart Conference is final. And the Hobart Conference declared in favour of Federal Savings Banks.

No Confidence.

But the Premiers were against Mr. Fisher's proposal. They could not stand quietly by and see the work of years swept away without fighting for their rights. If the Federal Government gave some local control to the States in the management of the bank, the situation would be altered. But Mr. Fisher would not do that. He might, he said, appoint State committees, but they would be merely advisory. The manager of the bank would be supreme in authority. The greatest element of dissatisfaction lies in the fact that if some such arrangement were made, there would be the most glorious uncertainty as to whether faith would be kept with the public. The Federal Government's trickiness over the amount of gold reserve to be kept against the note issue does not give one confidence in accepting their assurances.

A Compromise Necessary.

The Premiers' Conference was held during the last week of January, and the question came up for discussion. They recognised that something in the nature of a compromise was necessary. When a stronger hand makes demands upon you that it can enforce, something has to be conceded if one would retain existence. And the position resolves itself into this. If the States do not accept Mr. Fisher's peremptory proposals, the Commonwealth will enter as a strong competitor in Savings Banks business, and as it has control of the post offices, and the people have become accustomed to use these facilities, it is natural that the Commonwealth will get a good deal of the business. If they do accept them, they surrender their authority and a big slice of their profits. Under the circumstances, therefore, a compromise is clearly the only thing. State and Commonwealth cut-throat competition would present a sorry spectacle. Mr. Watt was for accepting the situation in a fighting spirit, trusting to the people's sense of justice to give the States triumph in a contest with the Federation. One cannot but admire his spirit. It is the one that appeals to everyone who resents unjust domination. But the States would lose simply because the public has a bad memory, and as a whole has little concern for the niceties of justice, provided it is not inconvenienced. In this case States and Federation

Photo.] The Premiers' Conference which sat in Melbourne [T. Humphrey and Co.

FRONT Row (sitting), reading from left to right: Hon. W. H. Barnes, Treasurer of Victoria; Hon. W. H. Barnes, Treasurer of Queensland; Hon. T. O'Sullivan, Attorney-General of Queensland; Hon. Sir Newton Moore, Premier of Western Australia; Hon. Sir J. G. Jenkins, Premier of South Australia; Hon. T. Bent, Premier of Victoria; Hon. J. F. Denham, Premier of Queensland; Hon. J. Scaddan, Premier of Western Australia; Hon. T. H. Bath, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, Western Australia; Hon. W. A. Holman, Attorney-General of New South Wales; Hon. W. A. Watt, Treasurer of Victoria; Hon. A. E. Solomon, Attorney-General of Tasmania. BACK Row (standing): The officials

would be falling over each other to convenience money savers, and the point at issue would be lost. Mr. Watt was plucky enough to stand out as the only one who voted against any compromise. Mr. McGowen's motion was carried. It read:—

"(1) That the conference is unable to agree to the proposal of the Right Hon. the Prime Minister for the establishment of a savings bank, and suggests (2) that in consideration of the Commonwealth Bank refraining from entering into savings bank business the States agree to provide a loan to the Commonwealth Bank, on terms to be arranged, of a monthly amount equal to 25 per cent. of the increase in the excess of deposits over withdrawals in the States Savings Banks; and (3) that such arrangement comes into operation on June 1, 1913, and continues for a period of five years."

The Federal Determination.

Mr. Fisher had attended the Conference and given an address on the subject, but it did not impress the Premiers. When the resolution was sent to him, he politely declined it, and said his offer was still open, and expressed the hope that his offer would yet be accepted. Interpreted in unmistakably plain language, this means that if the States do not say "Amen" to the Federal Government proposals, they may do the other thing, and the Federal Government will proceed to business. That is so evident that it makes the discussion of the Premiers seem almost a farce. It is quite understandable that Mr. Fisher has made his proposals only because of the fuss that has been raised, and will be secretly delighted if the refusal of the Premiers gives him the opportunity for open war. For the proposals are so diverse in that under Mr. Fisher's scheme the Federation would have control of the officers and the institution, and would simply pay the share agreed upon to the States. Under Mr. McGowen's scheme the position would be reversed, the States retaining their administration, and loaning to the Government twenty-five per cent. of the profits.

Industrial Matters.

Apart from the Savings Banks question, the most important matter which had to be considered was the proposal of Mr. Holman that the States should voluntarily surrender some of the needed power to the Commonwealth. It may be as well to restate the issues of the Referendum. They were (1) Nationalisation of monopolies, (2) control of domestic commerce, (3) control of domestic corporations, (4) regulation of conditions of labour and employment, (5) prevention of industrial disputes, and (6) control of monopolies without nationalisation. Mr. Holman's proposal was to grant the Federal Government control of monopolies – that is, interstate monopolies. If a monopoly did not extend beyond the State, he saw no reason to interfere, preferring, to use his own words, "to let it stew in its own juice." As to what constituted a monopoly, he would leave the Federal Government to define. In industrial matters he proposed that the

States should hand over to the Federation the power—

To deal with disputes within a State, beyond merely interstate disputes.
To override, if necessary decisions of State tribunals.
To make its awards into common rules for the whole of an industry.

What the Federal Government can have in view in rejecting this is hard to see. Herein Mr. Holman proved himself a loyal Labourite, for it gives full control to the Commonwealth Government to deal with all kinds of industrial disputes, from the most widespread to the purely and severely local. Now this might work out all right, and it might prove acceptable to the community had it not had a taste of other methods of dealing with matters. Events have proved that the Federal Arbitration Court has not been one of the most satisfactory methods of settling disputes, but there is a method which stands out, by reason of its excellence, above all others, and that is Wages Boards. No scheme of settlement machinery has yet been devised which surpasses them. And as compared with the work of putting Federal machinery into motion, they are so simple in operation that it would be madness to interfere with them. Disputes extending beyond a State may well be brought under Federal control. No one disputes that.

Mr. Holman's Inconsistency.

But one is puzzled at Mr. Holman's logic. With regard to monopolies he would not have the Federal power deal with any but interstate. States may, he says, be left to manage their own affairs. With regard to transport, too, he says that there is no reason why the Federal Government should not have power to regulate navigation, but he would keep their hands off State transport. And one naturally asks why the same argument should not apply to industrial matters. One cannot follow Mr. Holman in the intricacies of this inconsistency. Certain broad powers the Federal Government ought to have, but there are many things in which the power of governing that is a characteristic of Anglo Saxons and their descendants has given the very best results. Especially in State industrial matters, the number of men who have been brought into active participation with the public weal is great. The Federation would be wise to conserve this power, but the effect of Mr. Holman's motion would be to withdraw all this interest and governance, and to centre authority. It would mean an enlargement, too, of many trivial disputes to an importance they would not deserve. Interstate troubles belong by right to the Federation, but administration must be localised in order to produce the finest results, both with regard to the best decisions, and the interest of the philanthropic in industrial conditions, an element that ought to be respected and fostered. The decision of the Conference was that State rights should be preserved, New South Wales and West Australia being a minority that voted for larger powers.

Photo.] [*Stumf & Co., Adelaide.*

MR. HARRY JACKSON,

Who succeeded the late Sir Jenkin Coles as Speaker of the South Australian Assembly.

South Australia's Deadlock.

Folk were somewhat startled at the suddenness with which the South Australian Government brought about a dissolution as a result of the deadlock between the two Houses. Mr. Verran's appeal to the Home Government to interfere struck one as an incongruous sort of thing, seeing that the methods by which it might have dealt with the situation were by no means exhausted. The fact that London had the power to step in had almost been forgotten by the public. Of course no one dreamed that the Imperial Government would interfere. The question of how far self-governing States might go would be one of far-reaching importance, affecting other States than South Australia. My friend Major Smeaton, who is a member of the South Australian House on the Government side, has sent me a précis of the situation, which in view of the importance of the question of Imperial interference, I print in full:—

"The political situation in South Australia at the time of writing is peculiar, and may be epoch-making. The crisis which has resulted in sending the House of Assembly and half of the Legislative Council to the country, is caused by a deadlock between the two Houses on the question of their re-

spective rights in regard to financial questions; and it seems that Premier John Verran's terse declaration that it will be 'a fight to a finish,' so far as he and his party are concerned, is likely to be somewhere near the truth. And yet the finish may be a long way off; much farther indeed than the elections which are to take place on February 10th; for even if the Labour Party return with a majority—as they are very confident of doing—the same crisis may be repeated with almost the same result, the only difference being that a double dissolution of the Houses can then be secured, which again may or may not result in an alteration of the personnel of either or both of the Houses sufficient to definitely decide the question upon which they are now divided.

"This decidedly is very unsatisfactory, and the doubtfulness of the issue amply justifies the attempt which Mr. Verran made earlier in the session to secure such an amendment of the Constitution as would prevent a similar occurrence in the future.

"The immediate cause of the present deadlock is the rejection of the Appropriation Bill by the Legislative Council, because of two lines to which they say they cannot—or rather will not—agree. These lines are £10,000 for the establishment of State brick works, and £1000 for the purchase and re-sale of timber and firewood. The Legislative Council declares that these lines are merely the thin end of the wedge of a socialism which will not be satisfied until all industries are nationalised, while the Government—as representing the Labour Party in the House of Assembly—reply that such an objection comes with no merit of consistency from a House which has frequently passed lines with a similar tendency, and for much larger sums, without any protest whatsoever.

"Looking at the situation from the outside, it is apparent that politics in South Australia have got into a tangle which will not be easily unravelled. With a Constitution which makes no provision for settling disputes between the two Houses of Parliament, and a franchise which assures the predominance of the party which represents property in the Legislative Council, there is the certainty of an indefinite continuance of the conflict. There are two possible remedies for the trouble—viz., the liberalising of the franchise for the Legislative Council, so that the ruling thought in both chambers may be more in harmony, or a provision in the Constitution for dealing with deadlocks similar to that which was recently made in the Imperial Parliament. The former method has been continuously attempted by the Liberal and Labour sections in Parliament for many years, but the most that has been achieved is to fix the franchise for the Legislative Council at the payment of a rental of £17 10s. The latter method has also been frequently attempted, and with success so far as the House of Assembly is concerned, but it has always been defeated in the House which sees no need for its own reform.

"The Verran Government took a bold step some months ago in approaching the Home Government on this matter. According to the correspondence which has been published, they stated the case fully and fairly, and asked that they should be advised as to the course which would relieve the State Parliament from its intolerable position. The reply gave no promise of interference until every possible means of dealing with the trouble under the present Constitution had been exhausted, and that is the path which the Government are now treading. The pity of it is that the result may be so inconclusive, and, at the best, so far removed.

"As in most cases where great issues are in dispute, there is justification for the stand which is being taken by both sides. The Legislative Council being the product of its franchise, is deeply suspicious of proposals made by a Government which is placed in power by the Labour Party, and although it is admitted that no objection has been raised to similar expenditure when proposed by other Governments, it is easy to understand the opposition which is raised in the present case. On the other hand, the Labour Party cannot be blamed for seeking to carry an important provision of their policy into effect, more especially as the occasion of their endeavour has ample justification to which both Houses have already agreed.

"Briefly stated, the position is this:—Last year Parliament voted a sum of £200,000—in addition to a sum of £100,000 previously voted—to be advanced in sums of not more than £500 to any one person desiring to build a house, under the Advances for Homes Act. Naturally this Act has been looked upon as a perfect godsend by the poorer class, who are staggering under the burden of increasingly high rents. But the Government finding that the cost of building is unduly great, on account of the price of materials which ought to and can be supplied at cheaper rates, propose to become purveyors of bricks and timber first for their own use on Government works, and then for those who will deal with them. They assert that 20s. per 1000 can be saved on bricks, and from 6 per cent. to 20 per cent. on other classes of building material. This accounts for the two lines in the Appropriation Bill to which objection has been made by the Legislative Council, and, consequently, for the crisis which has led to the dissolution which sends all the House of Assembly and half of the Legislative Council to their constituents. The situation is distinctly interesting and momentous, not only because of the local importance of the questions at issue, but also on account of the fact that the constitutional aspect is one that touches the principles of responsible government in every part of the Empire. Mr. Verran and his Government have reason to hope that a crisis so similar to that which led to the passing of the Veto

[*N.Z. "Graphic."*

These maps show the extent to which Prohibition was voted in New Zealand. Parts coloured black voted by substantial majorities for National Prohibition. In the South Island most of the uncoloured places are a few huge sparsely settled electorates. If they were of the same small size as most of the other electorates, the comparison would seem greater still.

Bill in the Imperial Parliament will have the same happy ending in South Australia." The nominations show a clear cut issue between the Labour and Liberal parties.

New Zealand Politics.

New Zealand politics are likely to see more change in the future than they have done of late years. The placidity that has marked the course of the Liberal Party has given place to portents of storm. The complete reversal of the previous order has made Sir Joseph Ward determined to call Parliament together in February to consider the position. Clearly the issue is in the keeping of the few Independents. One can imagine that to anyone like Sir Joseph Ward, who has had substantial majorities with which to carry on business, the idea of a majority of two or three is objectionable. In Australia, where politics are more often in the melting pot, one becomes accustomed to this state of affairs. It is certainly not satisfactory, but both in South Australia and New South Wales Cabinets have lived for long on very narrow majorities. Possibly another election may take place in New Zealand. One would feel more comfortable if after the hurricane change that was manifest in the people's feelings and views, they could have another opportunity for decision. Besides its value in determining the sincerity of the recent vote, it would be decidedly interesting from a psychological point of view.

Queensland's Licensing Bill.

The Queensland Government came to a dead end over its Licensing Bill. It was a liberal measure, providing for Local Option on a simple majority, but the Legislative Council refused to pass it, and a conference between the two Houses failed to come to an agreement. It will therefore be brought up again in the next session of Parliament.

Photograph by] [*Bourne and Shepherd, India.*

A Little War on the Indian Frontier.

The Punitive Expedition embarking in Calcutta for the Abor Country.

The Acting Patriarch of the Armenians.

W. T. Stead in Constantinople conversing with Hakki Pasha and Ahmed Riza.

Photograph by [*L. N. A.*

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH CONFRONT ITALY IN TRIPOLI.

The fine loose sand of the desert blows in between the bushes and palm trees of the oasis and makes heavy work for the transport carts. Here a party of soldiers are on the way to the firing-line trenches.

LONDON, Dec 1, 1911.

On the Brink of War—and Why?

It is now admitted that this summer we were on the brink of war with Germany—and why? It was not for the defence of any British interests, not for the maintenance of any treaty obligations. We were nearly involved in the stupendous catastrophe of a gigantic war with the greatest of all the world-Powers in order to enable France to tear up the Treaty of Algeciras by taking possession of the Empire of Morocco, whose independence and integrity we were pledged to defend. It was not to our interest to make over to France a vast dominion in Northern Africa. The French, unlike the Germans, who admit us to trade in all their colonies on equal footing with German subjects, have always made it a principle of their colonial policy to give preference and, wherever possible, a monopoly of the trade to Frenchmen. If we have any security for the open door and equality of opportunity in Morocco we owe it to the Germans, who defended our commercial interests in defending their own. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in order to put France in possession of Morocco we all but went to war with Germany. We have escaped war, but we have not escaped the natural and abiding enmity of the German people. Is it possible to frame a heavier indictment of the foreign policy of any British Ministry?

Photograph by [*Bassano, Ltd.*

A New Portrait of Sir Edward Grey.

The Secret of the Crime.

The secret, the open secret of this almost incredible crime against Treaty faith, British interests, and the peace of the world is the unfortunate fact that Sir Edward

Grey, ever since he took office, has been surrounded, influenced, dominated by men in the Foreign Office and in at least two of the most important Embassies, who are obsessed by the belief that Germany is our inveterate enemy, that war with Germany in the near future is as inevitable as the rising of the sun, and that therefore all other considerations must be subordinated to the one supreme duty of thwarting Germany at every turn, even if in so doing British interests, Treaty faith, and the peace of the world are trampled underfoot. I speak that of which I know. These men who mould Sir Edward Grey as clay is moulded in the hands of the potter make no secret of their convictions. One of them told me without the slightest hesitation that the whole European situation was dominated by the inordinate unscrupulous ambition of Germany. "Germany," he said, "has only one object. She wants to destroy our supremacy at sea in order to seize our colonies. Instead of prating of peace and a reduction of armaments, our one duty was to increase our armaments in order to repel her inevitable attack, and have a powerful army with which to help the French on land." I remember this conversation, because it impressed me so much that I repeated it word for word to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who was simply aghast. But even Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was powerless. Sir Edward Grey has been autocrat of the Foreign Office, and he did not brook interference even from Prime Ministers in his choice of advisers and agents. The bogus interview that was imputed to Sir F. Cartwright would have attracted no attention had it not been generally known that, although the Ambassador may never have said one word of the interview, its spirit embodied all too faithfully the mood of too many of our Embassies, which in turn poisons the atmosphere of Downing Street.

The Damnable Fixed Idea.

This damnable fixed idea dominates Sir Edward Grey and colours all his utterances and all his actions. When a few years ago efforts were made to bring about more cordial relations between the journalists of the two countries by means of an interchange of visits, the frank and friendly support given by the German Chancellor was in grim contrast to the cold and forbidding attitude of the British Foreign Office. Lord Haldane and Mr. Bryce did their best, but Sir Edward Grey held coldly aloof. As it was with regard to the visits of the journalists, so it has been with regard to any and every attempt to establish cordial relations with the Germans. Other Ministers have gone to Berlin, Sir Edward Grey has never set foot on German soil. Russia is the full-fledged ally of France, but the Tsar did not hesitate to go to Potsdam to make an amicable arrangement with Germany. The mere thought of corresponding action on our part would have made Sir Edward Grey tremble in his shoes. You may look through his speeches from first to last without finding one hearty generous reference to Germany. It is not that Sir Edward Grey dislikes the Germans. He is a man without prejudices. He is simply to-day, as he has been since he took office, in terror of his life lest any *rapprochement* with Germany might offend the French. Upon this fear the French and our Ambassador at Paris took such advantage that Sir Edward Grey at last became little more than their marionette. Treaty obligations, British interests, the risk of war —those were as trifles light as air compared with the one supreme paramount duty of keeping in with the French at any cost; nay, even without counting the cost. It was this, and nothing else but this, which threatened, and will continue to threaten, the peace of Europe until a clean sweep has been made of the bureaucratic crew which, through Sir Edward Grey, steers our Ship of State.

What has Happened?

On September 7th, 1906, the Treaty of Algeciras was signed by Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Italy, Russia, and the United States. It began by declaring that the independence and integrity of the Empire of Morocco was the basis upon which the international settlement rested. In order to secure the maintenance of the Sherifian Empire French and Spanish officers were to be engaged as instructors of the Sultan's army, and various other provisions were set forth for the regulation of the Customs, the Bank, and other matters. While it was understood that the French were to be allowed to carry on their policy of peaceful penetration, it was expressly stated that all the other Powers were to enjoy equal privileges in the way of trade Five years have elapsed, and lo! we find Morocco, with the active support of Sir Edward Grey, converted into a "new France in North Africa," without so much as saying "by your leave" to any other signatories of the Treaty of Algeciras, save Germany, and her assent was extorted by virtual threat of war. And it is after the completion of this astonishing transaction that Mr. Asquith has the amazing assurance to stand up in the House of Commons and claim that the object of his policy was to fulfil treaty obligations!

How It was Brought About.

One fine Wednesday afternoon in June an Englishman, whose card declared that he was physician to the Sultan of Morocco, called at my office on his way to Berlin. He told a very straightforward story, for which he said he had the direct personal authority of the Sultan. He said that he was the last European to leave Fez before the roads were closed. He told me with much detail that France had decided the time had come to tear up the Treaty of Algeciras and annex Morocco. Her intentions were perfectly well known in Fez and also in Madrid. For the first year or two after the signature of the Treaty of Algeciras the conduct of the French had been perfectly correct. But for the last two years they had deliberately set themselves to violate its provisions and to pave the way for the seizure of the country. The army had been allowed to go to pieces, the personal prestige of the Sultan had been undermined, rebellions had been promoted among the tribes, and the hour had now come for a raid on Fez. The whole story of the danger of Europeans in Fez was a put-up job. The French *agents provocateurs* had engineered the insurrection in order to afford an excuse for the seizure of the capital. All this, my informant assured me, was perfectly well known to the Sultan, who, however, was powerless, and to the German representatives in Fez, whose conduct had been irreproachable. He warned me, as I understood he had also warned the Foreign Office, that a dangerous crisis was on the point of arising between France and Germany, and that Britain might very easily be involved in war. I was much impressed with his communication, and sent a full note of it to a morning paper, the editor of which, however, for private reasons, did not see fit to publish it, an excess of caution on his part which deprived his paper of the kudos of publishing exclusive information in advance of what was to happen.

Sir Edward Grey's First Blunder.

Everything came about as the Sultan's doctor had predicted. The French sent a column of troops, which seized the capital of Morocco. The Spaniards followed suit by occupying a province contiguous to their frontier. Sir Edward Grey, who appears to have been misled by reports from his agents in Fez, declared his approval of the action of the French. Whether it was necessary or not, it was certainly not sanctioned by the Treaty of Algeciras, and ought not to have been allowed to pass without immediate appeal to all the signatories of that Treaty. As it was, Sir Edward Grey took upon himself, dominated as always by his morbid dread of offending the French, to give his public and emphatic approval to the action of France. None of the other signatories, save Germany and Spain, appear to have taken any notice of the occupation of Fez. The apathetic indifference of the other Powers, especially of the Government of the United States, to the violation of the Treaty which they had signed only five years before is one of the most deplorable and inexplicable circumstances connected with the whole bad business. Spain struck in on her own account, believing that the general scramble had begun. Germany followed her bad example. Her true course was to have promptly protested against the action of the French and to have appealed to all the signatories of the Treaty of Algeciras to decide what should be done. If they could not have agreed the matter ought to have been sent to arbitration. Unfortunately, instead of taking this straightforward course, which was alike dictated by treaty faith and her own interests, Germany expressly declared she would not protest against the action of the French. She then sent the *Panther* to Agadir and waited to see what would turn up.

The "Panther" at Agadir.

The sending of the *Panther* was a step which everyone, even in Germany, can now see was a mistake. It was probably the result of indecision. The Germans had been led to believe by the warm welcome given to the Kaiser on his visit to London that England would no longer regard German actions with a malevolent eye. To send the *Panther* to Agadir was a popular move in Germany. It was acclaimed by the Jingoes as a sign that Germany was about to assert herself with energy. It was capable of that interpretation; but it could also be explained as a mere measure of precaution for the protection of more or less mythical German subjects and interests in South Morocco. It was an unmistakable hint to France that if she meant to hold on to Fez Germany would have a word to say in the final settlement. It was what is vulgarly called a "try on," to see what would happen. Hence when England took alarm and asked what it meant, the German Government could not tell them, for the simple reason that the German Government did not know. There is also reason to believe that at first the German Government was disposed to take up the attitude that England had already been compensated by France by concessions in Egypt, whereas Germany, having received no compensations anywhere, was justified in dealing directly with France.

No Naval Base for Germany.

The misfortune of the Agadir incident was that it alarmed Sir Edward Grey. Agadir is an open roadstead, which could only be converted into a naval base by an expenditure of many millions. Hence, when the *Panther* appeared there, the first instinct of the militant section of the Cabinet was to send a British warship to keep her company. After a severe conflict in the Cabinet this proposal was abandoned. But as a compromise it was decided to be vigilant and to take the first opportunity of asserting the determination of the British Government to have a voice in the settlement. On the top of the Agadir incident came the story that the Germans were demanding the whole of the French Congo from France. This would have given them another naval base, and it seems to have been this scare of a German naval base in Africa that was the *causa causans* of Mr. Lloyd George's memorable speech. There was nothing in the speech but a truism, but uttered when it was, and by the man who made it, the speech resounded through Europe as a hardly veiled declaration of war.

The Question of Naval Bases.

This question of a naval base lies at the root of the whole controversy between England and Germany. Germany has a world wide commerce only second to our own. She has colonies or colonial stations in China, in the South Seas, in New Guinea, and in Africa. But between Kiel and the Cameroons she has no station where her ships can coal or refit. Germany has repeatedly tried to obtain naval bases oversea. When she tried to obtain one in the Persian Gulf she was told that we should regard such an acquisition on her part as an unfriendly act. When she tried to obtain a port in the Red Sea, the Turks, fearing our displeasure, refused to deal. An attempt to obtain a foothold in Madeira was checked by Portugal, relying upon the support of England, who on that occasion was so near action that all leave was stopped in the fleet and everything was in readiness for instant war. Sir Edward Grey evidently thinks that it is necessary to prevent Germany obtaining any naval base anywhere oversea. This was not Lord Salisbury's opinion. He favoured Germany obtaining a naval base in the Mediterranean, holding that the acquisition of stations oversea rendered Germany less formidable regarded as a possible enemy. Such stations lead to a scattering of forces at present concentrated in the North Sea, and offer points of attack for an enemy possessing superior sea-power.

The Price of a German Entente.

If we are to have an *entente* with Germany we shall have to abandon the theory that British interests demand the shutting out of Germany from any of the few remaining ports in the world which are available for naval bases. Whether we take Lord Salisbury's view or Sir Edward Grey's, it is unreasonable to expect that the second sea-power in Europe is to be for ever deprived of any opportunity to acquire by legitimate means any foothold in any of the seven seas. It may be more convenient for us that she should not have them. But if we are going to lay it down as an axiom of British policy that she shall never have them, then whatever we may say about our desire for an *entente* and good relations with Germany is all wasted breath. If we want an *entente* we must let her have naval bases abroad. Unless we do we shall never have an *entente*. Here is a sharp antagonism of interests. The price may be too high for an *entente*. Well and good; if it is so decided, then the Germanophobe school that dominates our diplomacy and our bureaucracy will have it all its own way. But that is not my opinion, nor do I think it is the opinion of the British people.

The Course of the Negotiations.

It is now possible, with the aid of the statements of Sir Edward Grey and Count Kiderlin-Waechter, to follow in chronological order the course of the negotiations between the two governments, which were complicated by the fact that Germany was all the while negotiating not so much with us as with France. Whenever France felt they were getting "bested" they appear to have pulled Sir Edward Grey's leg, and Sir Edward Grey never failed to respond. The course of events appears to have been as follows:—

June 30.—Telegrams despatched from Berlin announcing the *Panther's* departure for Agadir.

July 1. Saturday.—Count Metternich informs Sir E. Grey the provisions of Act of Algeciras had become nugatory. Germany did not object to French occupation of Fez, nor did she intend to expostulate with France for her action. But Germany was compelled to undertake the protection of German subjects in Southern Morocco until orderly conditions were restored in the country. As soon as former quiet was restored ship would leave Agadir. She would negotiate directly with France as to a final understanding on the Morocco question, which will also be in accordance with the interests of the other signatory Powers.

July 3. Monday.—Sir E. Grey informed Count Metternich that he and Asquith regarded the situation as serious and important, and had called a Cabinet.

July 4. Tuesday.—Cabinet meeting. Proposal to send British cruiser to Agadir rejected after hot debate. After Cabinet Grey informs Metternich despatch of *Panther* had created new situation. Our attitude could not be a disinterested one. Bound to consider treaty obligations and our own interests. Further developments might affect British

interests. We could not recognise any new arrangements that might be come to without us.

No direct request was made for information as to German proposals. The communication was merely a notification that we intended to have a voice in the settlement, whatever it might be. As Germany had already stated that her negotiations with France were aimed at a settlement in accordance with the interests of the other signatory Powers, she did not deem it necessary to do more than take note of the British declaration.

July 7.—Statement by Asquith in House of Commons.

July 12. Wednesday.—British Ambassador remarked to Kiderlin-Waechter that as Germany, France, and Spain were negotiating together, the inference had been drawn that we were to be excluded from the settlement. Kiderlin-Waechter said, "Tell your Government there never had been any such idea."

No intimation whatever appears to have been made by the British Government that they were dissatisfied with this assurance, nor was any request made for further information.

July 20. Thursday.—The *Times* published a statement that Germany had asked for the whole of the French Congo as compensation for leaving Morocco to France, and that France would never consent.

July 21. Friday.—Grey tells Metternich France will never agree. Complains that it might even be that the German flag had been hoisted at Agadir, the most suitable port on that coast for a naval base. If negotiations broke down we should be obliged to do something to watch over British interests and to become a party to the discussion of the matter. The longer the Germans remained at Agadir the more difficult would it be for them to withdraw, and the more necessary for us to take some steps to protect British interests. Metternich said Germany had not slightest in ention of injuring British rights or interests. If any English interests were injured let Grey name them. If France rejected German proposals she must put up with presence of foreign warships in Agadir as part of bargain. If France wanted Morocco she must offer an equivalent. Grey seemed to have one measure for France and another for Germany. "If you regard Morocco as inviolable, why not request explanations from France?" Germany had no intention of acquiring commercial monopolies or unfairly prejudicing British interests.

Grey replied that it Germany remained in possession of a closed port, that involved at least a monopoly of commercial opportunities. "I say plainly that the *démarche* at Agadir would lead to explanations (*eine Aussprache*) between England and Germany, and England might be obliged to take up a position."

July 21 (later).—After receiving these positive assurances that Germany would respect British interests, Asquith, Grey, and Lloyd George concocted the famous speech, the purport and point of which was that where British interests were affected they were not to be treated as of no account.

The speech reverberated round the world, and set everyone thinking that Germany had threatened to ignore British interests, which was the one thing she had expressly declared she did not intend to do.

July 24. Monday.—Metternich told Grey not a man had been landed at Agadir. Germany had never thought of creating a naval port on the coast of Morocco, and never would. Such ideas were hallucinations. Germany had no designs on Moroccan territory. If France rejected her demands, Germany would insist only on the execution of the Algeciras Treaty in its letter, spirit, and in its entirety. "We counted on the support of the other Powers, especially England, for the restoration of the *status quo ante*." Grey said, "May I repeat this statement in Parliament?" Metternich replied, "Wait till I ask my Government."

Meantime the German Press was raging over what it regarded as the menace of Lloyd George's speech. The French and the British Press were beating the war drum.

July 25. Tuesday.—Metternich communicated to Grey exceedingly stiff despatch, sent off previous day from Berlin. Germany said her proposals to France were entirely loyal and acceptable. They referred to regions in which British interests were neither directly nor indirectly concerned. Lloyd George's speech was everywhere regarded as a threat. If the British Government had had intention of complicating and confusing political situation and bringing things to a violent outburst it could have chosen no better means than Lloyd George's speech. Under these circumstances Germany did not wish her assurances to be communicated to Parliament, as it was not consistent with her dignity to give explanations. Grey defended Lloyd George, and said it was not consistent with our dignity to give explanations of his speech, which was moderate, dealing in general terms with remote contingencies.

July 27. Thursday.—Metternich communicated to Grey despatch dated 26th: "Our *pourparlers* with France do not touch British interests. We are pledged to secrecy. But could you not make a public statement that you would be pleased to see them come to a successful conclusion without giving any details of confidential communication? It would calm public opinion."

Grey said dispatch of *Panther* to Agadir, a closed port most suitable for naval base, had mobilised British public opinion.

Afternoon of same day.—Asquith made statement in House of Commons.

From that date onward there were no further difficulties between the German Government and ourselves about the Morocco negotiations.

Grey says: "Except perhaps once or twice on subsidiary points of purely economic detail in Morocco itself, we were able to say that British interests were not involved by the proposals or counterproposals made in the course of the negotiations between France and Germany."

A National Humiliation and Disgrace.

I confess that I cannot read over the official narrative of the communications which passed between the two Governments without feeling a keen sense of humiliation and disgrace. Not since Lord Beaconsfield did his best and his worst to involve us in war with Russia in 1876–8, not since Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner did their best and their worst to provoke war with the South African Republics, has the world seen a worse exhibition of provocative diplomacy than that of the British Government. From first to last Sir Edward Grey took up a position which if it had been taken up by any German Minister in relation to British negotiations would have provoked a storm of resentment from all classes in this country. What was that attitude? It was one of a cynical disregard of every German assurance, of the constant imputating of sinister motives, and of an utter absence of straightforward dealing. I hold no brief for German diplomacy in this matter. I think it took the wrong ground in acquiescing in the French seizure of Fez, and that the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir was a *bêtise* which could only be paralleled by the speech put into Mr. Lloyd George's mouth by Sir Edward Grey. But none of Germany's blunders betray anything approaching the same hostile animus that characterised Sir Edward Grey's action from first to last. If this seems strong language, look at the facts.

How Sir Edward Grey Treated Germany.

The usual excuse put forward by the apologists of Sir Edward Grey is that our suspicions were justly aroused by the refusal of Germany to give us any assurances as to what she was after in Morocco. For seventeen days, we are told—for seventeen days Germany refused to give us any answer to our questions on the subject, and this persistent and sinister silence on her part justified and explained the Grey-George outburst of July 21st. Imagine then my amazement on learning from Sir Edward Grey's speech—(1) that the British Government never asked the German Government to give any explanations; (2) that, without being asked, the German Government had volunteered assurances that the aim of these negotiations was to arrive at an understanding with France that would be in accordance with the interests of the other signatory Powers, and that as soon as quiet was restored in Morocco the *Panther* would be recalled from Agadir; and (3) that the negotiations which Germany had begun were from first to last carried on with our friend France, who could surely have been relied upon to defend our interests. It is the ignoring of this last consideration that is almost the worst evidence of all as to the inveterate suspicion and distrust felt by Sir Edward Grey of Germany. He cannot even trust his *entente-cordialed* France to play fair if once she is negotiating with Germany.

No Answers Given because no Questions Asked.

It can hardly be believed that Sir Edward Grey, neither directly nor indirectly, neither in London nor Berlin, asked the German Government to make any explanation. Seventeen days passed; during any one of the seventeen he might have seen Count Metternich or have instructed his Ambassador to communicate with Count Kiderlin-Waechter to ask a plain answer to a direct question. The question was never asked, and therefore naturally no answer given. What took place is on official record. Germany told Sir Edward Grey the *Panther* was being sent to Agadir for a definite purpose—the protection of German lives and property in the vicinity—and that as soon as the state of affairs in Morocco had resumed its former quiet aspect the *Panther* should leave Agadir. The British Government took note of the fact and declared the situation to be serious and important—a remark which called for no comment, inasmuch as the German Government undoubtedly concurred in that estimate. That was on July 3rd. On the following day Sir Edward Grey informed Count Metternich that England could not take a disinterested attitude in regard to Morocco, that the despatch of the *Panther* had created a new situation, and that as future developments might affect British interests more closely, we could not recognise any new arrangements that might be come to without us. To all this Germany had no call to reply, for the simple reason that it contained no matter to which she took exception. She agreed to every word of it, but as she was not asked to say anything she said nothing.

An Opportunity Lost.

On July 12th the British Ambassador at Berlin had an opportunity of asking questions on the subject if Sir Edward Grey had thought it worth while. He merely remarked that there had at one time been some talk of a settlement between France, Germany and Spain, the inference being that we were to be excluded from it. The German Foreign Minister at once and categorically assured our Ambassador there was no truth in the story—"there never had been any such idea." No hint on the part of Sir Edward Grey's mouthpiece that there were any further assurances wanted or answers looked for to questions which were not put. There the matter remained, Germany negotiating with our friend France for a settlement acceptable to all the signatory Powers, the English Government waiting to see the result, but giving no hint, either in Berlin or in London, that it wanted any more information than that which had been volunteered by Germany at the outset. So matters remained till July 20th, when Sir Edward Grey read in the *Times* that Germany had asked France for the whole of the French Congo as an equivalent for acquiescing in the French annexation of Morocco. Then for the first time Sir Edward thought it necessary to put the questions to the German Ambassador which up to that time he had never put to any one, but which he seems to have expected ought to have been answered without having been put. When he put them they were answered, and the crisis was at an end. Why did he not put them before?

Wisdom of the Unionist Leaders.

The only reassuring things about the debates which followed Sir E. Grey's declaration were the speeches made by Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Lansdowne. Lord Morley indeed made a gallant attempt to undo the evil effects of Sir Edward Grey's utterance; but the real hope of the future is to be found in the speeches of the Unionist Leaders. Mr. Bonar Law's references to Germany were couched in admirable terms, and nothing could be better than his repudiation of the pestilent nonsense, cherished as an article of faith by

Sir Edward Grey's *entourage*, that war with Germany is inevitable. It was noteworthy that while Sir Edward Grey's chilly speech was cheered by the Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law's references to Germany were received by his party in stony silence, while the Liberals cheered with might and main. The contribution made by Lord Lansdowne was even more important. Lord Lansdowne was the original author of the French *entente*, which Sir Francis Bertie and Sir Edward Grey have now converted into all but a hard and fast alliance, with its sharp edge directed against Germany. Sir Edward Grey excuses himself on the ground that he is but carrying on the policy of his predecessor. Hence the importance of Lord Lansdowne's declaration that when he made the *entente* with France it was with the hope that it would be followed by an *entente* with Germany. Speaking of the Ministry in 1904, he said :—

> If the Government at that time had any one aspiration that they particularly cherished it was that this Agreement with France should be the precursor of other agreements with other Powers . . . The whole policy of the late Government was quite inconsistent with the idea of coming to an agreement with France which would exclude the possibility of agreement with other Powers or which should divide the European Powers into two hostile camps.

But that is precisely what has been accomplished by Sir Edward Grey under the mask of loyally carrying out Lord Lansdowne's policy.

Lord Morley's Admissions.

In the House of Lords Lord Courtney in an admirable speech arraigned the policy of Sir Edward Grey in terms and on grounds that recalled the days of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Morley in reply took little trouble to disguise his sympathy with much that Lord Courtney had said. He praised Mr. Bonar Law's speech, eulogised Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, and after a chilly word of recognition of the "lucidity" of Sir Edward Grey's speech the previous night, practically admitted that Mr. Lloyd George should not have made his famous speech. That, at least, is the only meaning to be attached to these words :—

> It might be thought that it would have been better if the Government's declaration, which was made to the bankers at the Mansion House, had been made through the ordinary diplomatic channels, but the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were of another opinion, and the speech was made.

This, however, was nothing to Lord Morley's very significant allusion to the cause of all Sir Edward Grey's blunders. Lord Morley said :—

> I do not say that there is no real conflict of interest between England and Germany. But this I do say : That conflict is not a conflict that could possibly be averted or suppressed or conducted to a hopeful issue either by war or the shock of battle, or by *any diplomacy starting from fixed antipathies and prepossessions, whether those antipathies and prepossessions are in the mind of the Government or in the minds of its agents and informants abroad.*

Of which let Sir Francis Bertie, Sir F. Cartwright, and the smaller fry of Germanophobes who poison the atmosphere of the Foreign Office with their "fixed antipathies and prepossessions" take due note.

The Betrayal of the Public Law of Europe.

Sir Edward Grey referred very briefly to the criticisms directed against his policy in Tripoli by Mr. Mason and other Members. For all that he had to say he might as well have held his tongue, for he made no answer whatever to the real charges which damn his policy. The following series of pointed questions addressed to Mr. Asquith by a public meeting of the South London Ethical Society remain to this day without answer :—

1. Italy has had recourse to force without having appealed to the other Powers to settle her dispute with the Sublime Porte by friendly mediation. This being a direct breach of the 8th Article of the Treaty of Paris, we want to know whether your Government has protested against this violation of the public law of Europe, and if not, why not?

2. The British Government in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 recognised that it was our duty to call the attention of any Powers in dispute to the existence of the Hague Tribunal, and to recommend them to take advantage of the provisions of the Hague Convention. Has your Government performed this duty, and if not, why not?

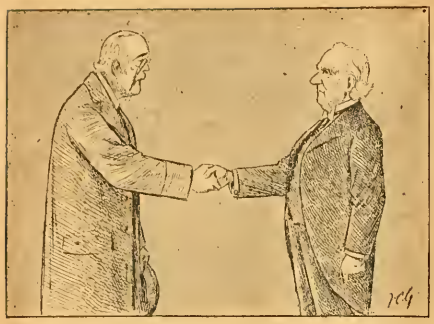
3. The British Government, in concert with all the Governments of the world, drew up rules of civilised war at the Hague in 1899 and 1907. These rules have been violated by the Italians in Tripoli by the massacring of unarmed men, surrendered prisoners, women and children. Has your Government taken any steps to uphold the authority of the Hague Code of civilised war, and if not, why not?

4. British Governments in 1871 and 1878 declared it to be a fixed principle of British policy that any changes made if the *status quo* of the Ottoman Empire had no validity without the consent of all the Signatories of the Treaty of Paris. Has your Government made the same intimation to Italy, and if not, why have you abandoned the traditional policy of Great Britain and ignored the treaties upon which the public law of Europe is based?

The fact is that on this Tripolitan question the Government is hopelessly in the wrong. It has betrayed the public law of Europe, and by its breach of trust has let loose a war which before it ends may very possibly lead to the destruction of the Italian kingdom.

The Failure of Italy and its Consequences.

The Italians, who anticipated that they had but to clutch and to steal, are painfully disillusioned. Two months have passed and they are no nearer the conquest of Tripoli than they were when the war began. So far as the range of the guns of their fleet carry—say a fringe of three miles along a coastline 900 miles long—so long as the ships are lying inshore, so much of Tripoli they have taken. But the rest of the country, which is



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One Who will be Missed.

MR. ASQUITH: "Good-bye, Arthur; I'm very sorry you're going, but I hope you'll come and see us as often as you can. We shall all of us miss you!"

five times the size of Italy, they have not as yet even attempted to occupy. They have marooned nearly 80,000 men to suffer from cholera and *ennui* at half-a-dozen points along the coast, where they are besieged and constantly attacked by the Arabs. Their fleet, after vainly threatening mighty things in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, has been headed off by the Powers, whose patience, although long suffering, could not quite allow the entrance to the Black Sea to be blockaded as an incident of a raid on Tripoli. Italy, paralysed and impotent alike on land and sea, advances towards bankruptcy and revolution. If the monarchy disappears and Italy splits into two republics, north and south, the Pope will have a rare chance to fish in troubled waters, while Austria may remember that her title deeds to Venice are a thousand times more valid than Italy's title to Tripoli.

The Passing of Mr. Balfour.

Mr. Balfour's own physical health, which has been undermined by recurring attacks of influenza affecting his heart, is the ostensible and sufficient reason for his resignation of the leadership of the Unionist Party. He did not feel equal to the strain of rallying a mutinous party against the overwhelming odds brought against him by the coalition. So he has gone amid universal regret. With him passes the last of the greater figures which survived from the Gladstonian era. The country has been spared the spectacle of seeing Mr. Balfour's place occupied by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who for some time past had been pluming himself upon the succession. The choice of the party fell upon Mr. Bonar Law, whose speech on the Anglo-German question is in itself adequate to prove that he is the right man in the right place.

The Republic of China.

The revolutionary movement in China seems to have reached the high-water mark. When Wu Ting-Fang, as the Foreign Secretary of the Chinese Republic, issued his appeal to the Powers to recognise the new-born State it was felt to be a little premature. Delegates from the thirteen provinces in revolt were on their way to Shanghai to decide upon the future of China. Yuan Shih-Kai, as Prime Minister of a Reformed Chinese Empire, spoke them fair, offering them amnesty and reforms. But all the while the Imperial troops were steadily advancing to the attack, and by the end of the month the three great cities which had been the original seat of the rebellion had been recaptured by the Empire. On the other hand, the insurgents had captured Nanking. The sanguine expectations of some that the Manchu dynasty would vanish like a ghost at cockcrow at the first proclamation of a Republic have abated. Dynasties three centuries old, supported by a privileged caste of eighteen millions of men, do not fold up their tents like the Arabs and silently glide away—but it seems that dynasties seldom last three centuries in China. The only thing certain about the situation is that the new wine of Western

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The Tertium Quid.

MR. CHAPLIN (of the Unionist Training Stables): "I'm quite sure that you are, both of you, equally competent; and, in fact, I found it so difficult to choose between you that I have selected a—third party!"

[Record Press.

A Market Scene Under the Walls of Peking.

thought that has been so liberally poured into the old bottles of the Manchu Empire is producing the natural result. Few prophesies seem to be safer than that some millions of Chinese lives will be sacrificed before the New China is as firmly established as the Old China, of which it claims to be the heir.

The Trouble in Persia.

The demand which Russia has made for the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, the American Treasurer-General, is one which ought to have proceeded from both Russia and England. Mr. Shuster may be as able a man as he is masterful, but he seems to have set himself from his first appointment to break down the Anglo-Russian *entente* on which the peace of Asia, and incidentally the continued existence of Persia, depends. He set about this work in the most dangerous way, by appointing the most Russophobe Englishmen he could find to positions of authority in the sphere of influence in Northern Persia, from which British influence is excluded, as a condition of the exclusion of Russian influence from Southern Persia. Against this intrusion of British officials into Northern Persia Russia made exactly the same protest as we should have made if Russian officials had been appointed in Southern Persia. England loyally supported that

[Photograph by [H pt.

Wu Ting-Fang,

The new Chinese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and formerly Chinese Minister at Washington.

Photograph by [*Darol-Foundun.*

The Thirteen-Year-Old Ruler of Persia:
SULTAN AHMAD SHAH.

protest. Mr. Shuster persisted, and defended his conduct in articles attacking the action of the Anglo-Russian Government, articles which were reprinted in a pamphlet and circulated in Persia. Now it is quite open to the critics of the *entente* to maintain that we ought never to have entered into an agreement with Russia to define our respective spheres of influence in Persia. But as we have entered into that *entente*, it is difficult to see how we could act otherwise than we have done in supporting the demand for the dismissal of an official whose chief object seems to be to make the working of the *entente* impossible. It is a thousand pities that Mr. Shuster, instead of falling in loyally with the arrangement which, with all its shortcomings, is the basis of peace in Western Asia, should have conceived it his duty to try to make it unworkable. Injudicious, reckless advisers bring ruin upon the States which heed their counsel.

The Insurance Bill.

Mr. Lloyd George has been labouring all the month through a perfect jungle of amendments, his own and other people's, to the Insurance Bill. It is stated that no fewer than 470 amendments, most of them verbal, were voted upon under the closure on Thursday night, November 30th. The Bill, which at its introduction was hailed with an outburst of unanimous approval, has been largely remodelled Utopia's a pleasant place, but when we attempt to get there we find it is not so easy to walk straight down the crooked lane and right round the square. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has exhibited indomitable courage, tireless industry, and a phenomenal readiness to meet his critics half way. For sheer driving force nothing like it has been seen in Parliament since Mr. Gladstone applied his gigantic energies to carry through his Irish Land Acts. Just as the Bill was entering harbour a sudden breeze sprang up in the servants' kitchen, which, being diligently fanned by the Opposition Press, seemed to attain the dimensions of a veritable tornado in the very portly teacup of the Albert Hall. The duel between Lord Northcliffe's editors and Mr. Lloyd George has not wanted in piquancy, but when Mr. Austen Chamberlain refused to vote for the exclusion of domestic servants from the Bill, and the House of Commons decided they must be included, by a majority of 146, it was evident that the game was up—unless the House of Lords intervened.

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The Society Stamp Scare.

SOCIETY LADY: "Oh, Mr. Bull, I *do* wish you would get rid of that horrid Lloyd George! He's going to make us lick a lot of nasty stamps and stick them on dirty cards, and we shall catch consumption and all kinds of dreadful things!"

JOHN BULL: "But, my dear lady, you are not obliged to lick any stamps, not even postage stamps. Why not use a wet sponge in a saucer? It's quite simple!"

The Demoralisation of the Peers.

Nothing is more extraordinary in the present situation than the demoralisation of the House of Lords. If ever there was a measure which demanded the closest attention from a revising Chamber of the Legislature, it is the Insurance Bill. That measure is entirely novel. It has never been voted upon by the country. Since its introduction it has been altered so often that it is no exaggeration to say that no one really knows what the Bill really is, excepting Mr. Lloyd George, and even about Mr. Lloyd George some have their doubts. It is admitted that many sections of the Bill have been rushed through under the Kangaroo closure without debate adequate to explain their real meaning. Now when this revolutionary measure, inchoate, ill-digested, which has been remodelled since its introduction, comes up to the House of Lords, with a certificate from the Speaker that as it is not a financial Bill in the technical sense of the word the Upper House can deal with it as it pleases, what happens? The Peers are so demoralised by their defeat over the Parliament Bill that they have not the courage to insist upon being allowed adequate time to consider the Bill. As it was rushed through the House of Commons so it is to be gulped by the House of Lords. This scandalous failure to perform an obvious duty is due either to funk or to sulk, and it is difficult to say whether funk or sulk is more unworthy of the dignity and the position of the House of Lords.

The Triumph of the Suffragists.

The cause of the emancipation of women took a great leap forward last month. Mr. Asquith has received a deputation of women with the same courtesy and attention that every Minister receives any deputation of men, and both he and Mr. Lloyd George have discussed the subject with the gravity that it deserves. The position of the question was suddenly revolutionised by the discovery—a somewhat belated discovery—that the Government intended to establish Manhood Suffrage under cover of the Bill abolishing the Plural Vote. Manhood Suffrage comes of itself when all legal impediments are removed that at present render it difficult for the British citizen to claim to register and to record his vote. But somehow or other the promise to remove these impediments had never been understood to be equivalent to a pledge to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill. Last month the public suddenly opened its eyes to this fact, and in a moment the whole position of the Suffragist Movement was changed. The women were at once split into two camps. One shrieked that they were betrayed, and that manhood suffrage was being conceded solely to make womanhood suffrage impossible. The other, drawing a long breath, exclaimed with gratitude that they did not dare refuse the boon which Ministers had offered them. The former shrank in horror from the challenge to play double or quits; the latter accepted it with enthusiasm, recognising that Providence has decreed they shall play for higher stakes than they ventured to hope for.

Adult versus Manhood Suffrage.

Six or seven years ago the offer to establish manhood suffrage was regarded, and rightly regarded, by the Suffragists as a means of getting rid of the claims of women to a vote. In common with almost all the women's societies, I then regarded the proposal to enfranchise all the women of Britain as impracticable. I no longer so regard it. It is true that adult suffrage would make over the government of this Empire into the hands of an electorate of which the majority were women. The Reform Bills of 1868 and 1884 made over the government of the Empire to an electorate the majority of whose members were working men. The country which faced household suffrage with equanimity after it had shied at Mr. Gladstone's limited measures of enfranchisement may accept adult suffrage when it would have boggled about the Conciliation Bill. Anyhow, whether we like it or not, the battle has to be fought out on the wider issue. It is not for us who in season and out of season have fought for the great principle of making the law colour blind as to sex, to flinch from insisting upon the application of that principle to the new Franchise Bill. Nor need we despair of success. To propose to base the franchise on manhood is felt to be an affront and a slight by every intelligent woman in the land. Is Womanhood, then, so inferior to Manhood? Our timorous friends do not realise what that challenge will do for us in rousing women who have hitherto been indifferent.

The Ministry and the Women.

The arrangement made between the Suffragists and the Ministry is as follows. The women are to have facilities for their Conciliation Bill, but as it is "torpedoed" by the Manhood Suffrage Bill its chances need not be seriously discussed. Ministers are hopelessly divided on the subject of woman's suffrage. They will, therefore, introduce the Bill upon which they can agree and leave it open to the House to graft upon it a clause

enfranchising women. Mr. Lloyd George, as the representative of the majority of the Ministry, will either move or support the proposal to substitute adult for manhood suffrage. As there are said to be 404 Members of Parliament pledged to woman's suffrage, Mr. Lloyd George's amendment ought to be carried. If it is, then Mr. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, and the other Ministers who dislike woman's suffrage, will loyally accept the decision of the House of Commons, and from that moment woman's suffrage becomes part and parcel of the official Liberal programme. All efforts ought now to be concentrated on making it perfectly clear that any member who does not vote straight on this question will find the whole force of the women used to defeat him at the next election. It is much to be regretted that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and her militant followers, instead of setting to work to make the victory certain, set themselves to work to smash windows in Parliament Street, the Strand, and Fleet Street. Two hundred and twenty three women were arrested, and many of them will spend Christmas in gaol. It is very magnificent, this thirst for martyrdom, but it is not business. I have always supported the militant Suffragettes hitherto, but with regard to this window-smashing development I must frankly say I am not a Sympathette.

Mr. Lloyd George on the Subject.

Some of the more articulate of the Suffragettes regard Mr. Lloyd George with peculiar antipathy. Nothing is too bad to say about the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, however, has heaped coals of fire upon their heads by making at Bath one of the most powerful pleas for woman's suffrage ever addressed to an English audience. Starting from the fundamental postulate that women have souls, Mr. Lloyd George would concede them every right and privilege that they claim, including, if they cared to have it, the right to become soldiers. They bore arms once, he said, but they gave up the business thinking it better suited for the intellect of man. His point as to the greater interest of women than of men in the housing question was very admirably put:—

> Who, then, is the best authority on the housing question? The woman, through the dreadfully long day, has to remain in that dark, dingy, dismal kitchen, nursing her dying children. (A Voice: "Shame!") Up to the present all the share of women in the housing question has been suffering. It is time they should be allowed to strike. (Cheers.) Nature arms every beast of prey with the power to protect her young. Why should not women, at least, have the vote that would clean the land of these foul dens? (Cheers.) Slums are often the punishment of the man; they are almost always the martyrdom of the woman. (Cheers.) Give her a voice and give her a vote, give her the right to her share in the making and administering of the laws that affect not merely her own life, but, what is dearer to her, the lives of her children.

Westminster Gazette

The Unrequit d Knight.

(*An old picture in a new form.*)

THE MAIDEN: "Unhand me, sir! I will *not* be released by you!"

Admirable, too, was the use which he made of the fact that the Union caucus rejected woman's suffrage on the ground that the women would never vote for a tax on bread. Good also is this:—

> The two most important, delicate, and difficult businesses of life are the management of a home and the upbringing of children. (Cheers.) Those have been run by women. (Cheers.) But those important tasks have been conducted and discharged by women with an economy, a foresight, a skill, and, above all, a tenderness and a sacrifice which are qualities the State stands more in need of at this hour than any virtues planted in the human breast by the great Creator. (Cheers.)

The only Logical Franchise.

The sudden plunge that has been made towards adult suffrage emboldens me to put forward once more my favourite doctrine of Babyhood suffrage. Every human being should be registered as a voter the moment its entry into the world is recorded by the Registrar-General. During minority the mother should cast the votes of all her daughters, and the father the votes of all his sons. Only by this means can the family be adequately represented at the polling booth. At present a young man of twenty-one has as potent a voice in the affairs of State as the father of a family of a dozen. Babyhood suffrage would redress all that. It would give the father and mother, upon whom lie the real burdens of the State, a paramount voice in the government of the Empire. This is the bedrock principle beyond which it is impossible to go. Babyhood suffrage would settle the franchise question once for all, and settle it upon the simplest and most just foundation conceivable.

CHARACTER SKETCHES.

THE RIGHT HON. ANDREW BONAR LAW, M.P.

WHAT is the world coming to? Mr. Bonar Law is unanimously elected Leader of the Conservative Party in place of Mr. Balfour resigned. And who is Mr. Bonar Law that he should be the Leader of the great Constitutional Party which prides itself upon being the present day representative of the English Cavaliers who fought for the King, the party of country gentlemen, the party that is the bulwark of the Anglican Church, and which is the political stay of the publican? Who is this man who is to reign over us in the name of the Tories of Old England? The answer is, that Mr. Bonar Law is a Scotchman of Ulster descent and Canadian birth; that Mr. Bonar Law is a successful business man, who made a fortune in the iron trade; that Mr. Bonar Law is a Presbyterian, and the son of a Presbyterian minister; that Mr. Bonar Law is a supporter of woman suffrage; and, strange and more incredible still, Mr. Bonar Law is a lifelong teetotaler, who celebrated his election to the House of Commons by drinking a tumbler of milk! Mr. Bonar Law has never been a Cabinet Minister; he only became a Privy Councillor at the Coronation. But there he is to-day, seated in the place occupied by Sir Robert Peel, by Benjamin Disraeli, and by Arthur Balfour—a great outstanding object lesson as to the truth of the saying that "it is always the unexpected that happens."

The secret of it all is that Mr. Bonar Law has brains; and the "stupid party" is not so stupid as to be unable to see that brains are the one thing needful in the leadership of a party. Brains and character; and Mr. Bonar Law has both. Hence, although he was not born in the purple, and never intrigued for recognition, he has triumphed over all the schemers, and sits unchallenged in the seats of the mighty. "Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men."

Photograph by [*Bassano, Ltd.*

THE NEW LEADER.

Right Hon. Andrew Bonar Law, M.P. for Bootle.

We wish him well. All of us, but especially the Liberals. For one of the greatest dangers which threaten this England of ours is the lamentable lack of capacity among the Leaders of the Opposition. Mr. Law may not be a genius. He has never yet shown a trace of the supreme capacity of statesmanship—that of sympathetic imagination. But he is a good man, a straight man, and one who, although he fights hard, will fight fair.

The best account printed of the new Conservative Leader was that contributed to the *British Weekly* by

his minister, the Rev. Dr. William Leitch, of Helensburgh. From that, and from some other personal notes contributed to Dr. Nicoll's weekly, we get a pleasant impression of the man whom all Unionists now delight to honour. His father, the Rev. James Law, who greatly admired Dr. Andrew Bonar's "Life of Dr. McCheyne"—a book which I remember reading with reverent admiration nearly fifty years ago—named his son Andrew Bonar as a token of appreciation and gratitude.

HIS YOUTH AND EDUCATION.

He was born in Rextown, New Brunswick, in 1858. He was only twelve years old when he crossed the Atlantic to attend the High School at Glasgow. In 1874 he joined the firm of William Kidston and Sons, iron merchants, of Glasgow, of which his uncle was the head, and in 1886 became partner in the house of William Jacks and Co., of the same city. Dr. Leitch says of Mr. Bonar Law:—

I have known him and preached to him for more than a quarter of a century. A more devout, attentive, and appreciative hearer I have never met. He was a young member of Helensburgh West Free Church when I was settled there in 1882. He was a teacher in the Sabbath-school, and was greatly beloved by his scholars. He was "apt to teach," and for some years did good work among the young.

He lost his parents early in life, and was brought up by his uncle, William Kidston, "one of the sturdiest and quaintest figures in the Free Church Assembly," who belonged to the Highland host of Dr. Begg, who opposed union with the United Presbyterians, and gave no quarter to the Higher Criticism. A Tory of the Tories in Church matters, standing on the ancient ways, the Kidston influence did much to mould the mind of his nephew.

HIS STRENUOUS YOUTH.

Andrew Bonar Law came under the influence of Carlyle, whose doctrine of strenuousness appealed to his temperament:—

It was always a family saying that Bonar would do nothing by halves. "Can't you *play* at something, my dear fellow?" laughed a cousin one day. "Whether it is dancing, tennis, golf, or chess, it's the same infinite capacity for taking pains!"

The same chronicler who records this observation tells us that the three morning trains to Glasgow from Helensburgh are locally known as "the Strivers," "the Drivers," and "the Thrivers" respectively. It was characteristic of Mr. Law that he stuck by the first long after he was certainly in the third category.

When a youth of twenty-one we are told that he was "fair-haired, fair-complexioned, gentle of manner, quiet of voice, with a singularly winning smile. He was possessed of an imperturbably good temper and a strong sense of humour—qualities which have stood him in good stead in later life. There never was anyone more careful of others' pleasure, nor more careless of small personal worries or grievances.

"HE'LL DO. HE'LL GO FAR."

Unlike so many clever young men, Mr. Law, while vigorously combating opinions he did not share, never forgot the deference due to age and experience:—

Standing in front of the fire, he would sometimes declare, with a whimsical smile, that he was "more firmly founded than ever on the Rock of Ignorance." From this favourite vantage-ground, however, he would, not seldom, proceed to demolish the arguments of an unwary opponent, leaving him floundering in a Serbonian bog of self-contradictions.

He was neither opinionative nor self-assertive, yet even in those early days his was a personality not to be ignored. Well do I remember the impression he produced upon a kinsman of my own, a man of great perception of character, to whose house in Greenock he had come to stay over the night of a dance. After a few minutes' talk with the young stranger on arrival and a lively dinner-table argument, I found mine host gleefully rubbing his hands before the fire. "He'll do, that young man! I tell you, he'll go far"—a prediction to be fully verified.

Dr. Leitch says that from his youth up he has had a powerful and retentive memory, and is able to commit his "set" speeches verbatim with little effort:—

His earliest essay was on "Carlyle," given off without the paper. A lecture by him on "Success," in his early days, called forth great praise. I remember one idea that he emphasised, and that was the element of luck in the life of the successful man. I happened to be in the chair, and more than one hearer has reminded me that I then predicted for the lecturer a brilliant career and a foremost place among political leaders. My prophecy has become fact. Mr. Law has no doubt had many advantages, but he has never trusted to them entirely.

HIS FAMILY LIFE.

He married, in 1891, Miss Annie Robley, the sweet and graceful girl whom he had known from her charming childhood. This union was a singularly happy one. The young wife, though naturally retiring and home-loving, possessed a gentle dignity which enabled her to take her rightful place in the wider circle to which she found herself called. By her he had six children. Since her death, two years ago, which for a time prostrated him, his sister, Miss Mary E. Law, has kept house for him and his bairns. Dr. Leitch says:—

Adversity never quite daunted him. Some time after his defeat in Blackfriars, Glasgow, I asked him when he was going to see the new House of Commons. His reply was, "Not till I go to take a seat there." He got a seat without delay. On the night of the Glasgow election in 1900, when he was returned for the Blackfriars Division, he was in his room in the Central Hotel sipping (as a lifelong abstainer) his tumbler of milk; when a defeated candidate was ushered in, and, looking at his fellow in adversity, exclaimed, "Oh, Law! who could drink milk on such a night as this?"

IN PARLIAMENT.

Although naturally shy and of a retiring disposition, he soon made his mark in Parliament. A fortune of £40,000 which came to him left him free to devote his time to politics, although he continued for some time after his election to be Chairman of the Glasgow Iron Trade Association. In 1902 he became Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade.

When Mr. Chamberlain started the great apostacy from Free Trade he had no more strenuous follower than Mr. Bonar Law. He is probably the only man

who can make a presentable case for Tariff Reform in the House of Commons.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

"He presents a type by himself on the front Opposition bench," says one who has watched his Parliamentary progress. "Deep sunk eyes, a big square jaw, an upright forehead, a straight mouth, covered by a somewhat drooping moustache, give at the first glance an impression of a man deeply reflective, touched with melancholy, but dominated by the recognition of the necessity for strong and forcible action . . . Here is no fervid prophet who runs to words. Here is rather the man who, having convinced himself that a certain course of action is necessary, will work without personal ostentation but with a certain grim ruthlessness until his object is attained."

When he was defeated in 1906, in the great days of Liberal victory, he sought and found a safe seat at Dulwich. This, however, he relinquished in order to try to win the seat for North West Manchester. He failed, and for a brief season was outside Parliament. Mr. Balfour showed no great anxiety to find him a seat, but ultimately a vacancy in Bootle enabled him to return to the House of Commons. He was loyal to his leader while others were intriguing with Lord Halsbury to carry out the programme of "B. M. G."; but it is safe to say that down to the moment that Mr. Balfour went no one dreamed that Mr. Bonar Law would be his successor.

HIS STYLE OF SPEAKING.

He is a dour man-at-arms who fights hard and spares not. The *Daily Mail* "politician" says of him:—

Tall and spare, he stands erect when speaking, with one hand by his side—typically Scotch in appearance and with a slight and pleasant Scotch accent. He has no gestures, though now and then he will dive into one of his numerous pockets for a reference, and he is always cool and unembarrassed. Partly because of this perfect mastery of himself, which is invaluable to a leader, though it postulates an absence of the emotion that gives to oratory its most overwhelming force, he has never been obliged to explain anything away. He has never coined an epigram and never indulged in "purple passages." But he is lucid and trenchant, and behind what he says is earnest conviction. The very quietness with which he speaks adds to the force of his words. There is iron in his character.

Yet withal he is no Die-hard. Not being an idiot, but a canny Scot, he realises the need of keeping his party together. "We desire," he said in 1907, "to keep, if we possibly can, everyone who agrees with us on other questions, to make it as easy as possible for him to be with us, and not against us on this great question also." The "great question" was the question of Free Trade.

Another observer says of him:—

While Mr. Balfour lounges, Mr. Law sits erect. Slim and straight in figure, his head is set high and stiff above his shoulders. He has a thin face and Scottish cheekbones, and eyes with an anxious, wondering expression. His speech is not suggestive of a full mind, like Mr. Balfour's; neither so incisive as Mr. Chamberlain's; nor so compact as Mr. Asquith's; it is fluent and clear, if rather shallow. His voice has a mournful Highland cadence, not unpleasant; he stands rather rigidly at the table, holding one arm at his side, and occasionally moving the other in an automatic, marionette manner. There is no humour in his style, but his arguments are pointed by gibes, and he reads from a little notebook, taken from his pocket, inconvenient quotations of old opinions by opponents.

Mr. Bonar Law made his *début* as leader of the party at the Unionist Caucus held at Leeds on November 12th. His speech sent Mr. Garvin into ecstasies; but that mercurial gentleman is ever ready to gyrate like a dancing Dervish in adoration of the Tin God of his party for the time being. Still, hysterics and dithyrambics being allowed for, Mr. Law's speech was not unworthy of the *Observer's* eulogy. As the Leeds oration was the first utterance of the new Unionist leader, a man who may be our next Prime Minister, I think it well to place on record for reference here the salient passages of that historical deliverance.

THE GOAL OF HIS POLICY.

After repudiating the assumption that a new leader must have a new policy, Mr. Bonar Law said:—

My only hope of being of service to our party is by urging that party to move straight forward without haste, but without rest, to the goal towards which we aim. (Loud cheers.) That goal is, in the first place, to get rid of a Government which has from the first been a danger to the country, and which is now tearing down the destructive path with ever-increasing velocity. When that is accomplished it will be our duty to face the new problems which the new conditions and a new age have brought, by new but by Conservative methods. No Government of which I am a member will ever be purely a Government of reaction. It is quite possible, I think it even probable, that, without regard to our merits or demerits, we might be returned to office when the present Government have had a little more rope. (Laughter and cheers.) Under such circumstances there might be a temptation to form a Government purely of resistance, but what would be the result? It would be merely to build a dam against which the waters would be piled up in ever-increasing volume. Sooner or later the dam would burst, and the floods would break forth with a destructive violence which would spread devastation and ruin over the land. Burke once said, "A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman." If our countrymen ever entrust us with power it is in that spirit that we shall undertake the trust.

AGAINST WELSH DISENDOWMENT.

Parliament is now asked to intervene to cause the weakening of a great Church by depriving it of its endowments, and in an age of materialism, when, if anyone chooses to go to Hyde Park, for instance, he will find many orators, but will find always that the orator with the largest audience is he that preaches the doctrine that there is no God. I cannot understand how anyone can willingly impair, if not destroy, the usefulness of a Church which is admittedly doing a great work and doing it with ever-increasing effectiveness, a work which is indeed in the interests of Christianity, but is also in the interests of humanity.

AGAINST IRISH NATIONALIST DOMINATION.

If Nationalist members judged British questions and voted on British questions on their merits, they would be just as much entitled as any other members of the House to make their influence felt. They do nothing of the kind, and they pretend to do nothing of the kind. I myself heard the Leader of the

Party say in the House of Commons practically this (I have the exact words in my pocket if anyone would like to hear them), that neither he nor his friends knew anything or cared anything about British political questions. Well, ladies and gentlemen, if they know nothing and care nothing about British politics, is it not utterly intolerable that they should dominate British politics?

AGAINST HOME RULE.

The sole ground on which, as it seems to me, Home Rule is defended is the nationality of Ireland; but people do not become a nation because they happen to live in the same island. If there is one nation in Ireland, there are two; and two separated from each other far more acutely than either is separated from the people of Great Britain. To one of these sections Home Rule may seem a boon; to the other it comes not merely as a grievance, but as an intolerable curse. The minority have declared that under existing circumstances they will not submit to such a Government (to wit, of the majority of Irishmen). Their moral force in taking up this attitude is incalculably increased by the fact that they will say, and will be entitled to say, that this intolerable tyranny, as they regard it, is being forced upon them against the will of the majority of their fellow-citizens in the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) If the Government really attempt to carry out the programme which they have so light-heartedly sketched, then in my belief, and this will be my last word to you on this subject, they will stretch our Parliamentary institutions to the breaking point. (Cheers.)

"WE ARE NOT THE PARTY OF THE RICH."

We are not the party of privilege. It is our aim, as it was Disraeli's consistent aim throughout his long life, to belong to a party not of a class, but of the nation. We are not the party of the rich. We realise as strongly as any man that the greatness of a nation does not depend upon the number, but upon the character of its people, and that character cannot be formed except under good social conditions. (Cheers.) During the last ten years there has been a great increase in the total wealth of this country, but, as we know from information supplied by the Board of Trade, the position of the working classes has not improved; it has actually deteriorated. During that period there has been a rise of nearly 10 per cent. in the cost of living, and there has been no rise in wages. That is in itself a sufficient explanation for discontent.

TARIFF REFORM AS A WAGE-RAISER.

In my belief the greatest of all social reforms would be to raise the general level of wages in this country, and in that way not so much to help the working classes directly as to put them in a position to help themselves. I believe that a change in our fiscal system will tend to produce that result. I have defended that change now for many years, and, however mistaken I may have been, I have never put forward any claim in which I did not in my heart believe. I do not pretend that a change in our fiscal system will cure all evils, but I do contend that it will help the greatest of our social evils—chronic unemployment. For this claim there is at least some justification. I believe that a change in our fiscal system will tend to raise wages; but this at least is certain, that without such a change a general rise is absolutely impossible. (Cheers.)

THE VITAL UNION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

I was born in Canada, and spent the early years of my life there. Whatever may be my disqualifications for the post which I now hold—and no one feels them so strongly as I do—that at least is not a disqualification; it is an advantage. For twenty-five years the determination to maintain the Union of the United Kingdom has given a name to our party—we are the Unionist Party. But ours is now a larger Unionism; it is for us not only to preserve but to create; it is for us to maintain, and we shall maintain, in spite of the lowering clouds which now threaten us, the integrity of the United Kingdom, but it is for us also to create a vital union of the British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

AGAINST THE PETROL TAX.

At the overflow meeting Mr. Bonar Law supplemented his first speech by attacking the petrol tax:—

This tax was imposed, not merely on pleasure cars—it was imposed on vehicles of all kinds employed in industry. You know there was recently a strike in London of taxi-cab drivers. The last time I was in a cab of that kind I asked the driver how much petrol he used each week. He told me it was about thirty gallons. That means, therefore, that this man—and, if the others used the same quantity, every one of them—paid the State each week close on four shillings in taxation. Can any one imagine a form of taxation which is more absurd and more unjust? It is taxation, to begin with, on locomotives, but it is also the taxation of industry and, worst of all, it is the taxation of labour.

FOR THE COCOA DUTIES.

Now consider the tax they propose to take off. It is the cocoa duties. (Laughter.) Why do they do it? Nobody pretends—at least I do not think anyone can honestly pretend—that the taking off of these duties will benefit any man, woman, or child in the United Kingdom. They cannot deny that the existence of these duties has greatly helped that industry, and has enabled the men and women who work in it to work under much better conditions than the average of labour throughout the country. Why, then, do they take it off? Because it is bad at election times. To them may be applied the words—as well as I can remember they were once used by Carlyle about a Chancellor of the Exchequer in France just before the Revolution—"Unhappy only that so much talent and industry were necessary to gain the post, that neither talent nor industry were left over to qualify for the post." (Laughter and cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, if this Government were as good at fulfilling the duties of their office after they had secured it, as they are in securing it, we should now have been living under the best of Governments instead of under his Majesty's present officers. (Loud cheers.)

On the whole a good party speech from a good party man, who judiciously refrained from saying a word more than it was absolutely necessary for him to say upon any topic except those upon which it was impossible for him to keep silent. Note, for instance, his absolute silence about foreign affairs, his cautious reserve in speaking about the reform of the House of Lords, his avoidance of all allusion either to food taxes or to the Referendum. Mr. Law promises to be a leader of the W. H. Smith type, who, compared to leaders like Disraeli and Balfour, are as the ox is to Pegasus.

[So I had written before Mr. Bonar Law spoke in Monday's debate on Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons. I take it back. Mr. W. H. Smith could never have made a speech like that. It was, in some respects, better than anything Mr. Balfour has given us.]

Francis McCullagh, of Tripoli.

IN 1876 an Irishman in the service of the British and American press paralysed the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, destroyed the traditional alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, and created Bulgaria. His name was MacGahan.

In 1911 we have again the apparition of an Irishman in the service of the British and American Press who has exercised and is exercising a potent influence upon the policy of Great Britain, and who may yet make as notable an imprint upon the pages of the history of the Near East as his great predecessor. I refer to Francis McCullagh—McCullagh of Tripoli.

Mr. McCullagh.

MacGahan three months after the atrocities in Bulgaria visited the decaying remains of the victims of the massacre. He described what he saw accurately, vividly, like a photographic camera with a heart in it, and the picture which he held up before the eyes of a shuddering world rendered possible Mr. Gladstone's great campaign.

McCullagh had the advantage over MacGahan that he saw the atrocities in progress. Not three months after the event, but as an actual eye-witness on the spot, he saw the massacres as they were being carried out. He had a photographic camera and photographed the murderers and their victims. A host of other correspondents had reported the facts briefly. McCullagh reported them in detail, and backed up his narrative by handing in his papers, as he refused any longer to be associated with an army which had degenerated into a band of assassins. Hence the immediate and far-reaching effect of his testimony.

It is illogical, no doubt, but the fact is indisputable that the atrocities committed by the panic-stricken Italian soldiery in the oasis of Tripoli created a greater popular revulsion of feeling against Italy than was roused by her buccaneering expedition to Africa. The real crime, of course, was the war. The atrocities were only an incident of the war. A burglar breaks into my house and incidentally kills one of my children in trying to avoid capture. The murder was only an unanticipated corollary of the housebreaking. But the burglar would be hanged for the murder, whereas he would only have been sent to penal servitude for the burglary. So it is in the rough and ready tribunal of public opinion. The Italians are execrated throughout the world for the massacre, which was merely a collateral and undesired accident resulting from their raid on Tripoli, just as the British public revolted against the Turkish Alliance merely because they suddenly realised one of the normal and constantly recurring incidents of Ottoman rule in Europe.

It is this fact which has invested the personality of Mr. McCullagh with such interest both in the Old World and the New. That the massacres took place is a fact the evidence for which does not depend solely on his testimony. The *Times* correspondent, Reuter's correspondent, the correspondents of the *Daily Mail*, of the *Daily Mirror*, of the *Figaro*, of the *Lokalanzeiger*, and of five other German papers, to say nothing of the English lieutenants serving with the Turkish forces, all attested the grim reality of the three days' massacre which the Italians are now attempting to deny. Of course it is impossible to prove the exact number who perished. It is generally placed at 4,000, more or less, and of these 400 are said to be women and children. The fact that the Italian soldiers shot every Arab at sight without the slightest regard to their guilt or innocence is not denied; it is, indeed, even admitted indirectly by the excuses made by the Italian authorities, and whether 4,000 perished or only 1,000 is a mere matter of detail. There was the same unprofitable controversy as to the number of the Bulgarians slaughtered at Batak. The numbers ran much higher then, and only those who do not remember MacGahan's reports can ever say that the Tripoli atrocities outdo the Bulgarian horrors. But, after all deductions are made for exaggeration, the fact remains that the Italian army got out of hand, and that the soldiers were allowed, if not encouraged, by their officers to violate the rules of civilisation by shooting unarmed non-combatants, surrendered prisoners, women and children, three days after the fight in which the Italians were nearly worsted.

The Tripoli atrocities impressed the imagination of the world, and Mr. Francis McCullagh was the man who rendered it possible for that impression to be made. Hence the universal interest in Mr. McCullagh. Who is this man whose ready pen, whose fearless spirit, and whose presence in the firing line rendered it possible to make the great public realise the criminality of the plunder-raid on Tripoli?

I.—THE MAN.

Francis McCullagh was born in Omagh in the year 1874. He comes of a good old Tyrone Catholic family, and was educated by the Christian Brothers and at St. Columb's College in Derry. As soon as he left college he took to journalism. After a brief apprenticeship in Scotland and in Bradford, he decided he would try his fortune further afield. After twelve months' newspaper work in Britain he started on his adventurous career by going to Ceylon when a mere lad to see whether he could find the lowest rung on the ladder which would lead him to fame and fortune. He landed in Ceylon with £2 in his pocket and no engagement, but he soon become attached to a local paper, on which he worked for about a year. Colombo was deadly dull, however, so he went on to Siam.

HIS DÉBUT IN SIAM.

In those days—now some twenty years distant—Siam was one of the Tom Tiddler's grounds of international politics. Lord Rosebery, it will be remembered, was within an ace of declaring war on France over the Siamese question. Francis McCullagh had gravitated by a process of natural law to the centre of the danger zone for the time being. He accepted the post of sub-editor of the *Siam Free Press*, which at that time was edited by an Irishman, Mr. Lillie, who also filled the post of correspondent of the *New York Herald*. It was just about the time three French gunboats forced their way up the Menam, smashing the Paknam forts *en route* and anchoring near the Royal Palace, where of course the greatest consternation reigned, the Crown treasure being hastily transferred to bullock-carts in order to be carried into the interior, and everything being in the greatest confusion. Among other exciting things that happened at this time, a French warship cruising in the Gulf of Siam fired a shot across the bows of a British cruiser steaming with lights out—an incident which might have had serious consequences if the French captain had not had the good sense to make a humble apology.

ADVENTURES IN BANGKOK.

Within a month of Mr. McCullagh's arrival in Bangkok he had the good luck to find himself in sole charge of the paper. His chief had offended the local powers that be by the telegrams he sent to the Paris *Herald*, describing incidents on the Eastern frontier, in which the French and Siamese troops were occasionally in collision. Mr. Lillie's cables excited the Parisians, and by way of preventing a continuance of his irritating telegrams, King Chulalongkorn expelled Mr. Lillie. Seven days were given him to clear out of the country. On his departure Francis McCullagh found himself in the proud position of being editor-manager and head reporter of the *Siam Free Press*, and local correspondent of the *New York Herald*—sending his despatches discreetly *via* Singapore. Speaking of these days of juvenile omnipotence, Mr. McCullagh says:—

"My lack of journalistic experience brought me into trouble sometimes. If I found anyone committing a crime I generally spoke out my mind about it, whether the case was *sub judice* or not. As a result I was a frequent visitor in the British Consular Court: once because of something I wrote of a Eurasian accused of abducting an Irish girl called Donoghue; on another occasion because I made an onslaught on a Siamese Prince accused of maltreating a little girl. On both these occasions I came before Mr. Archer, then British Consul in Bangkok, and now, I believe, adviser to the Siamese Legation in London. On every occasion, somehow or other, I got off scot-free. I don't know how Mr. Archer managed it. He probably took into consideration my extreme youth and my good intentions. As a result of these controversies, however, the Siamese Attorney-General threatened to horsewhip me, whereupon, as he was a big man, I considered it necessary to buy my first revolver. The Attorney-General never carried out his threat."

JOURNALISING IN JAPAN.

When the Siam question was settled amicably between England and France, Mr. McCullagh scented news in the Farther East. Japan had just concluded her victorious campaign against China, and although peace had been signed, there was still a smell of powder in the air. Leaving Bangkok, Mr. McCullagh made his way to Tokyo in the hopes that he would find a berth of some kind. He was not disappointed. He obtained a situation as the only European on the staff of the *Japan Times*. Being in Japan, he lived for the first six months as the Japanese did, subsisting on rice, dispensing with chairs or tables, and, in short, acclimatising himself as completely as possible. He learned Japanese, and then, foreseeing the inevitable, set himself to learn Russian. He found a competent and obliging teacher in the Rev. Sergei Gleboff, Chaplain of the Russian Legation at Tokyo.

EDITOR IN PORT ARTHUR.

McCullagh remained on the *Japan Times* for four years. Then he felt the time had come for another change. War was brewing in Manchuria. Russia was certain that she could prevent it. McCullagh knew better, for he knew the Japanese, and it was Japan, not Russia, that decided the issue of peace or war. He went to Port Arthur and for six months served on the staff of a Russian paper, the *Novi Krai*. He soon saw that war was close at hand, and that when war came his chance would come with it. He wrote to several London papers and to the *New York Herald* pointing out that a conflict was certainly coming. None of the English papers replied, but the *New York Herald*, with whom he had already had some connection, believed him, engaged him, and wired him one thousand pounds to go on with.

HIS FIRST SUCCESS AS WAR CORRESPONDENT.

The result justified their enterprise. The *New York Herald* had a man on the spot from the first, and it was able to beat all its rivals. Mr. McCullagh was the only man to report the first Japanese attack on Port Arthur. He thus describes his first great "scoop" as war correspondent :—

"I was on board a small British vessel called the *Columbia*, anchored among the Russian battleships in the outer harbour of Port Arthur, when, on the night of February 8th, 1904, Togo's torpedo-boats made their first mad dash. The *Columbia* trembled with the violence of the explosion and I fell out of bed. Next morning the Japanese attacked with their whole fleet, and as shells were falling all around us—one even went through the British flag flying at our mast-head—old Captain Anderson decided to move. But the Russians refused him permission to leave, and placed two armed soldiers on board so as to make sure that he remained, for they were evidently afraid of his carrying to the Japanese news of the torpedoing of three vessels, of the damage done to the others, and of the exact position of the Russian ships.

"But it soon became evident to all of us that if we remained where we were a shell would surely hit us, for the surface of the sea was dotted with falling projectiles as the surface of a pond is dotted with falling raindrops in a thunderstorm. Of course it was not quite so bad as that, but to our excited imaginations it was even worse, and as a matter of fact the danger was great. We decided to make a dash for it, but first of all we had to dispose of the Russian soldiers on board. Our plan was to suddenly throw ourselves on them in a body and wrest their arms from them, but on coming to where they stood on guard we found only the rifles. The soldiers, frightened by the deafening uproar, had gone below, as near the bottom of the boat as they could get, and were praying and crossing themselves at a great rate. Without more ado we got up steam and never stopped till we reached Chefoo. Chefoo knew nothing of the great events which had taken place on the other side of the bay. To quote my own account of my landing in that little Treaty Port :—

> As I hurried towards the telegraph office I laughed hilariously at the utter sleepiness and respectability of that staid little outport, which reminded me strongly of some obscure English village on a wet Sunday afternoon, for I knew that I carried news which would stir it like an earthquake. The telegraph office was as silent as a church in the Romney marshes on a week-day. An invisible clock ticked loudly, and an old woman was explaining a telegram to a pale, bored-looking clerk, who gazed at me reproachfully when I came in, judging doubtless from my appearance that I was—well, that I was not quite sober. In ten minutes more that clerk rushed out from his sanctum with flushed face and gripped me in silence by the hand."

THROUGH THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN.

No sooner had McCullagh got his telegram off than he returned to the Russian army. He attached himself to the staff of the famous Russian Cossack General Mischenko, and rode with the Cossacks through all the battles of the war until he was captured after Mukden and taken prisoner to Japan. Mr. McCullagh told the story of his adventures in a book published by Eveleigh Nash in 1906 entitled "With the Cossacks ; being the Story of an Irishman who Rode with the Cossacks throughout the Russo-Japanese War." A friend of his says it is difficult to get him to talk about himself :—

> Yet he was in the thick of the first bombardment of Port Arthur by Togo's fleet, running the gauntlet of that tremendous cannonade in the little trading steamer *Columbia*. He stood on the hill of Shushan when its peak became the centre of the greatest bombardment the world had ever seen ; he was all through Mischenko's famous raid ; the only foreigner with the Cossack army, he was voluntarily amongst the last to leave Mukden when the Russians fell back before the relentless advance of the Japanese legions, and he shared with the Russian rearguard all the horrors of that terrible and disastrous rout.

WITH THE COSSACKS.

As another friend wrote in the *Daily Mail* of the MacGahan of the Twentieth Century :—

> McCullagh, spectacled, slightly built, youthful-looking, and shy mannered, earned high reputation during the Russo-Japanese war as one of the bravest and most reckless of adventurers. Even in the Russian army, where the love of adventure for adventure's sake is at its greatest, his name is remembered to-day as that of a man foremost in the most dangerous advance and last to retreat.

His book, which he wrote and published after his release from his captivity in Japan, achieved an instant and commanding success. He was recognised as the Verestchagin of war correspondents. Said one among a host of admiring reviewers :—

> The reader for the first time realises what the war meant. He understands all the horrors, all the heroism, all the madness involved. A picture here, a picture there, without any connected narrative or elaborate discussion, leaves an ineffaceable impression.

REALITIES OF WAR.

Mr. McCullagh enjoyed the war, but the retreat from Mukden was almost too much for him :—

"During the retreat from Mukden I happened to be with a Russian rearguard which was surrounded, shelled, and forced to surrender. This was the worst experience I had of war up to that time, for during a terrible night march which preceded our capture we passed hundreds of soldiers lying wounded and dying on the ground. I put one wounded soldier on my horse, but both horse and soldier disappeared before daybreak, and I was never able to trace them again. But I was not sorry to lose a good horse in the cause of charity, especially as that horse belonged not to me but to the *New York Herald*. With the detachment of the Japanese Imperial Guard which forced us to surrender next morning I found many old friends—Colonel Hume, a British *attaché* with the Japanese ; Colonel Crowder, American ; Major von Etzel, German ; Mr. Collins, an American journalist, now chief of the American Associated Press Bureau in London. On hearing of the numbers of Russian wounded who were dying from the intense cold, Collins went out to try and rescue some of them.

He had an awful experience. In a remote part of the plain he came across a huge young Russian badly wounded and unable to walk. For over an hour Collins tried his utmost to lift that unfortunate youth on to his horse, but the Russian was very heavy, while Collins is small and slight. To crown all, the horse was one of those extremely restive Japanese animals, there was no tree to tie it to, and there was no help in sight. Only the dreary, deserted, and frozen plain of Manchuria stretched out in all directions. Finally Collins had to abandon the struggle. He gave the Russian his brandy flask, and the two men grasped hands in silence. They could not speak each other's language, but the tears in both their eyes said all that was necessary to say. When Collins came back with help the Russian had been frozen to death."

IN TURKEY.

After his release Mr. McCullagh came to Europe, and accompanied Count Witte to Portsmouth, in the United States, where peace was signed. He returned with Count Witte to Russia, and witnessed the later scenes of the Russian revolution. He acted as Russian correspondent of the *New York Times* for three years. Russia then became too quiet for his restless spirit. The Turkish revolution attracted him to the Balkan peninsula, where he travelled through Bosnia, Montenegro, Servia, and Bulgaria. His usual good luck never failed him, for he found himself in Constantinople when the counter-revolution was engineered from Yildiz Kiosk. He witnessed the triumphal entry of Mahmoud Shefket Pasha at the head of the Macedonian army. He was then corresponding for the *New York Times*. In 1910 Methuen published his book, "The Fall of Abdul Hamid," to which Mahmoud Shefket contributed a preface. This also was well received. It is one of the best narratives of the end of the Hamidian reign.

Soon after he returned to London he was off to Lisbon to describe the Portuguese revolution. On behalf of the *New York World* he thrice visited Spain and Portugal, keeping watch on the Royalists, who were intriguing for a restoration.

AT AGADIR.

Then he was despatched to Agadir, after the *Panther*. He says:—

"I was promptly expelled from Agadir by Kaid Gilhooley, a Moorish chief, who is evidently of Hibernian descent, for, though a Mohammedan and as black as a coal, he keeps St. Patrick's Day, possesses a most pugnacious disposition, and wears a green turban which looks like an old National League flag. I am also afraid that Gilhooley drinks, for I presented him with a bottle of alleged Irish whisky which I had bought at Casablanca in the shop of an Italian Jew. On discovering on this bottle the alarming legend 'Made in Poland,' I decided to present it to the Kaid, since, being a Mohammedan, he would not taste it. Gilhooley accepted it with alacrity, and said that he wanted to keep it as a curio. But I am afraid that he must have sampled it, and that this accounted for the sudden change in his attitude towards me, for in a wild burst of fury he expelled me. I am glad that I got off with my life, for that whisky must have been awful stuff."

Mr. McCullagh described his adventures on the Morocco coast in the *Westminster Gazette*. On his return from Africa the *New York World* sent him off to Tripoli to report the Italian invasion. Hence he was on the spot when the massacres of October took place.

II.—HIS TESTIMONY.

Of what he saw and heard and did in Tripoli it is best to let him tell his own story as he told it in the Memorial Hall, London, on Monday night, November 20.

I was in the chair, or at least on the platform, for owing to the excitability and volubility of the Italians present I was as often on my legs appealing for order as in the chair.

Mr. McCullagh (received with loud cheers), said:—

"I am not going to deliver an oration. I come here as a witness. I have been brought here by two policemen. One is my own conscience, the other is the chairman.

"I am not pro-Arab nor anti-Italian. I went to Tripoli from Morocco, where the Arabs had given me no reason to love them, and when I got to Tripoli my imagination was powerfully impressed by the return of the Italians to their old colony after an absence of some one thousand five hundred years. Tripoli was for a long time a Roman colony. One of the Cæsars was born there. In the town of Tripoli is a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius. It has, by the way, been converted into a shop, over which is displayed a signboard indicating that it is a cinematograph show. The only business carried on inside, however, is the sale of intoxicating liquor.

"At the corner of every street there are splendid Roman pillars built into the walls. My imagination would indeed have been sluggish if it had not been excited by the return of the race which had built those eternal Roman roads, raised those tall and lonely aqueducts in the desert, erected those splendid temples to the Roman gods. I was so impressed that I did the most risky thing I ever did as a war correspondent: I wrote poetry. (Laughter.)

"A man with such feelings cannot be described as anti-Italian. Judging, however, by the fact that a few moments before I came here I was challenged to a duel by an Italian gentleman, it is evident that I am regarded in some quarters as a bitter enemy of Italy. (Italian interruption.) Ladies and gentlemen, it is love of Italy which makes me speak as I do and makes me write as I do. (Loud cheers.) The worst enemies of Italy are those who try to hush up these horrors—(loud cheers)—and would leave such a man as General Caneva in command of a gallant army.

"The Italians say that the Arabs fired upon them from the rear. If a man meddles with a bee-hive, and, being stung by the insects, calls them treacherous scoundrels, I only laugh at him.

"But the Italians say the Arabs swore allegiance. Since the world began it has always been the same story. When a strong nation crushes a weaker, there is always somebody in that weaker nation ready to swear allegiance in the name of all his fellows. As a rule he is some discredited and derelict politician.

"Who is the disreputable Arab politician who swore allegiance to the Italians? His name is Hassan Karamanli. He had been bought body and soul years ago by the Italians. When Admiral Ricci landed in Tripoli, Hassan generously presented advantage of the Scotch at Dunbar. It was not the peaceful villagers who fired on the Italian rear on October 23rd; it was the Arabs from the desert who had slipped in and taken advantage of the simplicity of General Caneva. Those men lost their lives, and were glad to lose them.

"I do not blame the Italians for what occurred on the 23rd. Many women and children were accidentally killed then, but that was one of the chances of war. I blame them for what occurred on the 26th. Early in the morning of that day, at five o'clock, I heard a very heavy artillery and rifle fire round the Italian lines. I went out and found that at one place on the east the Italian line had been broken. The men had left the trenches

[Illustrations Bureau.

Women and Children being taken into the Town by Italian Troops: Passing the Bodies of Arabs shot Twenty-four Hours before.

Tripoli to him. What right had he to speak for the Arabs, or even for his own family? He has one son, who is to-day in the desert in charge of the Arab cavalry. (Loud cheers.) A few days before I left Tripoli the father sent a message to his son to come back and accept honour and wealth at the hands of the Italians. What was his answer? He said, 'I will come back, but it will be at the head of my Arabs, and when I come *you* will be the first man I shall hang!' (Loud cheers.) And yet General Caneva accepted as spokesman of all the Arabs a man who could not answer for his own family. It was very simple of General Caneva to have done so. He seems to have done it in good faith. But the Arabs cannot be blamed for taking advantage of such simplicity, no more than Cromwell can be blamed for taking similar and were lying behind sandbags. I noticed blue-jackets landed from the ships. The last man was evidently in the firing line. Half-way between the citadel and the Italian front is a large Esparto Grass factory belonging to the Banca di Roma. Round this factory is a village inhabited exclusively by the employés of the mill. They were miserable people, living in a very poor way. While some Italian reinforcements were passing this village on the way to the front on October 26th several shots were fired. I do not know who fired them. It is said that one Italian soldier was wounded in the leg. I never could find that soldier. For those shots over four thousand people lost their lives. (Loud cries of 'Shame.') The massacre began in that village. It lasted for three days, and extended through the oasis. (Italian

voice: 'Where do you get your figures?') I have my figures from various sources, including French and German sources. (Sarcastic cries of 'Ah! Ah!') It was a sudden transition from criminal negligence to criminal severity. I shall tell you what I saw. When the village was surrounded and burned down the soldiers were allowed to wander about without supervision and shoot anybody they saw. I saw them do it myself. In the village I found two old, bed-ridden women. They had never in all probability seen a rifle in their lives. It was murder to kill them. I saw a little boy lying on the ground, ill. He had evidently been taken from the house in which he lay. I also saw three other women. Assistance had been refused to them. They were left to die on the bare ground like dogs. And they did die. Gentlemen, I do not call that war. (Loud cheers.)

"For three days the butchery went on. The Italians made a rule of sending messages to the relatives of those who were killed. I was seated one day in the Hotel Minerva. In front of that hotel is a shipping office. A policeman came and called the Arab clerk of that shipping office. He told him his brother had been shot. The grief of that man was terrible to witness. He disappeared next day. Where is he now? He is where every Arab should be, where every man and boy in this audience would be if they were Arabs—he is in the desert with a rifle in his hands. (Loud cheers.)

"The Arabs were declared to be guilty on the flimsiest pretexts. For instance, if a house were searched and a knife found there the owner was put to death. All over North Africa the men wear knives as commonly as men in this country wear socks. Men were put to death because razors and empty cartridges were found in their houses. The proclamation of the admiral calling upon them to give up their arms was ineffective. It was ineffective because no Arab knew of it. I employed an Arab to get information for me, and he knew nothing of this proclamation; and yet for disobedience to it Arabs were shot. That I call most unjust.

"General Caneva speaks of the Arabs mutilating the Italian soldiers. Well, every second officer in the Italian army has a camera, and generally spends most of his time in photographing the murder of little boys. I have seen one refuse to help a boy who was dying at my feet. I have seen one photograph a boy of fourteen placed against a wall to be shot." ("Shame!" Interruption from Italians present. An Italian officer, standing on a chair, asks his compatriots to give order, as *he* will speak later.)

The Chairman, addressing Italians present: "If you are so indignant at what is said, you cannot be surprised that *we* are indignant at what was done!" (Loud cheers.)

Mr. McCullagh: "General Caneva says the Arabs mutilated the bodies of Italian soldiers. I could never find any photographs of such mutilation. I think the Italians would have been very glad to have shown them to me. I have been in Tripoli and outside the Italian lines, but have never seen anything of the kind. Even if it were true that the Arabs violated the rules of war, must General Caneva do the same? General Caneva does not understand the dignity of that mighty name,—Rome. If the Bedouin of the desert does wrong, must Rome follow suit?" (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.)

Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, representing Reuter's, said that he had come only out of friendship for Mr. McCullagh, a gentleman for whom he had the greatest admiration and esteem. "I am glad to support him on this occasion. I have no hostility towards Italy. I am in favour of forgiving and forgetting where it is possible to forgive and forget. The foreign war correspondents in Tripoli would have been glad to forgive and forget all that has been done. If General Caneva and the Italian Government had come forward and said: 'We have erred and regret it, and it shall not occur again,' we would have accepted it and would have done our best to quiet it down. But they would not do so. They called us liars. They say we are animated by hostility, which is utterly ridiculous and absurd. Every war correspondent always does his very best to be on good terms with the army he accompanies. It makes his stay very pleasant. He has means of obtaining information and has a good time. I am glad to support Mr. McCullagh. The wisest course under the circumstances and for the sake of international friendship is that these things should be forgiven and forgotten. And I will tell you why. I found a more general feeling among the Italian officers that they had erred. They admitted that they had done wrong and regretted the occurrences. Pass a vote of censure on the Italian Government and on General Caneva, but in fairness spare the rank and file of the army, who are sorry for what has occurred." (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman said:—"No one can listen unmoved to an appeal for forgiveness and forgetfulness. We will respond. We will forgive and we will forget when the crime has been repented of and security taken against its repetition." (Loud cheers.)

SLIDES SHOWN BY MR. McCULLAGH.

1. General map of affected area.
2. Tripoli and district.
3. Comparative map showing relative size of Tripoli, Turkey and Italy.
4. One of the forts.
5. Another view, showing effects of artillery fire.
6. Same fort, with view of one large Krupp gun which was left behind by the Turks. "The Italians have been capturing this gun for the last month."
7. The English officer, Lieutenant Montagu. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)
8. Part of the oasis.
9. Shows task in which Italians are engaged. They are bombarding the desert. It is expensive work. Every ten-inch shell costs £100. Could

Italy not find some better way to spend this money at home? They are bombarding the desert. The only answer they get is the whistling of the Sahara wind and the crack of the Turkish rifles out among the distant sand-hills.

10. Edge of the oasis.

11. View of oasis and desert.

12. Trench. Soldiers facing both ways so as to be prepared for an attack from the town as well as for an attack from the desert.

13–18. Edge of oasis. Italians in trench, firing at enemy.

19. Soldiers breaking into Arab house.

20. Soldiers hunting through oasis, shooting every Arab they see. (Interruption from Italians. The Chairman: "They have not seen it before, and are wincing under the exhibition of the barbarity of their countrymen.")

21. Arabs being searched.

22. "All the men in this crowd were shot." (Interruption from Italians.) The Chairman: "My dear Italian officer, you are under my orders. I am colonel of this regiment." (Cheers.)

23. Number of prisoners.

24. Number of prisoners. "These people were collected by private soldiers, placed against a wall, and shot. There was no sign of justice; there was no trial. The *New York American* says that there was justice, that there were trials, and, to prove its point, publishes a photograph of an Arab being tried. This was the only formal trial that took place. It was held because the accused was a *kavass* of the German Consulate, and the Italians had therefore to consider the feelings of their great ally."

25. Number of Arabs led out to be shot.

26. Group of Arabs being led out for execution.

27. Same thing again. (Renewed interruption. The Chairman: "If we may judge from the cynical brutality of these interruptions we must consider that if he had been in Tripoli he would probably have been as brutal and barbarous as anybody.")

28. Servant of German Consul. Young man, eighteen years of age. Was accused of having killed Italian soldier. Died very bravely.

29. Trial of same Arab.

30. Same trial. "I saw what looked like a blood-stained cloth on the head of this youth inside the white Arab hood, which had been carefully drawn over his head by the soldiers. He was not wounded when arrested."

31. "Execution of this Arab. Soldiers all missed. Had to fire thirty-eight shots before they killed him."

32. "Here they have shot him at last. It was a brutal exhibition."

33. Two Arabs condemned to die.

34. Mr. McGee of the *Daily Mirror*.

Illustrations Bureau.

A Heap of Arabs Executed by the Italians on October 26.

35. Two prisoners. These prisoners were not well treated. An Italian soldier struck one right in the face with all his force. They may have deserved to die, but ought not to have been treated like dogs.

36. Young men. Led to edge of desert. Told they could go into the desert. They walked slowly forward, and the Italian soldiers shot at them from the trenches. Sometimes a soldier went to finish them off with his bayonet.

(More interruption. The Chairman again remonstrates adding, "I have given you fair warning, and I shall have to send for the police to have you removed." Continued interruption. "It is understood that anyone who feels aggrieved can come on this platform and say what he has to say.")

37. Arab prisoner. Notice how he laughs as he is being led out to his death.

38. Fifty men and boys who were shot. "Most ghastly business ever I witnessed. This is whence I get my figures!"

39. Same group.

40. "Two corpses of men killed by an Italian private soldier. I do not like mentioning it, but the soldier uncovered one in such a way that the photographer could not take it in any other direction. The bodies lay there on the street for twenty-four hours. Arab women and children were afterwards led along this road by the Italian soldiery, so as to enjoy, I presume, the view of their dead bodies."

41. Another group. Five men and one boy. Awful blood-splash on wall.

42. Arab ladies being led by Italian soldiers down a road littered with corpses of their own countrymen. Procession headed by a boy twelve years of age. Mr. McCullagh wished to photograph this boy on account of the fact that, though a Mohammedan, he carried in his hand a little white flag whereon was embroidered a red cross. When Mr. McCullagh approached, the boy fell into a panic, dropped on his knees, and thought Mr. McCallagh was an Italian who was about to murder him.

43. Mr. Grant, of *Daily Mirror*, expelled from Tripoli. Took the picture last shown—the picture where Arab women are being led past the bodies of their dead fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons.

44. More dead Arabs.

45. Another dead Arab.

46. Soldier standing over an Arab who is not quite dead. The soldier is slipping another cartridge into his rifle. Last slide. (Loud applause for Mr. McCullagh).

[L.N.A.

A Position of Infinite Importance in Tripoli: The Wells in the Oasis.

Italian soldiers filling their flasks with water at Bumeliana. This spot provides the only large source of water in the entire district, and is jealously guarded against attack from the Turkish troops.

Current History in Caricature.

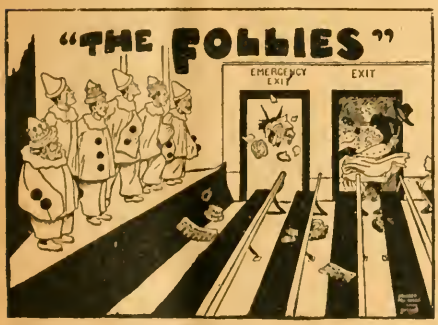
"My friends, what is peace? Is it war? No."

Lord Haldane as "Mr. Chadband."

THE foreign cartoons this month are largely devoted to the war in Tripoli, although Morocco, with its consequent international rivalries, has not yet quite disappeared from the comic press. The Chinese revolution, of course, provides very good material for the caricaturist, and the recent indiscretions of the German Crown Prince in the Reichstag have not been overlooked. The cartoon on p. 572 from a Dutch paper is the best on this subject. At home, the Christmas numbers of *Punch* and *Truth* provide us with a good deal of merriment. *Punch* is an excellent number; especially good is the double page of sketches of well-known men in the characters which it is suggested they might assume in accepting invitations to Mr. Punch's Literary Costume Ball. We reproduce two of these to show with what a pretty humour Mr. Bernard Partridge has invested his subjects. *Truth* surveys the political situation under the title of the Durb-Arabian Nights, and the caricature of the well-known poster advertising "The Follies" is cleverly and effectively made to do duty for the exit of Mr. Balfour, while the Halsbury Club look on from the stage.

"I don't like London."

Father Bernard Vaughan as "the Private Secretary."



From "Truth" Christmas Number.]

The Opposition Follies.

(With apologies to Mr. H. G. Pélissier.)

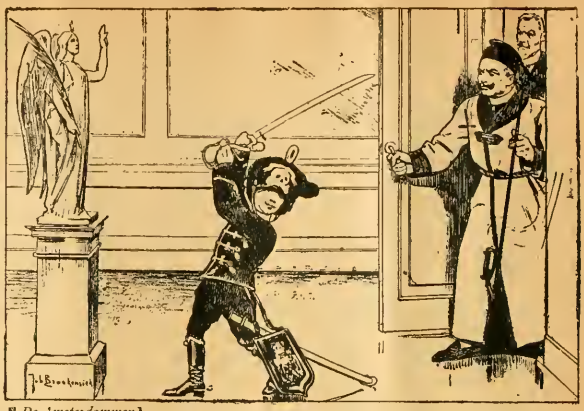
By permission of the proprietors of "Punch."]

Overdoing It.

JOHN BULL: "Is that the lot?"

Nebelspalter.] [Zurich.

Will It Come to This?



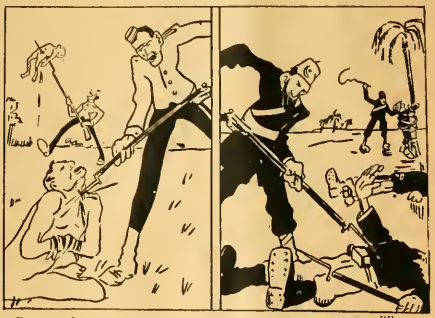
De Amsterdammer.]

His Father's Sword.

KAISER: "Hand over that sword, young man; you will be doing some damage!"

Minneapolis Journal.]

Trouble All Along the Beat.



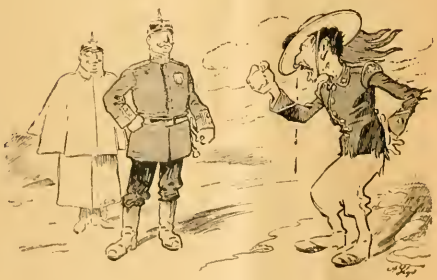
Pasquino.] [Turin.

An Italian View

Of why England sympathises with the Turks.

Spokesman-Review.]

"Pa, that Roosevelt boy has been thumping us again."



Kladderadatsch.] [Berlin.

Revenge.

ITALY (to Germany): "The next time you try to steal anything from Turkey I will supply him with a Goltz-Pasha as instructor."

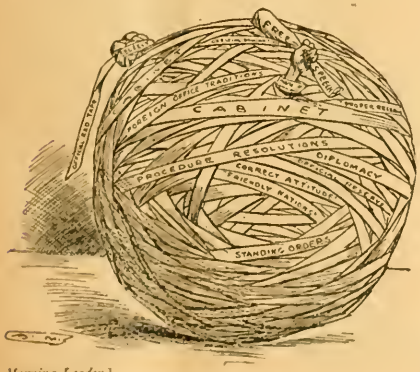
Hampshire Observer.]

"All of a Shiver."

CAPTAIN F——R: "What about the Navy, old boy? Everything in order?"

BRITISH LION: "I dunno'; I've just read your speech here, and I'm all of a shiver!"

CAPTAIN F——R: "You *are?* Thank goodness Winston isn't I. *He'll* look after you!"



Morning Leader.]

Tied with Red Tape.

Suggested by some recent attempts to secure a discussion in the House of Commons on foreign policy.

Lepracaun.] [Dublin.

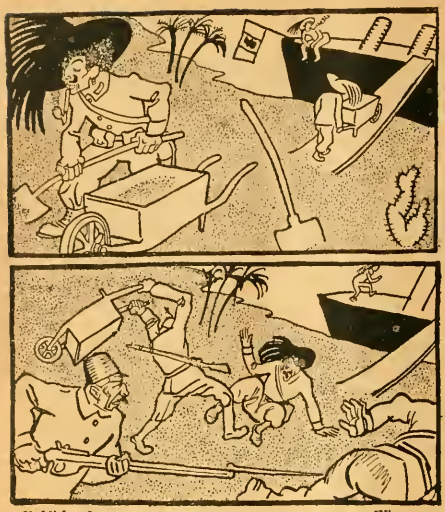
The Real Unionists.

JOHN BULL: "Notwithstanding all I have heard to the contrary, I find these people so harmonious that I am now determined to leave them to manage their own business in their own way."

Pasquino.] [Turin.

After the Moroccan Settlement.

FRANCE: "At last I have recovered the war indemnity of 1870."



Glühlichter.] [Vienna.

A Disturbed Idyll.

1. The Italians begin peacefully to load sand in Tripoli to send to Italy.
2. Suddenly some interfering Turks interrupt this happy occupation, and the Italians are obliged to retire.

Nebelspalter.] [Zurich.

Beware of the Dog!

"You are requested not to worry the animal."

Tokyo Puck.]

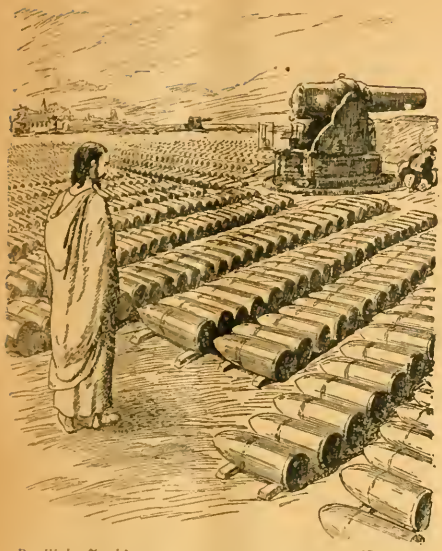
Trouble on the International Train.

France and Germany are represented as scowling at each other, but a train is not a fit place in which to draw the sword; although the Turk and Italian have drawn the sword and risked the fear of an economic catastrophe.

Sydney Bulletin.]

Selecting His Best Hat.

"You ungrateful young varmint! Seein' as 'ow you ain't worn this 'at before, an' ain't supposed t' know nothink about anythink, just take wot I've chosen for yer, and shut up!"



Der Wahre Jacob.] [Stuttgart.

The Christian World of 1911.

Hindi Punch.] [Bombay.

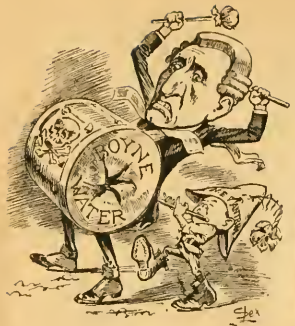
The Bear's Opportunity.

Minneapolis Journal.]

The Revolution in China.

National Review.] [China.

"When Greek Meets Greek!"



Lepracaun.] [Dublin.

"Ulster will Fight" (?)

SIR EDWARD CARSON: "There must be something wrong with this historic instrument. In the good old days the slightest tap used to produce the necessary roit."

NORTH-EAST CORNER-BOY: "No matter, Ned; keep up your heart and pound away, and I'll give 'em 'Croppies lie down!'"

De Amsterdammer.]

THE CHINESE EMPEROR: "Oh, Yuan, my poor rocking-horse!"

YUAN SHIH-KAI: "Let's see if we cannot mend it with this mixture of blood and diplomacy."

Nebelspalter.] [Zurich.

An Unequal Contest.

Lustige Blätter.] [Berlin.

From Trajan to Victor Emmanuel.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

THE LEADERS OF THE UNIONIST PARTY.

THERE are two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* concerning the change in the leadership of the Unionist Party—one by "Curio" on "New Leaders for Old," and the other by Mr. Arthur A. Baumann, "The End of the Dual Control."

"Curio" says the bitterest critic of Mr. Balfour will willingly bow his head in the presence of history and acknowledge the greatness of the past. He thinks Mr. Balfour was the greatest Foreign Minister since Pitt. He was an ideal administrator in times of stress, when someone else could supply the democratic backing. When Mr. Balfour took over the Premiership he blundered in his Education policy, and at first he destroyed confidence in his straightforwardness by the way in which he dealt with his colleagues on the Free Trade question. But, although handicapped by this initial failure, in the five subsequent years he re-cemented the party, and brought it up alive and kicking in the interest of Tariff Reform and Empire. He could unite his followers because he could not understand the people. He knew his party better than the people. He avoided Peel's colossal blunder, and preserved the party instrument intact. He fought magnificently against fate in the election of 1910, but the age had marched past and left the great man behind. The Salisburian epoch has gone and taken its arguments with it, and newer and more raucous voices now tickle the popular ear.

By permission of the proprietors of "Punch."

The End of the Day.

"From spur to plume a star of tournament."
—*The Passing of Arthur.*

The physical conditions of leadership in a hustling age have become too onerous, but "Curio" thinks that Mr. Balfour will make his power more widely and adequately felt. His relation to politics and to party have reached that ideal stage where all his merits will shine out and his defects cease to count. "Curio" regrets that Mr. Austen Chamberlain was not selected as Leader, but he rejoices in the nomination of Mr. Bonar Law, who, if he represents no particular past, is none the less likely to possess a tremendous future. There is a feeling abroad that at last the party has found not only a great intellect, but a man. "Curio" exhorts Mr. Law to adopt these four mottoes: Believe in Men; Distrust Bureaucracies; Trust the Democracy; Believe in Yourself.

Mr. Arthur A. Baumann, in his paper on "The End of the Dual Control," says that Mr. Balfour has simply broken down under the intemperate demands of Demos upon his resources. His retirement closes an unhappy chapter in the history of the Tory Party—a chapter of indecisions, of blunders, and, consequently, of defeats. Mr. Baumann thinks that the fatal, accursed duality of leadership, which began in 1902, was the source of all the Unionist misfortunes. Two men of first-rate ability, each with his own ideas, and each with his own following, tugging in different directions, must break up the strongest party that ever sat at Westminster. As a result of the dual control, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain supported the Education Bill, although he knew it was a blunder. Mr. Balfour was so anxious to retain the support of both Free Traders and Protectionists that he lost the confidence of both. Mr. Baumann rejoices to believe that Mr. Balfour's successor will be untrammelled by the fetters of the ill-starred Coalition. At last the Unionist Party is one and undivided, so far, at all events, as control is concerned. He exhorts Mr. Bonar Law to be the master and not the slave of "the machine." He may win with almost any policy, if he will only run it plainly upon the country. Is Mr. Law going to drop the food taxes, or is he going to run them? If he drops them frankly, an overwhelming Unionist majority at the next election is a certainty. If he decides to run the food taxes, then let him do so clearly, enthusiastically, persistently.

Mr. Baumann concludes his paper by suggesting that Mr. Law might do well to take a secret ballot of

Unionist Members of Parliament, whether they were in favour of taxing wheat, meat, and dairy produce in order to give rebates to Canada and Australia. The result might be as great a surprise as the sudden change of chiefs.

The *Round Table* is fairly well pleased with Mr. Law. It says :—

But he has won great respect in the House of Commons and out of doors on account both of his brains and his character. He is one of the few contemporary speakers whose speeches make interesting reading. There is in them a quality of thought as well as style which distinguishes them and fixes them in the memory. He has been accused of timidity, but chiefly for the reason that in an age of very hasty invective, when allegation often counts as proof, he has refused to take extreme courses if the reasons have appeared to him to be insufficient to warrant it. His words cut and sting and are remembered against him by his victims. He is not a popular choice among his opponents, but that certainly is no reason why he should not make a successful leader—indeed, the presumption is rather in the contrary direction.

ON MR. BALFOUR AS LEADER.

By Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.

In the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Alfred Lyttelton contributes an admirable sketch of Mr. Balfour as leader. It is a sketch that does honour to both persons concerned. Among the factors which have created for Mr. Balfour "ineradicable confidence and regard" he puts first his courage :—

At the bottom of their hearts most Englishmen place courage in the very forefront of a statesman's virtues. Mr. Balfour's administration in Ireland proved to the whole world how pre-eminently that virtue was his. Brave men before him had faced the daily peril of assassination, which told even upon the nerve of Cromwell, with fortitude; but Mr. Balfour, partly perhaps from the detachment due to a disciplined mind and a strong will, faced that peril not only with fortitude, but with a serene indifference.

THINKING ALOUD BEFORE 5,000 HEARERS.

Mr. Lyttelton says Mr. Balfour used the weapons of the Parliamentary debater in a manner unsurpassed in the history of the House of Commons :—

Platform speeches, or introductory speeches in the House expounding large subjects, and designed to brace men's minds to a new policy, really demand, when possible, careful preparation, not only of the thought, but of the form. This preparation Mr. Balfour rarely gives. To think aloud before 5,000 people for an hour or an hour and a half is an amazing feat, and it is one that he has often successfully performed. But it must be admitted that such speeches, though going to the very heart of the subject and always awakening deep interest, have not, with large audiences, the unhindered force of chosen words. Nor, again, does Mr. Balfour get the stimulus which some unstudied speakers derive from their hearers.

"Great caution and wariness are not often associated with unequalled quickness of apprehension, but both are admitted to be part of Mr. Balfour's equipment" :—

In addition to the constant strain of speaking in the House of Commons, he delivered, in 1909, before his illness in December, twenty-five platform speeches; in 1910, which included two General Elections, thirty-seven; in 1911, till the time of his resignation, twenty-five.

Mr. Lyttelton recounts how gradually his opponents in 1906, who for some weeks alternately jeered and bawled, ultimately fell, almost to a man, under the wand of the magician.

HIS CHARM.

Of the universally recognised charm of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Lyttelton writes :—

Mr. Balfour's charm certainly does not consist in anything approaching to indiscriminate geniality, or in any conscious efforts to attract others to him. The circle of friends whom he admits to his confidence is not large, though his "intellectual hospitality" is unstinted and is extended to all genuine inquirers. His colleagues and comrades obtain from him not merely the most chivalrous support in public but, a far rarer thing, the intimate loyalty of his thought. For them his acute mind holds a general retainer for the defence.

THE TRAFFIC IN TITLES.

The tide of public reprobation is slowly but steadily rising against the prostitution of public honours to the exigencies of the Party war-chest. The price at which the various grades of honour could be purchased by subscriptions to the Party funds has been variously whispered for many, many years. Gradually the muttering is coming out into the open, and being heard more loudly. Here in *Pearson's* Mr. James Douglas does not hesitate to put down the scandal in black and white. He not merely states the well-known fact that knighthoods, baronetcies and peerages are purchasable, but there is even a tariff for these titles. The market price, he says, is approximately :—

Knighthood	£15,000
Baronetcy	£30,000
Peerage	£100,000

He tells the story of a wealthy man who was confidentially informed that he could buy a peerage for £80,000. The Party agent was to get a commission of five per cent. for carrying the negotiations through. The man got his peerage, and then refused to pay!

Mr. Douglas even ventures to draw up another table of the ninety-six new peers created during the last ten years :—

Earned Peerages	49
Bought Peerages	37
Doubtful	10
	96

The venality of these methods is making a title the sign of dishonour rather than honour :—

For this reason our distinguished civil servants often submit with genuine reluctance to the degradation of a knighthood which they cannot evade. Some time ago a very eminent public servant told me that his knighthood had brought him more condolences than congratulations.

Front Bench politicians on both sides are parties to this traffic, and consequently engage in a tacit conspiracy to hush the matter up. But only by publicity can the evil be killed. The writer suggests that every voter should insist on every candidate pledging himself to vote for a public audit of the secret Party funds. The system would then be smashed. Or it might be well to organise a national demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission armed with powers to investigate the scandal. He thinks that the advent of George V. to the throne is the time for making the change.

THE ITALIAN RAID ON TRIPOLI.

How It was Engineered and Carried Out.

"Ignotus" has a very instructive and illuminating article in the *Fortnightly Review* on "Italian Nationalism and the War with Turkey."

HOW THE WAR WAS GOT UP.

He regards the attack on Tripoli as the result of a Nationalist agitation, largely journalistic in its origin, which was a reaction against the dominance of the Socialist party, which "has everywhere adopted an attitude of hostility to militarism, Imperialism, and patriotism, and professes to be internationalist and pacificist, and regards class hatred and civil disorders as the only moral and praiseworthy forms of warfare."

Successive Cabinets had been for years under the thumb of the Socialist demagogues. The Nationalist movement seems to have been quite as much directed against Austria as against Turkey. Its first victory was to prohibit emigration to the Argentine Republic. That it was ultimately diverted to Tripoli was due to Agadir. It was not till September 20th that the expedition was finally decided upon. "Ignotus" says:—

> The heart of the whole nation was in the enterprise. Even many prominent Socialists, casting the shackles of party fealty to the winds, declared themselves in favour of the Government's African policy and accepted the occupation of Tripoli as a necessity for the country, while the Clericals were even more enthusiastic.

Humph! We shall be in a better position to speak about that next month.

HOW THE RAID WAS CARRIED OUT.

Mr. Archibald Hurd, in the same Review, has a most comforting and conclusive article showing how the Italian invasion of Tripoli has justified all those who maintain that it is impossible for Germany suddenly to throw 70,000 men on our shores. Italy enjoyed:—

> (1) Absolute and permanent command of the sea;
>
> (2) Over a million tons of steam shipping capable of being utilised for army transport; and
>
> (3) A vast military organisation numbering about one and a quarter million men.
>
> The ultimatum was handed to the Turkish Government on September 28th, when the Italian fleet had already been mobilised for over a week. The first detachment of the expeditionary force was not landed in Tripoli until twelve days later, and the disembarkation was not completed until the 22nd or 23rd of October—*a period of three weeks and four days from the time when the ultimatum was issued*—and even then there is no evidence that all the artillery and stores had been got ashore, so that probably the actual period was at least a month.
>
> Let it be remembered that Italy transported only 25,000 men, that she enjoyed throughout absolute command of the sea, and that the transports had to cover only four or five hundred miles, and what must be the verdict upon Lord Roberts's alarms?
>
> Now Italy has put the last nail in the conspiracy to frighten the British people into a system of compulsory military service which is alien to their temper, opposed to their interests, unnecessary from a defensive point of view, and subversive to the policy on which our relations with Europe now rest.

"EVERY CALCULATION MISCARRIED."

"Kepi," writing from Tripoli, gives in *Blackwood* a full account of the Italian campaign. It will be by no means pleasant reading for Italy. Speaking of the massacres, he says the result was a retribution upon the Arabs which will live in the memory of Tripolitaine for generations, and which will react for many a year upon the perpetrators themselves. In contracting their front and retiring the line about a mile while they cabled to Italy for another infantry division, the Italians, says "Kepi," committed about the two worst military measures that could have been undertaken. The first depressed their troops and elated the enemy: the second will only increase the sickness of the congested army. "In short, every calculation that Italian statesmen made when they decided to engage upon this Tripoli adventure has miscarried." "What Turkey should really hope is that Italy will be driven to land an army either in Anatolia or Macedonia, for as sure as she does this she will pay Turkey a War Indemnity."

VICTORY OR DEATH FOR ITALY.

Dr. Dillon, in the *Contemporary Review*, reports that the governing Turks in Constantinople are confident that they can wait, as time is on their side. Tripoli is five times the size of Italy, but at the present moment Italian soldiers dare not venture to a distance of three miles into the interior. It will take ten to fifteen years of steady work in peace time before Italy can make anything of Tripoli. Dr. Dillon himself, however, says that Italy must at any cost carry on the war until she wins; if she fails to effect annexation she will cease to be a great Power. But he says although the war does not cost the Turks as much as it costs the Italians, nevertheless it has entailed very heavy expenditure and dislocation of trade and industry. He thinks that in the end the Powers will probably compel the Turks to yield.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON'S VIEWS.

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* on Europe and the Mohammedan World, Sir Harry Johnston says that, academically, Italy's action is without any logical defence. The practical plea of the Italian is that Austro-Germany has for the last two years been contemplating a commercial and political intervention in the affairs of the Tripolitaine, which, if unhindered, would have led to the creation of a German sphere of influence extending from the coast of Tripoli to the heart of the Sudan:—

> The only excuse which Italy can give for her outrage on international law would be to show that if she had failed to take action immediately after the raising of the Morocco question by Germany, she would have had later on to acquiesce in the *fait accompli* of an Austro-German sphere of influence on coasts of the Mediterranean immediately opposite her shores. Undoubtedly such a position as this would have been detrimental to Italian interests, would have for ever hemmed in Italy as a second-class Power with no chance of expansion. That, at least, is the Italian point of view, though it may be getting somewhat out of date.

Whether Italy will prove to be capable of the task she has imposed on herself is a very different question:—

> At any rate, Italy, whether or no she has made a false step, must now go on with the task to the bitter end, at no matter what cost in men and money, for if she were to confess failure

and withdraw, the results would be catastrophic throughout Africa and the Orient. The victorious expulsion of the Italians from North Africa by the Turks, Arabs, and Berbers would quite probably be followed by a native rising against British control in Egypt, by revolts against the French in Tunis and in Morocco, by an aggressive attitude towards Christians in Syria and Asia Minor, which would compel the intervention of the Great Powers, and by similar movements in Nigeria, the Soudan, Arabia, Afghanistan, and India, such as would tax severely the resources of the British and French Empires.

The moral of that is—although Sir Harry dare not draw it—that, if necessary, we should go to the help of Italy.

Sir Harry points out that Tripoli, like Tunis, had in the early eighteenth century detached herself almost completely from Turkish domination. Only in 1835 did Turkey despatch an expedition to Tripoli, which brought the Karamanli dynasty to an end, and for the first time in history made Tripoli and Barka real provinces of the Turkish Empire. The Tripolitaine has only formed an integral part of the Turkish Empire since 1845:—

Morally speaking, Turkey has no claim whatever to the Tripolitaine any more than the man in the parable of the Ten Talents had to the talent which he wrapped in his napkin.

Italian action in Tripoli has been immoral, an outrage on international law; but it is doubtful whether Italy is more blameworthy for what she has done than Britain was in bombarding Alexandria and occupying Egypt, France in invading Morocco, Germany in taking possession of East Africa, or Russia of Northern Persia.

Two blacks do not make a white; but Sir Harry must be strangely oblivious of the past if he can for a moment compare the plunder raid on Tripoli with the reluctant intervention of Mr. Gladstone in Egypt.

THE WORTHLESSNESS OF TRIPOLI.

Dr. J. W. Gregory, one of the commission sent out to report upon the suitability of Cyrenaica as a field for Zionist colonisation, publishes a valuable report in the *Contemporary Review* upon the resources of Tripoli. He says there is no indication of important mineral wealth in the country, and the glamour of the reported wealth of Cyrenaica, which has led to thirteen projects for its colonisation, was not strong enough to bring success to any one of them. The Zionist Commission reported that the land available for cultivation was small, and the water supply deplorably deficient. Yet Cyrenaica is the most fertile province of Tripoli. The Zionist Commission reported that it was quite unsuitable for extensive agricultural colonies. The prospects in Western Tripoli are even less hopeful than those in Cyrenaica. The general evidence indicates that Tripoli is of little direct use as a colonial possession. Italy cannot possibly make the colony pay, and if the Senussi offer determined resistance to the Italian occupation they may set the whole of North Africa aflame. Not only will the conquest of the country be a long and costly operation, involving an expenditure from which there can be no return, but it exposes it to the risk of having a position which can be snapped up by France without difficulty if ever they should have a quarrel with that country.

WHAT GERMANY WANTS.

THE OPEN DOOR SECURED BY A STRONG NAVY.

THE new number of the *Round Table* opens with a long and thoughtful paper on the relations between England and Germany. The writer says the whole world is on edge and instinctively agreed to elbow the Germans out. Germany's position is not the result of British jealousy, but of her own aims and policy in the past.

What is it, then, that the Germans want? They want to secure for themselves the open door, which Germany concedes to all nations in her own colonies:—

Germany has no guarantee that the other Powers which share Africa between them will not, like France, retard the development of markets in their dependencies and keep what profit there is to be made out of them to themselves. They have no guarantee that even England will not suddenly close the door to German commerce in India. Germany, therefore, is vitally interested in the dependencies of the European Powers, for her national future may depend on the policy which is applied to them and the treatment which her trade and commerce receives in them. This vital interest of Germany can be safeguarded in only two ways. Either she must acquire dependencies of such extent that they will compensate her for exclusion from the dependencies of other Powers, or she must have adequate assurances that the vast markets of Africa and Asia will not be closed to her own people.

A large dependent empire is not vital to Germany. But if she is not to have large dependencies of her own a strong navy becomes an imperative necessity for the future of Germany.

UNGRUDGED EXPANSION.

Professor Michael, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for December, discusses the relations between Germany and England from the point of view of an historical professor. He thinks that the soft words which have recently been spoken in this country will not fail to make their impression in Germany. They seem to him to indicate a dawning knowledge on the part of the English that Germany will not allow permanent limits to be set to her further development as a world-Power:—

The decisive question, on which the peace of the world in future years depends, is that this knowledge should furnish England with a standard of action. The future can, and assuredly will, bring new opportunities for the exercise of Germany's powers of expansion. I believe I have shown that this activity need not be opposed to British interests; but State and Society in Great Britain must also display the lofty temper which does not immediately discern in the work of an honest competitor an invasion of one's own long-established rights.

TO BE PEDAGOGUE OF EUROPE?

In the same review Dr. Dillon, writing upon the settlement of the Moroccan question, says that it is most desirable that Germany and France should arrive at an understanding:—

The only condition necessary is that Germany should abandon her designs on the present constitution of the club of European States. Europeanism, as Talleyrand understood it, is still lingering on. It has been throttled, but not strangled. The States of Europe are all, so to say, members of a democratic club in the precincts of which they meet as equals. They have an Areopagus, but no master. To give that free and easy association the form of a school presided over by a bespectacled German pedant armed with a whip and animated by the combined spirit of Mr. and Mrs. Squeers, is a perspective galling enough to kindle the wrath of the meekest.

AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

Is an Entente with Germany Impossible?

On November 20th Mr. W. T. Stead addressed a letter to the Press, which appeared in full in the *Standard*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *South Wales Daily News*, and in part in some other papers, on the subject of our foreign policy. The vital part of this letter was as follows:—

It is a far cry from a natural dissatisfaction with a mistaken application of a foreign policy to a total repudiation of that policy as a whole. It is common ground with all Liberals that it is a scandal and a danger that our relations with Germany have become so strained. But to attribute these strained relations to the *entente* policy in itself is to put the saddle on the wrong horse. It would have been perfectly possible to have carried out the *entente* policy with loyalty to our friends if we had drawn the line of our support where it ought to have been drawn, at the definite authoritative frontier laid down by the treaties which constitute the public law of Europe. No *entente* with any one or two Powers justifies our acquiescence in their breaches of treaty faith. If Sir Edward Grey had refused to acquiesce in the violation of the Treaty of Algeciras involved in the French seizure of Fez, there would have been no Agadir incident. If he had refused to acquiesce in the violation of the Treaty of Paris, involved in the Italian seizure of Tripoli, there would have been no war with Turkey. Neither of these betrayals of our public trust was essential to the maintenance of the policy of *ententes*. All the mischief arose from allowing a perfectly sound general principle of action to carry us into a region fenced off by treaties to which we had put our hands. To engage to be good friends, to help each other in tilling our own gardens, and even to defend our plots from predatory attack does not carry with it an obligation to assist our comrades in plunder raids upon our neighbours' orchards. It is only this abuse of the *entente* policy which has brought it into discredit. But if it be restricted in future within the limits of treaty faith, there is no reason why this great inheritance of the Edwardian reign should be discarded.

But it is argued we want to be friends with Germany and that is impossible so long as the *entente* policy is maintained.

Germany has never made any complaint of our *entente* with France. Neither has she ever made any objection to our building as many Dreadnoughts as we pleased. If we made it perfectly clear that our *entente* does not involve our complicity in infractions of the Treaty Law of Europe, we should not find it difficult to supplement our *ententes* with France and Russia by a third *entente* with the German Empire.

It is well, however, to look facts in the face and to recognise that if the British Government wants an *entente* with Germany it must be prepared to pay the price, although that price is neither the abandonment of the *entente cordiale* nor the surrender of the "two keels-to-one" standard of British naval supremacy. Neither does Germany want colonies for the overflow of her surplus population. Germany has no surplus population. She has not sufficient population for her own needs at home. She wants immigrants, not emigrants. But Germany does want something, and it is because we have uniformly and persistently thwarted her efforts to obtain that something that there is the antagonism between us, which we all profess to deplore.

What Germany wants is coaling-stations oversea. She has a world-wide commerce only second to our own. She has a great and growing navy for the protection of that world-wide commerce. In order to enable that navy to operate in all the seas of the world it is absolutely necessary for Germany to have stations beyond the seas where her cruisers can replenish their bunkers, obtain supplies and repair, and be refitted. But whenever Germany endeavours to obtain a coaling-station, Britain blocks the way. It is that dog-in-the-manger policy and not the maintenance of the French *entente* that is the real obstacle in the way of an *entente cordiale* with Germany.

The question for Great Britain to consider to-day is simply this. Are we or are we not determined to regard as an unfriendly act any and every attempt made by Germany to obtain a coaling and refitting station on any of the great ocean routes traversed night and day by the German mercantile marine? There are very few ports left in the world which can be secured by purchase or by treaty. We have long ago taken possession of all the most eligible sites. Are we to persist in denying to Germany the right to obtain by legitimate means a foothold in any nation or on any coastline oversea? If we are, then farewell to any hope of an *entente* with Germany! In that case it would be midsummer madness to abandon our *entente* with France. If that resulted, as it might, in a *rapprochement* between France and Germany, it would render it impossible for us single-handed to maintain our veto. But if we recognise that Germany has a legitimate claim to have coaling-stations, if she can obtain them by arrangement, then there is no reason why an *entente* with Germany should not be as cordial as that with France.

I will not enter into the question whether the existence of such German naval stations oversea would strengthen or weaken Germany as a possible enemy. I will merely remark that it would certainly dissipate her naval forces, which are now penned up within striking distance of our shores, and so long as we maintain the present relative *status quo* of two keels to one they would be at least as much hostages for good behaviour as additions to striking force.

Has the Anglo-French Entente Failed?

In the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. Sydney Low discusses the same question. He questions the wisdom of the Anglo-French *entente*:—

Its success so far cannot be called brilliant. For thirty years before 1904 France and Germany were in no danger of coming to blows; they contrived to get on together without excessive friction; and their relations were steadily improving. In the past seven years the clock has been set back. France and Germany have three times found themselves on the very brink of war. When we left the two countries to settle their own relations they adjusted them without difficulty. Since we have taken sides as the patron, ally, benevolent adviser, or whatever our precise function may be, of one of them, they have hardly ceased quarrelling.

GERMANY'S NEED FOR COALING STATIONS.

Mr. Low has some very pertinent observations as to the possibility of meeting Germany on the basis of recognising the justice of her demand for coaling stations. He says:—

It is futile to imagine that we can for ever prevent Germany from obtaining, like England, and France, and other naval Powers, some suitable naval stations outside Europe. And it is surely the most sensible course to let her get them in regions where they are the least likely to interfere with us, such as the Atlantic coast of Morocco. It was the opinion of the late Lord Salisbury that Germany should be permitted to secure a coaling station in the Mediterranean, his reason being that this would at once gratify German ambition and render her more vulnerable to us in time of war. Mr. Balfour took the same view when he allowed the Russians to occupy Port Arthur. The fact is that every outlying port or island in the possession of a potential adversary is a hostage given to the owners of the greatest navy; it provides us with a point where we can get into contact with them. The more Agadirs Germany has to lose the more likely is she to keep the peace with us. Moreover the acquisition of such out-stations would lead to the dispersal and diffusion of the German navy. As long as we insist on bottling up Germany, we keep her whole maritime force concentrated round her home ports within a few hours' steam of our own; with the result that our navy is used up in coast-guard duty off these islands, and our flag has almost disappeared from the ocean. By all means let Germany spread; if only that we may be spared the undignified spectacle of the fleets of Britain huddling round our shores like frightened chickens about the hen-coop.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S STEWARDSHIP.

A DISMAL RECORD OF BROKEN TREATIES.

"DIPLOMATICUS" in the *Fortnightly Review* for December subjects Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy to a merciless but not unjust examination. He points out that Sir Edward Grey, under the mask of continuity, has developed Lord Lansdowne's policy to a point never contemplated by its author, with the result that English relations with Germany are now worse than they have ever been, and we have been brutally blackmailed by France.

HIS TWO GREAT BLUNDERS.

The supreme mistake of Sir Edward was in his allowing himself to be dragged into supporting the destruction of the Treaty of Algeciras. "Diplomaticus" says :—

The plain and brutal explanation is that France never intended to abide by the Act of Algeciras, that she gradually and systematically evaded it in the sense of the superseded Convention, and that Sir Edward Grey weakly connived at her evasions, and finally upheld her in them.

Only second to this mistake was the utterly useless and irritating attempts, persisted in against the warnings of King Edward, to induce Germany to limit her naval armaments.

A HOLOCAUST OF TREATIES.

Sir Edward Grey, it is admitted, did his best to prevent the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but having failed he appears to have acquiesced in every other species of lawlessness. "Diplomaticus" says :—

It was not long before the Austrian example was followed in an aggravated form by all his own friends, and then under the influence of the *cauchemar d'isolation*, which apparently oppresses him, he weakly yielded to them. For a parallel to the holocaust of solemn Treaties which followed without protest from this country we may search diplomatic history in vain.

Nor was this all. With these Treaties, every security for the *status quo* became utterly discredited, where it had not been actually destroyed. In Morocco, France and Spain between them tore up the Act of Algeciras and their Mediterranean compact with this country. In Tripoli, Italy made a bonfire of the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, of her Mediterranean Agreement with us of 1902, and the Anglo-Franco-Spanish *Status Quo* Agreement of 1907, not to mention the Hague Conventions on Arbitration and the Rules of War. Russia has virtually extinguished the integrity and independence of Persia, notwithstanding her Agreement with us in 1907, which solemnly guaranteed both. Japan availed herself of the opportunity of annexing Korea, which, although virtually sanctioned in advance by her second Treaty of Alliance with us, was none the less a cynical violation of her Treaties with China and Korea, and thus inadmissible under the Declaration of London of 1871, which Sir Edward Grey so vehemently invoked in the Bosnian affair. Finally, the United States cavalierly set at nought the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty by deciding to fortify the Panama Canal without asking our leave or encountering our mildest protest. One has only to put the facts in this succinct form to understand why Europe to-day is a prey to alarms and anxiety. No one knows where the next blow may fall. The sanctions of order and equity in international life are gone. All restraints of honour and good faith have disappeared, and the predatory instincts of the larger States only await their opportunity. Weak States, which always looked to Great Britain to defend them, are aghast.

THE RESULT OF IT ALL.

Sir Edward Grey has connived at the atrocities of Italy in Tripoli and thereby alienated Mohammedan affection in India and elsewhere. The Mediterranean has become a Latin lake, and on the top of all this "Diplomaticus" enumerates a long list of commercial sacrifices in Turkey, in Korea, in Morocco, in Persia. And what have we gained? The friendship of France? "Diplomaticus" says :—

Only the other day I was pained to read an article in the *Temps* in which, despite the unflinching and effective support we lent France during her recent perilous negotiations with Germany, we were virtually threatened with a termination of the *entente* if we hesitated to support every point of the French case in the impending Morocco negotiations with Spain.

THE DELHI DURBAR DONATIVE.

WHAT SHALL IT BE?

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH writes in the *Nineteenth Century* on the King's power in India. He declares that to the educated Indian the Durbar is a heavy drain of expense on a country too seriously bled to begin with. Of the business people, fashioned largely by Britons, very much after the British pattern—cold-blooded, matter-of-fact, calculating men of the world—he says :—

They abominate the trait in the character of their own Maharajas and Rajas which makes them draw largely upon the State revenues to maintain meaningless magnificence, and unequivocally condemn those Chiefs who, despite being brought up under the guidance of English tutors, and having imbibed Western ideas from wide travels in the Occident, do not give up the exaggerated display associated with the dark ages. They would be happy beyond measure if a way could be found to restrain the Indian rulers from treating their principalities as estates instead of States.

These considerations would make the Durbar unpopular. The one thing that has saved it has been the personal courage and initiative of the King :—

The statesmanship of King George the Fifth, and his persistence and pluck to carry out his "hope" to visit India, have altered the whole situation, and stirred to its deepest depths the loyalty so deep-rooted in all Indians that Western education, even when distorted by terrorist teachers, has been unable to blot it out.

Passing to the question of Coronation boon, Mr. Singh mentions eleven suggestions. His own conclusion is :—

Probably, in the last analysis, the boon with which the first British sovereign's visit to India should be associated is the issuance of an Imperial Rescript on education which will guarantee that the second decade of the twentieth century shall see the torch of knowledge carried to every home throughout the Indian Peninsula. "The Giver of learning" always has been reverenced in Hindostan equally by the Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains, and nothing will appeal so much to the educated classes, nothing will do so much substantial good to the illiterate masses, as the provision of a system of free and, if possible, compulsory education throughout India. The boon will be all the more worthy of the epoch-making event if a handsome donation is made from the Privy Purse, and if His Majesty will use his good offices to induce the House of Commons to vote a donation of, say, £1,000,000 from the Imperial Exchequer.

THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

A REPUBLIC: PROS AND CONS.

MR. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN discusses in the *Fortnightly Review* the chances of a Republican Government in China. He says:—

China has been extraordinarily well and peaceably governed in the past. The family and village system, briefly outlined, which is applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to towns or parts of towns, has provided the machinery for keeping law and order at the minimum of cost and with the maximum of consideration for the people themselves, for they interpret the law and put it in force in their own persons. Each village, each town, each province, is entirely self-contained and autonomous. There are many reasons and circumstances which point to the possibility of China being successfully split up into autonomous States. The real difficulty begins when we try to provide the connecting link to federate those States into a homogeneous whole.

National Review.] [China.

The Slicing of the Melon.

The difficulty lies in the choice of a capital and the constitution of a central power. To the Reformers—

The word "democracy" is not to them a shibboleth. They contemplate a republic as the only means of getting rid of the Manchus, who stand for reaction in Chinese politics, but they intend to set up a strong central authority; and, following the precedent of the Turkish revolution, that authority will, at all events to begin with, be a military one. It seems likely that any attempt to establish a genuinely democratic system would throw the whole political power into the hands, not of individuals, but of groups. At its best a republican form of government imposes on the individual citizen a responsibility for which the Chinese millions are not ready; at its worst it means government by an oligarchy, as in Mexico.

There is something to be said for the plans, as given to me by the reformers, of a military domination to last for a term of years, followed by a transition period, and leading up to full constitutional government. If he persists in propping up the dynasty there will probably be a split, northern China remaining monarchical and the centre and south setting up a republic or republics. Such a settlement cannot be permanent, and as it would inevitably open the door for foreign intervention it is to be hoped, in the true interests of China, that it will be avoided at all costs

ADMIRAL SEYMOUR'S VIEWS.

In the *Cornhill* for December Admiral Sir Edward Seymour writes on Chinese changes. He gives a most succinct and business-like account of the development of Europe in China, and adds his conclusions on current movements. He says:—

The various provinces of China often differ in their language so as to be unable to understand each other; they have no national feeling, and are, in fact, quite devoid of what we call patriotism. My own experience on various occasions has very plainly shown me that the natives of the North and of the South of China have no common love of country, no inner feeling that theirs is one nation, which, in spite perhaps of internal or domestic differences, should become one and united when a foreign enemy is at their door.

THE YELLOW PERIL.

I believe the idea or name of "the Yellow Peril" originated with an illustrious and very intelligent personage, but I must say that I cannot share in the anticipation. There is no love lost between China and Japan, and their combination against other countries could only be the result of very bad diplomacy on the part of the latter. Indeed, I no more expect China alone, or a combined China and Japan, to try to emulate the campaigns of Attila or Timoor, than I do to see France and Germany combine together to invade the United States.

THE REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK.

The present revolution in China is the most startling change of a government since the great French cataclysm. Its apparent complete success is the best proof of how much it was required, and of how worthless, retrograde, and out of date the rule of the Manchus had become. No one can pity them, nor could anything have brought reform while they still held actual power. Their departure from China would seem the best thing, except for the question of their replacement. Although a representative of the old Ming dynasty exists, placing him on the throne is almost out of the question. The idea of the leaders of the rebellion seems to have been to have a Republic. Drastic changes are sometimes best, but in this case the more moderate one to a Constitutional monarchy will be the wisest experiment. Is it possible that China will try to rival the hitherto unprecedented metamorphosis of her neighbour, Japan?

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT.

Adachi Kinnosuke contributes to the *American Review of Reviews* a survey of the Chinese revolt. He inquires into causes. First, he places the cry of the empty stomach. Hundreds of millions of Chinese are starving to-day, and they know that this is largely due to the pitiless system of graft, or squeeze, exacted by the officials. Next comes hatred of the Manchu. Young China is Nationalist, and marks the awakening of a great race to consciousness of a great heritage. Third, the writer puts the reform programme of Emperor Kwanghsu, who during his short reign of six months inaugurated or proclaimed a great series of reforms. This young Manchu Prince gave the anti-dynastic uprising its cardinal articles of faith. The revolutionists are the genuine

Chinese; most weighty amongst them are the fighting men, most enthusiastic and noisiest are the students who have been trained abroad. There are two paths before China—the victory of the Moderates, with Constitutional State, Parliament and a responsible Cabinet, or victory of the Radicals, with a Republic on the soil of the most ancient of Empires.

WHAT MANDCHU ASCENDENCY MEANS.

Dr. Dillon, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, says that the present upheaval in China is the most momentous event that has happened since the coming of the Goths and Vandals. It connotes the awakening of Asia, the advent of a giant among nations, the letting loose of a tremendous force which will cut deep into the life of all civilised nations. He gives an interesting account of the privileges of the Mandchus:—

> The eighteen million Mandchus scattered over the land, of whom there are 60,000 in Peking, still feel their superiority over the 480 million natives, and make the latter realise it painfully at every hand's turn. For the Mandchus are privileged. Fallen though they may be from their high estate, they are the conquerors still. Most of the lucrative posts in the empire are reserved for them—the exceptions merely serving to prove the rule. They are the salt of the earth. They possess their own tribunals. Every official document must be translated into Mandchu. No China man or woman might until three or four years ago aspire to a spouse of the higher race. Flogging and other dishonouring punishments to which the Chinaman is liable may never be inflicted on the body of any member of the superior nation. For their material well-being, also, the Government feels itself morally bound to take thought. Hence every Mandchu has a right to a ration of rice daily, and to a small yearly pension from the State!

It is because of the domination of these eighteen millions of privileged Mandchus that the Chinese revolution has broken out.

WHERE CHINESE STUDENTS GO—AND WHY.

In the same review, Mr. M. T. Z. Tyau, writing on the Hope of China's Future, gives a detailed account as to the successive streams of Chinese students who have gone abroad in order to acquire Western learning. At one time there were 15,000 Chinese students in Japan, now there are only 4,000. One hundred students are now being sent out every year for the first four years, and thereafter fifty every year, to America at the expense of the Government, the money being paid from the Boxer Indemnity which the American Government refused to accept.

The New Cardinals.

THE new American Cardinals are sketched in the *American Review of Reviews* by Mr. Walter Dwight, of the Society of Jesus. He says that the United States contains nearly twenty-five million Catholics, one Apostolic Delegate, a Cardinal, 30 Archbishops, 97 Bishops, and some seven thousand priests. He gives a sketch of the three Americans who have been raised to the Sacred College.

A GREAT WORK IN SOUTH LONDON.

SEVENTEEN years ago the Robert Browning Settlement was founded in Walworth, South London, for the "amelioration of the life and lot of the people, to promote the full and happy development of body, mind, and soul, and for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God." Since 1895 it has waxed amazingly and grown in activity, influence and power for good. It originated in Browning Hall, where in 1812 the poet was baptised. To this it has added Browning Garden, Browning Clubhouse, Settlement House, the Slade Club, and the Browning Bethany Homes for the Aged at Whyteleafe.

In addition to supervising and supplying the energy for all the active work in each of these centres, the Warden and staff of voluntary helpers at the Settlement are continually engaged in the service of the necessitous neighbourhood in the midst of which it is set, by means of the following among many other agencies: Men's Brotherhood, Women's Meeting, Adult School, public worship, Fellowship of Followers, Poor Men's Lawyers, University Extension and other lectures, Cripples' Parlour, Boys' Clubs, Girls' Clubs, Holiday School, Play Centre, Country Holidays, Sunday School, Travel Club, Goose Club, Slate Club and other thrift clubs, Garden Friends, and Boy and Girl Scouts.

Many great national movements have been due to the dynamic force of the Settlement. The Browning Hall Conference on Housing and Locomotion led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on London Traffic and of the Traffic Branch of the Board of Trade. Browning Hall is also the headquarters of the National Pensions Committee, which made possible the passage of the Old Age Pensions Act, 1908. The Settlement has, through its Travel Club, and by other means, become a recognised agent for the promotion of international goodwill.

But whilst the work has increased by leaps and bounds and its sphere of usefulness has broadened, the voluntary contributions to the Settlement funds—on which it must rely entirely for support—have not grown in proportion. The sinews of war in the battle the Warden, Mr. F. H. Stead, M.A., is directing against social evils in South London are greatly needed, and at this season of the year, when the demands upon the Settlement are particularly heavy, any contributions which readers feel able to give will be especially welcome. They should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Browning Hall, York Street, Walworth, London, S.E. Help is specially needed to give the poor children fire and warm clothes and Christmas gladness of every sort.

ADMIRERS of Annie S. Swan will be glad to know that she has just issued a little volume of poems (aptly described as "Songs of Memory and Hope") under the title of *Love's Crown*. The dainty edition, bound in velvet leather, makes a charming little gift-book (Nimmo, Hay, and Mitchell, Edinburgh).

WHAT DEFEATED RECIPROCITY.

MR. PETER MCARTHUR, a Canadian journalist, writes in the *Forum* for November on the defeat of Reciprocity. He says that "there is a deep-seated dissatisfaction and dislike of the Americans which led many people to vote against freer trade relations. To this more than to anything else the defeat of Reciprocity was due."

ANTI-AMERICANISM.

Next he seems to place the big interests who were arrayed against Reciprocity. The Canadian system of big interests, the bankers, mergers and railroads, was quite strong enough to dispense with any help from the American Trusts. Their influence told heavily :—

The people of Canada are the most loyal in the Empire. To have Mr. Taft urge that Reciprocity would check trade within the Empire and divert it to the United States, and to have Mr. Clark suggest that it would lead to annexation, was enough to arouse defiance. The loyal Canadians of both parties were offended. To say the least, the Americans gave the cue to the anti-American campaign which was waged against Reciprocity. If they are surprised to find that Canadians dislike and mistrust them they have only themselves to thank.

WHAT IS A "SAW-OFF"?

The writer describes a very curious influence at work :—

It is asserted that the Liberals were defeated because they thought it would be good tactics to conduct a thoroughly virtuous campaign. Feeling sure that the popularity of Reciprocity would carry them back to power, they decided to reserve their campaign fund for the election which, according to all British precedents, must follow the passage of the Redistribution Bill. If they could win in this way, and the Conservatives were indiscreet in the use of money, they could cover them with disgrace by refusing to have the usual "saw-off." In past elections it has been the custom of the practical men of both parties to meet and weigh the evidences of corrupt practices that each has secured against the other and have a "saw-off," by which protested elections are avoided and the evil doings of both parties bidden from sight. It was a most satisfactory arrangement, for the campaigners on both sides could resort to any means to win, secure in the knowledge that their leaders would find a way to hush things up. If, however, the Liberals conducted a virtuous campaign and the Conservatives, lulled to false security by past experiences, went on in the old way, it would not be necessary to have a "saw-off." Virtue would be triumphant and wickedness would be exposed in the courts.

Even now the defeated Liberals might try their fortune in the Law Courts, were it not that very serious charges of corruption against the late Minister of the Interior in a previous election had not yet been settled.

LOYALTY A TRUMP CARD.

As to the future, the writer imagines that if Reciprocity ever again became an issue :—

All that will be necessary will be to have a few leading men suggest that the real aim is annexation and the loyal Canadians will have nothing to do with it. Loyalty to the Empire strikes deeper than Party politics, and cannot be shaken even by prospects of material gain.

WHAT TURNED ONTARIO.

In the *Canadian Magazine* for November Mr. M. O. Hammond describes "the tragedy of Reciprocity." He declares that the first offer from Secretary Knox was complete Free Trade between Canada and the United States. Canada felt she could not go so far. The Reciprocity pact was expected to be cordially accepted by both nations. The causes for the unexpected defeat adduced by Mr. Hammond are a slumbering mistrust of the United States which prevails widely in Canada, and the menace to Protection of manufactures. The defection of Ontario he thus explains :—

The Province has an underlying sentiment inherited from United Empire Loyalist days. This sentiment carries with it some of the bitter hatreds of the Revolution, with additions from the war of 1812 and the Fenian raid of 1866. In tariff matters alone there were memories of the abrogation of the last reciprocity agreement by the United States and the enactment of the Dingley and McKinley Bills, in the nineties, with resultant disaster to Canadian industry. In higher politics the United States Senate had been for years the graveyard of hopes for arbitration and other measures of good-will, the echo of jingoism towards Britain and Canada. Then came expressions from leaders at Washington in their excess of zeal to promote the very reciprocity measure itself.

CHILD AGRICULTURISTS AND THE STATE.

IN the *Twentieth Century* for November Mr. Flower tells the story of an important development carried out by the great Republic amongst the children in its rural schools, which may be commended to both our boards of Education and Agriculture. From the National Agricultural Department under Secretary Wilson, it appears that each Congressman receives two thousand packets of vegetable and two hundred packets of flower seeds to distribute amongst his constituents. An Iowa Congressman thought he would utilise these seeds to interest the children in farm life. He first of all interested the teachers, and then, through them, the most ambitious and enterprising boys and girls of the district, who were formed into groups for competitive agricultural work with the free Government seeds, the boys to cultivate the vegetables and the girls the flowers. He sends the bulletins published by the Agricultural Departments on a great variety of subjects to the schools, and gets the teachers to discuss them with the pupils. Secretary Wilson, of the Agricultural Department, entered into the plan with enthusiasm :—

He offered, if a certain number of Corn Clubs should be formed in the district, to send a representative of the Department to the district to instruct the boys in the cultivation of corn, so as to enable them to get the best possible results from the kind of soil they had to deal with. The requisite number of clubs was quickly organised and the representative of the Department sent to the district.

As a result about six hundred clubs of boys and girls have been formed for the cultivation of the Government seeds. These clubs average about eight, making between 4,800 and 5,000 children in the district actively engaged in competitive work. They are thus brought into intimate touch with the Government at Washington, their patriotism is aroused, and the bulletins issued by the Government are being read by thousands of young people with avidity.

WHERE INTERNATIONAL LAW BREAKS DOWN.

By Admiral Mahan.

Rear-Admiral A. T. Mahan continues in the *North American Review* his proof of the deficiencies of law as an instrument of international adjustment. He contends that all disputes between nations cannot be brought under a system of laws, because under any classification there cannot but remain always cases in which the right is one of morals and expediency, not susceptible of legal definition.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

He takes, at once, as illustration, the Monroe Doctrine. Against the acquisition by Germany from Denmark of an island in the West Indies there could be no legal ground of objection, and a tribunal could only decide that the transfer would be lawful and valid. Similarly, the objection of New Zealand to France ceding to Germany the Pacific island Tahiti would have no legal status. Nevertheless, the legal right of one country, or of two countries, may so far contravene the natural—that is, the moral—right, the essential interests, the imperative policy, of a third, that resistance would be necessary and therefore justifiable. Diplomacy then enters. Arbitration is futile. Armament is simply an incident of diplomacy. The writer quotes the idea of the President of the Austrian Chamber, of "the Mediterranean for the Mediterranean Powers."

NATIONAL FORCE A PROOF OF EFFICIENCY.

In diplomacy force is there, is recognised, and is operative. If collision can be avoided, so much the better; but the force has counted all the same. The writer proceeds :—

> National power is surely a legitimate factor in international settlements, for it is the outcome of national efficiency, and efficiency is entitled to assert its fair position and chance of exercise in world matters, not restricted unduly by mere legal tenures dependent for their existing legality upon a prior occupancy, which occupancy often represents an efficiency once existent but long since passed away. The colonial Empire of Spain, unimpaired a bare century ago, now wholly disappeared, is a familiar instance. The Empire of the Turks is another. The present intervention of Italy in Tripoli is but a further step in a process of which Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria are merely the most recent examples. The supplanting of preceding dynasties in India by Great Britain, and her supervision over administration in Egypt, are again illustrations. By what system of law is provision to be made for solving such questions?

WITNESS MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

The witness then quotes with eminent satisfaction Lloyd George's famous speech on the Moroccan question, and points out that the phrases "vital interests" and "national honour," carefully excluded from the recent treatiess of general arbitration, appear in Mr. Lloyd George's speech in terms and in full force; and equal stress is laid on the right of the nation to play its part in the world, to assert itself as a factor in international relations, to sustain by force its position, prestige, and influence among States. Such cases are more easily adjusted by the flexibility of diplomacy than by the rigidity of law. The writer also quotes Sir Edward Grey's statement that the postulate of any successful arbitration treaty of an extended kind is that there should be no conflict or possibility of conflict between the national policies: which shows that in his judgment the general arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States cannot safely be accepted as a type for all cases and all nations.

THE FORTIFICATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

The writer recalls that the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1900 provided that no fortifications should be erected commanding the Canal or the waters adjacent, and on account of this stipulation the Senate rejected the treaty. The United States Executive ten years ago was willing to abandon a claim upon which the Executive of to-day strongly desires to act, and is acting, with the support of Congress. The Senate of 1900 saved the situation for 1911. So, the Admiral concludes, history amply shows the insufficiency of law as an instrument in composing differences.

PARALLELS WITHIN THE NATION.

The early Stuart kings with great care based their oppressive actions upon law still existing unrepealed. International law, similarly, has to treat as legal a claim which may have issued in intolerable conditions. The judge decides what the law is, not what it should be. The Admiral draws a still nearer parallel. He quotes from Dr. Rawson Gardiner as follows :—

> Suppose that the House of Lords rejected every Bill sent up to it by the Commons. What would be the use of applying to the judges as arbitrators? They could but decide that the Lords were legally in the right. They could not decide whether they were politically in the right.

The Admiral adds :—

> The imagined case has occurred, not in all particulars, but in substance. The inadequacy of the law has been recognised; and the British Government of the day has obtained by political action, of the nature of threatened violence, that to which law, as an instrument, proved inadequate. A political instrument was employed when the legal instrument—recourse to a court—could not but fail. In the case of the Stuarts the political instrument used was armed resistance.

The good Admiral proves too much. If the inadequacy of law between the nations demands armaments to make diplomacy effective, then the inadequacy of law within the nation should lead to preparations for civil war! But if the inadequacy of law within the nation is met, not by disputants arming for civil strife, but by new laws, will not the inadequacy of international law be met in the same way?

A long article, by W. H. de Beaufort, on Norman Angell's book, "The Great Illusion," appears in the *Deutsche Revue* for November. The book is also referred to in another article in the same Review on the Influence of the Peace Movement on European Armaments. The writer, Vice-Admiral Glatzel, notes that in the Peace Movement there are some three thousand Peace Societies.

IS ENGLAND DECLINING?

OBSERVATIONS OF A GERMAN WRITER.

IN the November number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* Graf Vay von Vaya has an article bearing the title "England and the Signs of Her Decline."

ENGLAND'S GREATNESS UNDER ELIZABETH AND VICTORIA.

The Count, who seems to have passed some time in England, records apparently his personal observations. He begins by contrasting the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the first decade of the twentieth. In the reign of Queen Victoria, England, he says, was at the zenith of her powers. Under the sceptre of the Queen the country continued to expand to the most distant regions of the globe, and she was the first sovereign to be proclaimed Empress of India. During her reign England acquired great wealth. Remarkable as it may sound, in the two greatest and happiest epochs for the English people a queen was on the throne, the fame of the Elizabethan era resting upon the intellectual greatness of the nation, while the Victorian era represents the material welfare of the great Empire. Never was a country greater and wealthier than England under Queen Victoria, and the Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 may justly be regarded as the apotheosis of her power.

RESULT OF THE BOER WAR.

But soon, alas! came a national visitation in the form of the Boer War. Public opinion became divided into hostile camps, and the marvellous discipline of the English people suffered the first breach. At what a price did the war end in victory for the British army! England's unique position ceased to be undisputedly supreme. Meanwhile other younger nations had been developing with unexpected rapidity. Germany and the United States became important rivals both politically and commercially, and the markets of the world were no longer monopolised by the English.

THE DOUBTFUL RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

Coming to a closer examination of the present condition of England, the writer finds that the signs of decadence are revealed in the intellectual domain rather than in the field of action. Those great qualities which used to be the admiration of the world—a deep sense of duty, untiring energy, pure moral feeling, and wonderful discipline—are said to be declining amongst all classes. Referring to the social question, the Count notes that the beginnings of disorder date much further back. The result of the dissemination of the new ideas among the working classes is a new class with a Labour Party in Parliament, while the so-called Socialism is more anarchy than anything else. The writer was astonished that orators in Hyde Park and in public halls should be allowed to preach such revolutionary propaganda and express such anti-patriotic views as he has heard. He has been quite shocked at the criticisms of Parliament and other institutions, and he thinks the influence of anarchists on the working classes of Great Britain highly dangerous.

CORRUPTION OF THE UPPER CLASSES.

Not less surprising is the revolution in the bearing of the upper classes, he continues. He makes many sweeping statements about their luxurious and indolent existence. Such a change as that which has taken place in the present century is scarcely realisable, and the evil influence of the upper ten thousand cannot fail to make itself felt among the people. With the smart set wealth is everything, and consequently wealthy people flock to England in great numbers to become the ruling elements of the country. American women are also blamed for introducing American manners and customs. Having entered the most exclusive circles, the aristocracy has acquired a large element of Yankee blood, which has not been to the advantage of the character of the present generation. Traditions have no further value. Nothing, indeed, is respected which interferes with personal desires. There is no restraint, no sense of duty, and the aim of existence is to be amused. As the sons of the nobility are not brought up to work, the most lucrative thing to do is to marry American heiresses. The husband provides the name, the wife the money.

EVIL EFFECT ON THE PEOPLE.

Could anything be more enervating than incessant amusement and entertaining? And the worst is the evil effect on other classes. Everyone is coming to take his calling in life less seriously. The hours of labour are reduced; Sunday is not sufficient for rest, and Saturday is added for amusement. In no country are the working hours less than in England. Everyone is trying to better his social position, and the struggle for life has become a struggle for high life. The seriousness which once characterised English politicians threatens to disappear. Lack of discipline is one of the most important signs of weakness, and in no class is thirst for power so great as among politicians.

A New Chinese Peril.

DR. DILLON, in the *Contemporary Review*, recently reported that the formation of the Chinese National Militia, which was to oust the land-grabbing foreigner from China, has had an unexpected recoil on the Chinese Government itself:—

These armed forces clamour for speedy reform. Too late the Government realised the mistake which it had unwittingly committed by calling these formidable forces into being. The demon conjured up against the foreigner was found to have turned against his master. Imperial edicts were issued forbidding the recruits to mobilise; instructions were given that they should disband; pains and penalties were decreed against the recalcitrant. But behests and exhortations were unavailing. The movement spread like wildfire. From the depths of the provinces came eager recruits bringing their subscriptions, and offering their time, and labour, and lives, if need were. And the Militia, which was created in order to assert Chinese sovereignty over Mongolia and Manchuria, has been transformed in a twinkling into what may at any moment reveal itself as a revolutionary army.

TO ABOLISH WHITE SLAVERY!

CRUSADE BY MISS JANE ADDAMS.

MISS JANE ADDAMS, having by a career of victorious struggle with the dragons of municipal slime established her position as the foremost woman in the United States, has now declared battle with the age-long curse of prostitution. She opens in *McClure's Magazine* a series of papers on "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil." She begins her record of horrors hopefully.

A CHEERING PARALLEL.

She draws an analogy between the efforts directed against the existence of this social evil and similar organised efforts which preceded the overthrow of slavery in America. There are the same preliminary endeavours to regulate the white slave traffic as there were to control negro slavery. The underground railroad has its parallel in rescue homes and preventive associations. There is a similar array of reformers, lecturers, writers, setting forth the enormity of the later as of the earlier horror. She says:—"We may certainly take courage from the fact that our contemporaries are fired by social compassions and enthusiasms to which even our immediate predecessors were indifferent."

She recalls how gradually all those who sought to control, regulate, or limit the negro slavery were forced in the end to work for its abolition. Some such gradual conversion to the point of view of abolition is the experience of every society or group of people who seriously contemplate the social evil.

NEED OF HEROES AND MARTYRS.

Hopeful as she is, Miss Addams does not disguise the difficulties. She says:—

> Perhaps the most striking indication that our generation has become the bearer of a new moral consciousness in regard to the existence of commercialised vice is the fact that the mere contemplation of it throws the more sensitive men and women among our contemporaries into a state of indignant revolt. The long struggle ahead of these newer associations may also claim its martyrs and its heroes. Few righteous causes have escaped baptism with blood, and, if one may paraphrase Lincoln's speech, if blood were exacted drop by drop in measure to the tears of anguished mothers and enslaved girls, the nation would still be obliged to go into the struggle.
>
> All of this emotion ought to be made of value.

THE SLAVE TRADE FIRST.

As the abolition of the slave trade preceded the abolition of slavery, so even the least conscientious citizens agree that the organised traffic in white slaves must be suppressed and its traffickers arrested and prosecuted. This policy adopted in Chicago has led to about a thousand white slave traders—of whom thirty or forty were importers of foreign girls—being driven from the city since 1909.

WHAT A POLICE INSPECTOR DID.

Miss Addams tells how kind-hearted police have turned even their corrupt patronage of evil resorts into good:—

> Quite recently, a former inspector of police in Chicago established a requirement that every young girl who came to live in a disreputable house within a prescribed district must be reported to him within an hour after her arrival. Each one was closely questioned as to her reasons for entering the life; if she was very young she was warned of its inevitable consequences and urged to abandon her project. Every assistance was offered her to return to work and to live a normal life. Occasionally the girl was desperate, and it was sometimes necessary that she be forcibly detained in the police station until her friends could be communicated with. More often she was glad to avail herself of the chance of escape, practically always, unless she had already become romantically entangled with a cadet whom she firmly believed to be her genuine lover and protector.

Then follow heart-sickening tales of youthful ignorance and innocence abused by men whose only motive was commercial.

It is good that the enslaved womanhood of America has found at last its Joan of Arc. When Jane Addams takes the field even the most strongly entrenched hosts of Belial and Mammon may quail. But it will be a tough fight.

IS THIS THE CHRIST WHO IS TO COME?

TO WHOM MRS. BESANT IS JOHN THE BAPTIST.

ACCORDING to the *Theosophist* the Christ who is to come has already selected the body in which He is to reveal Himself to mankind. The body is at present the object of much attention, as it is now inhabited by the soul of Alcyone, who has passed through thirty lives, the story of which is gradually being unravelled by Mr. Leadbeater. In the process of re-reading the history of Alcyone, the researchers claim to have come upon the history of the previous lives of Jesus Christ, who, under the name of Surya, had intimate relations with Alcyone in his second, sixth, and ninth lives. Mr. E. C. Reynolds, in the *Theosophist* for November, tells us that in his second life Alcyone was the mother of Surya. When Surya was a year old, Alcyone rescued him from a burning house, but was herself fatally injured in so doing, and soon died:—

> In the ninth life Surya is a high priest and is the great-grandfather of Alcyone. He is much attached to his grandchild, and one day tells him that he, Alcyone, gave his life for Him in the past, and that another opportunity would offer in the future to give up his life for Him if he would, and thereby bless the world.
>
> Surya is the one which appears in Indian literature as Lord Maitreya, and is known among Western nations as the Christ. He had long since attained Adeptship, and was serving as an assistant to Vyasa, the Gautama Buddha of an after time. Vyasa held the office of Bodhisattva; that is, He had charge of the formation of all the new religions of the world and the conduct of the old ones. This office He passed on to Surya, when He attained Buddhahood two thousand five hundred years ago.
>
> At the present time Alcyone is a Hindu youth, and has passed his first Initiation with the help of Mercury, better known to us as Master K. H. There are many who hope and believe that in this life Surya's ancient prophecy will be fulfilled, and that He will take possession of Alcyone's body to bless the world, even as He did that of Jesus at the time of the baptism two thousand years ago.

DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

PLEA FOR A NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY.

ALBRECHT GRAF ZU STOLBERG-WERNIGERODE contributes to the *Deutsche Revue* for November a plea for the formation of a National Labour Party in Germany, not merely to weaken the influence of the Social Democratic Party, but possibly to take its place.

POLITICAL EQUALITY DEMANDED.

The Count begins by explaining how Bismarck in 1871 gave the working classes their present measure of enfranchisement, how rapidly these newly created political forces advanced, and how Bismarck alienated them again by his Socialist laws. But the repeal of these laws alone could not undo the harm which had been wrought, so the next thing was the Imperial Message of 1881—another blunder, because, being economic in its nature, it was but a sort of compromise. There is no way to undo a political wrong, says the writer, except by political action giving more rights. That the method adopted was a mistake is clear enough to-day. The working classes are more discontented than ever, not so much because their economic interests are not properly looked after as that they are excluded from direct participation in the life of the State equally with other classes of citizens. When this due participation in the affairs of the State has been attained, the economic struggle, the struggle between workers and employers, will not come to an end, but it will cease to be a purely political and dangerous one, such as we have now, and which might easily bring about a revolution.

WISE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE INEVITABLE.

Political equality, however, is only a question of time. It is coming surely enough, and the problem is, what will be the attitude adopted towards it? Nothing can stop the desire of the working classes to take part in politics, and indeed it would be folly to think of arresting it. It ought rather to be furthered in every possible way. With every extension of the franchise, those already enfranchised have always believed that the results would be disastrous, but everyone knows they were wrong. When the working classes get their due politically the same fears will probably be expressed again. But instead of disaster being brought on the nation things will go forward, asserts the writer. The State cannot achieve any lasting success till all its citizens have a voice in all its institutions. It were therefore wise foresight to acknowledge now what must come inevitably. Hitherto Germany has been quite wrong in her methods towards the Labour movement. The movement must not be suppressed, but fostered. The less influential a class is economically the more need it has of a party to represent its interests. It will be said the Fatherland comes before party. But to the working classes are not their interests those of the Fatherland? In the present parties they only exist on sufferance.

WHAT CONSTITUTES STATESMANSHIP.

It was no wonder that the working classes in Germany, after having been excluded so long from political rights, came to think more of their rights than of their duties to the State as soon as they got a little power. It is the duty of the parties to train this new force. The writer then goes on to say that no great statesman works only with his own party, but carries his measures with the help of all parties, making concessions on all sides, and leaving no section of the people unconsidered. But that does not imply that a party does not sometimes vote against a measure. In proof of his general statement the writer instances Bismarck, Bülow, and England. Bismarck's great success with his social measures was to a large extent due to his getting nearly all parties to co-operate with him, and Bülow was successful till 1907 for a similar reason. As to England, the writer thinks the country has not made the advance she ought to have done, because of her party system of government.

A GREAT NATIONAL LABOUR UNION.

While the Count agrees in theory that all parties should work together, in practice he fears it would be hopeless to get the Social Democrats to co-operate with other parties. It is indeed because it seems impossible to change the Social Democratic Party that he desires to pave the way for a new National Labour Party to represent in entirety the interests of the working classes. As a party, if it would carry weight and be strong, must stand for some important principle, the great principle of the Labour Party must be economic, and as the Social Democratic Party attracted followers to its views by creating free trade unions and uniting its members economically, a great national trade union should be founded as a preparation for the new party, not new trade unions beside the existing old ones, but one great new national union. Nowadays forces are too much scattered. The colossal power of the free trade unions comes from the fact that they are united in aim. The trade unions which are not free have little power, because their aims are different and each goes its own way. The first business is to unite all the trade unions which are not free, and on this stock graft the National Labour Party. As the new party grows the Social Democratic Party will be weakened. The most pressing duty to-day, the writer concludes, is to get the workers brought into the State machinery. Throughout the article he refers to the workers as if they were all men. What about the eight or nine millions of working women in Germany, more than half of whom earn their living in connection with agriculture, an occupation which the men have largely forsaken? Would not the Count's proposed National Labour Union be as one-sided as party government?

THE FUTURE OF TURKEY.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION DENOUNCED.

GENERAL CHERIF PASHA contributes to *La Revue* of November 1st another of his scathing articles on "The Failure of the Young Turks."

THE UNION AND PROGRESS COMMITTEE.

From the first he has never ceased to denounce the Young Turks and the Union and Progress Committee, whom he has always described as the continuators of Abdul Hamid. He attributes all the present administrative and political disorder to this Committee, a committee having nothing in common with the primitive committee which fought so valiantly against the tyranny of Abdul Hamid. The Union and Progress Committee, he says, is an occult power within the legal power, a Government within the Government, a State within the State, complicating the simplest things by the single fact of its existence, which is both illegal and contrary to the principles of the Constitution. Yet it pretends to be teaching the people the functions of constitutional government.

ITS IDEA OF JUSTICE.

Master of the Chamber as the result of the pressure it has exercised during the elections, the Committee would have the Sultan master of the Senate because the Committee is itself the master of the Sultan. The Sultan is no longer free. Both he and his heir are surrounded by people in league with the Committee. In the Administration it fills all the posts with its own creatures, who are required to swear fidelity not only to the Sultan but to the Committee. The people are fast losing their liberties. Justice is the justice of the Committee. It began by hanging political opponents; to-day its chief occupation is the suspension of their journals for an indefinite period. On occasion it has recourse to torture, and, on the other hand, it can conveniently shut its eyes—which explains the assassination of certain journalists. Then the Committee has under its control the finances of the Empire. The Treasury has a deficit of 230 million francs, and its intention is to arrange for a loan of seven to eight million francs from France. Naturally, the writer hopes France will not commit such a blunder.

TURKEY'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS.

Outside Turkey the sympathies of the Committee go to Germany. Unfortunately the interests of Germany and her allies are often not those of the Ottoman Empire, and consequently Germany is continually sacrificing Turkey. Italy and Austria derive appreciative benefits from their alliance with Germany, but that cannot be said of the Ottoman Empire. The Germans enrich themselves; the Turks pay. If Turkey in such a critical hour feels deserted it is entirely the fault of the Union and Progress Committee.

IS IT THE BEGINNING OF THE END?

It seems the beginning of the end. No Government could treat with Italy under the humiliating conditions which the latter has proposed. Europe cannot long remain indifferent to the danger which threatens the very existence of the Turkish Empire. An international conference is needed, though at this conference Turkey will run the risk of other losses besides Tripoli. But the Empire would at any rate preserve its national and political existence. Hitherto the Committee has been secretly hated by the people, but the loss of Tripoli has caused them to give vent to their anger. The Committee in reply is making superhuman efforts, spreading terror everywhere, and stimulating in the highest degree the vigilance and the activity of spies and of the martial courts. It is for Ottomans to decide whether they will retain the Committee.

THE OTTOMAN UNION.

Meanwhile a new party under the wise and enlightened direction of Colonel Sadik Bey has come into politics. It is composed of those who have been calling themselves "dissidents," because, putting the interests of the country outside coterie, they are ready to break with the despots of the great secret association, and ally themselves more closely with the Ottoman nation. This group, which has just assumed the name of Ottoman Union, has decided upon energetic and concerted action. Its members have joined the existing parties with a view to presenting a united front against the common enemy, the enemy of the interior. The people are welcoming with hope this new reinforcement on the eve of the great battle which is bound to take place against the oligarchic tyranny of the Union and Progress Committee.

THE SITUATION IN TRIPOLI.

Writing on Tripoli in the *Deutsche Revue* for November, the same writer says that as Italy's interest in Tripoli increased, the more careless became the Turkish Government. At one time the *élite* of the Turkish army was stationed in Tripoli, but after the proclamation of the Constitution in Turkey the young officers returned to Constantinople, and became mixed up with the demand for freedom. Less capable men have replaced them in Tripoli, and though Fevzi Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha sent report after report to the Government drawing attention to the weakness in Tripoli, it was all in vain. Ibrahim then resigned, and no successor was appointed. At the beginning of the hostilities there was neither a military commander nor a civil governor. At the present time there are only about 4,200 soldiers including a cavalry regiment without horses, in Tripoli, and the supply of ammunition is very small. What is to be done? Give up Tripoli for a few millions? Can a State sell a province as a citizen sells his land? And what about the inhabitants? All that the Turkish garrison can do is to defend its position as long as possible, so that Turkey may be able to say, "All is lost, except honour!"

"WHAT DO THE GIRLS MARRY US FOR?"

"PROBLEMS of a Young Husband" is the title of a series of entertaining papers in *Harper's* by Mr. E. S. Martin. In the November number he confesses :—

I love the tranquillity of the married state. You aren't always looking out for something vital to happen. It *has* happened. Really, it's an extraordinary condition. It never would work if men weren't men and women women. I am amazed at the talent women have for living with men, as exemplified by Cordelia's gift for living with me. There she is, grown up, intelligent, a product of indulgence, trained to fairly large expectations and to as much liberty of action as her parents could contrive for her; and here I am, used to a still larger allowance of liberty, and with expectations that do not, of course, match hers in all particulars; and yet we make a go of it.

What do the girls marry us for, anyhow? No doubt it is because there is nothing better in sight for them to marry. We are indispensable: that's our best claim. And they are indispensable; and possibly that's theirs. Very sound claims both of them, and arranged for us some years back—300,000,000 years, I read in last week's paper, but that's not important.

Another passage may also be quoted :—

Cordelia and I are fairly pious people. We are even so old-fashioned that we like to go to church. It is not a universally popular pastime among the Protestants of our acquaintance, but, for my part, I have to go, if it's only to be reminded that there is another force always working to make life possible and palatable besides the wisdom of majorities (aforesaid), and the abilities of legislatures to legislate, and the powers of courts to keep them from overdoing it. Those things—the majorities and the legislatures and the courts—are eddies in the great current. I feel, when I am in church, more as though I was in the great current itself. I like to go; it is such a beautiful chance to think.

To this may be added an apothegm from the editor's easy-chair: "Love in women exalts itself through their perpetual self sacrifice in marriage, and in men it debases itself through their constant self-assertion."

A WOMAN INVEIGHING AGAINST FASHION.

"DRESS and the Woman" is the title of a paper in the November *Atlantic Monthly*, by Katherine Fullerton Gerould. Its significance lies in that it is a woman's blast against the horrible regimen of fashion. She says :—

The most damning thing about fashions is that they make invitably, nine years out of ten, for the greatest ugliness of the greatest number. Can anything be more absurd than to impose a single style on the fat and the thin, on the minimum wage and the maximum income?

I admit that no fashion has ever been created expressly for the lean purse or for the fat woman: the dressmaker's ideal is undoubtedly the thin millionairess. But the fat woman and the lean purse must make the best of each style, in turn, as it comes along. Since we must all dress, why not invent dresses that are widely adaptable—to different materials, to different occasions, to different human types? It would purge our streets of many a sorry and sordid spectacle, and in that sense would be an æsthetic service both particular and public.

And that is another sin against beauty, for it deprives a woman of the privilege of dressing as best becomes her. There is something peculiarly bitter in watching the superseding of a mode that wholly suits one. Now and then a woman confides to me her intention of keeping to some style that is especially adapted to her. "It suits me, and I am going to stick to it," she declares.

She sticks to it for, say, a year. "I never knew a woman to try such an experiment longer." "The consistent costume is like the nun's habit, the best possible proof of having renounced the world" :—

Our greatest danger is simply the loss of all standards of beauty in dress. "Why do all the women walk like ducks this year?" was the question put to a friend of mine, years since, by a younger brother. He did not know that a quite new kind of corset had suddenly, during the summer months, "come in." To wear it meant change of gait and posture, eventually actual change of shape. Where is the woman who could ingenuously report: "She had on a lovely frock made in the style of year before last"? I could not do it myself; nor, I fancy, could you.

The writer further disparages the woman who, by her dress, advertises her husband's riches. "She makes no indiscreet disclosures of fact, but she rustles with pecuniary implications." The writer thus concludes her frank diatribe :—

But the fact that chiefly gives one pause is this: that a woman cannot mingle comfortably with her equals unless she can clothe herself each season in a way that both to her and to them would have looked preposterous a twelvemonth before.

It is odd that "dress reform" should always have meant something ugly. There would be so tremendous a chance for anyone who wished to reform dress in the interest of beauty!

SISTER NIVEDITA: AN ENGLISH HINDU SAINT.

IN the *Modern Review* for November Mrs. J. C. Bose tells the story of Sister Nivedita. Her father was an eloquent English clergyman, of great promise, who had ungrudgingly sacrificed his young life in the service of the poor in Manchester. A friend of his, a preacher in India, struck with the spiritual earnestness of the child's face, blessed her and said that one day the claim of India would touch her. Her father too, before his death, told her young mother that one day a great call would come for the child, and that the mother should then stand by her. India, the object of her daughter's devotion, became hers too, and Indians always found a touch of home in her house at Wimbledon. She became the centre of an educational movement, of which the outcome was the Sesame Club. Swami Vivekananda, preaching in London, led to her offering her lifelong service to India. She settled down in a street of the poor in Calcutta and set to work to win the heart of the people by her patient life. First she got the children into a Kindergarten, then the mothers came, orphans and widows were trained as teachers, the House of the Sisters was established. She maintained the House and her school through her own writing and the help of a friend who came to regard her as her own daughter. She worked heroically in the plague and in the famine. Her work wore her out, and after thirteen years of life and service in India she died on October 13th. She had become a Hindu, but not an orthodox Hindu, an intense nationalist, and a great advocate of the development of the masculine qualities in the Hindu's character.

A NEW VIEW OF PROTECTIVE COLOURING.

MRS. ARTHUR BELL writes in *Science Progress* for October on Abbott Thayer's discovery of what he considers the basic principle of protective colouration in the animal kingdom. The ordinary assumptions have been natural selection, sexual selection, protective mimicry, and protective concealment.

THREE PRINCIPLES OF CONCEALMENT

Over against these Abbott Thayer puts his three great principles :—

With the governing purpose of making living forms indistinguishable from their normal background, the development of animal colouration has, according to Thayer, been, so to speak, directed by three great principles, which he calls respectively those of "Countershading," those of the "Averaging of the Background," and those of the "Obliteration of Outline."

In these three principles lies the key to the whole subject. The principle of Countershading is Thayer's cardinal discovery. Though his book is called "Concealing Coloration," it is one of his main contentions that "shading is really more important than colour, because it is primarily an attribute of form, while colour is only secondarily so." "Make the rounded body of a creature look flat, and, however it is coloured, it will lose much of its conspicuousness." It is then for this reason that "animals are painted by Nature darkest in those parts which tend to be most lighted by the sky's light and *vice versa*." Thayer insists that the fact that the great majority of living species are shaded more heavily on the back and lightly on the belly is evidence of the working of this principle.

"AVERAGING OF THE BACKGROUND."

The principle of averaging of the background again gives a new significance to colouration proper. If the illusion of flatness is to have its full effect, the object must be so marked or mottled as to be indistinguishable from its background. Thayer claims that on animals which need the highest degree of inconspicuousness there has been developed "a sort of compound picture of their normal background, a picture seemingly made up of the averaging of innumerable backgrounds."

"OBLITERATION OF OUTLINE."

But the really protective scheme goes farther still, and definitely aims, so to speak, at merging itself into the background so that the outline of the animal is completely obliterated. It is not enough that the living creature should resemble its inanimate background : it must merge with and fade away into it. Thus a new purpose is found by Thayer for the very daring of those patterns, stripes and colour contrasts, the developing and fixing of which have so often been traced to sexual selection, or again, in some cases of gregarious species, to their efficacy as warning signs or danger signals to others. The peacock's tail, according to Thayer, is not exclusively to please the peahen, or the rabbit's to guide its young or warn its fellows. The object of both is to break up the continuous outline of the creature's silhouette.

It is one of his cardinal principles that a scheme of colouration may be at once exceedingly bold and most effective as a disguise. What Thayer does is to extend to a whole variety of similar cases what has long been recognised of the tiger in the jungle : that markings, which against a background of a uniform hue make their possessor exceedingly conspicuous, completely conceal him amid the varied jungle in which he hunts. Anything which breaks up or cuts into sections the surface of the animal's form makes against the possibility of recognising it as what it is.

A very attractive feature in the December *Pearson's Magazine* deals with this same subject of the protective colouring of animals, and some excellent illustrations in colours enrich the article.

COLOUR IN FOOD.

Science Progress for October contains an article on the ethics of food. The writer says :—

The objection that has been taken to bleaching flour would seem to be quite illogical in view of the public demand for sugar coloured blue so as to counteract the yellowness which is characteristic of all but the most highly refined material. Colour, indeed, is an ethical factor of no slight importance in connection with food ; thus milk, and especially butter, are demanded dyed yellow as proof of quality, though everyone is aware that both articles are naturally of a pale hue. Other foods are dyed red before they are placed on the market.

The writer rejoices that the Local Government Board has disposed of what he calls the "standard bread craze." The conclusions it arrives at on the bleaching of flour are given :—

(1) That when properly carried out bleaching has no appreciable effect on the baking qualities of flour ;

(2) That bleaching cannot counteract defects in flour due to unsoundness in the wheat from which it was milled ;

(3) That the improvement of flour by bleaching represents a pecuniary gain to the miller ;

(4) That so long as buyers of flour attach importance to whiteness, they are liable when purchasing bleached flour to be supplied with an article different in quality from that which they believe they are receiving.

Dr. Hamill supports the conclusion that bran is not only itself resistant to digestion, but also has the property of causing other materials eaten at the same time to be less perfectly digested. He is also unable to confirm the supposed advantages entire wheaten bread possesses in supplying fluorine to the teeth or in preventing dental caries.

The writer concludes :—

The question of bread is mainly an economic one. In the case of an average liberal mixed diet, the advantages which one variety of bread may possess over another become negligible. The extra cost of the proprietary breads more than counterbalances any superiority in nutritive value, far better value being obtained by applying the difference in cost to the purchase of other foods.

IN PRAISE OF CAUCUS RULE.

THE October number of the Conservative *Quarterly Review*, in a paper on Ten Years of the Australian Commonwealth, writes very sympathetically of the influence of the Australian Labour Party, and defends it being ruled by the caucus. The writer says that in the case of a fusion of many diverse tendencies and parties such as compose the Australian Labour Party, caucus rule is the only safe rule. It is the only mechanism in modern politics capable of educating and restraining the wild men of a party. The newcomer soon becomes controllable. Having been allowed to state his case fully, without interruption, he takes defeat calmly. He listens to the other side, and sometimes is converted by it :—

Nor is this system, in practice, incompatible with real leadership. While Mr. Watson was the Labour leader, the caucus practically gave him a free hand ; when he was compelled for private reasons to resign, the few members who had given him some trouble actually offered to obstruct no more if only he would withdraw his resignation. It is quite possible that Mr. Fisher, if he justifies his position by as many years of as good leadership, will enjoy the same confidence.

THE SECRET OF DICKENS.

IN *Cassell's* for December Mr. Arthur Waugh exclaims with wonder on the fact that a hundred years after his birth Charles Dickens is still immortal. A hundred years after Dr. Johnson's birth Dickens was born, but Johnson was out of date. Mr. Waugh declares that Charles Dickens was essentially a man of his age, but even more emphatically he was the Titan of Hope:—

We hail, then, in Charles Dickens the greatest optimist in an age when the watchwords of Hope were upon every lip, the eloquent and great-hearted spokesman of a glowing era of emancipation. It was a time when the claim of the weak was to be made good against the strong, and, like an indomitable Titan, he took upon his shoulders the burdens of them all. Above all things, he carried his burden with a smile; it was the essence of his gospel that, in the best of all possible worlds, everyone must go upon his way rejoicing, with a laugh for every little difficulty, as one by one they were overcome. And here, surely, is the secret of his immortality, the secret that has kept his memory so green, that *his* alone of almost all literary centenaries finds his actual personal influence, his claim upon the real love of his readers, just as vitally alive to-day as it was while he still went about among the people, creating his own characters over again in the "garish" yet supremely friendly "lights" of that stage which was never far distant from his heart of hearts. Dickens, first of all, had the golden heart of human sympathy.

The magazine is made the more attractive by coloured plates representing famous pictures of Dickens's characters—Mr. Micawber, Bob Cratchit and Tiny Tim, Sidney Carton at the guillotine, Dick Swiveller and the Marchioness, Alfred Jingle, the Squire, the two Wellers, Cap'n Cuttle, Mr. Peggotty.

In the *Scribner's* Christmas number there are four coloured plates by Jessie Wilcox-Smith—Pip and Joe Gargery, Jennie Wren, the little dolls' dressmaker, Oliver's first meeting with the Artful Dodger, Mrs. Kenwigs and the four little Kenwigses.

HUNTING SONGS.

ORTON BRADLEY, in *Baily's* for December, writes an interesting paper on hunting songs. He says that the hunting horn was not known in classic times, but was in use on the continent of Europe earlier than the thirteenth century. Then, in place of the horn of the ox, were made horns of metal, later of ivory. The two earliest English hunting songs belonged to the beginning of the sixteenth century, "Blow the Horn, Hunter," and "The King's Hunt is up." The air seems more like a dance tune with sporting words than a hunting song. The earliest hunting songs which approached to the ideal hunting song belonged to the middle of the seventeenth century:—

A great majority of hunting songs and descriptive pieces have taken the horn for their principal colouring. Under the fourth Louis hunting became in France an exact science, and the "Chasse à courre" was gradually, as it were, crystallised and was only permitted under rigid rules. In conformity with these rules, the wild music of the horns was fettered and made to take the shape of certain calls and fanfares, to each of which was given a particular signification. Finally, Louis XV. and Dauprerre, his Master of the Hunt, selected and composed the accepted "tons de chasse," which have been played, until quite modern times, whenever the "chasse" was properly carried out.

In Germany and in France the quantity to be found is considerably less. The reason for this is partly the great popularity of the chase in England, which has so greatly enhanced our appreciation of the poetry and music which illustrate hunting, and partly the fact that in both the other countries it is possible, as it is also in America, to go hunting with a gun, a habit which sometimes confuses the issue.

LUTHER'S DEFENCE OF BIGAMY AND FALSEHOOD.

IN the November *Century* Professor A. C. McGiffert concludes his series of papers on Martin Luther and his work. He refers to Philip of Hesse's plea to Luther for authorisation of his taking a second wife, his first wife being still alive. Luther advised the Prince to marry the second wife:—

He was quite aware that he could not suspend the law of the realm in Philip's favour, and make a legal marriage of an illicit relation by any dispensation he could give. Assuming the *rôle* of a father confessor, already familiar to him for nearly thirty years, he simply undertook to relieve the landgrave's burdened conscience by pronouncing his secret union with another woman justifiable in the sight of God. In the sight of others, he insisted, the union could be nothing but concubinage, and for Philip publicly to treat a concubine as a wife, and to claim he was legally married to her, would be a wanton defiance of the law of the realm.

It was, of course, of the very essence of such a relation that it be kept secret, and when Philip was disposed to let it be publicly known, in order to save the reputation of his new bride, Luther objected strenuously, exhorting him to deny it flatly, if taxed with it, and declaring he would not hesitate to do the same.

The proposed denial of the marriage, which seems to throw so sinister a light upon the whole affair, Luther justified somewhat sophistically by an appeal to the traditional maxim of the inviolability of the confessional, requiring the priest, if necessary, to tell an untruth rather than divulge its secrets. He justified it also by the more fundamental principle that the supreme ethical motive is regard for our neighbour's good, and it is better to lie than to do him harm. To this principle, taught by not a few ethical teachers of our own as well as other ages, he gave categorical and emphatic expression.

The Professor sums up his estimate of Luther's life by saying that "from every point of view Luther was a prophet. It is the one name which best describes him." The overwhelming impression left is not of his prophetic vision, but the greatness of his personality:—

Full of faults he was, faults of temper and of taste—passionate, domineering, obstinate, prejudiced, violent, vituperative, and coarse—but he was a man through and through—a man of heroic mould, courageous, strong, masterful, frank, sincere, and generous, as far from petty jealousy and cowardly duplicity as from priggishness and cant. He was in deadly earnest, and yet had the rare and saving grace of humour.

He adds:

The supreme Christian duty was declared to be labour for the good of one's fellows, instead of concern for the salvation of one's own soul, and a justification was thus given to social service, the worth of which Christendom is only now beginning to realise.

Everybody's Story Magazine is full of good stories this month, but by far the best is "The Kist o' Whistles," a charming Scotch tale by Greta Gilmour, which would be worthy of a Barrie.

DOCTORS IN NOVELS.

MR. S. SQUIRE SPRIGGE, M.D., writes an entertaining paper in the December *Cornhill* on medicine in fiction. There is a great deal of mordant humour, which novel readers and novel writers will appreciate with different feelings. One passage may be quoted :—

The novelist never seems to have the slightest knowledge of the professional medical life. He is ready enough to credit the members of the medical profession with many shining virtues and equally ready to darken their reputation with calumny, the unfortunate result being to leave upon the public mind the impression that the average medical man is not an average member of society. The idea which the public might well derive from reading many novels is that to call in a doctor is an extraordinarily fluky proceeding, as the medical profession is divided sharply into heroes and knaves. The heroes lead a strenuous life, succouring the sick in desperate circumstances and refusing fees; operating at the briefest notice when a hair's breadth to the right or left in the making of an incision would be certain death to the patient. The knaves murder, cozen, and keep bogus sanatoriums. They vivisect for pleasure, their humanity is dead within their breasts, and they pass existences that are a standing reproach to the law of the land. Now undoubtedly either sort of description of the medical life, whether the roseate glow of eulogy or the green cast of detraction is employed, does no good to anyone.

BESIEGED BY STRIKERS.

IN the *Cornhill* for December a railway clerk who had been an Etonian describes his experience of the railway strike. He took on duty as signalman along with an ordinary signalman. A dense crowd surrounded the signal-box, called them "blacklegs," and shouted to them to "come out." Gradually the crowd came nearer and got on the line. A dozen climbed up the steps, threatening the occupants with fearful penalties if they did not come out of the box that instant. The railway clerk remained sitting in his chair, but the other signalman got up and left, saying, "It's no use! I must go out; they'll wreck the place if I don't."

Next day the clerk was moved to another important junction, which he reached by circuitous routes on his bicycle. He found that a previous signalman had been forcibly removed by the strikers, and the box had been empty for about three-quarters of an hour. Later in the day four soldiers, a sergeant, and three men arrived, with rifles, blankets, mess tins, and bayonets, all complete. Next morning he learned that the pickets had been prowling around all night. They had not tried to come near the box because of the soldiers :—

Picketing at this particular town was anything but peaceful. One of the clerks in my office, when going to the station, got a severe kick on the shin from one of the pickets, who, however, got in return a blow on the point of the jaw which knocked him senseless. I think I am correct in saying that this man took no further picket duty during the strike. Then at a level crossing in the town a mob of strikers forced the gates across the railway and damaged them, and savagely attacked some loyal men who were sent down to repair the gates. On one occasion, too—I think it was on the Saturday night—a number of men threw stones from a bridge on to an engine which was leaving its shed to take a train forward. On the appearance of the military, however, things calmed down, and we had little further bother.

The writer and another old Etonian, when the strike was over, could say truthfully that there had been no hitch :—

No one could say the Company had endangered the lives of the public by putting incompetent men in signal-boxes, in spite of the many speeches to this effect which the various strike-leaders had delivered. Not only had the passengers travelled as safely during this time of stress as at any other time, but we could also say with truth that we had not caused any unnecessary delays. Nothing would have been said if we had, as safety is the first consideration; but both of us were positive that even if the regular signalmen had been on duty they could not have got the trains past with any less detention than we did.

CHECKING WATER WASTE.

IN the December *Windsor* Mr. C. J. I Clarke describes the methods for the detection of water wastage by the inspectors of the Metropolitan Water Board. The efforts of these inspectors have saved London at the present moment some ten gallons per head per day. The chief instrument of detection is the Deacon meter, which is fixed in various places in the mains, each recording on a drum the amount of water passing. The line of the normal is arrived at by the knowledge of the habits of the people of the neighbourhood and the amount of water likely to be consumed during the night. Should this normal be greatly exceeded, then inspection follows. The detectives are armed with stethoscopes, which they apply during the night along the line of the mains, and where they hear a hiss they know that there is leakage proceeding. They apply the same method also to the pipes leading into the houses :—

The search is continued at each house supply, the stethoscope telling readily when water is running through or escaping from the lead pipes which join the main. At times the men on night inspection have more than ordinary difficulty in finding the cause of waste, and sometimes they descend into the sewers and watch for a flow of water reaching the drains. As soon as they find this, they measure the distance to the manhole through which they have descended, and then run the tape along the surface until they arrive at the spot under which the running water was found, and so are able to decide the particular house which has water running to waste either through defective fittings or carelessness. Such a discovery is followed by a drastic notice to the householder to put things in order, or become liable to a fine of five pounds and have the supply cut off.

They have discovered that in the East End it is quite a usual thing for taps to be left running all night, to wash vegetables, or even clothes. Great is the surprise of the householder when he is confronted with the discovery made by the stethoscope.

IN the *Deutsche Revue* for November are published a few letters from a forthcoming volume of the Correspondence of Dr. Joseph Joachim. Dated 1856, several of them refer to the last days of Schumann. Joachim had gone to Heidelberg, where he hoped to spend the summer, but he was suddenly called to Bonn by a critical turn in the illness of Schumann.

MISS ELLEN TERRY ON DRESS.

STAGE decoration is the subject of the paper which Ellen Terry contributes to the Christmas number of the *Windsor*. She objects to the "kind of prettiness" that passes for beauty. "The direct and firelike expression of life can in no circumstances be ugly, must always be beautiful. It is sincerity in a production which is the most valuable quality." From Mr. Godwin, whom she met at Bristol, she dates her interest in colour, texture, effects of light on colour, the meaning of dress, and a certain taste for beauty. She recalls that in "The Corsican Brothers" Henry Irving had a very natural death-scene, but it didn't look natural, though he said it came natural to him to fall like that. From the audience he was foreshortened. And so she reflects, what is really natural should not in nine cases out of ten be done on the stage. It is through theatrical means, not natural means, that a play is made to hold the mirror up to nature. She believes in Mr. Godwin's principle, "entirely accurate or entirely fanciful."

WELL BUT CHEAPLY DRESSED.

"Both form and colour of all stage dresses must be governed by the individual actor's appearance, by the general scheme of colour in each scene, and by the relative importance of colours." The writer proceeds:—

To carry out such a scheme it is not always necessary to spend a great deal of money. I think I may say, without boasting, that I have always been well dressed *on* the stage, but I doubt if there has ever been a more cheaply-dressed actress. Off the stage, *tout au contraire!* After trying garments of every size and shape in private life, I have ended by adopting the Japanese style one day and the Greek the next. A cupboard full of unworn corsets bears witness to the number of presentations and representations I have received (and disregarded) from stay-makers and stay recommenders, begging me to improve my figure. But on the stage I have submitted even to the iron body-casings of the Tudor period. As Queen Katharine I paid my tribute to archæology in those awful stays, and added thick brocade dresses with fur sleeves of tremendous weight. But my preference is for a loose, diaphanous dress—I am always happy in it.

WHAT HER DAUGHTER DID.

Of her daughter Edy, when at school, she relates this incident:—

She wrote to me and asked me to send her some money, as she wanted to go to a fancy-dress ball. Times were improving with me then, but I still had to be very careful, and I answered that I was sorry, but luxuries were not for the likes of us—that this was one of the things she *could* do without, *must* do without. But I enclosed a postal order for two shillings and sixpence, telling her that if she could make a "fancy dress" for *that*, she might go to the dance. She spent sixpence on the dress, and squandered the rest of that large sum on chocolate! My young lady went to the ball, and her dress was the success of the evening. With burnt cork on her face, neck, arms, and ankles, brass curtain rings in her ears, and old red slippers on her toes, she took the Turkish towels from her bath-room and draped her little body with them, twisting one around her head into a fine turban. With these and her own clever skill, she presented an Arab boy of immaculate appearance—and all for sixpence! Again, the other day we hastily arranged to do the sleep walking scene from "Macbeth" at an entertainment in our village town hall. I had my dress for Lady Macbeth; the doctor's was hired from London, but Edy, as the gentlewoman, appeared to the greatest advantage. She looked splendid.

"What a fine dress, Edy!" I said, when I first saw her in it on the little platform, where she was busy arranging the lights before the curtain went up. "Where did you get it?" I knew she had none of her stage dresses in the country, and that she had not had time to write to London for one.

"I made it this afternoon," said Edy, and there was laughter in her eyes. "The underneath part is an old dressing-gown of yours turned back to front. The overdress is a tartan rug belonging to the dog, the head-dress is a motor-veil, and the ornaments are bunches of buttons!"

IS FRANCE PAGAN?

IN the *Sunday at Home* Mr. W. Grinton Berry raises this question. He answers, "Yes. The governing authorities and the Government of France are positively and deliberately and actively hostile to the Christian religion." He notes three stages in the development of the anti-Christian tendency in the schools. In the first stage the name of God is found in the school books, no sectarian instruction is permitted to have a place, but duty towards God might be taught as comprised in natural and philosophical religion. The second stage recasts multitudes of passages in order to get the offensive word, the name of God, out of the way:—

Last stage of all, and the present one: the faith of a Christian is denounced and derided, the standard of unbelief is unfurled, God and Jesus Christ and religion are banished from the schools of France, and the vacant thrones are filled by abstractions called Reason, Science, Self-Interest.

A chapter on the final object of science—namely, to know and love perfection or God—is replaced by one entitled "The Age of Electricity." The love of God becomes the love of humanity. God and religion and the soul are expelled from the school. It is a conspiracy of silence. The Crusades are described without the name of God or Peter the Hermit. The religious side of the character of Joan of Arc is ignored. All reference to the great figures of religious history and the great ecclesiastical buildings are deleted. The school books are inimical to the Christian faith. Mr. Berry gives certain quotations from the school books:—

No belief concerning God, the origin of the world, the origin and destiny of man can be accepted by thinking people; all that we can do in these matters is to make suppositions.

The Gospels contain moral conceptions which shock the modern conscience.

Religion is founded upon fear and upon unverifiable hypotheses.

Pagan is hardly the word for this sort of thing. The pagans knew better.

SUBSIDISED journalism in India, which is now developing under the present Government, is, Mr. Hayavadana Rao points out in the *Hindustan Review*, no new feature in Indian life. The very first newspaper printed in Bengal, the *Bengal Gazette*, 1816, edited by a Bengalee Pandit, was under Government patronage, and Government patronage has been extended to the Press very frequently ever since.

THE PERILS OF AN EMPTY EMPIRE.

IN the *United Empire* for November the Australian, Mr. Harry S. Gullett, writes warningly concerning the empty places of our Dominions oversea. The world has become very small, he says. The European is close to Canada and Australia; the Asiatic is even closer:—

The Canadian talks bravely: so do we Australians. But who can traverse the thousands of miles of the American frontier across which is a nation ninety millions strong, a young ambitious nation which openly covets its northern neighbour's goods, and remain insensible to the futility of that talk unless behind it are many, many more Canadians than there are today? Who can be blind to the possibilities of trouble from Asia away out on the Pacific? In our hearts we know that the British Navy, and that alone, stands between us and the unscrupulous land-hunger of the world. We know that if that Navy goes down in the next few years we go down; or that at best we struggle on part owners of lands in which we are now absolute, destined to go warring through centuries with foes across a frontier.

Mr. Gullett has unconquerable faith in the richness of these empty lands. He says:—

Australia wants twenty millions of people as soon as she can get them; so does Canada. Those numbers would mean local safety. More, they would mean safety for the Mother Country, or at least a safety far greater than she can at present afford. It would mean, with a few more millions in New Zealand and elsewhere, the doubling of the white people under the British flag, and the doubling of its Dreadnought-building capacity and its strength on sea and land. It would mean safety against any conceivable combination of Powers. It would mean an extension indefinitely of British supremacy in the world. For we in Australia or Canada would not stop at twenty millions. Twenty millions would give us safety against aggression, but it would only represent a fleeting milestone along our march to greater strength and influence. From twenty millions we should rush to forty, and on to numbers you people in this brave little Homeland would find it hard indeed to believe possible.

To make the Empire strong against the aggressor we must people it. He concludes with an earnest plea that the people of the United Kingdom should give to the Empire's rich empty lands more of her sons. "Send us your people."

A TREASURE ISLAND TRULY.

IN the October *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* Mr. Granville Fortescue gives a pleasing account of the island lying sixty miles south of the coast of Cuba, charted as the Isle of Pines. It has had a chequered history. From the time of Drake it became a pirate rendezvous, the tomb of ill-gotten riches. Later it became a slave-fattening depôt, where the poor wretches half done to death in the passage from Africa were got into condition for the market. In March, 1908, an American named C. M. Johnson arrived in the island, with fourteen dollars in his pocket. He saw the commercial possibilities of the island. He bought 17,500 acres of the best land on the island for 200 dollars. By some means or other he found the money to cover the first option, formed a company of twenty-six Americans, and finally retired with a fortune estimated at a quarter of a million. The present settlers, after years of continued toil, have turned the pasture lands into some of the finest citrus orchards to be found in Cuba. The island is entirely owned by these Americans. They grow lemons and grape-fruit. The writer thinks that the most valuable gifts of Nature in the island are the thermal springs. They are beneficial beyond the mere figures of the analysis of the curative properties they possess. The island could be made into one of Nature's sanatoriums, a winter health resort without rival. But to attract invalids a well-arranged, up-to-date hotel, etc., with all luxurious appliances, is needed. The writer prophesies that the man who turns this idea into a reality will achieve great profit for himself, as well as prove a real benefactor to those that suffer.

THE POPE AND THE BIBLE.

MR. E. T. BALDWIN does not like the Pope's pronouncement against Modernism, but with that exception his paper on Pius X. in the *American Review of Reviews* is an unbroken eulogy. He tells how the fiction of the Pope being a prisoner in the Vatican tells hardly on the old man, who would gladly get back to his earlier haunts. Everyone knows that when he left Venice to come to the Papal Election he took a return ticket. It is said that night after night the new Pope, heartily homesick, will take out that return ticket and gaze long and fondly at it.

The first tussle between what might be called the Vatican lobby and the new pontiff took place over the bishopric of Lucca. A certain nobleman who had embraced holy orders was recommended by the lobbyists:—

The Pope called them to him. "My children," he began, "you have tried to make me advance a patrician and not a plebeian to the episcopate. But I have done the latter thing. Do you not see that your course is only a way of saying that, if you had had your way, I should not be Pope?" The lobbyists saw the point. They recognised that, after all, the new pontiff was probably a stiff-necked mountaineer, and that he would have to have his way for a while. He has.

The Pope is strongly in favour of popular use of the Bible. The writer says:—

Despite the standing charge of many Protestant bigots that the authorities of the Church of Rome would always oppose the reading of the Scriptures by the people, the translations and explanations of the Gospels in Italian, printed by the authority of the Saint Jerome Association, received the Pope's special approval. He declared:—"Gladly do I give my blessing, and that with both hands and with a full heart: for I do not doubt that this work will produce the richest fruit, and is already blessed by God. The more we read the Gospels the stronger our faith becomes. The Gospels are writings valuable for everybody, and under all circumstances. I have lived among the common people, and know what they want and what pleases them. Tell them the simplest Bible stories and you will have attentive listeners and effect blessed results. Your purpose is to spread the Gospel. You are doing a noble work. Some people think that the peasants, with their plain, everyday way of thinking, would not profit by the reading of the Scriptures. This is incorrect. The average peasant is a shrewder thinker than we may suspect and knows how to draw the correct lessons from the Scriptures often even better than many of the preachers."

Leo XIII., says the writer, was the last purely temporal prince of the Church. Pius X. is before everything a spiritual prince.

MISSIONARIES AS DIPLOMATISTS.

IN the *American Review of Reviews* Mr. W. T. Ellis writes of Mr. E. T. Williams, Secretary to the American Legation at Pekin, who initiated the four-nation loan for the payment of which China pledged the revenue of Manchuria for forty-five years and so checkmated Russian and Japanese designs :—

E. T. Williams used to be a missionary ; that is how he got his perfect command of the Chinese language ; for there are precious few foreigners, outside the mission body, who master this most difficult of tongues ; probably it needs the grace of religion to support one through the ordeal ! Dr. Tenney, the Chinese Secretary of the American Legation at Peking, is also an ex-missionary ; as is also E. R. Miller, the present chief of the Far Eastern Bureau at Washington. Williams is Ohio born, and an M.A. from Bethany College, W.Va. He entered the ministry of the Disciples of Christ in 1875, preaching in Denver, Brooklyn, and Cincinnati for a dozen years. Then he went to China as a missionary, working there in this capacity, which brings a man closest to the people, from 1887 to 1896. Then he carried his knowledge of Chinese into the American consulate at Shanghai, where he acted as interpreter for two years. As translator to the Chinese Government at Shanghai, during the ensuing three years, he built up a wide acquaintance with the native gentry and officials, and a substantial foundation for his work as Chinese secretary of the American Legation in Peking, from 1901 to 1908. This post brought him into relationship with all of the leading Chinese, from the throne down, and his character, quiet, retiring, apt in courtesy, faithful in confidences and steadfast in friendship, won him the intimacy of many Chinese statesmen. He has been unofficial counsellor to many of them in trying times.

CANADA'S VICEREGAL PALACE.

IN the *Canadian Magazine* for November Mr. H. T. Branch writes on Ottawa Society and the Duke of Connaught. He says that had Britain sent over instead of Earl Grey or the Duke of Connaught one of the five hundred peers which were to have been, in certain circumstances, created, it would have reduced the office of an overseas Viceroy to a pitiable or laughable level. There is no ambassador's row in Ottawa. There are no great leaders of society, apart from the ladies of Rideau Hall, though Cabinet Ministers' wives and sisters do their part nobly. It was computed recently that Ottawa contained thirty millionaires. Ottawa has no great university, no great college, no great newspaper, no great shop. Had the Duke of Connaught been coming for a longer term :—

The five-year period might have permitted and induced the erection of a viceregal dwelling somewhat more creditable to the dignity of the Dominion than is Rideau Hall. The shorter period of two years is not sufficient for more than the customary renovation for a new occupant, a little painting, whitewashing, recovering of furniture, so to speak. The writer is not, of course, informed whether or not anything more considerable would have been in any case undertaken, but it is an admitted fact that the present building is a poor affair, speaking moderately. In common parlance around Ottawa it is termed "a shack," and actually it is a rambling unshapely structure, with odd corners which have been added from time to time, and the whole of which has been in continual need of repairs. Recurrent rumours there have been of plans looking to the erection of a palatial mansion somewhere to the north of the present building with an extension of the already large and pleasant grounds into the charming suburb of Rockcliffe, but gubernatorial influence—if it is a gubernatorial project—is limited, and, moreover, by the time the plans are evolved the end of the allotted term is within sight and the old Hall gets a new lease and a new coat of paint. The marquesses and earls of the past have made the best of the present premises, and so it must be with the Duke.

CRUCIAL TESTS FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

IN the *Forum* for November Mr. Julius Chambers pronounces the Monroe Doctrine to be in the balance. He says that the Argentine Republic is the most progressive State in South America. The population of their capital, Buenos Ayres, is practically European ; the municipal institutions are in the hands of Germans and English. The probabilities are that a landing in force by Germany, provided Great Britain were complacent, would be welcome. In such an event, England remaining neutral, the burden of saving the Argentine Republic from itself would devolve upon the United States, single-handed and alone. It is a vast State, but one which its possessors cannot defend from any European Power that seriously means to occupy it. Peru would fall easy prey to English capture, because all the commercial interests therein are British. The foreign wedge of assault, if it ever be driven into South America, will go through Uruguay, aimed at the conquest of Argentina. The writer concludes :—

Disappointed in Morocco, Germany is the one European Power likely to put the Monroe Doctrine to a test in the near future. Suppose she were to buy the Danish Islands in the West Indies, how could the United States enforce a withdrawal from the purchase ? Perhaps we would be willing to trade the Philippines for them ?—a relief in more ways than one. Suppose Japan to have designs upon the Galapagos Islands, as suspected ? What could the United States do, if Japan were to purchase them from Ecuador ?

"A GATE BEAUTIFUL."

UNDER the suggestive title "A Gate Beautiful, the Ragged School Union (32, John Street, London) issues a report of its wonderful activities on behalf of crippled and outcast children. In the cause of those who suffer Sir John Kirk has enlisted the services of workers from every grade of society. The officers of the Shaftesbury Society (as it is now known) include men like the King, Will Crooks, the Duke of Westminster, and a notable host beside, and the offices are not honorary. The name of Lord Kinnaird is more than a guarantee of tasks attempted and good work accomplished.

The report is a work of considerable literary and artistic merit, and the reader who sends sixpence for a copy will end by becoming a regular subscriber and helper to this one of the most humane of our national charitable agencies.

If by any chance the reader has prior claims on his cheque book, he will never regret the decision to become one of the Society's voluntary workers, whose activities in the past have induced even officialdom to depart from statistics and do things !

A PLEA FOR TRAINING FINGERS.

IN *Science Progress* for October Mr. T. S. Usherwood criticises the current tradition in education, and pleads for the general recognition of manual instruction in schools. He suggests the following time-table:—

1. For boys in secondary schools from the age of entry until the average age of fifteen:

Literary Work.	English Literature	2	10 periods.
	,, History	2	
	,, Grammar	1	
	Divinity	1	
	French	4	
Scientific Work	Mathematics	5?	19 periods, the distribution of which will vary slightly at different ages.
	Experimental Science	6?	
Manual Work	Workshop	4?	
	Drawing School	2	
	Music	1	3 periods.
	Physical Drill	2	
	Total		32 periods.

2. For boys in secondary schools from the age of fifteen until the leaving age:

	Classical Side	Science Side.	Commercial Side.
Classics	15 periods	6 periods	8 periods
English			
Modern Languages	4 ,,	4 ,,	12 ,,
Mathematics and Science	8 ,,	16 ,,	8 ,,
Manual Work	3 ,,		2 ,,
Other specialised subjects	2 ,,	6 ,,	2 ,,

WHEN SCOTLAND WAS MOST HERSELF.

"THE Making of Scotland" is the subject of an interesting study by the Rev. A. J. Campbell in the *Quarterly Review*. He says:—

It would be an exaggeration to say with some that, far from ending, Scottish history only begins in 1707; but the fact is, that the greater part of Scotland's contribution to human progress was made after that date. That contribution could not have been made without the Union; for the Union set the kingdom free from the fiscal disadvantages from which it had hitherto suffered, and enabled it to gain that economic stability which is the first requisite for a national fulness of life. A nation which in the past was famous as the fruitful mother of wandering scholars and soldiers could now offer her children a career at home. A land whose history seemed to be closed began to teach others how history might be made. How the wild Scots learned to teach the world lessons in agriculture and industry, in art, in philosophy, in literature, in science; how the land which could offer no future to scholars like Machabæus or Alcsius, or to soldiers like Buchan or Patrick Gordon, could provide a worthy seed-plot and environment for such men as Hume, Adam Smith, Burns, Reid, Raeburn, or Scott; how dirty and turbulent Edinburgh could become one of the literary capitals of Europe; how the dreaded Highlands could send poets and publishers to London—all this is a story as worthy of narration as the story of Bannockburn or the Covenants.

SCOTLAND TORY AT HEART.

The writer agrees with Mr. Mathieson that the "carle-stalk of hemp" in Scottish history is found in the temperament which reached one of its fullest and most triumphant expressions in Moderatism. It is interesting to read that up till 1730 Scottish farming was in a fearfully backward state, in spite of the efforts of the landowners to introduce English methods. In 1730 the tide turned, and Scotland soon began to teach England. The writer boldly declares that "though outwardly Whig, Scotland at heart was Tory." Scott and Chalmers, who both represent Scottish feeling in its most permanent form, were both Tories. "Scottish Liberalism could not have reigned so long if it had not been rooted in a sub-conscious Toryism," and the real sympathies of Scotland are seen in the homage which has been paid to Scott and Chalmers as to no other men of the nineteenth century.

TO STOP CONSUMPTION.

THE COST AND THE SAVING.

IN view of the provision made in the Insurance Bill for a determined attempt to stamp out consumption, it is worth quoting what Dr. L. Haden Guest says in *Nash's Magazine* for September on the cost of tuberculosis. He reckons that it costs annually 60,000 lives, which means on the average two and a half years further life in each case. Reckoning each year of life as worth a minimum of £23, that loss reaches beyond two and a quarter millions every year. The agencies at work to combat tuberculosis are reckoned as costing three millions a year, and the reduction in earning power during the process of the disease is put at two millions per annum. So the writer arrives at the total of seven and a quarter millions as the annual loss owing to tuberculosis. Yet this is a preventable disease. Prevention would require the extinction of slums. "Kill all the bacilli in the world, but leave one slum untouched, and consumption can spring up again and spread over the world out of that slum."

Phthisis and overcrowding advance in the same ratio.

SPEND FOUR AND A HALF TO SAVE SEVEN MILLIONS.

Passing to consider necessary remedies, the writer declares that milk and butter are the most dangerous means of conveying infection. All cattle should be regularly inspected, and milk from tuberculous cows rigorously prohibited. The first step is to make consumption compulsorily notifiable; next, to establish anti-tuberculous dispensaries in every congested area, to visit, instruct, and report upon all cases of the disease. Then sanatoria are needed. At present there is at the utmost only one-fifth of the accommodation required. The school clinic would be a valuable asset. The campaign suggested costs about four and a half millions a year, and would stamp out tuberculosis in from twenty to thirty years' time. Is it not worth while, the writer asks in conclusion, to invest four and a half millions for thirty years in order to save seven millions a year for perhaps hundreds of years?

THE TRIUMPH OF WAGNERISM.

THE centenary of Wagner's birth does not occur till 1913, but then surely we shall witness the celebration of celebrations. Meanwhile Wagner literature grows apace. Since his death not only has more been written about Wagner than about any other composer, but in the amount of literature devoted to him and his music in recent years Wagner runs Shakespeare hard, and indeed almost anyone else in the same period. The *Bookman* for October, being a double illustrated Wagner number, may be regarded as an "advance" commemorative centenary volume. Mr. Reginald R. Buckley, who writes on the theatre at Bayreuth, says that the ordinary theatre is concerned with Money and the opera-house with Society—words which symbolise all that was most loathsome to Wagner. Though Bayreuth is first an expression of Wagner's art, it is, besides, the home of a nation's folk-lore, living again in the art of our own day. The time has come, he adds, for a wider interest in the whole subject of Wagnerism, which may be summed up as a vision of a better earthly life, as a Morris or a Ruskin might conceive it. Dr. William Barry contributes an article on the life of Wagner. Referring to the music-dramas, he notes how far Wagner stands out beyond Meyerbeer, Rossini, and Verdi. How different the century would appear to us if Wagner had not arisen, or had not moved on from "Rienzi" to the "Ring of the Nibelung," and to "Parsifal"! The year of "Parsifal" (1882) saw him at the height of his destiny. Europe hailed him king in musical drama, poet whose rendering had brought legends from books to life, prophet of better hopes than civilised man had yet fulfilled. All this he had done by sheer holding out against a world bent on defeating him.

A NEW SOURCE OF DANTE.

IN the *North American Review* Mr. Arthur Benington, Vice-President of the Dante Society, announces that Professor Paolo Amaducci, of Rovigo, promises to publish this autumn a book which, he says, will necessitate the revision of all the commentaries of the "Divina Commedia," as they do not recognise the source from which Dante derived the scheme of his trilogy:—

Professor Amaducci's theory may be stated briefly as follows:—That Dante's journey, from its beginning in the dark wood to its end in the Empyrean, is an image of the journey of the Children of Israel, from the exodus from Egypt to the arrival at the Promised Land; that the hundred cantos of the "Divina Commedia," to be properly understood, must be divided into forty-two marches and stopping-places ("mansions"), as was the journey of the Israelites; each march and resting-place having the same allegorical meaning that St. Peter Damian attributes to those of the Israelites. A synopsis already published in *Il Giornale Dantesco*, of Florence, reveals an extraordinary parallel between the work of Dante and that of St. Peter Damian, sufficient, indeed, to make out a strong case for the Rovigo professor.

ST. PETER DAMIAN.

St. Peter Damian, who is thus set forth as the inspirer of Dante, was born at Ravenna in 1007, and died at Faenza in 1072. He was the bitterest foe of simony and of the married clergy—a man of the type of Hildebrand. The work in which Professor Amaducci believes he found the key to the "Divina Commedia" is addressed by St. Peter Damian to Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII., and its occasion is the habit of a certain monk to abstain from meat for forty days at other times than those prescribed by the Church:—

The saintly author collects biblical references to the number of forty and its mysteries, and then, symbolically interpreting the forty-two places in which the Israelites sojourned in the course of their forty years of wandering on the way to the Promised Land, he demonstrates in the mystical scholastic manner of his day that the allegorical meaning of this journey is the path of life of the Christian man, who arrives at real perfection and bliss by passing, as it were, through a like number of steps or grades of virtue.

Mr. Benington gives a table showing on one side the names of the forty-two stopping-places, or "mansions," of the Children of Israel, with their interpretation by St. Peter Damian, and on the other side a synopsis of the passages in the "Divina Commedia" which Professor Amaducci believes to correspond. Mr. Benington confesses that at first sight the relationship between the passage in the "Divina Commedia" and the mystical or allegorical meaning of the "mansion" is in many cases not evident, or even apparent. He expects that the promised book will undoubtedly start a tempest of criticism and counter-criticism.

OFFENCES OF BRITISH TOURISTS.

THE November number of *Chambers's Journal* returns to the question of the Reform of the British Tourist, and Mr. F. G. Aflalo makes suggestions for the treatment of the offenders. He complains of the manner of dressing when abroad, behaviour in places of worship and entertainment, loud talk, ignorant contempt of the manners and customs of other countries, and, occasionally, unaccountable familiarity with the natives and indiscriminate gifts of money or strong drink, not from generosity, but in the spirit of patronage. How could any league or society mend these evils? it may be asked. Quite simply by ridicule. Every member should be pledged to lose no opportunity of reporting to headquarters the worst cases, with the offender's name whenever it could be ascertained, and Mr. Aflalo hopes the society would be strong enough to publish a monthly magazine, a section of which would be devoted to giving publicity to these cases. At all events there would be ample material for the caricaturist wherewith to attract the editors of established journals. He is sure actions for libel would be very rare. Ridicule kills extravagance where serious criticism fails.

BABOONS AS WAITERS AND SHEPHERDS.

IN the "Unconventional Reminiscences," which W. S. Scully contributes to *The State* for October, he describes a baboon hunt, and then bears witness to the high intelligence of the animal. He says:—

The South African baboon possesses intelligence of a high order and is quite capable of being, if not civilised exactly, tamed to man's service. The natives always say that baboons and monkeys can talk, but are afraid to do so within human hearing lest they should be captured and made to work. I know of two quite authentic instances of baboons having been completely domesticated. One was at Uitenhage, where a pointsman on the railway line lost his legs through an accident. This man had a tame baboon which used to haul him down on a trolley every day to the scene of his labours, and there, under direction, manipulate the points for him. This went on for many years. The baboon in question used sometimes to be brought to the hotel in the evening. There he would act as waiter, carrying trays of liquor to the guests. However, one of his peculiarities had to be taken into account. A glass of his favourite tipple—I forget for the moment what it was, but it was something alcoholic—had to be placed on the tray with the other items. After carrying the tray to where the guests were, he would place it on the floor while he consumed his own beverage. Then he would walk from one guest to another, distributing the drinks. If anyone attempted to help himself before the waiter had consumed his own drink, a disturbance ensued.

The Waiters' Trade Union should keep a sharp eye on these possible rivals. Mr. Scully goes on:—

The other instance was that of a baboon captured when very young on the farm of a Mr. Rogers, in the Cathcart district This animal, when it grew up, was trained to the calling of a shepherd; and a most excellent shepherd it made. Intense love for the animals under its charge was this creature's dominant characteristic. It was regularly rationed, and it slept in the shed with its charges, which it could not bear to let out of its sight. The baboon's only fault was the outcome of its extreme solicitude; if the most distant coughing-bark of a wild baboon was heard in the veld, the shepherd would hurry his flock back to the homestead and pen it in the fold.

CONGO LOGIC.

IN the *Sunday at Home*, Rev. J. Lumley Davies, describing life on the Congo, says:—

The horror-stricken natives are often filled with a burning hatred when a white man approaches their village. They have their reasons for this. They believe that the white man is very wicked and that he lives under the sea. Does he not come in ships, the masts of which are seen first coming *up*, and depart in ships, the masts of which are seen last going *down* into the sea? And if another proof is needed, is not the following a sufficiently convincing one? All we people who live on the earth (the natives say) have curly hair, but all white folk, because they live under the sea, have straight hair; this is because the action of the water takes all the curl out of the white man's hair!

Moreover, is not the white man treacherous and deceitful? Whenever a native dies, is it not true that the white man, when he can, takes the body to *Mputu*, and there, through his strong magic, he restores the native to life again, and forces him to make cloth—a work which the white man himself does not like?

Then—how *can* the black man love the white? The latter has taken all his ancestors, and he knows not how soon he himself may be taken. Had the white man not been in the Congo, very few of the natives would ever die!

Here, perhaps, the premises may be faulty, but too often the conclusion appears only too sound.

PLAIN SPEAKING BY AN INDIAN.

IN the *Indian Magazine* for November Mr. V. G. Pradhan, speaking on the social needs of India, attacks the priesthood and the caste system. He says the priestly class lives on the ignorance of the people. Afraid of losing the loaves and fishes, and unable to read aright the signs of the times, they act as a deadlock to reform. Even spiritually their influence does not make for the elevation of society. Such a priesthood must disappear if the twentieth century rationalism and humanitarianism have to do their purifying and elevating work in the reorganisation of Hindu society. It is high time that the caste system was sent to the limbo of oblivion, and the sooner it is done the better. He then deals faithfully with the Indian student, who, he says, has, broadly speaking, been a failure. "With certain exceptions, the Indian student in the West is becoming a degenerate. He is a superficial product of the veneer of Western civilisation, notorious for aping its worst features, and lacking those redeeming features which, after all, are the heart and soul of this seemingly materialistic civilisation. He is hardly serious in anything, excepting theatre-going. The student for the Bar is, I think, the worst sinner."

THE REVIVAL OF BIBLE LANDS.

WILL the Bible Lands become Great again? is the inquiry raised by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Sunday at Home*. He points out how that their decay has been due to disregard of the laws of nature and of religion. He thinks they cannot be now revived by purely commercial schemes. There are few places where reclamation could be a paying commercial proposition. Egypt is an exception. So probably is the Plain of Iconium, where the great German scheme of irrigation will not be completed for three years yet:—

The revival of the Bible lands can be brought about only by educating the people and producing in them the habit of work, and the knowledge how to direct their work. Those lands were in the beginning subdued to the use of man by the labour of generations of peasants, who worked for the benefit of their families and descendants, who trusted the future, and who did not demand a large or an early return on their outlay. Those peasants gave their labour and their lives, but they had no money to spend or to invest. Only by that kind of work will the same lands again be made fully productive; and for that a mental and moral regeneration of the population is necessary as a preliminary.

How shall such a regeneration be wrought? Where shall we expect a saviour of the people? I venture to think that missionary enterprise promises to bring about that desired result; and I see no other cause that holds out the slightest hope, no other agency that aims at or even dreams of improving the people of the Levant lands.

The Zionist movement Sir William does not welcome. It is, he says, a narrow sectarian movement, and he does not believe that the Bible lands can ever revive again through a narrow separatism. "That they will revive and be populous, prosperous and happy, I do not doubt."

WILL WOMEN EQUAL MEN IN SPORT?

IN the November *Fry's* an Oxford blue discusses the question, Are women approaching men in sport? In golf the man's record is 395 yards, the woman's 254. In the hundred yards' sprint, the man's is 9⅖ seconds, the woman's 13 seconds; long jump, man's 25 feet, woman's 14 feet 5¼ inches; in the 100-yard swimming, man's 55⅗, woman's 73⅘; throwing the hammer, man's 67 feet, woman's 36 feet; walking, man's 8¼ miles in the hour, woman's 6. Even in lawn tennis there can be little doubt that the best men could give the women more than 30 and beat them. Croquet is the only outdoor sport in which woman has beaten man. The writer thinks there is a prospect of women improving, but never to the point of being comparable with men in the most athletic sports. Woman has not the natural instinct or the temperament or the build suited for the more strenuous sports. As athletic men are never attracted by athletic women, the prospect of a eugenic development towards a more sporting woman is not great. The most successful athletic woman is not of normal physical proportions. She has larger hands and feet, bigger shoulders, a wider waist, and is less in girth elsewhere.

THE SHOPPING PALACES OF BERLIN.

IN the *Lady's Realm* for December Max Rittenberg gives an illustrated glance at the sumptuous stores of Berlin. With German thoroughness the Selfridges and Harrods and Whiteleys of Berlin utilise the services of art:—

The Wertheim store has its "Kunstberater" (artistic advisers) in the persons of Professor Looschen, an artist of distinction, and Fraulein von Hahn, who is also a personality in art circles. To them is confided the over-direction of the "practical men" who actually set up the goods in position for special displays.

If we imagine the London firm of Harridge and Snelgar calling in Sir Alma Tadema to stage an exhibition of autumn fashions; if we picture our Mr. Snelgar saying, "My dear Sir Alma, you have *carte blanche* to etherealise the sordid business of selling dresses"; then the situation will be brought to a sharper focus.

Fraulein von Hahn has a cosy little office of her own in the store, where she comes at her own hours. Her special work is the supervision of the show-windows, which are changed every four days, and therefore call for a steady, all-the-year-round inspection. The merchandise manager sends a memorandum to her, "To-morrow, windows six and seven are to display silk stuffs," and the rest is left to her discretion.

Marble, onyx, and bronze are everywhere throughout the store; window-boxes of growing flowers circle the balcony around the central hall; elsewhere a fountain plashes amongst palms and ferns and mosses and invites the tired shopper to rest and be soothed.

A MARKET-PLACE DE LUXE.

The Passage Kaufhaus, which began as a combination of several firms, is now in the hands of a single firm. Of it the writer says:—

The architect seems to have said to himself, "I will embody the romance and the dignity of commerce in this building, so that all who enter its doors will feel that the shop need not rank second to the palace. I will create the sublimation of a market-place."

The idea is carried out with great simplicity, and yet it makes itself abundantly felt. Across a lofty arcade is thrown a miniature production of the Rialto at Venice, which carries with it the impression of romance of that city of merchant-princes. One of the ceilings is strongly reminiscent of the great dome of St. Mark's. Another ceiling brings to one a suggestion of a lagoon at dawn a-ripple with the slow tide that creeps across the islets to Venice.

The writer mentions one feature peculiar to the Berlin store—the picnic restaurant. "The idea is to let everyone help herself, pick out from the counters the delicacies she fancies and carry them off to a table, picnic fashion. It is immensely popular." Wertheim's has a palm-garden, where the husband is left for an afternoon nap while the wife roams the stores.

BEAUTY CONTEST AT ROME.

DR. PETTINATI describes in the *Lady's Realm* for December the election of a Queen of Beauty in Rome. Foreign newspapers having said that the classical types of Roman feminine beauty had disappeared from Rome, a great clamour ensued, and ultimately a beauty competition was organised, exclusively for girls under twenty born in Rome of Roman parents. At first encountering much opposition, it at last became very popular amongst the girls.

THE WARD "PRINCESSES."

Rome is divided into eighteen wards. In each ward was an elected committee composed of artists and journalists, who chose from among the candidates a "Princess" and her Maids of Honour. From these "Princesses" a Queen was chosen by an election in which every Roman citizen, man or woman, had the right to vote. One "Princess" was elected whose election was afterwards found to be illegal. She attended the banquet in honour of the girl who had supplanted her, sat near her, and made a speech praising her for her beauty. Afterwards she ran home and threw herself from a window, killing herself almost immediately. "Her pride had cost her her life."

THE QUEEN OF BEAUTY.

The eighteen "Princesses," accompanied by their Maids of Honour, made a triumphal procession through the streets of Rome, enthusiastically applauded by one-half of the inhabitants of the city. Rome chose the "Princess" of the Trastevere Ward to be the Queen of Beauty. Her name is Signorina Palmira Ceccani, a State cigarette-maker, a young girl of eighteen. An English sculptor had previously wished to carry her off; but she was already engaged to a young man, a modest artisan,

and she proposes to marry him at once, as the financial difficulties that were the only objection to their marriage have now been settled by the amount of prizes and presents which the girl received after her election. The Queen of Rome has been awarded by the Committee a prize of £200, and every Princess will receive a prize in money provided they marry in the next two years, a condition which is easily fulfilled. Nearly every one of them already has a lover, only too anxious to marry his beautiful sweetheart; and the rest since they became Princesses have received so many proposals that it will take them quite a long time to send an answer to all their admirers.

ALL ABOUT THE SOULS OF ANIMALS.

By Mr. C. W. Leadbeater.

Mr. C. W. Leadbeater, in the "Text-book of Theosophy," which is appearing as a serial in the *Theosophist*, touches in the November number on the fascinating subject of the souls of animals. When the second outpouring of life takes place it first ensouls the etheric part of the mineral kingdom, then it ensouls vegetables, and after that animals. When it reaches the highest level possible in the animal kingdom it may pass on into the human kingdom.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE GROUP-SOUL.

Minerals, vegetables, and animals all have souls, but they are tenants for a time of a group-soul. An ant group-soul is shared by a million ants, whereas one group-soul may be fully divided up between a hundred lions, and "the group-soul animating a hundred lions might at a later stage of its evolution have divided into, let us say, five group-souls each animating twenty cats."

It is not quite clear, but Mr. Leadbeater leaves the impression that each of these five group-souls might ultimately be merged in one human soul, which becomes henceforth one and indivisible.

DEATH AND THE GROUP-SOUL.

Mr. Leadbeater says:—

A lion, for example, is not a permanently separate entity in the same way as a man is. When the lion dies, that which has been the separate soul of him is, as it were, poured back into the mass from which it came. To such a mass we give the name of "group-soul." To such a group-soul is attached a considerable number of lion bodies—let us say a hundred. Each of those bodies while it lives has its hundredth part of the group-soul attached to it, and for the time being apparently quite separate, so that the lion is as much an individual during his physical life as the man; but he is not a permanent individual. When he dies the soul of him flows back into the group-soul to which it belongs, carrying with it all the experiences of its life on earth, and that identical lion-soul cannot be separated again from the group. But all the experiences of all the dead lions are pooled in the group-soul, from which new-born lions are furnished with souls—hence instinct.

HOW GROUP-SOULS BREAK UP.

Mr. Leadbeater uses a very ingenious simile to illustrate how group-souls break up. Imagine the group-soul as a bucket containing one hundred tumblers of water. Each tumbler represents the soul of one lion. When they are all alive the bucket is empty. But as each lion dies a tumblerful of water stained or flavoured by the experiences of the lion's life is poured back into the bucket:—

The whole bucketful of water gradually becomes richer in colour. Suppose that by imperceptible degrees a kind of vertical film forms itself across the centre of the bucket, and gradually solidifies itself into a division, so that we have now a right half and a left half to the bucket, and each tumblerful of water which is taken out is returned always to the same half from which it came. Then presently a difference will be set up, and the liquid in one half of the bucket will no longer be the same as that in the other. We have then practically two buckets, and when this stage is reached in a group-soul it splits into two, as a cell separates by fission. In this way, as the experience grows ever richer, the group-souls grow smaller but more numerous, until at the highest point we arrive at man with his single individual soul, which no longer returns into a group, but remains always separate.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEPARATE SOUL.

It will be a comfort to many good people who love their dogs too much to tolerate the idea of losing them in the next world, to hear from Mr. Leadbeater that the individualisation of a dog-soul is not impossible:—

The method of individualisation is the raising of the soul of a particular animal to a level so much higher than that attained by its group-soul that it can no longer return to the latter. Under favourable circumstances this development may proceed so far as to raise the animal altogether out of touch with the group to which it belongs, so that his fragment of a group-soul becomes capable of responding to the outpouring which comes from the First Aspect of the Deity.

THE MYSTICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPEL.

By Annie Besant.

The *Theosophist* for November publishes Mrs. Besant's lecture at Brighton on "Our Masters, and the Way to Them." It should be read together with Miss Marguerite Pollard's "Plea for Mysticism" in the same number.

THE DIVINITY OF MAN.

Miss Pollard says:—

According to the Theosophical teachings man is divine in virtue of the Divine Spark within, which is his Highest Self, and the Highest Self of each individual is a portion of the Great Self, one little point of light, a ray of that Infinite uncreated Light which is God. But though potentially divine from the beginning, man only becomes *conscious* of his divinity as he unfolds the godlike powers and develops the divine life within. This is best done by meditating on the indwelling Deity and on our unity with It.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

Mrs. Besant says:—

For the life of Christ is not only a historical record—though that it is; but it is also the story of the unfolding human Spirit through these gateways of Initiation. The First Initiation is symbolised by the birth of the Christ, when the Star in the East arises over the young Child; and the Second by the Baptism, where the Spirit descends upon Him and dwells with Him for evermore; and the Third by the Transfiguration on the Mount, where the inner Deity shines through; and the Fourth by the Passion—Gethsemane and Calvary—the death of the lower man. The Fifth is the Initiation of the Master, which is symbolised by the Resurrection and Ascension of the Christ. Over Him thereafter death has no power to slay, and life has no power to fetter. He is free, free in life and death; for He has realised the Eternal, and the life of earth and the death of earth are equally incapable of touching Him.

THE SAVIOUR.

And then, having thus risen and ascended, He becomes the triumphant Master, the Helper, the Saviour of men; having suffered all, conquered all, wrought all, He is able then to "help to the uttermost," not by taking the place of the weak, but by infusing His own strength into the weak, so that the weak becomes the strong; not by substitution of His purity for the foulness of the sinner, but by permeating the sinner with His purity, until he has also become pure. It is identity of nature, not substitution of person. And that is the life of the risen Christ—to help His brethren, who are still in the bonds of earth and death. The Master, the Master triumphant! You can reach that point; you can tread the Path He trod; you can achieve the goal that He has achieved.

CHARACTER AS SHOWN IN PALMISTRY.

A STUDY BY A MASTER PALMIST.

MR. C. WALTER CHILDE, who in his youth was on the business staff of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, has blossomed out into an expert palmist. In *T.P.'s Magazine* for December he discourses learnedly on "The Writing on the Hand," and illustrates his lecture by tracings of the hands of the following more or less notable persons whose palms he has been permitted to read:—

G. F. Watts.	H. B. Irving.
Andrew Carnegie.	William Archer.
H. G. Selfridge.	W. M. Rossetti.
Jack Johnson.	A. B. Walkley.
Sir W. R. Nicoll.	Harry Lauder.
W. T. Stead.	G. Bernard Shaw.
Hall Caine.	W. De Morgan.
Sir Gilbert Parker.	John Galsworthy.
Israel Zangwill.	Clara Butt.
William Crooks.	Mark Hambourg.
General Booth.	Rev. R. J. Campbell.

W. T. Stead
June 18 1901

G. Bernard Shaw
17 October 1901

By permission of the editor of *T.P.'s Magazine* I reproduce the tracing of two hands, together with Mr. Childe's exposition of their resemblances and differences.

Mr. Stead's hand is remarkable for its size, thickness, and yet shapelessness. It will be noticed that the head line crosses the entire hand, and slopes towards the Mount of Moon, which is very strongly developed, and indicates a strong leaning towards mysticism and imagination. This tendency is further emphasised by the short, smooth fingers. The thumb is an exceptionally persistent one, and, in combination with the protuberance of the Mount of Mars, indicates a man who would never own defeat. The absence of the Fate and Apollo lines testify to the fact that the subject has not profited much in a worldly sense from his many activities and enterprises, this being no doubt due to the fact that he has never commercialised his talents or sought consistently to follow any one particular branch of work. The owner of such a powerful hand would certainly be a law unto himself and quite unaffected by the ordinary ups and downs of life.

The shape of Bernard Shaw's hand is not square, as in the case of Mr. Hall Caine, Mr. W. T. Stead, and the majority of the literary hands. It is what may be called the useful type, denoting great adaptability, excessive versatility, and almost a butterfly nature. The unusual strength of the thumb, together with the prominence of the Mount of Mars, resembles similar indications in the hands of Mr. W. T. Stead.

The line of head, as will be seen, rises just inside the life line, and, as already noted, is both long and zigzaggy. This denotes, as have other indications already alluded to, great love of change and contention, in addition to the dramatic bent. The strong fourth finger denotes the fluent speaker and writer, while the even balance of the others denotes a man who would be disposed to follow his natural bent, irrespective of profit or loss.

The evidence afforded by these delineations as to the truth of palmistry would have been more convincing if Mr. Childe had not known whose hands they were whose characters he had to describe.

"IN the perfection of our characters lies the salvation of our souls. This is the true Gospel. Salvation is the work of the world, and we must work it out to its perfect finish before tribulation can cease." So dogmatically opens a paper in *East and West* for November. The reader may be disposed to ask, How are we to attain to the perfection of character? There's the rub!

MUSIC AND ART IN THE MAGAZINES.

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.

THE *Musical Times* for November contains an article on the London Symphony Orchestra, a new orchestra formed on co-operative lines in 1904. Nearly all the hundred or more members of which it is composed are British-born, so that the organisation is to all intents and purposes a British orchestra. Not only is it an exceptionally fine band of players, but it is generally recognised that no orchestra in the world possesses instruments of greater value. An important feature is that it has no regular conductor, an advantage in many respects. The public by this means has an opportunity of hearing and comparing the readings of the most eminent conductors — Dr. Richter, Herr Nikisch, Herr Weingartner, M. Safonoff, and others. The one-conductor system, on the other hand, secures unity of execution and of expression, but it has the disadvantage of stereotyping one view of the music performed. Owing to the co-operative basis of its constitution the orchestra is its own master, and for its own concerts it elects its conductors. In April, 1912, this orchestra will make a tour in the United States and Canada under the conductorship of Herr Nikisch.

MAHLER AND HIS EIGHT SYMPHONIES.

M. Jean Chantavoine contributes to the first October number of *La Revue* a sympathetic article on Gustav Mahler and His Symphonies. Mahler, who died recently, was a great conductor as well as a composer. When he was studying at Vienna he was too poor to pay for a seat at the theatres and concerts, and it is said that he heard for the first time a large number of well-known symphonies and dramatic works when he came to conduct them! He composed eight symphonies. Characterising them as a whole, three features, says the writer, stand out conspicuously—their enormous dimensions (some of them take an hour and a half to perform), the importance of the orchestral apparatus, which includes not only all the known instruments, but many which are obsolete, besides bells, etc., and the frequent union of the voice with the orchestra. From Beethoven's "Choral Symphony" Mahler claims to have advanced in the footsteps of Liszt, who gave us the Faust Symphony and the Dante Symphony, and of Bruckner, who tacked the Te Deum on to his last symphony. The German folk-song of semi-Slav Moravia and Bohemia plays the same part in Mahler's works as the Tzigane melodies in the works of Liszt.

"MY TIME WILL COME!"

In the *Month* for October, Mr. Edward F. Curran, writing on Liszt, remarks what a number of eminent musicians have hailed from Hungary—Joseph and Michael Haydn, Hummel, Joachim, Goldmark, Liszt, besides instrumentalists and singers. As Liszt was first and foremost an experimentalist, it may be that he will always be considered in that light. Some of his Rhapsodies, however, are pretty sure of a permanent place on the shelves of pianists; but of all his works, his songs, in the opinion of Mr. Curran, run the best chance of surviving. To-day there is still too much prejudice and too much partiality for a correct well-balanced judgment to be given; but in some quarters, where a few years ago his works would not be listened to, there is every appearance of a change of opinion. Perhaps his own prophecy may yet prove true: "My time will come!"

THE NEW LONDON MUSEUM.

Mr. Guy Francis Laking contributes to the *Art Journal* for November an article on the new London Museum, now housed at Kensington Palace, and soon to be opened to the public. Eventually, it is hoped, a building more accessible may be acquired for this collection of relics of the past. The object of the trustees is rather to bring forward the less antiquarian and the more popular features of London. In the section devoted to costumes, for instance, efforts will be made to give life to the various acquisitions. The figures will be dressed and placed naturally in the vitrines equipped to receive them, and there will be furniture and other fittings of the day. Scenes will be reconstructed as truthfully as possible, and genuine antiquity will be suggested. Mr. J. Seymour Lucas's collection of historical costumes has been secured, and it is proposed to arrange everything chronologically as far as possible. Innumerable relics recovered from the bed of the Thames—pottery, domestic utensils, weapons, and appliances of all kinds—will all be grouped in their respective periods. The museum will in no way compete with the existing museums. No rigid standard of craftsmanship will be maintained, and things of no particular value from an artistic point of view will often be acceptable on account of their association with an era. The trustees hope that collectors will render assistance by filling up gaps which at first will be inevitable.

A COLLECTION OF MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Just as the man who loves violins longs to possess instruments made by Stradivarius or Amati, the collector of old mathematical and topographical instruments is eager to discover instruments bearing the initials "E. H.," because he knows that these letters stand for Erasmus Habermehl, a consummate artist and maker of such instruments. In the *Art Journal* for November Dr. G. C. Williamson describes a collection of these treasures owned by the Strozzi family, every instrument being the work of Erasmus Habermehl. One instrument, a torquetum, was designed to measure latitude and longitude; another was used to measure height; a third was intended to take the apparent height of the sun; and a very attractive instrument in the collection is the cylindrical sundial. All the objects are rare and very beautiful.

Random Readings from the Reviews.

Pictures of the Elizabethan Age.

The December *Windsor* gives the reign of Queen Elizabeth in portrait and picture. There is only one portrait of the Queen herself, that by N. Hilliard, and one of Mary Queen of Scots by F. Oudry. There are pictures of the latter Queen's compulsory abdication of her crown, of the procession of Elizabeth to visit the Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, of the execution of Mary, of Elizabeth at Tilbury Fort, of the call to arms, of the famous game of bowls, of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, of the news of the defeat brought to Philip II., of Elizabeth dismissing the Earl of Essex, and of the death of Queen Elizabeth. There are portraits of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Burleigh. This is only one of a series of articles appearing in the *Windsor* every month, covering the whole history of England.

An Airship Planned in 1709.

The *Open Court* quotes from a newspaper published in the reign of Queen Anne, of date December, 1709, a description of a flying ship, said to have been invented by a Brazilian priest. The priest claims that he has found out an invention "by the help of which one may more speedily travel through the air than in any other way, either by sea or land, so that one may go two hundred miles in twenty-four hours." The visionary nature of the scheme may be inferred from the fact that the ship was to be furnished on each side with a pair of bellows, which must be blown when there is no wind, and on the cover were to be a good number of large amber beads, which by a secret operation will help to keep the ship aloft. What would the good priest think of the speed of our aeroplanes?

Curious Way of Catching Turtles.

In *Blackwood's* for November a writer describes what he saw of turtle-fishing on the coast of British East Africa. He tells how the natives use certain sucker fish, named "taza," varying in length from three feet to eight inches. They attach these sucker fish to their lines and fling them into the water. These then fasten themselves on to the turtles, some of which are over five feet long and two feet nine inches broad, and such is the tenacity of their hold that even the largest animals are unable to get away. The moment the sucker fish comes above water it relinquishes its hold.

Two Exploring Parties.

In charming pictures of Australian life, contributed to *Cornhill* for December by Mrs. T. H. Huxley, she gives this account of her ticket-of-leave cook:—

Henry the cook was an original. "How did you come to be in New South Wales, Henry?" I asked of him one day. "All along of exploring, Miss." "Exploring? I don't understand." "Well, this was the way of it, Miss. I was one of an exploring party in a big park one night, and we came upon a house and wanted to see what was inside of it. So in we went, but not by the front door. And when we was looking over beautiful silver things, there was a noise and a barkin' of dogs—and another exploring party comes in, but they wasn't our friends, and I got away and took a cold bath." "A cold bath!" I exclaimed in bewilderment. "Yes, Miss; a cold bath, and it was in a water-butt quite convenient, and the water was very deep and come up to my chin, and there the enemy found me. The enemy was in uniform, and dragged me out and put bracelets on my wrists, and was very nasty altogether; and I made a voyage with friends of mine right out to this country, and here I am a-cooking for your Pa and Ma and you, Miss, and a—raisin' of ducks and fowls. It ain't such a bad life, after all; but it was a grim one, you bet, before I got my ticket-of-leave." This account, interpreted, was that Henry had been caught in England robbing a house at night, and had been sentenced to transportation to New South Wales for seven or fourteen years.

A Three Hundredweight Plum Pudding.

Mr. J. F. Fraser, describing in *London* Christmas in London, declares that he does not believe there is a single family in the East End which has not a sound Christmas dinner, with plenty of plum pudding. He tells this story of Mr. Will Crooks:—

Mr. Will Crooks, M.P. for Woolwich, lives in Poplar—one of the most poverty-stricken regions of the metropolis. Last Christmas a huge box was delivered by carter at his house, so heavy that the carter, the attendant boy and Mr. Crooks had a job to edge it into the house, where it blocked the passage-way. It weighed some three hundredweight. But what was it? The lid was burst open, and one of the daughters, hastening to discover the contents, hauled out a handful of plum-pudding. The whole box was a conglomerate mass of hundreds of plum-puddings—small, large, well-cooked, badly-cooked, of different colours and different ingredients, all humped into one mighty lump. A London newspaper had been giving prizes for the best-made plum-puddings, and the editor, no doubt bombarded to desperation with plum-puddings, had several hundreds put into a box and sent to Mr. Crooks. The Crooks family—there are six or seven of them—set to work with all hands, and soon filled the household bath. The news ran round. Crowds gathered that afternoon, all seeking plum-pudding. Come evening there was still much left. It was all taken up to Shaftesbury Hall, where there was a tremendous "blow-out" for the children. They got rid of the last raisin. "Why, the kids ate until they almost burst!" said my informant. "And then we called for three cheers for the givers, just to aid digestion."

An Interesting Suggestion.

It is an interesting fact that English has been adopted as the language of scientific teaching in China, and that all the tickets on Chinese railways are printed in English as well as Chinese. If things go on as they are going on, the next generation will see Japan, China, and India included as integral portions of the English-speaking world. This would mean that considerably more than half of the inhabitants of this planet would have English as their first or second language. No wonder that a distinguished German *savant*, who has twice had the refusal of the post of Minister of Instruction in Prussia, in discussing the possibilities of a world-language, replied shortly, "The true *Weltsprache* is English—but," with a twinkle in his eye, "English is only a dialect of German!" If only this spirit pervaded his fellow-countrymen, then might the Germans welcome with joy, on patriotic as well as economic grounds, the inclusion of the eight hundred millions of the East among the speakers of this "dialect of German."

THE REVIEWS REVIEWED.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* of December is one of the best all round numbers ever issued. It establishes the *Fortnightly* as the best review published in the English language. Alike in selection of subjects and of writers, it is almost an ideal number. Only one article is missing. Nothing is said on the subject of woman's suffrage. Otherwise the number is almost above criticism. I quote elsewhere from the most important political papers.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BERGSON.

Mr. Joseph Solomon devotes a thoughtful essay to show the originality and importance of the work of this new French thinker. Mr. Solomon says :—

He has shown us the true field and nature of the operation of evolution, and has definitely distinguished it from those narrow and merely practical mechanical principles in terms of which Spencer thought it was properly expressed. In so doing he has removed the blight which the thought of it tended to cast on all our energy and aspirations.

THE LATEST INFORMATION ABOUT THE SUN.

Mr. E. V. Heward, in a brilliant paper on the Sun, Light and Life of the World, thus sums up the latest facts ascertained :—

The sun is distant from the earth 92,874,000 miles. Analysis of its spectrum shows that the sun is surrounded by an enormous layer of cloud, built up of solid (or liquid) particles, and that this layer is covered by an absorbing gaseous atmosphere. The body of the sun, a gaseous, self-luminous mass, has a density compared with water of 1·4—the earth's density is as 5·66. Though the sun's volume exceeds the size of the earth a million times, when placed in the mathematician's balance it is only 300,000 times as heavy. The earth's materials are four and a half times more densely compacted than those of the sun. His actual diameter is 866,200 miles. From boundary line of the solar system to its opposite the distance is 5,580,000,000 miles, the sun being in the centre.

THE WAGES OF RAILWAYMEN.

Mr. W. T. Layton, writing on the wages question in the railway service, after quoting largely from many figures as to wages and prices, says :—

If these various statistics are to be trusted, there is at least a *prima facie* case for a rise of wages, assuming that wages in other industries and the cost of living are tests of "fairness." Two points emerge by way of conclusion : In the first place, a good deal of unprofitable discussion would be obviated if some agreement could be arrived at as to how far such tests should be applied, and, if rejected, what is to be substituted in their place. Secondly, it is imperative that adequate statistics should be compiled by an impartial authority, showing, over a period of years, changes in the cost of living and in wages in various localities.

LITERARY ARTICLES.

Mr. Darrell Figgis writes on "The Art of J. M. Synge." Mr. Laurence Housman discourses eloquently upon "Reality in Poetry," and the Hon. Gilbert Coleridge writes with sympathetic appreciation of Montaigne and La Boetie as Friend and Husband. A new Russian serial, "A Leader : Scenes of Revolutionary Life in Russia," is begun in this number.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* publishes several articles on topics of the day, which are noticed elsewhere ; the remaining articles do not call for any detailed mention, with the exception of Mr. E. D. Morel's paper on France and her Congo. There seems to be a curse on the Congo. Mr. Morel has long ago familiarised us with the infamies of the Belgian administration, now it would seem from this paper that the French Congo is almost as bad, if not worse. It would be interesting to see if the curse clings to the part of the Congo that is handed over to Germany. Mr. Philip Morrell, writing on the Government and the Rural Problem, thinks that Mr. Runciman has got a good deal to do before he can wake up rural districts. The Small Holdings Act can only become a lasting factor in the recovery of the land if the following four conditions are complied with :—

(1) Direct action by the Commissioners.
(2) Improved valuation.
(3) Exemption of improvements from rating, and
(4) The promotion of co-operation and credit banks.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe discusses the relations between the Crown and the Indian princes. He thinks that we might utilise the Indian princes by making more use of the resources of the Indian States. Mr. A. C. Benson writes an essay on Fiction and Romance. Sir Arthur Evans pays a tribute to the memory of Miss A. P. Irby ; and an anonymous writer signing himself "Discipulus" reviews Mr. J. M. Thompson's book, "Miracles in the New Testament."

BLACKWOOD.

"MUSINGS without Method" have lost their old pungency since the defeat of the Peers. The chief feature this month is based on Viscount Morley's expressed desire that he might walk up and down the corridor of the House of Lords with Aristotle on one arm and Machiavelli on the other. The writer delights himself by picturing the vigorous condemnation which Aristotle would mete out to Lord Morley. Mr. Balfour's resignation is the subject of a very loyal appreciation. The rumour that Mr. Winston Churchill means to combine in himself the functions of First Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of War is discussed in another article, the writer recalling that some such idea was in the mind of Lord Randolph Churchill. He thinks that the rumour is not unworthy of consideration. The Italians in Tripoli have been separately noticed. Colonel Callwell recalls some Service reminiscences from India. There is a paper on first-class cricket in 1911, in which the writer thinks that there has hardly ever been quite so fine a cricket season from start to finish as that of 1911.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

THE issue for December is an exceptionally good number. The most notable article is Mr. Alfred Lyttélton's sketch of Mr. Balfour as leader. This, along with the other principal papers, has been separately mentioned.

THE DEVASTATING DELUGE OF GOLD.

M. de P. Webb, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, writes on the coming deluge—the ever-increasing output of gold, the annual total of which has risen from 16½ millions in 1851 to 94 millions in 1910, with consequent decrease in the value of money and heightening of the prices of all other commodities. He declares:—

During the next ten years a thousand millions sterling or more of the glittering metal will be added to the volume of gold already unearthed. And in the following decade, another thousand millions; and so on. To the rich minority far removed from the forefront of life's battle, the loss of substantial portions of their accumulated wealth consequent upon the shrinkage in the value of money is not a pleasant prospect. To the poor majority (including those thirteen millions of our home population who are always on the verge of starvation), a continuation of the rise in prices now in progress will mean not merely the stereotyping of the unsatisfactory conditions amidst which they are at present living, but an increase in the severity of their struggle for existence that can only result in the untimely downfall of large numbers of the more unfortunate.

The remedies that he suggests are the establishment of gold reserves for war and for commercial purposes, in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire, as well as increased facilities and opportunities for encouraging the flow of gold to India and the East.

LORD AVEBURY ON TARIFF REFORM.

Lord Avebury writes on the Duke of Devonshire and Tariff Reform, and concludes:—

It seems clear that: (1) Our commerce is increasing most satisfactorily; (2) It is increasing more rapidly than that of any of our Protectionist rivals; (3) While any plan which would tend to consolidate the Empire is entitled to respectful and sympathetic consideration, even if it involved a substantial sacrifice, no practicable plan has yet been proposed; and I submit, therefore, that the Duke of Devonshire was fully justified in his conclusion "that no sufficient case has been made out for disturbing the foundations on which the fiscal and commercial policy of the country rest."

WHAT MRS. HUMPHRY WARD LACKS.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., criticises Mrs. Humphry Ward's novels. He declares that her success is the success of a publicist rather than of an artist, that the salt of humour, the fire of passion, the personal charm of style are lacking. She is too much of a good citizen, but too little of an artist. She would sooner found an influential sect than write a supremely good book:—

There is, broadly speaking, in all Mrs. Ward's books either the adventitious interest attaching to a *roman* more or less *à clef*, or what I venture to call the guide-book interest: whether the guide-book introduces us to Italian landscape, to the Quartier Latin, to the environments of artist life in London, to the House of Commons and its appanages, or to the domestic circles of the really great, does not matter; these various themes are treated a little in the guide-book's vein. Or, again, there is the propagandist interest of an attractive and well-accredited heresy—a heresy on the side of the angels.

TO SOLVE THE SMOKE PROBLEM.

Mr. J. B. C. Kershaw anticipates that when manufacturers know that smoke abatement means money in their pocket smoke will rapidly abate. The domestic problem is more complex:—

A smokeless fuel, suitable for burning in the ordinary unscientific open-fire grate, so long as this retains the affections of the English man or woman, is what is required. When this fuel is obtainable in large quantities, and is sold at a price which will compare favourably with that of coal, the domestic smoke problem will be solved. If in the process of manufacture all sulphur can be fixed in some non-volatile form of combination, or can be removed entirely from the product, the general use of the new fuel will solve another and far greater problem, namely, that involved in the daily production of and distribution throughout our atmosphere of ten thousand tons of one of the most destructive and corrosive acids known.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Fabian Ware would avert Home Rule by a national finance council of the United Kingdom, which would prepare the way for subordinate English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh councils, which should in their turn form the nucleus of provincial legislatures. Sir Henry Blake, ex-Governor of Hong Kong, points out that no Chinese dynasty has lasted longer than two hundred and eighty-seven years. The years of the present dynasty number two hundred and sixty-seven. He wonders whether Yuan Shih-Kai will come as deliverer or as the ambitious strong man. Mr. E. E. Williams calls earnest attention to the tyranny of bureaucracy, against which the authority of the Courts is the sole protection of the individual. Mr. C. W. Emmet, replying to the Bishop of Winchester on the liberty of criticism in the Church, accepts Dean Inge's statement that the authority of the Church is the authority of the stored spiritual experience of humanity. Sir Arthur Clay finds the only protection against the terrible consequences of industrial revolt on a large scale in prompt and resolute action by the Government. Rev. E. McClure sheds the latest light from Egypt on the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Vernon Rendall gives genial reminiscences of Joseph Knight.

The Century.

THE November number is adorned with several plates, coloured and other, of marked merit. Miss L. R. McCabe gives a very interesting account of a visit to Lafayette's château, and Miss C. Cruger recalls the story of his imprisonment at Olmutz. Dramatic students will be interested in William Winter's sixth paper on Shakespeare and the Stage, dealing with "The Merchant of Venice." Mr. H. T. Finck's theory of wholesome eating, along with Professor McGiffert's "Martin Luther," and Professor Davis on co-education, are noticed separately.

CHRISTMAS NUMBERS.

Windsor is glorified with no fewer than fifteen pictures, most of them very richly coloured. In place of the opening sketch of a single artist's works, Mr. Austin Chester supplies a paper on the Manchester City Art Gallery, adorned with eighteen pictures. Nellie Hadden describes and illustrates in a most interesting way the new Zoological Gardens at Rome. Many of the pictures are very striking and amusing. Laurence North supplies a sketch of the child and his dumb friends, at once pathetic and entertaining. Miss Ellen Terry on stage decoration, and Mr. Clarke on waste water detection have, with other papers, been separately noticed.

The *Lady's Realm* opens with a suggestion by Waldemar Kaempffert of the theory that the Star of Bethlehem is a *nova*, or new star, such as Tycho Brahe saw in 1572. Norah Schlegel draws some comical cartoons illustrating the Seven Ages of Modern Man. Max Rittenberg's description of the Berlin stores and Dr. Pettinati's account of the Rome beauty competition claim separate notice. Mr. Stanley S. Naylor describes Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Asche at home. Their town house overlooks "Lord's" cricket ground, and for all that can be seen from its windows might be in the country. Mrs. Asche relates that when she went to Manchester to secure an appointment under Mr. Benson, she saw two actors standing there. Mr. Asche was one of them, and as soon as she had passed through the door he turned to his friend and said, "That is the girl I am going to marry."

One of the best things about the *Pall Mall* is its cover, in which Boy and Girl Scouts are seen stalking Father Christmas. There is a wealth of illustration. The issue is almost made up of fiction. Charles Pears tells of the ghosts of the sea in the form of spectral figures of men and ships of which the sailor-folk tell their tales. Mr. Charles Morley describes how child emigrants are leaving Old England by the shipload under the society for ever associated with Dr. Barnardo's name. An interview with a master of dancing is full of lamentation over the lost art of dancing. He says if you wish to find the best dancing in this country you must look for it among the middle and professional classes. You will not find it among the upper classes, for they have not the time to learn, nor will they take the trouble. Military men do not dance so well as naval men, for in most of the naval colleges they have weekly classes for dancing.

A feature in *London* is the "Carol of the Fir-Tree," by Alfred Noyes, illustrated in colour. The number is almost entirely composed of fiction. Mr. J. Foster Fraser describes Christmas in London, and gives a wide survey of the institutions that help to make Christmas happy for the poor Londoner. He says: "Rather a jumble of goodness, jollity, hard work, modern foibles and old customs is Christmas in London. But it brings 'goodwill to men,' and nowhere in the world is there a place with so big and generous a heart as London at Christmas-time." Mr. Arnold White pronounces British brains the best. Over against the disparagement of our intellect in comparison with Continentals, he insists that we have the best judges, the best administrators, the best warship builders, the greatest contractors, "a splendid Press." He has even a good word to say for the brain power of the regimental officer of 1911. He glorifies British women.

Scribner's indulges in the luxury of five coloured plates, and a series of beautifully tinted pictures illustrating a Berkshire winter. Some fine drawings by Garth Jones illustrate "Half-told Tales" by Henry van Dyke. The magazine is almost entirely composed of fiction.

With a Christmas double number the *Strand* attains its twenty-first birthday, and recalls with pleasure the tributes it has received from high and low. It boasts that it was read each month from cover to cover by characters so diverse as the late Queen Victoria and Cardinal Manning. The contents are chiefly fiction, but there is a symposium on the ten greatest men alive, noticed elsewhere. The songs of great schools—Eton, Charterhouse, and Winchester—are given, with music. There is an account of the home life of the Royal Family, and an interesting paper on spooring by Mr. Pocock, Superintendent of the London Zoological Gardens. Some pictures which Ruskin criticised are reproduced, with his criticism. A page of Spooneriana, collected by Mr. A. T. Corke and illustrated by Mr. G. Morrow, is one of the most amusing features.

THE ROUND TABLE.

THE *Round Table* this quarter contains two articles each of which would make a volume by itself. The first deals with Anglo-German relations, briefly noticed elsewhere. The second discusses the Congestion of Business in the House of Commons. It is a masterly, comprehensive, but somewhat despairing survey of the utter breakdown of the House of Commons as a legislative machine, and still worse as an arena for the adequate debate of public questions. It is illustrated by elaborate tables, which must have taken an immensity of patient labour to compile, showing exactly how the House of Commons makes use of its time. In the Home Section, Home Rule, the strikes, and the Conservative leadership are discussed. The Canadian editor discusses the General Election, the contest in Quebec, the Conservative Cabinet, and the Census. The South African section deals with the Census, Redistribution, Immigration, and the Neutrality of South Africa in Case of War. Australia supplies a paper on the Referenda, New Zealand Domestic Politics, the Citizen Army, Population, and Immigration. Under India the editor deals with Education, Foreign Policy, and Decentralisation. The *Round Table* is a most valuable review, the only review which deals seriously and systematically with the Empire as a whole.

THE WORLD'S WORK.

THE *World's Work* for December is entirely an Indian number. The editor does good service to our great Eastern dependency by directing the attention aroused by the splendours of the Delhi Durbar to a great many other aspects of Indian life. He begins by insisting that it is the duty of the British Raj to maintain its administration of India, and to turn its efforts against sedition as against famine, plague, and mutiny in the past.

LEADERS OF LIFE IN INDIA.

Mr. Humphrey Edmonston gives a short account of the six Viceroys who have ruled in modern India —Lords Ripon, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin, Curzon, Minto. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh gives an interesting account of some progressive Maharajas, the rulers of Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Patiala, Nabha, Mysore, Travancore, Gondal. It is a striking fact that many of these rulers have introduced free education, sometimes with compulsion added, while British India has not yet reached that level. "Indicus" sketches some commoners who count in the Viceroy's councils—the Hon. Sayed Ali Imam, Mr. Gokhale, and others. He mentions also certain Indian ladies who are advancing the woman's movement in India—Mrs. Chaudhrani (a Brahmo graduate), Mrs. Ranaday (a Settlement worker), Pandita Ramabai (Christian missionary among Hindu girls).

ENGINEERING TRIUMPHS IN INDIA.

Then follow some colossal engineering achievements which are among the chief boons conferred on India by her present rulers. Mr. Surya Prakash describes the irrigation system which has turned five and a half million acres of desert land in north-western India, known as the Bar, into a granary which in a single year exports grain worth about three and a half millions sterling. The British Indian Government is further developing the other canals, which will complete the greatest canal system ever planned, with 322 miles of main canals, 185 miles of branches, and 2,714 miles of distributories, costing in all fifteen and a half millions, and irrigating about two million square miles.

RESTORING ITS RIVER TO RANGOON.

Mr. James Armstrong tells how the engineer, George B. Buchanan, is saving the port of Rangoon from being deserted by the river on whose banks it springs. Rangoon sixty years ago was a mere dot on the bank of the Hlaing River. To-day it is a modern city of 300,000 people, possessed of every modern facility, electric light and tramways, a modern sewage installation, etc., wide well-laid streets flanked by imposing buildings. Mr. Buchanan undertook to erect a draining wall to keep the river in its original bed by the town. The sandy soil was, however, too treacherous a foundation for any masonry. Accordingly mattresses of brushwood 125ft. by 70 to 80ft., and 3ft. thick, were made out of six million bundles of brushwood and 50,000 bundles of stakes. On these mattresses the heavy granite was deposited and sunk into the silt, forming a durable foundation.

ELECTRIC POWER AND RAILWAYS.

Martin Heath describes the Tata hydro-electric scheme by which the late Mr. Gostling designed to utilise the tremendous rainfall on the western Ghauts, to supply Bombay with water, light and power. The supply will be at the cost of something between a halfpenny and three farthings per unit. The system has a head of water 1,734 ft. high, ten times as great as that of Niagara Falls. Mr. F. A. Talbot applauds the network of 35,000 miles of rail which stretches over our Indian Empire. He mentions that there are four gauges—5 ft. 6 in., 3 ft. 3⅜ in., 2½ ft., and 2 ft. The writer looks forward to the 300 miles bridge between the railheads of the Russian and Indian railway systems. When that gulf is bridged, or a railway run through Persia to Baghdad and to Baku, the distance between Bombay will be 5,700 miles; the overland journey may be completed in seven days.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Education in Hindustan is described by Mr. E. W. Power. He reports that only ten per cent. of Indian men and one per cent. of its women are able to read and write. Only one village out of five has a school. Progress has been made since the famous minute of Lord Macaulay in 1835. Fergusson College at Poona has as its head a Hindu Senior Wrangler of Cambridge, who receives merely a subsistence allowance of £5 a month.

Mr. Wallace describes the backward state of building in India. Mr. S. H. Karr gives an entertaining account of Kashmir, which he describes as the playground of India. Then follow short sketches of some Anglo-Indians, the English Premier of Baroda, Lovat Fraser, and Dr. Neve. The whole number is, as usual, admirably illustrated.

THE STATE.

THE November number shows the magazine still prosecuting its *rôle* of organ of South African self-consciousness. The editor falls foul of General Botha, whom he denounces as extremely "slim," full of professions of desire to destroy inter-racial feud, but playing steadily into the hands of one race. Old South African homesteads are described by Dorothea Fairbridge, and South African homes of to-day, replete with modern convenience and luxury, by Mr. J. D. Robertson. The paper is accompanied with admirable photographs of domestic interiors. Mr. Fred Connell tells of his experiences, prospecting and exploring, in Klein, Namaqualand. The enormous wealth running to waste in unharnessed waterfalls in South Africa is the subject of another paper—beautified with some lovely photographs of mountain and waterfall. Mr. P. M. Button recalls the birth of the gold industry. Art in Natal is illustrated by reproductions of Mr. Wallace Paton's pastels. Poetry and fiction are plentiful.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THE most important paper in the November number is Admiral Mahan's argument against arbitration, which is quoted elsewhere, as is also Arthur Benington's "New Source of the 'Divina Commedia.'"

TO REFORM THE U.S. CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Munroe Smith pleads that the American Constitution should be made more flexible. He offers the following suggestions:—

Proposal of amendments by the majority vote of both Houses in two successive Congresses; submission of such proposals to the legislatures of the several States or to conventions in the several States or directly to the voters in each of the States, as one or another of these modes of ratification may be proposed by Congress; and ratification of proposals by a majority of the States, provided that the ratifying States contain, according to the last preceding enumeration, a majority of the total population of all the States.

CANADIAN POLITICS VERSUS AMERICAN.

Mr. Henry Jones Ford contrasts American and Canadian political methods to the immense advantage of the latter. The difference seems to be in directness of election, in freedom from party domination in the ballot, in freedom from jobbery and office brokerage, exemption from pressure or servitude in the matter of offices, appropriations or franchises, in business-like administration and responsibility, in wider functions, in the dignity of legislators, in orderliness:—

The ability of a member is shown not by the number of bills he is able to pass or by the amount of appropriations he is able to get, but by his eminence as a debater and his acuteness as a critic of public policy. This explains how it is that workingmen may rise to such high positions in English commonwealths. A working man cannot rise in American politics unless he first accumulates wealth and ceases to be a working man.

Perhaps this fact sheds some light on the problem suggested by the Rev. P. S. Grant, how to put the people behind the law. Mr. Grant states that the general feeling amongst the working people is extremely bitter against the law; they have no confidence in it.

HOW TO GOVERN THE PANAMA CANAL.

Mr. Emory R. Johnson outlines the legislation he thinks necessary for the Panama Canal. He hopes that Congress will vest in the President of the United States military, civil, and judicial powers over the Canal zone, with the Colonel of Engineers appointed by him as President or Director of the Canal. Under him would be Departments of Canal Operation, of Railroad Operation, of Sanitation and Quarantine, of Zone Administration. As soon as the world can be informed what the arrangements will be, and especially what the tolls will be, the better it will be for the Canal, he maintains.

NIETZSCHE AND WHITMAN.

Mrs. L. C. Willcox writes on Nietzsche as the doctor for sick souls:—

It is doubtful whether Nietzsche will ever have a very wide circle of readers in America. Despite the fact that he is the ideal aristocrat and Whitman the ideal democrat, he has many points in common with our own unaccepted poet. They share the same grandiose egoism, the same courage to "sing myself," the same impatience with sick conscience, repentance, and remorse, and, finally, the same sense that as the individual acquires independence, freedom, and an expansive outlook he will become whole and well.

It is unnecessary to point out how alien is Nietzsche's whole attitude of mind to the American temper. He abhorred commercialism, humanitarianism, facile optimism, any form of casual, easy-going light-heartedness.

Of his relation to the Christian religion the writer says that Nietzsche mistook Christian morality to be the desire of the individual to save his own soul. She says:—

It is only when one realises that what that meant was that each individual should strive to subject his lower nature to his higher in the interests of all that one sees that our Western religion and our Teutonic philosopher were really aiming at one and the same mark: to make of man "an arrow and an aspiration after super-man." . . .

Many of his profoundest sayings are, she says, mere echoes of the sayings of Christ.

THE FORUM.

THE November number is notable for papers, mentioned elsewhere, on the Monroe Doctrine, by Julius Chambers, and the Defeat of Reciprocity, by Peter McArthur, as well as for Horace Traubel's reminiscences of Walt Whitman.

THE PROSPECTS OF HOME RULE.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, discussing the Irish question, says that Great Britain has allowed her Irish policy to be dictated by the extremists of Ulster for the last time. The power of Ulster Unionism to influence British opinion has progressively declined during the last twenty years. That and the House of Lords are the two chief obstacles removed. The Irish mind during the last two decades has taken a novel and most hopeful turn towards the concrete and constructive. Ireland is more prosperous than she has ever been, and, difficult as the Anglo-Irish financial relations will be, it has never been less difficult than now.

THE PRIMITIVE WORKING WOMAN.

This prehistoric person is the subject of a very interesting essay by Anna G. Spencer. These are the chief of her gifts to the race:—

The treasury of pre-human motherhood to dower humanity. The initiation of the race into useful and peaceful labour. The softening of the rigours of slavery by a unique appeal to pity and affection. The cultivation from within the home, even in captivity, of those co-operative impulses which make for social welfare.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Frank Harris, in his irreverent romance on primitive Christianity, should know his New Testament better. He represents Paul as requiring a believing wife to leave an unbelieving husband—which is flatly in contradiction with the teaching of the real Paul.

Mr. W. M. Cabot testifies to the growing appreciation of beauty in American life, and suggests a few ways in which a true realisation of beauty could help to overcome the national weaknesses,

THE ITALIAN MAGAZINES.

THE interest of the Italian reviews at the moment es rather in their comments on the war than in their eneral articles. The tone is distinctly more serious nd less provocative than last month. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit organ, maintains a carefully non-ommittal attitude. The *Nuova Antologia* discusses ne whole position dispassionately and with a full ealisation of its gravity, and pleads emphatically for policy of remaining on the coast and not venturing pon any hazardous expedition inland. The editor dmits frankly that the Italian nation was deceived s to the probable attitude of the Arabs towards nem, and that the resistance of the latter has intro-uced an entirely new element into the military ituation. The *Rassegna Contemporanea*, while testi-ying to the correct attitude of all the Powers towards taly in their official utterances, describes the con-emnation of her methods by the foreign press as "a

Fair, since.] (Turin.

The Rebuke.

HISTORY: "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone."

disgusting spectacle of bad faith" inspired either by nancial interests or by morbid sentimentality. The *Rassegna Nazionale* continues to dwell on the iniquity of the Socialist party in opposing the war, and deplores he "furious and disgraceful campaign" of foreign ewspapers against Italy, but it admits that the onquest of Tripoli will prove a far longer and more ifficult task than the nation had imagined.

Turning to articles of general interest, the *Rassegna Nazionale* publishes an instructive account of he municipal housing policy of Venice. There it as been frankly recognised that the provision of ouses for the working classes cannot be left solely o private enterprise. With the financial co-operation f the Venice savings banks the municipality have rected flats both for working-folk and for minor fficials in various parts of the city. The tenements re in such demand that there are forty to fifty pplicants for every vacancy, rents beginning as low s 2s. 9d. a week for a two-roomed flat, with use of wash-house, etc. It is worth noting that every room is fitted with electric light. The municipality is now engaged in erecting a garden-city near the Lido.

In honour of the Liszt centenary the *Nuova Antologia* publishes in two numbers a lengthy biographical sketch of the Abbé Liszt, mainly in relation to "the sensible influence which the eternal feminine exercised upon him, both as man and as artist." F. Pinelli contributes further some interesting reminiscences of the composer and of his friend of many years, Princess Caroline Wittgenstein, one of the most learned and fascinating women of her day, both of whom he frequently saw as a child in Rome. Pasquale Villari, the distinguished historian, discusses sympathetically various points raised in the recent revised edition of Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," while A. Agresti contributes an extremely well-informed study of the place of Browning's poetry in the development of the thought of his day.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* complains of the oppression of Catholics in Russia. The writer asserts that the religious freedom guaranteed by the edict on liberty of conscience has been withdrawn bit by bit, until all missionary work is rendered impossible, Catholic priests are frequently prevented from entering the country, and no Catholic family is even allowed to have a private chapel.

Admirers of Spanish art may be interested in an illustrated article in the *Rassegna Contemporanea* on the Spanish painter Hermen Anglada, whose painting is described by C. Tridenti as "an enchanted mirror in which, for an instant, desire is realised."

The Twentieth Century Magazine.

WITH the November number Mr. B. O. Flower retires from the editorship of the magazine, and his place is taken by Professor Charles Zueblin. Mr. Flower states that on starting the magazine he estimated that the placing of thirty thousand dollars' worth of his preferred stock would enable him to make the magazine self-sustaining and pay the dividends on the preferred stock sold. But several parties who were expected to subscribe failed to do so. Now, under the editorial management of Mr. Zueblin, the necessary funds can be supplied. He earnestly invites all believers in democracy to rally to the support of Professor Zueblin, "so well and so favourably known to fundamental democrats throughout the Republic."

AN American lady's experiences during the Commune is one of the most interesting papers in November *Harper's*.

THE SPANISH REVIEWS.

"CARLOS II. and His Court" forms the opening contribution to *España Moderna*. It is a review of a book on the life of that Spanish monarch, and this article deals with the political and social conditions existing at the time of his birth and during his early years; the period embraced is 1661 to 1669. It throws a light on Spanish history of considerable interest to students of those times. British readers of *España Moderna* will, however, probably turn first of all to Professor Vicente Gay's article on "Modern America," in which is discussed the question of British capital in Argentina. According to Mr. Paish, there appears to be rather more than £269,000,000 sterling invested in the Argentine Republic. The people are beginning to chafe at the idea that so much money has to be paid away every year in dividends and interest; as usually happens, the amount of borrowed capital (and the interest thereon) is much exaggerated, even by those who should be well informed. Another fact noted in the article is that Italian immigration is on the decline, while Spanish immigration is increasing.

Nue tro Tiempo contains an article on the history of the See of Callahora that will delight those who study Catholic ecclesiastical affairs of the past. Señor Mariano Marfil, in his monthly contribution on "Foreign Politics," writes exhaustively on the Moroccan question. This is followed by an article on Spanish commerce. The writer gives two lists—one of those countries which buy more from Spain than they sell to her, the other of those which sell to her more than they buy. The former represents a surplus for the national balance-sheet, the latter a deficit. The first list is headed by Great Britain, which is a long way in advance of all others in the same category; in the second list we find Russia and Germany.

In *Ciudad de Dios* Señor Teodoro Rodriguez continues his essays on State Intervention in Economic Problems, and, dealing with the aspirations of Socialist workers, he appears to be in favour of the eight-hours day. His definition of Socialist groups is scathing.

La Lectura has an article on Professor William James, his ideas and teachings in philosophy and metaphysics. As a remarkable man he receives a well-merited compliment from the Spanish author. A second article is on Charles II. of Spain, and concerns the positions of the French and Spanish at the end of the seventeenth century; many of the details are curious and interesting. Foreigners of all kinds were regarded as a danger to Spain in those days; they were looked upon as people who took all the good things for themselves and left the Spaniards bare. The French were the most numerous and the most obnoxious; all Frenchmen, whether in Spain or France, were supposed to be working to the detriment of Spain and her people, and for the pecuniary and political advantage of France.

THE DUTCH REVIEWS.

A WRITER in *De Gids* dwells on the unsatisfactory manner in which the archives of the Netherlands are kept and the necessity for completing the catalogue commenced many years ago to show what was contained therein. "New Paths for the Sinologist" is an article on the modernisation of China. What equivalents has the Chinese language for such modern words and terms as "automobile," "wireless telegraphy," and a host of others? The writer gives some examples of what has been done. To telephone is to "hold lightning conversations," while wireless telegraphy is "making a lightning report without wire." A new dictionary is sadly wanted, so the *Shanghai Press* has published a very good one—English-Chinese. English classics, with Chinese notes, are also being published, one of the latest being "Tales from Shakespeare." In a favourable review of "The Great Illusion" the writer of that book is complimented, but doubt is expressed concerning the possibility of general disarmament.

As usual, *Elsevier* is very interesting. There are two art articles or biographical sketches—one of Hendrik Luyten, the painter, and another of David Edström, the sculptor. The article on Japanese colour prints is continued. Probably the most attractive of the contributions, however, is that entitled "Something about Old Paris," with illustrations of the Tour du Louvre, the Tour de Nesle, the Louvre in 1620, the old Porte Saint-Martin, and other places.

De Tijdspiegel has a scathing article on the way in which Holland trains her soldiers, the reference being to the infantry in the main. After the wars of 1866 and 1870 Holland thought that compulsory service should be introduced, and then the people seem to have rested content, without realising that the army, in a bad condition even then, has steadily grown worse. It is all very well to enrol men, but it is necessary to understand how to make a serviceable army of them, and that knowledge appears to be lacking—at least, it does not seem to have been utilised if those in power possessed it. The next article deals with the vicissitudes of the fortress of Naarden, of which town a history is given. A literary contribution on Vondel and Shelley shows a deep knowledge of and profound reverence for the works of both poets.

The education of girls has occupied the attention of a special commission on the reorganisation of methods of teaching and the subjects to be taught in Holland; a criticism of the recommendations of this commission appears in *Vragen des Tijds*. In olden times the education of girls was based entirely on the fact that they were to become wives and mothers, not that they were to earn their own livelihood and take an active part in the battle of life. Conditions have changed, but, on the whole, the system of feminine education has not been altered. The writer sketches its history and deals with the necessity for training in various callings as well as in household duties.

LANGUAGES AND LETTER-WRITING.

SOME little time ago the American School Peace League, which has representatives in several European countries, sent, as delegate to England, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews. Her object was to explain that school history books are often one-sided, and usually give undue prominence to military subjects, therefore she hoped to interest British teachers in the League and to secure their co-operation.

She also desires to arrange for an international exchange of correspondence on friendship lines and not chiefly for language improvement, the letters to be written in English, of course.

The League offers prizes of 75, 50, and 25 dollars for the three best essays on (1) The Opportunity and Duty of the Schools in the International Peace Movement; or (2) The Significance of the Hague Peace Conference. The competition is open to senior pupils in all countries; the essay should not exceed 5,000 words, about 3,000 being the best number; it must be written on one side of the sheet only, very legibly, and typewritten preferred. Paper 8 inches wide, 10 inches in length, with a margin of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at least. The name of the writer must not be on the essay, which should be accompanied by a letter giving the writer's name and school and the home address. The packet should be posted flat, not rolled, to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405, Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., not later than March 1st, 1912. I suggest that the essay should have an identification signature and be posted separately from the letter, as MS. does not cost so much as letter post.

Modern Language Teaching for November (Black, Soho Square, W. 6d.) contains, among other interesting matter, an article upon Foreign Language Home Study for Adults, and one upon the Russian Language by Mr. Trophimoff, invaluable as an introduction to the study of that language.

The President of the Modern Language Association for 1912 will be the Master of University College, Oxford, Dr. R. W. Macan.

The *English Echo*, a little fortnightly published in Germany in the interests of German students of English, has in the November number a *facsimile* of a postcard sent by the first U.K. aerial post; it is addressed to a German weekly, *Reclam's Universum*. The same number contains also an amusing description of the visit of the American teachers to Germany.

ESPERANTO.

The Record of the Proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress has just come to hand, and several Esperanto associations are amongst those officially represented. Amongst the resolutions was the following:—"That the First Universal Races Congress, considering that the object of the Congress is to bring together the divers races and nationalities of the earth to a better understanding and mutual esteem, and thus to co-operate, each one in his own way, in producing a more perfect type of humanity, is of opinion that for that object it is of absolutely primary importance that these divers races and peoples should possess, apart from their national languages, a second language, *neutral* and common to all, in which their individual genius shall find its expression, and which shall serve as a mirror for the universal conscience; and, the Congress finding that such a common language is no longer a project but an accomplished fact, as the Esperanto language is spoken by an *élite* of all classes from end to end of the world, desires that the members of the First Universal Races Congress learn and propagate the international and inter-racial language Esperanto, and form in their own circles and countries Esperanto groups and societies; and demand of their respective Governments the introduction of Esperanto into the schools."—(Signed by H. Lafontaine, Belgium; Alfred Hermant, France; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, U.S.A.; Dr. W. E. Du Bois, U.S.A.; Mrs. Anna Zipernowsky, Hungary; Fr. Fleck, Germany; Hadji Mirza Yahya, Persia; Dr. H. Dhizunez, Poland; F. Moscheles, England; General Legitime, Hayti; Oscar Browning, England; Chedo Miejatovich, Servia; R. Hatkowsky, Russia; Professor Krauterkraft, Italy; Dr. Syed A. Majid, India; Mlle. S. de Boulogne, France.)

This resolution should not be allowed to become a dead letter. Any Esperantist willing to help to make it a reality should send a post-card to the office of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, giving name and address, and whether willing to help pecuniarily (this last not being a necessary condition). Post-cards should be addressed to the Esperanto Secretary.

A communication has been received from Spa, Belgium, to the effect that the Mayor of the town earnestly hopes that many Esperantists will spend Christmas there. There is no gambling; it is a beautiful spot, sanitary and other arrangements good, mineral baths well known, hotels cheap, and there are many other advantages. Esperantists from several places have already intimated an intention to be present. Madame Biske, Hôtel de la Chaire d'Or, Spa, the well-known Russian doctor, who has organised an Esperanto group there, will gladly answer inquiries.

Mr. Montagu Butler is giving elementary and advanced lessons in Esperanto at the L.C.C. Queen's Road Schools, Dalston, on Tuesday and Friday evenings.

All Esperantists will hear with sorrow and regret that Colonel Pollen is retiring from the Presidency of the British Esperanto Association.

Topics of the Day in the Periodicals of the Month.

HOME AFFAIRS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL.

Agriculture, Land :
The Government and the Rural Problem, by P. Morrell, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.

Armies :
Up and be Doing, by Col. Sir Lonsdale Hale, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Catholic Church :
Pius X. and His Reign, by E. F. Baldwin, "Amer. Rev. of Revs," Dec.

Church of England :
Liberty of Criticism within the Church, by Rev. C. W. Emmet, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Finance :
Democracy and Consols, by D. L. B. S., "National Rev," Dec.
The Coming Deluge, by M. de P. Webb, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.
Geographical Distribution of Capital and the Interdependence of Nations, by Norman Angell, "Financial Rev. of Revs," Dec.
The late Duke of Devonshire and Tariff Reform, by Lord Avebury, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Food Supply :
The Need for a National Storehouse, by Viscount Hill, "Financial Rev. of Revs," Dec.

Insurance, National :
The Insurance Bill, by W. Astor, "National Rev," Dec.
Women in the Bill, "Englishwoman," Dec.

Ireland :
The Irish Question, by Sydney Brooks, "Forum," Nov.
Ireland will be Right, by P. J. Brady, "National Rev," Dec.

Labour Problems :
Public Opinion and Industrial Unrest, by Sir A. Clay, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.
The Wages Question in the Railway Service, by W. T. Layton, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.

Law :
The Courts and the Executive, by E. E. Williams, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Navies :
Some Fruits of Fisherism, by Lieut. A. C. Dewar, "National Rev," Dec.
One Duty, One Combined Work, "Blackwood," Dec.
The Peril of Invasion : Italy's Bolt from the Blue, by A. Hurd, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
The Turkish Navy, by Konteradmiral Kalau vom Hofe, "Deutsche Rev," Nov.

Parliamentary :
Mr. Balfour as Leader, by A. Lyttelton, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.
Mr. Balfour's Resignation, "Blackwood," Dec.
New Leaders for Old, by Curio, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
The End of the Dual Control, by A. A. Baumann, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.

Smoke Abatement, by J. B. C. Kershaw, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Social Conditions :
Dear Food in Germany, by A. Schulz, "Sozialistische Monatshefte," Nov. 9.
Dear Living in France and Elsewhere, by G. Blondel, "Correspondant," Nov. 10.
Dear Living in France, by E. Martin Saint Léon, "Mouvement Social," Nov.
Dearness and Protection in France, by Yves Guyot, "La Revue," Nov. 15.
Remedies, by A. Sauzède, "La Revue," Nov.

Socialism :
The Organisation of Socialism in England :
Glasier, J. B., on, "Sozialistische Monatshefte," Nov. 23.
Snowden, Philip, on, "Rev. des Français," Nov.

Theatres and the Drama :
The Endowed Theatre and the University, by D. C. Stuart, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.

Wales :
Welsh Disestablishment, by F. E. Smith, "National Rev," Dec.

Women :
Women and the Reform Bill, by H. N. Brailsford, "Englishwoman," Dec.
What are We Doing for Unmarried Mothers? by E. M. Naish, "Englishwoman," Dec.
Characteristics of Women's Unemployment, by Mrs. Tawnay, "Englishwoman," Dec.
Mutuality Among Women in France, by L. L. Zeys, "Correspondant," Nov. 25.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN.

Colonies, the Empire:
The United Kingdom and the Empire, by Fabian Ware, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Foreign Policy, International Affairs :
Sir Edward Grey's Stewardship, by "Diplomaticus," "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
Present-Day Europe, by A. Gauvain, "Rev. de Paris," Nov. 15.
England in a European War, by J. Daugny, "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 1.

Peace Movement :
For the Peace of To-morrow, "La Revue," Nov. 1.
The Great Illusion, by W. H. de Beaufort, "Deutsche Rev," Nov.
On the Influence of the Peace Movement on European Armaments, by Konteradmiral Glatzel, "Deutsche Rev," Nov.
Deficiencies of Law for International Adjustments, by Rear-Adm. A. T. Mahan, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.

Africa :
England and Egypt, by Dr. Hans Delbrück, "Preussische Jahrbücher," Nov.
The Situation in Egypt in the Conflict between Italy and Turkey, by H. Sage, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 1.
France in Africa, by Gen. Niox, "Rev. des Français," Nov. 25.
Morocco, etc. :
Duchêne, A., on, "Rev. de Paris," Nov. 15.
Hutter, Hauptmann, on, "Deutsche Rev," Nov.
Kovnike, P., on, "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 1.
Schippel, M., on, "Sozialistische Monatshefte," Nov. 23.
Thomasson, Commander de, on, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 16.
France and Her Congo, by E. D. Morel, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.
The French Loss of a Colony, by E. Godefroy, "Correspondant," Nov. 10.

Germany and the Congo, by M. Rondet-Saint, "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 15.
Tripoli; Italy and Turkey, etc.:
Bardoux, J., on, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 16
Cherif Pasha on, "Deutsche Rev." Nov
Dauzat, A., on, "Grande Rev," Nov. 25.
Gregory, Dr. J. W., on, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.
Kepi on, "Blackwood," Dec.
Marchand, H., "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 1.
Raqueni on, "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 15.

Canada:
Canadian Affairs, "National Rev," Dec.
Political Parties in Canada, by E. Standaert, "Rev. Générale," Nov.
American and Canadian Political Methods, by H. J. Ford, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.
The Defeat of Reciprocity:
Hammond, M. O., on, "Canadian Mag," Nov.
McArthur, P., on, "Forum," Nov.

China:
The Chinese Revolt, by A. Kinnosuke, "Amer. Rev. of Revs," Dec.
The Chinese Revolution, by J. Saintozant, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 16.
The Revolution and Its Causes, "Correspondant," Nov. 10.
Will China break up? by Sir H. Blake, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.
China—a Republic? by A. R. Colquhoun, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
The Hope of China's Future, by M. T. Z. Tyau, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.
The American on Guard in China, by W. T. Ellis, "Amer. Rev. of Revs," Dec.
Chinese Changes, by Adm. Sir E. Seymour, "Cornhill," Dec.

France:
The Budget of 1912:
Cadot, L., on, "Correspondant," Nov. 25.
Lévy, R. G., on, "Rev. des Deux Mondes," Nov. 1.
The Fiscal Question in France, by A. Marvaud, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 1.
The Anarchy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Correspondant," Nov. 25.
An Anglo-French Alliance? by Sidney Low, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
What a President of the Council ought to be, by Saint Alban, "Revue des Français," Nov.
French Deputies: How They write and What They promise, by E. Geneste, "Correspondant," Nov. 10.
The Radical Party and Proportional Representation, by A. Charpentier, "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 15.

Germany:
Twenty Years after Bismarck, by J. C., "Nouvelle Rev," Nov. 15.
The Financial Situation, by A. E. Gauthier, "Grande Rev," Nov. 25.
Germany and England, by Prof. Michael, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.
A National Labour Party, by Albrecht Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, "Deutsche Rev," Nov.
August Bebel and the Social Democratic Party, by E. Bernstein, "Sozialistische Monatshefte," Nov. 9.

India:
The King's Tour in India, by Saint Nihal Singh, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.
The Crown, the Government, and the Indian Princes, by S. K. Ratcliffe, "Contemp. Rev," Dec.
Under Six Viceroys, by H. Edmondston, "World's Work," Dec.

Italy:
Italy's Friendship, by E. Capel Cure, "National Rev," Dec.
Italian Nationalism and the War with Turkey, by Ignotus, "Fortnightly Rev," Dec.
Social Democracy and Government in Italy, by L. Bissolati, "Sozialistische Monatshefte," Nov. 9.
Italy and the Triple Alliance, by Freiherr von Mackay, "Konservative Monatsschrift," Nov.
The Lesson of the Italian Railways, by D. Bellet, "Correspondant," Nov. 25.

Mahomedanism:
Europe and the Mahomedan World, by Sir H. H. Johnston, "Nineteenth Cent," Dec.

Monroe Doctrine in the Balance, by J. Chambers, "Forum," Nov.

Panama Canal:
Necessary Legislation, by E. R. Johnson, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.

Russia:
The Russian Revolution, by A. Waltz, "Grande Rev," Nov. 10.

Servia:
Old Servia and the Albanians, by G. Cravier, "Rev. de Paris," Nov. 1.

Spain:
The Economic and Financial Situation, by A. Marvaud, "Questions Diplomatiques," Nov. 16.
Between French and German Influence, by G. Carrillo, "La Revue," Nov. 15.

Turkey:
The Successors of Abdul Hamid, by Gen. Cherif Pasha, "La Revue," Nov. 1.

United States:
Shall We make Our Constitution flexible? by Munroe Smith, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.
American and Canadian Political Methods, by H. J. Ford, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.
Aspects of Public Ownership, by Sydney Brooks, "North Amer. Rev," Nov.

THERE is no prouder boast in all England than the challenging motto of the charter of Dr. Barnardo's Homes: "No destitute child ever refused admission." No qualifications, no "ifs" in this assertion, and that it continues to be true is a worthier achievement than ever secured by soldier or statesman.

The total number of children rescued is well over seventy thousand, and nearly ten thousand are at present being cared for in Dr. Barnardo's Homes. The feeding, clothing, and housing of this little army is a serious problem, but so far the public has not failed to support these great-hearted men and women who have undertaken to keep Dr. Barnardo's memory and work alive. To help such a cause is to minister to one's own sense of duty, and the opportunity of sharing the noble work of child-rescue is a privilege in which all may share. A letter posted in any part of the world and simply addressed Barnardo, London, would reach its destination. Each day sees thirty children admitted to the homes, and saved from the streets!

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

OUR LAST GREAT AMBASSADOR.

THE MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF SIR ROBERT MORIER, G.C.B.*

THE late Lord Derby once said to me that Sir Robert Morier, then Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, carried more brains in his head than all our other Ambassadors put together. "But," he added, "he has such a fatal gift of writing that he is constantly sending lengthy despatches upon all kinds of subjects which no one ever has time to read."

It was not only to the Foreign Office that Sir Robert Morier poured out an unending flood of written matter. He once read to me a private letter which he was sending to Queen Victoria, describing my interview with the Emperor Alexander III., which would have gone far to fill a *Times* column. He constantly wrote to the Queen, and if these epistles ever see the light they will form an invaluable contribution to the inner history of the last half of the nineteenth century. Besides his correspondence with the Queen and Foreign Office, Sir Robert Morier wrote letters, long and vigorous letters, to many correspondents, the style and quality of which may be seen in the two volumes edited by his daughter, which, however, do not bring the story further down than 1876.

Photograph by [*Lombardi.*

The late Sir Robert Morier.

I.—SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

I never met Sir Robert till the spring of 1888, when I paid my first visit to St. Petersburg. During the six weeks I spent in the Russian capital I enjoyed the rare privilege of constant and confidential intercourse with the Ambassador. Night after night I dined at the Embassy and sat up with my host till the early dawn, listening to his eager and eloquent reminiscences of the stirring scenes in European history in which he had played no inconsiderable part. How often since then have I regretted that I had no stenographer at the hotel to whom I could have dictated the substance of these interesting monologues! "You make me renew my youth," he exclaimed on one occasion. "Talking over these things I feel as if I lived again in the past." He ransacked his archives for material to refresh his memory, which needed little refreshing, and I sat entranced hour after hour listening to his graphic and fiery delineations of the great men and pygmies with whom he had to do from his youth up.

IF HE HAD BEEN AN EDITOR!

On one occasion when I had pleased him by what he thought was an adroit and discreet handling of a delicate diplomatic difficulty, he burst out: "We ought to have changed places! It is you who ought to have been an ambassador and I who ought to have been a journalist. And it was the merest chance in the world," he went on to say, "that I did not become a journalist. In the early days when I was chafing at the delay in obtaining a foothold in the Diplomatic Service I was offered an appointment on the *Morning Post*, to go round the Empire as a kind of special commissioner to see things and report. I had made up my mind to accept it when, at the eleventh hour, I was offered a diplomatic appointment. I abandoned my journalistic aspirations, and here I am! But I have often regretted it." And no wonder, for Sir Robert Morier was journalist born. No man in affairs whom I have ever met appreciated so fully the immense latent potentialities of the newspaper, especially of the *Times*; and no man, I must frankly admit, blasphemed more forcibly concerning the infamous way in which journalists in general, and the *Times* in particular, fell below the

* "Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier, G.C.B., from 1826 to 1876." Edited by his Daughter, Mrs. Rosslyn Wemyss. Two volumes. (Arnold. 32s. net.)

level of their high vocation. He would have been a Titan at Printing House Square. As an ambassador he felt cabined, cribbed, and confined by the hard-and-fast conventionalities governing the Diplomatic Service. It was the irrepressible journalistic instinct in him which overflowed in the floods of despatches, reports, and private letters which poured from his inexhaustible pen.

AN ENGLISH BISMARCK.

Sir Robert Morier was our English Bismarck, without the opportunities of his great rival. The two men resembled each other in their massive physique, in their imperious will, in their keen intellect, and in their immense grasp of European affairs. Both men towered intellectually and physically above their fellows. Both were men of strong passions, of great industry, with an Olympian contempt for the idiots and knaves by whom they felt themselves surrounded. They both belonged to the order of Supermen. And perhaps, as a natural consequence, each recognised in the other his natural rival; predestined enemies whom the Fates decreed should grapple together in deathless enmity till the end of their days.

IF HE HAD BEEN FOREIGN SECRETARY!

Bismarck achieved, Morier tried to achieve, and Sir Robert smarted bitterly at the end under the consciousness of his rival's triumph, while he groaned comparatively impotent marooned at St. Petersburg. His ambition was to have been Foreign Secretary, with a free hand in a Unionist Administration. Ah! these might-have-beens of the white nights of St. Petersburg. What pathos there was in them, and what tragedy! Compared with Foreign Secretaries whom I have known, how feckless and nerveless and lifeless they seemed beside this great Berserker, full of fierce oaths and savage fury, who was eating his life out by the side of the Neva! What would have happened to the British Empire if this embodiment of primeval forces had ever been in charge of her destinies who can say? The experiment would have been a perilous one. But it would not have been for want of trying if Sir Robert Morier had not made the British Empire the mistress of the world.

HIS HATRED OF HOME RULE.

For Sir Robert Morier was a man passionate in his patriotism as in all else—passionate, too, in his Imperialism—and that, together with my Russophil convictions, were the chief bonds that linked us together in those days of 1888, and formed the basis of a friendship which lasted till his death. For the sake of my Imperialist enthusiasm he forgave me many things. He found the hardest to forgive the share with which he always credited or discredited me and the *Pall Mall Gazette* in bringing Mr. Gladstone to make the plunge for Home Rule. Home Rule was in his eyes the all but unpardonable sin, and upon Home Rulers, and Mr. Gladstone in particular, he never hesitated to empty the vials of his fuliginous wrath. I remember as if it were yesterday one evening in 1888 when we had been dining together alone at the Embassy. Sir Robert was in great spirits, and had, as was his wont on great occasions, broached a bottle of some rare port wine which had been given him by the King of Portugal. After dinner he was pacing the room looking down upon me like a wrathful Jove as he discoursed on the iniquity of Home Rule. Suddenly he stopped and stood facing me. "You're all of a lot, the whole gang of you! I see you standing all in a row. At one end stand the assassins who butchered poor Freddy Cavendish. Arm-in-arm with them is the 'brave little woman' who carried the surgical knives to Phœnix Park. Arm-in-arm with her is Mr. Parnell, and arm-in-arm with him are you, and last of all, arm-in-arm with you is Mr. Gladstone." His voice, gradually rising from an angry snarl to a savage, concentrated, passionate, bitter intensity, suddenly burst out into a roar as he exclaimed, "And I wish to God I had a dynamite bomb, and then I would blow the whole blasted lot of you to Hell!" And at that moment I am sure he felt he could have done so, and have felt that in doing it he was doing God good service.

HIS GIFT OF UTTERANCE.

Since Morier passed over there is only one Englishman whose language and letters recall the picturesque phrasing, the unconventional vigour, the racy idiom, the stormy outbursts of our last great ambassador. That man is Admiral Fisher. But the Admiral, although a man of war from his youth up, is meek and mild compared with Sir Robert Morier. There was in Morier something of an earlier world—a kind of uprush from what Mr. Algernon Blackwood, in "The Centaur," calls the Urworld, when life was more fierce and splendid than it is to-day, and when men caught something of the vitality of the universe which makes the hills leap for joy and the morning stars sing together. Yet there was in him also—as perhaps was inevitable—corresponding abysses and dark cavernous depths of rancour and despair, of savage scorn and brooding hate, from which, however, the great radiant son of Asgar ever rose triumphant.

HIS DIABOLUS.

At the present moment too many of our ambassadors seem to be but the pale reflections of the antipathies of Sir Robert Morier without any of his magnificent enthusiasm, his whole-souled belief. They seem to have inherited his prejudices without being capable of assimilating his convictions. He believed with a whole heart fervently in both God and Devil; the Devil in his case being Bismarck and the Empire which the Man of Blood and Iron had fashioned in his image. His God was a kind of composite deity composed of a Free Trade British Empire resting upon an invincible Navy and united by the closest bonds of friendship with Russia in the

development of Asia. Our diplomatists seem to have inherited his faith in the Germanic Diabolus; but whether any of them have any living faith in a living Deus I cannot say. Still, it is interesting to note that in its own flaccid fashion the permanent bureaucracy that shapes the policies of Sir Edward Grey as clay in the hands of the potter still bears the impress of the masterful mind of Sir Robert Morier. It is anti-German, and in a kind of way it is pro-Russian.

"I LOVED HIS COUNTRY AND I HATED HIM."

Yet, like many another anti-German, Sir Robert Morier was *au fond* passionately devoted to the German people. In this he resembles Lord Haldane and many another whose dislike of German policy is deep-rooted in their admiration for German philosophy, German literature, German art. But there is no hate like love to hatred turned, and Sir Robert Morier made up for his devotion to the German people by a whole-hearted hatred of the German Empire as it was created by Prince Bismarck. Indeed, one of the chief counts in his voluminous indictment of the Iron Chancellor was that he had materialised and brutalised the genius of Germany. "Bismarck made a great Germany," he once quoted to me, "but he has made little Germans." Hence the more he loved the Germans the more he hated the man who had destroyed the soul while unifying the body of Germany.

HIS VIEW OF BISMARCK.

In "Truth about Russia," a book long since out of print, there were two chapters—"Concerning Reptiles and Worms," and "Bismarck the Peacemaker"—which were written under the direct inspiration of Sir Robert Morier. I read them over to him in MS., and rejoiced greatly at his emphatic commendation of my handiwork. Therein, written out as in round text hand, was the conception which the great Ambassador had of the great Chancellor. "Imagine Prince Bismarck as a great personification of the Society of Jesus, as despotic, as unscrupulous, and as false as the Jesuits pictured in the Orange lodges . . . Germans have disappeared, only Germany remains—a gigantic figure which has only one brain—and the grey matter of that brain is Bismarck. To build up that Frankenstein, the once independent headstrong Germans have been mashed into a kind of bloater-paste of humanity; the individual unit has disappeared, only the amalgam remains. In the evolution of the intelligence of the German state it has eliminated its conscience. The man of blood and iron sticks at nothing in order to secure his ends. Falsehood, force, intrigue, treachery, war, are alike instruments in his hand, and are judged by him exclusively from the point of view of their relative efficiency."

HIS PRO-GERMAN DREAM.

Morier's imagination, in these later days, was dominated by his conception of "the malignity of the Demon Omnipotens of Berlin." But for the first twenty years of his diplomatic career he simply worshipped Germany and the Germans. Under the tutelage of Baron Stockmar, and the stimulating influence of the future Emperor and Empress Frederick, he revelled in the belief as to the high destinies to which Germany was called, and the conviction that she would eventually prove "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to have a future more beautiful than any other nation's past." To this vision, and to the hope of "the political and heart union of England and Germany," he devoted hard and conscientious work for twenty years of his life. Why, then, the great change?

HIS AWAKENING.

The answer is written at large in almost every page of the second volume of these Memoirs. Morier believed in a Liberal Germany fashioned after the similitude of the Crown Prince Frederick. He recoiled in horror from the Prussianised Germany incarnate in Bismarck. And his bitterness sprang largely from his deep conviction that if England had not abdicated her position in Europe, it was the Germany of Frederick, and not the Germany of Bismarck, that would have been evolved by the stern but sure working of Destiny.

During the first twenty years of his diplomatic existence France was the devil of the Continent. The great problem was to chain up this great red dragon, lest its thirst for *gloire* should desolate Europe. The next twenty years were spent in a similar strenuous endeavour to chain up the German devil which had inherited the throne from his French predecessor.

THE APOSTACY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

And ever and always Morier raged with exceeding wrath against the fatuity and blindness of England, which would not see her providential mission, or, seeing it, would not perform it. This supreme national apostacy culminated in Mr. Gladstone's refusal to veto the Franco-German war of 1870, which Morier maintained could have been stopped by one word from us. "Twenty years ago that word would have been whispered as a matter of course, no matter what Ministry had been in power. It would have been forwarded mechanically from the Foreign Office as a mere matter of routine." But instead of that, we declared to Continental Europe, at the most solemn moments in her history, that we had henceforth no interests in common with her:—

Thy people are not my people, nor my people thy people; the thread of silver sea makes us safe, as safe as the eight-feet parapet round a Spanish bull-ring. We have first-rate places and the best of opera-glasses; let us look on then at the great tauromachia—deeply interested in the sight and keenly sympathising now with the matadors, now with the bull, but as spectators.—Vol. 2, p. 218.

THE LAW OF THE CORDON SANITAIRE.

In view of the discussions on British foreign policy which have absorbed public attention last month it may be well to extract this extremely luminous exposition of the doctrine of the balance of power, or, as he

once called it, the law of the *cordon sanitaire*. Morier writes to Lady Derby in 1870, saying that he has been much struck in studying the history of Europe from 1815 to 1848 to find how very often Europe was in imminent peril of war from the ambition and the vanity of France :—

If we inquire why it was that forty years went by without France kicking over the traces, we find that she was prevented doing so by a general coalition of Europe against her—partly acknowledged, partly tacit. Austria, Prussia and Russia are really coalesced against her, the recollections of the first fifteen years of the century having become a sort of *idée fixe* on their side, and leading them to act instinctively as one whenever any danger threatened from Paris. It is the part of England in the matter which is so important and so worth studying. She does not stand with the three Northern Powers, as they are called, on a great many points she and France go together ; as long as France restricts her action to legitimate objects (as in the creation of the Belgian kingdom in 1831) we go heartily with her and stand together as the representatives of Western Progress *versus* Eastern reaction, *but the moment she shows the eleven foot* and attempts to assert her claim to a privileged position we at once throw our weight on the side of the Northern Powers, and make her feel that (to use the language of Trafalgar Square, which, I presume, will soon be the recognised political phraseology of England) "we wouldn't stand any of that humbug." It is most interesting to watch the kind of clock-work regularity with which the process goes on. During the Belgian negotiations we step in some five or six times this way, so that England becomes the regulator by which the expansive force of France is utilised beneficially and productively, but always kept in check whenever it threatens to become destructive. Hence I venture on what I believe to be a sound generalisation. The peace of Europe was maintained for nearly forty years by a *cordon sanitaire* being traced round France, three-fourths of which was of iron rigidity, the remaining fourth being elastic and so fashioned that she could take all the air and exercise required for the good of her health. The Northern Powers treated France like an incurable and dangerous maniac ; we treated her like a person on the whole sane, but subject to dangerous hallucinations, and reserved to ourselves the power of falling back upon the handcuffs and strait waistcoats kept in store by the Northern Powers.

This satisfactory system was first broken into by the Crimean War, the only perfectly useless modern war that has been waged.—Vol. 2, p. 214.

THE TRUE THEORY OF FOREIGN POLICY.

If England had but whispered to the French Emperor that she would ally herself with Germany if France ventured to make war, Sir R. Morier maintained it was a political axiom no war would have broken out :—

International politics ought to be a game of chess, and not one of broken plates and bloody crowns. A king with two castles cannot if opposed by a king with two castles throw up the game ; but let the pawn of one adversary make a queen, the other can in all honour withdraw. By England's voluntary withdrawal from the chessboard she deprived the party of international order of their best piece. For a neutral to exercise any influence, his neutrality must be of a kind which shall always allow of the possible perspective of his becoming a belligerent. He must be a piece on the chessboard, not off the chessboard.—Vol. 2, p. 330.

PRUSSIANISED GERMANY.

England, having flung away her chance of preserving peace, had to face the consequences in the shape of a Prussianised Bismarck-ridden Germany. Morier was quick to detect the change and all it meant. Discussing with Stockmar in December, 1876, reported German schemes for remodelling the map of Europe, he burst out as follows :—

. . . If these changes are to be *octroyés* upon Europe by the mere will of M. de Bismarck and in utter contempt of all law, justice, and international honesty, then I, for one, would wish to see England spend her last man and her last cartridge in opposing so damnable a *restoration* of the worst periods of modern history.

. . . I believe that the lust of *gloire*, kindled as it is within her (Germany), will burn with a much more terrible fierceness than it ever did in the *grande nation*, even as coal burns more terribly, when once it is kindled, than straw.—Vol. 2, p. 239.

Stockmar having expostulated, pointing out that the Germans were much too sober to indulge in dreams of *gloire*, Sir Robert explained and amplified his meaning. Not lust of *gloire*, he said, was likely to be developed in Germans by the possession of absolute power in Europe, but "arrogance and overbearingness are more likely to be developed in a Teutonic race—not boasting or vaingloriousness."

THE THREATENED WAR OF 1875.

He lived to see his fears realised when, in 1874, the Bismarck-Moltke school evolved

the doctrine that prospective and hypothetical and abstract danger, as distinct from any immediate, palpable, real, and concrete danger, is a sufficient reason for the stronger neighbour attacking the weaker, and for establishing a *casus belli*.—Vol. 2, p. 348.

This doctrine was on the point of being put into practical application in 1875, when Sir Robert Morier, with the help of Russia, checkmated Bismarck in his scheme for attacking France. Bismarck tried to cover up his tracks, pretending that the war scare was only a Bourse manœuvre :—

"But," so Lord Odo warned Morier, "behind our backs Bismarck raves like a maniac, and swears he will take his revenge."

. . . No sooner had, thirteen years later, the grave closed over the Emperor Frederick than the bitter attacks upon Morier, then Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who was accused in a virulent Press campaign of having furnished Marshal Bazaine with information as to the movements of the German armies in 1870, and the imprisonment and trial of Geffcken, on the charge of high treason, for publishing the Emperor Frederick's diary—a charge he was acquitted of by the Leipzig Tribunal—proved how well aware the Iron Chancellor had been all the while of the identity of those by whom his plans had been foiled, and that he had neither forgiven nor forgotten.—Vol. 2, p. 355.

THE GENESIS OF GERMANOPHOBIA.

The whole of the trouble of Europe, ever since 1870, according to Morier, is—

directly traceable to Germany's having learnt and exaggerated the besetting vice of the people she had conquered. For there is no denying that the malady under which Europe is at present suffering is caused by German Chauvinism, a new and far more formidable type of the disease than the French, because instead of being spasmodical and undisciplined, it is methodical, calculating, cold-blooded and self-contained.—Vol. 2, p. 346.

Enough of this valuable contribution to the genesis of the Germanophobia which makes Sir E. Grey as wax in the hands of the Bertie, the Cartwrights, the smaller fry of under and private secretaries.

MORIER AS A WRITER.

Now for a few extracts illustrative of Sir Robert orier's style and manner of thinking. It is amusing find that his daughter, unable to resist the delight quoting her father's remark that Mr. Frederic rrison, when on the rampage against Germany in e autumn of 1870, supplied a type which "appears be a cross between a prize-fighter and a lady's-aid," satisfies her conscience by printing the name —— H——. But all who remember the dithyram-: outpourings of the great Positivist over the rman invasion recognise at once who it was who cited Morier's wrath. Sir Robert himself was a ze-fighter who occasionally revelled in the large free go of the bargee.

HIS ESTIMATE OF GLADSTONE.

He told Madame Novikoff once that Mr. Gladstone d "no more judgment than a cow," but filial piety metimes dictates a bowdlerising that robs the actual rase of much of its pungency. Here is Sir Robert's scription of Gladstone after spending some time th him and Döllinger at Munich :—

As a general verdict of his intellectual putting together, I 'e come to it under this similitude, that his mind resembles fasces of a Roman lictor, a bundle of sticks (each of them to beat a dog with !) with no organic vegetable life binding m together, and made up promiscuously of every kind of ber—strong ash, oak saplings, and also rotten reeds—and the middle a great axe with which he can at any moment v to pieces any opponent who personally attacks him.—l. 2, p. 302.

Sir Robert's capacity for effective literary expression ord Lytton summed up well when he wrote :—

First, you have the merit of thoroughly understanding down the roots of it any subject you write about ; secondly, your ellectual powers are an uncommon combination of severe ical method and the lively play of imagination over the face of acquired fact ; thirdly, you have remarkable force of pression ; and fourthly, you have passion, which is always secret of power.—Vol. 2, p. 306.

HIS FAITH IN ENGLAND.

Sir Robert Morier recovered some of his faith in ngland and the English in his later years. But in 71–6 he was in doleful dumps indeed. He believed England, but he thought the English people of those ars unworthy of her greatness :—

"The raw material of the Englishman, both moral and ysical," he assured Jowett, "is enormously superior to that of y other existing nation. We are the only truthful people in the rld, the only people who are able to produce a gentleman as ethical being . . . the only people who are not petty and ttifogging in their international dealings, and the only people o with great self-assertion and a bulldog kind of courage have yet a singular amount of gentleness and tenderness . . . [But] England, which has a larger land-boundary than any nation ever had before, has convinced herself that she lives alone in a little island whose parochial concerns are all in all to her, and turns away with contempt and disgust from the affairs of a world in which she has ten times the stake of any other nation."

He defies any ordinary Englishman, "however boisterously hopeful his natural temperament may be, to do aught but tear his beard, strew ashes on his head, and gnash his teeth."

HIS CONTEMPT FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

It was all due, in his opinion, to the one deep-seated vice of our political system, the idea that it is the duty of a Constitutional Government to be an echo and not a voice :—

The leaders of the people sitting in Whitehall and Downing Street call to the leaders of the people sitting in editorial chairs in Printing House Square and the back slums of the Strand for ideas wherewith to be inspired ; the gentlemen of the scissors and glue-pot return the compliment, and assure the former of their highest consideration. Each suggests to the other what he believes that he thinks that the other would think of suggesting. It is impossible to tell which is the voice and which is the echo.—Vol. 2, p. 209.

HIS PICTURE OF THE PRESS.

In another passage Morier tells Jowett that Plato in his picture of the Sophist describes with exactitude the modern journalist :—

Now the account of the way the Sophists sophise, not so much from *malice prepense*, or from a belief in their sophistries, as from the venal impulse of pandering to the taste of the public by, as it were, precipitating into intellectual crystals the base motives and accommodations by which the Philistine multitude rule their lives and ordain their conduct, the Sophist, as the sounding-board which gives back to the vulgar in a most distinct and articulate manner the tones of its own voice and of what it is pleased to call its thoughts, is so exactly what the Press is nowadays, that I do not think you are justified in omitting to call attention to this analogy. The two or three pages in which the process is described might be applied word for word to the *Times*.—Vol. 2, p. 316.

Where, he asked Jowett, where are "the brain and heart of England"? Jowett had told him that "if you are to succeed you must take men as they are, not complaining of them overmuch, and then you may raise them to something better. But if you become isolated from them you are nowhere."

Sir Robert never quite learned that lesson. But it is well to know that in his old age he recovered a somewhat more comfortable estimate of his fellow-men and their ability and resolve to play the part in the world to which he firmly believed they were called by Providence.

THE REVIEW'S BOOKSHOP.

Always difficult as it is in November and December to refer in our limited space to even a tithe of the books published at this season of the year, it is more than usually impossible this month, for the present book season has been the most extraordinary known to any bookseller, by virtue of the multitude of books produced. For anything like a full list of those issued in November reference must be made to the "List of Leading Books" on another page, and for the rest some running comments must suffice.

INDIAN BOOKS.

On account of their Majesties' decision to personally grace the Delhi Durbar with their presence, unusual interest in regard to India has been excited in the minds of people at home and in the Colonies. The calculating publishers have taken advantage of this psychological moment to print a number of books about Hindostan, its peoples, and its problems. Longmans, Heinemann, Unwin, Murray, and Macmillan have issued one or more volumes dealing with Indian affairs.

A MAHARANI'S COGITATIONS.

Amongst these, probably the most uncommon book is *The Position of Women in Indian Life*, purporting to contain the cogitations of H.H. Chimnabai II., the Maharani of Baroda, as set down by S. M. Mitra (Longmans. 5s. net). It is handicapped by a title that does not fit the text, the work dealing exclusively with suggestions for improving the status of the fair sex in India, and containing little about woman's actual present day or past standing in society. It is further marred by the fact that her Highness's ideas are not presented directly by her. Wherever Mr. Mitra permits her to talk, her Highness speaks like an Asiatic modification of Miss Christabel Pankhurst. The Maharani has no patience with men who believe that matrimony is the sole occupation open to women. She wants her Indian sisters to become financially independent. In her zeal, the august author recommends several professions for Hindu and Moslem females, some of which (rent collecting, for instance) will be at once set down as impracticable. However, one need not be unduly severe with the Maharani, since this is her first attempt at book-writing. It would be interesting if she would publish another volume in which she would take the world into her confidence and tell of her own life experiences inside the Maharaja's palace, which she entered about twenty-five years ago as an illiterate girl, and which she now graces as one of India's best educated women.

AN APOLOGIA FOR LORD CURZON.

India under Curzon and After, by Lovat Fraser (Heinemann. 16s. net), is a superb example of the work of a biographer who believes in the man he writes about. As a volume written to teach the irreverent generation of to-day the much-needed moral that reverence, even for a tin god, serves a useful end by ennobling the worshipper, it is a great success. But Mr. Fraser's readers will not learn from his book that Lord Curzon was the Governor-General who found Great Britain's Eastern Dependency as calm as a mill-pond, and who left it in a most tumultuous condition. Since Lord Curzon's days, the Hindus, who before his advent were so gentle-natured they refrained from breaking an egg lest they destroyed the subnormal life inside it, have come to the stage where they have thrown bombs and fired revolver shots at English officials, and even at fair-faced women and children. From Mr. Fraser one gathers the impression that the "unrest of India" is not the fault of Lord Curzon, but is entirely due to the perversity of nature. It is all a matter of view-point, and everyone who is anxious to know how a vast majority of the Englishmen in India feel about it must read the volume of Lovat Fraser, who until recently was the Editor of the *Times of India*, Bombay.

LORD CURZON'S BETE NOIRE.

There is an essential fitness of things in the scheme of nature which seem to have inspired the issue of *Indian and Home Memories*, by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. (Unwin. 12s. 6d. net), to serve as a corrective to the Curzon encomium. Sir Henry Cotton, in the usual course, would have risen to the highest post open to a civilian had his opinions not clashed with Lord Curzon's. But although he was forced to retire without filling the highest office, Indians have worked hard to make up this deficiency by showing unbounded appreciation of Sir Henry Cotton. They made him President of the Indian National Congress. It must be parenthetically added that Lord Curzon refused to receive him when he sought to present the Congress resolutions. Sir Henry Cotton speaks very lovingly of his Indian friends and associates. His volume, besides being an interesting autobiography of a true Liberal, is invaluable, inasmuch as it affords glimpses of hidden Indian life.

WHAT BRITAIN HAS DONE TO EDUCATE INDIA.

Another book is *Education and Statesmanship in India* (1797 to 1910), by H. R. James (Longmans. 3s. 6d. net). As the author himself admits, he has offered a "slight" volume on a vast subject. The matter has all the faults of a work made up of articles originally written for a newspaper. However, Mr. James belongs to the Indian Educational Service —he is the Principal of the Presidency College at Calcutta—and therefore is quite familiar with his subject. One cannot expect from a Government servant a detached and dispassionate view of the policy or achievement of the administration he is actually serving at the time he is writing of it. But

n the whole Mr. James has produced a book which nrows light on an important subject about which the verage Briton is extremely insufficiently, if at all, nformed.

A LOVER OF INDIAN ART.

The Ideals of Indian Art, by E. B. Havell (Murray. 5s. net), is another volume written by an Englishman who is held in universal esteem by Indians. He is he man who saw beauty in Indian art when all Britons derided it as grotesque. He it was who, as he Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, revived he old traditions of Indian art, and refused to permit t to die because of the neglect of the natives of the oil. As a result of his efforts Indians are now ncreasingly appreciating the folly of slavishly copy- ng Western technique, and are working hard to levelop their own school. Mr. Havell makes out a plendid case in favour of Indian art, and those who vant to know just what its ideals are must go to his eautifully illustrated book in order to learn about hem.

A RECHAUFFÉ OF "TIMES" ARTICLES.

India and the Durbar (Macmillan. 5s. net) is a eprint of articles on India which originally appeared n the "Empire Day Edition" of the London *Times*, n May 24th this year. They are written by many uthors, though their names do not appear at the eads of the various chapters. In point of view they re different from the books that already have been nentioned. They cover a multiplicity of subjects, nd are informing though not universally correct.

LIVES AND LETTERS OF NOTABLES.

The last month brought us several books which nable us to revive much of the history of men of letters n the nineteenth century. The first place must be iven to Mr. E. T. Cook's labour of love—his *magnum pus*—the *Life of John Ruskin* (Allen. 21s. net). No ne was better qualified to write the life of that most rilliant of English writers, most original of English noralists, most suggestive of critics than Mr. Cook. His book will take its place with Froude's "Carlyle" nd Morley's "Gladstone." A very different kind of ook, but one which sheds a flood of light upon the ge of Ruskin, is the *Autobiographic Memoirs of Frederic Harrison* (Macmillan. 2 vols. 30s.) Mr. Frederic Harrison was one of those who passed under he spell of Ruskin before he became a devotee of Auguste Comte. In these two delightful volumes the loquent octogenarian gossips with pleasant garrulity oncerning the times in which he has lived and the nen whom he has known. Mr. Harrison is rare good ompany. A hot-gospeller of Comtism, he has lived leasantly and well. His style is admirable; his olitical judgments are those of a theorist rather than hose of a statesman. But his two volumes make apital reading, and his account of his spiritual pil- rimage is deeply interesting. Another book that ecalls memories of many nineteenth century worthies *Letters to William Allingham* (Longmans. 7s. 6d.). In this volume there are letters from Tennyson, the Brownings, the Carlyles, George Eliot, Thackeray, Dickens, Rossetti, Morris, Millais, and a host of others. In one of F. W. Newman's letters it is mentioned that John Bright seriously contemplated appealing to the subscribers to the Anti-Corn Law League to erect a great university in Manchester. The scheme was snuffed out by the foundation of Owens College.

The difference between autobiography and biography could hardly be better exemplified than by two other volumes, the *Biography of Archbishop Madagan*, by F. D. How (Wells Gardner. 16s. net), and Bishop Boyd Carpenter's *Some Pages of My Life* (Williams and Norgate. 15s. net). Mr. How had a difficult task, and he has performed it admirably. The biographer is usually hindered by his very respect for his subject, unless he be a Boswell, whilst the man who writes his own story is hampered by no such drawback. The information Mr. How gives of this soldier-priest is invaluable, the picture of a noble man and his contemporaries full and clear; but after all they are but a series of impressions, whilst on the other hand the Bishop of Ripon's book reveals the man himself without a trace of self-sufficiency. Story after story gives some new delight, for Dr. Carpenter is as ready to tell us of his love as a child for his "jinnies" as of the conversations he held with Queen Victoria or his work in a London parish. His father lived in the times when two incumbents of opposing views could be appointed to the same church; and the Bishop himself could give a description of the Crystal Palace in its 1851 beauty.

The Letters of George Borrow to the Bible Society, edited by T. H. Darlow (Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net), though not actually called a biography, contain a complete history of the wonderful years Borrow spent in Russia and in Spain. The letters themselves, together with the replies and communications of the Bible Society to him, have only lately been unearthed from the crypt of the Bible House. They are a treasure which no student of Borrow can deny himself. This reader of the Bible in thirteen languages disdained no physical labour in pursuit of his ideal aim.

Those who like "Tristram Shandy" and "A Sentimental Journey"—that is to say, those who like them very much—will welcome Lewis Melville's *Life and Letters of Laurence Sterne* (Stanley Paul and Co. 28s.). In these two volumes a painstaking admirer and biographer has collected all that there is to be known of the author of "Tristam Shandy," and reprinted all his extant letters. For Mr. Melville it has been a labour of love. But except for devotees it seems hardly worth while.

Mr. Carnegie on his birthday astonished the world by publishing a list of its twenty greatest men. C. C. Cairns has written a book (Jack. 7s. 6d.) entitled *A Book of Notable Women*, which tells the story of the lives of twelve women, viz., St. Margaret of Scotland, Catharine of Siena, Vittoria Colonna,

Jeanne D'Albert, Queen of Navarre, Rachel Lady Russell, Lady Grissell Baillie, Queen Louisa of Prussia, Sarah Siddons, Jenny Lind, Louisa Alcott, Catherine Booth, and Dorothea Beale—an oddly mixed dozen.

Those who love to read gossip about kings will revel in Xavier Paoli's *My Royal Clients* (Hodder and Stoughton. 12s.). M. Paoli was the French detective told off to see that nobody killed or annoyed royalties when they visited France. In the twenty-five years of his active service he was brought into close contact with the Tsar Nicholas II., Queen Victoria, King Edward, the King and Queen of Italy, King Alfonso, King Leopold, the Empress Elizabeth, the Shah of Persia, the King of Greece, Queen Wilhelmina, and the King of Cambodia. M. Paoli writes well, and his observations are often acute and always interesting.

A Keeper of the Robes, by Frankfort Moore (Hodder and Stoughton. 16s.), is a gossipy account of Miss Burney as a child and during her five years' service with Queen Charlotte. The book is an amusing contribution to the history of the period, when, though our two monarchs were of the true domestic type, and would have enjoyed the humdrum of a country house, they were yet unable to drink a glass of water until it had been passed from page to equerry through five degrees of persons, and when they were so badly housed that draughts and discomforts were a mere matter of course.

In *William the Silent*, by Ruth Putnam (Putnam and Sons. 5s.), we have a chapter out of sixteenth-century history curiously interesting from the light it throws upon William's own absenteeism, the trust he necessarily placed in two out of his four wives, and the family connections of the Dutch Royal family. Moreover, it is declared that William was not silent at all, but a jovial, social personage. It is an addition to the well-known "Heroes of the Nation" series.

Five English Consorts of Foreign Princes, by Ida Woodward (Methuen. 12s. 6d. net). It is true that a good deal of history may be written round such names as Margaret Tudor, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth of Bohemia, Mary Stuart, and Henrietta Anne Stuart, but the false atmosphere that surrounded the Courts of those days makes one disinclined to attempt anything in the nature of a verdict. There is always lacking a measure of human interest in those whom we can only see through a veil of diplomatic gossip; but the authoress has made good use of the available material.

Among the volumes of reminiscences must be included *Jimmy Glover—His Book*. Mr. Glover gives us a vivacious chronicle of events, not all musical, with which he has been associated. His father, who was connected with the Fenian movement, was one of the party who rescued from prison the famous Head Centre, James Stephens, and Mr. Glover, the author of the book, if he did not take an active part in the proceedings, at any rate witnessed them. Also on the eventful night or early morning when Lord Randolph Churchill, "contrary to all etiquette, precedent, and common decency," was in the *Times* building announcing his resignation to the editor, Mr. Glover happened to be in the office. He says everybody was locked in till five o'clock to prevent the possibility of leakage, and next morning the *Times* was able to announce exclusively the news before even Queen Victoria knew of it. The musical reminiscences, too, make lively and often amusing reading. A very interesting chapter is devoted to National Opera. Most of the failures have been due to beginning at the wrong end; musical taste exists, but it is not rightly catered for, says Mr. Glover. (Methuen. Pp. 300. 7s. 6d. net.)

THE LIFE OF SIR GEORGE NEWNES.

It would be unpardonable, even in the greatest crush of the Bookshop, not to devote some little space in order to express my warm appreciation of Miss Friederichs' *Life of Sir George Newnes*. No one has better right to feel proud of the admirable literary qualities displayed in this most interesting biography than the present reviewer, who counts it as one of his good deeds that he was privileged to introduce Miss Friederichs to journalism at a time when there was hardly a woman in a newspaper office in London. And the REVIEW OF REVIEWS can never be other than grateful to the man who co-operated with me in the publication of its first three numbers. Miss Friederichs tells the story of our beginning with accuracy. But she omits to mention that it was Newnes who fixed its title. I had proposed to call it "The Sixpenny Monthly: a Review of Reviews." One Sunday morning Sir George walked over from Putney to meet me as I was coming home from church. He said, "Don't you think it would be better to reverse the title and call it 'The Review of Reviews: a Sixpenny Monthly'?" As the change was obviously an improvement, I assented at once. One other omission may be mentioned. After Sir George had described the difference between the two kinds of journalism, he added, after describing his own style of journalism: "It is quite humble and unpretentious; but it does gather in the shekels." The story of Newnes's life as told by Miss Friederichs is a valuable addition to the history of the democratisation of literature. Sir George was a great pioneer, and deserves to be held in grateful remembrance. The book destroys many legends about his early days, and gives in clear, sympathetic fashion the story of his many achievements. We lay down the book with a better appreciation than we ever had of the genial, resourceful, kindly-hearted English gentleman who founded *Tit-Bits*, published the first number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and created the *Westminster Gazette*.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL.

Among the Books of Travel I give the first place unhesitatingly to Mr. H. Hesketh Prichard's *Through*

Trackless Labrador (Heinemann. 15s.). This handsome octavo volume, copiously illustrated and excellently written, describes regions which are kept sealed against human intrusion by a standing army of billions upon billions of the most merciless mosquitoes. However Mr. Prichard got through this realm of Beelzebub is a mystery. But, apart from his vivid narrative of his adventures, the gem of the book is the account which the author gives of the silent, unnoticed heroism of the Moravian missionaries, whose self-sacrificing labour of love and devotion make us proud to belong to a race which is capable of producing such saints and martyrs. Everyone who is tempted, as all are tempted at times, to feel disgusted at the squalor and meanness of human life should read this book as a spiritual tonic.

Mr. Harold Begbie's "Broken Earthenware" achieved, as it deserved, one of the greatest successes of the last few years in the wide field of religious literature. It was human, it was vivid, it was full of sympathy and spiritual insight, and its immense circulation — of one hundred and fifty thousand copies — was a reassuring sign of the times. His companion volume, *Other Sheep* (Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.), is devoted to a rapid study of India from the point of view of one who took Commissioner Tucker, *alias* Fakir Singh, as his guide on his quest to study the problem of the future of Christianity in India. Commissioner Tucker Mr. Begbie describes as the Christian Don Quixote of our time. Mr. Begbie's own religious standpoint is not that of the orthodox Salvationist. He rejects much that they believe, for he is of the school of rational Christianity, which replaces the religion of sorrow by the cult of joy. But this only gives a greater value to his book. The reader may not altogether accept all Mr. Begbie's conclusions, but no one, be he Pagan, Hindoo, Buddhist, Catholic, or Materialist, can put down the book without being helped, inspired, and strengthened by its perusal.

A pleasant, beautifully illustrated (in colours) book, which should be in every church and Sunday school library, is Mr. Arthur E. Copping's *A Journalist in the Holy Land* (Religious Tract Society. 5s.).

Underground Jerusalem; or, Discoveries on the Hill of Ophel, by H. V. (Harold Cox. 7s. 6d. net), is a record of modern research in the Holy City, the excavations resulting from the interesting discovery about thirty years ago of the ancient Pool of Siloam. The more recent discoveries are studiously and categorically described in this volume, of which the illustrations, maps, etc., are very carefully finished.

Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages (Sidney Heath. 10s. Fisher Unwin) is not exactly a travel book. It is rather an historical study of a vanished mode of saving the soul. But in order to describe Pilgrim Life the author travels up and down along the pilgrims' ways, revisiting with pious diligence the most famous English shrines. To most of us the pilgrim way from Winchester to Canterbury is as much an unknown land as Trackless Labrador.

In Northern Mists Dr. Nansen tells us, in two portly octavo well illustrated volumes (Heinemann. 30s.), the story of the gropings of the children of men towards the Pole. It is an elaborate historical study of all the records of exploration in Arctic regions from the earliest days. The lure of the unknown has always proved irresistible. For men love danger as a bride. Ambition tempts them on, and hope of gain flashes its illusive and alluring ray over the wildest icebound waste. Dr. Nansen has done his work like an expert and scholar. The book will become a classic.

John Boyes: King, is the title of a fascinating story by Mr. John Boyes (Methuen. 12s. 6d. net) of his adventures in East Africa. Mr. Boyes ran away to sea when thirteen; eight years later he landed at Durban, and has been in Africa ever since. His narrative is straightforward and simple—a record of indomitable will and ready resource. He spent some time in Rhodesia, and arrived at Mombasa in 1898. He must have a wonderful knowledge of the natives, for he soon became practically a king amongst them, and ruled over half a million people. But, like so many others who come into contact with red-tape officials, he appears to have had a bad time with the early administrators under British rule. Without bitterness he tells how he was arrested by them, was tried for his life, and triumphantly acquitted. Mr. Boyes bitterly regrets the hostile attitude of the governing class to the commercial and hunting element in East Africa, and contends that the petty spite, official arrogance, and inefficiency of certain individuals undid all his work of peaceful settlement.

In reading *The Danube*, by Walter Jerrold, with thirty illustrations by Louis Weirter (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net), one feels the luxury of a personally conducted trip as the author follows the course of the Danube from its source to the sea. Even to suggest a description of some hundreds of towns and villages is to wander into the precise domain of the guide-book, and Mr. Jerrold, in avoiding description, has overloaded his pages with narrative "about" rather than "of" the river as a real and living thing. Yet every page is interesting.

SOME NEW NOVELS.

One feature of the publishing season which has attracted special notice is the exceptional output of successful novels. Mrs. Humphry Ward's *The Case of Richard Meynell*, Mr. Arnold Bennett's *Hilda Lessways*, Mr. Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*, Miss Corelli's *Life Everlasting*, and several others, are all selling among the really successful novels of the day, and there are others, like Mr. W. W. Jacobs's *Ship's Company* (Hodder. 3s. 6d.), in the same category. "Ship's Company" is a book of short stories which have appeared already in the *Strand Magazine*.

Mr. Jacobs's breezy yarns about seamen and their associates never lack appreciative readers.

To these successful novels must now be added Mr. William De Morgan's new book, *A Likely Story* (Heinemann. 6s.). It is certainly a quaintly humorous narrative, but oh, ye critics, it is too short! The booksellers objected to length, Mr. De Morgan yielded to them, and now we can see that if we are to have our author at his best we must let him jog along at his own sweet will. As once before, Mr. De Morgan here gives us events of two different epochs intermingled. Both being "likely stories," he interweaves them in his own whimsical way with the most unlikely of threads, for it is the *picture* of his lovely Italian which tells the most of her story, and not her picture only, but even the two photographs of it taken by the English girl's lover. "Why not?" says Mrs. Aiken. "Don't strain at a gnat when you have swallowed a camel. If you allow that a picture can tell its story in a sweet, soft voice, why deny that a photograph can do the same" And how deliciously Mr. De Morgan keeps up his old game of poking fun! Whether it is at reviewers, as in his Apology, at the artist and his snappy, ridiculous wife and her earliest Victorian aunt, or even at us, his readers, or the psychic investigators, it is always shrewd, witty and kindly, with that early Victorian geniality which seems to be vanishing so rapidly. Would that space permitted me to quote from that quintessence of fun, his "Apology in Confidence."

No Surrender, by Constance E. Maud (Duckworth, 6s.), can scarcely be classed as a novel; it is rather a connected series of tableaux, constructed out of the incidents connected with the Militant Suffrage movement. Dedicated to Mrs. Despard, her portraiture, and that of Lady Constance Lytton, and other well known Suffragettes, cannot be mistaken, though the author declares her characters to be fictional. Two Cabinet Ministers represent the lovers. Newspaper paragraphs come and go, but this picture of the "torture" of the women political prisoners, delicately veiled as it is, cannot so easily be put aside.

The Free Marriage is by J. Keighley Snowden (Stanley Paul, 6s.). "Free" does not mean illegal, as it might seem to do; it is rather a protest against that over individualism which is the recoil from the over submission of the woman. Mr. Keighley Snowden shows in a novel of some considerable interest, that husband and wife must live for one another if they are to have their full measure of happiness. There is good characterisation in the book, and an accurate description of modern journalism.

The Dance of the Black Fox, by R. A. Wood Seys (Mills and Boon. 6s.), is an idyllic tale of the fashion of the "Valley of a Hundred Fires," with sufficient adventure to suit quiet tastes, and a father of the old school, who, rich as Carnegie, desires to find a fitting mate for his passionately loved daughter. The sentiment is not mawkish, and the tone is pure.

SOCIAL AMELIORATION.

Principles of Economics, by F. W. Taussig, Professor of Economics at Harvard (Macmillan, 2 vols. 17s. net), is a valuable book, inasmuch as the subject is so treated that it is comprehensible to any educated and intelligent reader who has not yet made a systematic study of the subject. Labour, speculation, bimetallism, coinage, wages, trades unions, strikes, trusts, railways—all have their share in a series of studies which are statements of facts rather than didactic lectures. The last chapter, however, gives "some arguments for Protection."

So much for broad statements; for advice as to what we should do in order to help forward social amelioration, and warnings as to what we should not do, we must turn to the Rev. David Watson's *Social Advance* (Hodder, 5s.). In his sixth chapter, "A Programme for To-day," he boldly outlines State rule with regard to education, marriage, segregation of the unfit, etc., and touches upon our city pesthouses and village wrong-doers with no squeamish hand.

Mr. Clement Rogers, in *Circumstances of Character* (Methuen. 3s. 6d.), gives a record of practical experience, in which he shows that character does rise superior to circumstances, that charity should be organised; but the workers should not be mere officials, but as sympathetic as wise. Also that only the Church can train such, for the State, represented by the haphazard vote of adult males, can never be the supreme arbiter of morals.

Mr. C. Hanford Henderson, in *Pay-Day* (Constable. 6s. net), writes for the American public, but his words are just as applicable to us as to them. His motto is, "Thou shalt not steal," and he writes as one of the "comfortable" class, who has lived some of his days amongst the workers. His plan is co-operation and brotherhood and, in a word, that "Profit" is theft.

Now that we have got a new Dean of St. Paul's who has the courage and the independence of Dean Stanley, we must prepare ourselves to find many of the idols of the market-place rudely assailed in unexpected quarters. Hence many will welcome Mr. G. T. Wrench's book, *The Mastery of Life* (Stephen Swift and Co. 15s.), if only because it makes a desperate frontal attack upon modern civilisation. Mr. Wrench deplores the abolition of serfdom, denounces the ideal of personal liberty, and boldly demands a return to patriarchalism if we would regain the art of life. It is a wonder that he stopped short at cannibalism. But even Mr. Wrench must draw the line somewhere. "The Mastery of Life" is a learned book, which will provoke much thinking and not a little controversy. The Dean of St. Paul's should preach on it.

A book on *Municipal Origins* (Constable. 10s. 6d. net), written by a lecturer on economics (F. H. Spencer) out of the overflow of materials collected in collaboration with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, published as one of a series of economic studies of which

the Hon. W. P. Reeves is the editor, and commended by Sir Edward Clarke as the best and most complete account he has yet seen of the beginnings of that system of local government and administration of which England is very justly proud, needs no further commendation to the student.

The report of the Divorce Commission has not yet been published, but books on divorce increase and multiply. David Nutt has reprinted, in a sixpenny pamphlet, the evidence given on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild in favour of greater freedom of divorce. Mr. Plowden, the magistrate, contributes a preface to Mr. Charles Tibbets' *Marriage-making and Marriage-breaking* (Stanley Paul). Mr. Plowden is in favour of greater liberty of divorce, and so, I take it, is Mr. Tibbets, although he conscientiously gives the pros and the cons.

WANTED—AN INSPIRED MILLIONAIRE.

Two books, which may well be read together, reveal the utter dissatisfaction of the American people with mere riches, and still more with the unfortunate possessors of riches. *The Passing of the Idle Rich* (Hodder. 6s.), by F. T. Martin, who claims to speak as a member of rich society, and as one who knows it intimately, after an exposure of the madness of extravagance which has prevailed, declares that all attempts at mere self-indulgence have so disgusted the rich, as well as the consequent social odium which attends them, that "mere pleasure-seeking idlers are disappearing so fast that it is but a question of a few years more before their extinction is complete." They have found out the futility of riches, and young millionaires are now starting to work. He expects that the wiping out of the idle rich is to be one of the first steps in a programme of national advancement. He would regard Socialism with terror. This horror of Socialism is shared by Mr. G. S. Lee, in his *Inspired Millionaires* (Grant Richards. 3s. 6d. net). With the optimism of an American, and with the dogmatism of a prophet, he declares that, though no inspired millionaire has yet appeared such a genius will appear, and one would be enough to inaugurate a new fashion and a new order. The inspired millionaire would make his business or factory an organism of thinking souls, who, by being transferred from one operation to another, would be the source of endless invention—a genius who, by appealing to the imagination of the men, would destroy their slavery to the machine, and would be so overwhelmingly successful, both in his own fortune, and in the fortune of his employees, that all would desire to follow in his steps. Mr. Lee objects to Mr. Edison making a present to the public of his plan of a £200 house. He thinks Mr. Edison ought to keep the patent and the monopoly in his own hands, thus ensuring that all the houses would be built in a way that would do the builders good, as well as the occupants, while ensuring the inventor a handsome fortune. Given away, the idea will, he thinks, be exploited by all manner of builders, and with much less good resulting to humanity as a whole. But, except as a potential preparation for this destined superman of business, the existing millionaires are, in the author's judgment, a very sorry lot. Perhaps in despair of the advent of an inspired millionaire, the reader may turn to *The Case for Socialism* (Jarrold. 192 pp. 2s. 6d. net), which is very forcibly and vigorously put by Fred Henderson. He deals very shrewdly with current objections, and is especially fierce on the argument that the present system is practically the only one possible to human nature.

MYSTICISM.

Of mystical books the month has brought us full store. Mr. Algernon Blackwood's *The Centaur* (Macmillan. 6s.) is a wonderful study, by a profound thinker of the material world as a living creature. It is the most striking exposition of what may be described as the mysticism of Nature in distinction from the mysticism of theology. Another mystical book is Mr. Claud Field's *Mystics and Saints of Islam* (Griffiths. 3s. 6d.), a most instructive study of famous Eastern thinkers too little known in the West, whose meditations are as lofty and as spiritual as anything that the Christian Church has produced. Mr. Rudolffe Steiner's *Mystics of the Renaissance* (Theosophical Publishing Co. 2s. 6d.) may be read as a companion volume. Common to all the mystics of East and West is the consciousness of the Divine Spirit that dwells in man. Of a very different class is *The Story of My Reincarnation*, by Zivola (The Century Press. 6s.). It professes to be an autobiography of the reincarnated Jesus of Nazareth, who, it is asserted, is now living on earth amongst men. It does not carry conviction. If the audacious claim be admitted, a soul in reincarnation must be liable to lose all the distinctive greatness of its previous existence.

The Next Room, a tiny volume by Doris and Hilary Severn (Constable. 1s.), contains a series of invaluable experiences of the help given by the Invisible upon an earthly path. *Photographing the Invisible*, by James Coates (L. N. Fowler. 7s. 6d.), is a description of personal research in this department of psychic science, and contains accounts of that which Boursnell, Glendinning, Colley, Wallace, W. T. Stead, and others have done and thought. The illustrations of alleged spirit photographs are numerous. The last chapter is devoted to observations as to the most favourable conditions for psychic photography. *Studies of Paul and His Gospel*, by Dr. Garvie (Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.), is a scholarly treatment of the main features of St. Paul's Gospel. Some of its statements will scarcely be acceptable to those who do not hold with St. Paul in his directions about women.

INSURANCE NOTES.

Mr. F. T. Hicklord is the newly-elected chairman of the Metropolitan Fire Brigades' Board.

The London Directors of the Royal Insurance Company have acceded to the request of Mr. Charles Salter to be relieved of his position as manager of the company for Australasia, as from 31st December last. Mr. Salter's successor is Mr. George Henderson Turton, who has been the sub-manager for Australasia, and Mr. William Charles Newton Lane, who has been third officer for Australasia, and secretary for Victoria, will become sub-manager for Australasia, and resident secretary for Victoria. Mr. Salter has accepted a seat on the Australasian Board, upon the invitation of the Directors in England.

The Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society continues to make rapid and sound progress. For the year just closed, £3,000,000 of ordinary insurance has been written, the actual completions totalling £3,070,000.

A fire occurred on the 16th January at the warehouse of Messrs. Brooks, Robinson and Co., in Elizabeth Street, Melbourne. Most damage was done in the topmost floors, and the firm's loss is estimated at about £2000. The building is insured in the Colonial Mutual Company for £2500, Western Company, £1000, and Queensland Company for £500. The contents were covered by a large number of offices, for the aggregate amount of £27,750.

It has long been contended that the British Government should introduce a Bill making all over-insurance of shipping illegal, owners being impowered only to recover a strict indemnity, as in all form of insurance except marine. Recent inquiries by the Board of Trade are reported to have revealed the fact that there is a systematic practice of over-insurance in shipping. Point is given to this assertion by the inquiring into the foundering of the Cardiff steamer "Dunsley." The vessel was said to have been over-insured to the extent of £9800. The Board of Trade inquiry found that the loss of the vessel was due to the default of the managing owner, the master, and the engineers. The managing owner was ordered to pay £1500 towards the cost of the inquiry, the master's certificate was suspended, and the engineers were each fined.

Damage estimated at about £3000 was done by a fire in the new township of Wonthaggi, on Sunday, 15th inst. The greater part of the loss was covered by insurance. On the same day twelve shops and their contents were destroyed by fire in the township of Willaura, Victoria.

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ROYAL BANK CHAMBERS, MELBOURNE.

A cigarette dropped into a tin of gasolene in a motor factory at Winnipeg recently was responsible for the destruction of a considerable amount of property. The fire that ensued spread with remarkable rapidity and fierceness, demolishing the building and its contents, including twenty automobiles. The fire then spread to a terrace of eight houses and several stores, which were all destroyed, before the firemen got control.

ADVANCEMENT.

SUCCESS and its achievement must always be the *all-absorbing personal aim* of everyone who is faced with the eternal problem "How to Live." In these days of rapid progress the slacker goes to the wall, and many for want of proper guidance waste their lives in idle *expectancy* of betterment. In a few sentences we set forth some of the many ways in which you may be helped over your difficulties by the Empire Correspondence College. If you have not yet made up your mind as to your profession, the first difficulty is to decide which particular course you desire to follow. *Here we can serve you.*

If you will write stating the time per day you can devote to study, your age, the subjects you have already studied by way of education and the stage of proficiency you have attained in each, and also the line of life in which you desire to seek success, you shall have, free, the best advice that we can give you; and that will amount to the considered judgment of many who have spent their lives in considering the ways and means by which the youth of both sexes may be most surely helped to success. If you refer to us in this matter we shall advise a course that is *well within your powers* in the time at your disposal.

Method of Study.

A time-table of work will be arranged for you, and you are recommended to adhere strictly to it, remembering that it is steady, persistent effort that finally leads to great and useful accomplishment. "Perfection" must be your motto. Every branch of commerce and every profession is in dire need of qualified helpers. Make yourself one of the live men or women for whom the work of the world is calling. You are, perhaps, met from time to time with the remark that certain professions are overcrowded, that there is no room for the worker in this, that, or the other line of life. If that impresses you, think for yourself of the cases you know where men from small beginnings, without capital or influential friends, have made their way in every walk of life—Mr. Carnegie, you will remember, started life as a labourer; Sir Thomas Lipton, the personal friend of the late King, began his career in a small shop in an obscure part of Glasgow; Mr. John Burns was an engineer. *You* start—or have the opportunity to start—with prospects of success vastly superior to any of these men.

Hints and Helps.

Every lesson sent out to you is the epitome of the latest information available on the particular subject dealt with. It is not an extract from a text-book, but the result of the study of many text-books, plus personal daily occupation in the teaching of, and writing on, the subject. No pains are spared in the examination of the work you send in. We trust you to work the tests fairly, and we accept them and treat them as an honest effort. Our solutions are models of direct methods—time is the important factor of great success—it is the one element of life for which you can get no credit. Unnecessary labour is, like procrastination, and to a greater degree than procrastination, the thief of time. Hence our first and last endeavour will be to teach you to arrive at your final and accurate results on a *minimum of expenditure of labour.*

The Personal Element.

The personal element in the system of instruction has the keynote of the success which has attended our work in the past; and every student of the College is earnestly requested to approach the Principal at all times in this spirit.

It is a matter of pleasurable duty to anticipate your particular needs, and by our help to cement as between us and you a bond of personal friendship and regard which will link you (as it has done so many past pupils) to the College, and lead in your case to that degree of proficiency which earns for our pupils the commendation of employers wherever they go.

Employment.

It has been truly said that "Genius is the art of taking pains." *If you will only take pains* success is well within your reach, and the College does not withhold its aid when you have completed your studies, for we are always prepared to recommend *proficient* pupils, and have no difficulty in securing positions for them. The employer of to-day realises more than ever that well-paid labour, if it be efficient labour, is the only *cheap* labour that is worth employing. If you will *qualify* for the position you desire you will not need to seek employers; employers *will seek you*, and they will seek you through our medium.

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