

Broad Views

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL
DEALING WITH ALL SUBJECTS OF GENERAL
INTEREST WITHOUT REGARD TO CONVEN-
TIONAL HABITS OF THOUGHT.

EDITED BY
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LONDON :
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO.,
43, GERRARD STREET, SOHO, W.

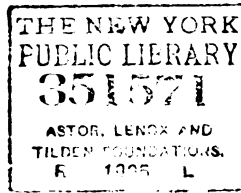


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BROAD VIEWS

VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1904.

No 1.

PREFACE.



THE title given to this Review will afford some indication of the principles on which it is to be conducted. It will not set out to propagate any formal set of opinions on any subject, but its conductors will free themselves as far as possible from conventional habits of thought, whatever subject may be under discussion. Critical literature in England is terribly apt to run into ruts and grooves. We may grant freely that the intellectual life of this country is splendidly active. A Broad View of British national character will always be calculated to give rise to pleasurable emotion on the part of all appreciative observers who belong to the race. Certainly no great body of people at any period of the world's history have been more definitely guided in their public conduct by the sense of Right, than the people of Great Britain. We are eager to emphasise this magnificent truth at the outset, because the efforts we want to make to resist certain tendencies in the British character might otherwise be misunderstood. But looking round the literary horizon we certainly do not discern as much mobility of thought as the widening Knowledge of the period ought to promote.

In every department of intellectual life English people are exceedingly slow to adapt established convictions to new environments of circumstance. This, does not mean that they all think alike in reference to politics, religion, philosophy of even natural science. The ruts in which opinions move diverge very widely from one another in all directions. But each recognised school of thought is saturated by its own conventionalities and extraordinarily slow to acknowledge any fundamental error in its data. And brooding over the whole congeries of diverse opinions, some prejudices are seen to be so domineering in their character that it is hardly possible for pioneers of a new era in which they may be out of place, to get even a hearing in newspapers or periodicals of the ordinary type.

No doubt there are special papers and periodicals devoted to every variety of belief in Religion or psychic investigation; to every separate predilection which can engender a political faith; but these merely circulate among their own devotees. They do not reach the cultured classes generally. They stereotype the convictions out of which they spring: they engender new forms of conventionality within the limits of the school to which they belong, and have no influence as regards the presentation of the ideas they deal with, in the cultivated world at large.

So far as politics are concerned, party spirit, encouraged by the parliamentary system, has imported a zealous dishonesty into the newspaper press which renders each journal a mere arsenal of weapons to be used, for what they may be worth, against its particular enemy. The vote of the ignorant elector is the prize; the pretence that may impose upon him best, is the doctrine to be maintained. Existing monthly Reviews, it is true, afford us, in regard to politics, more helpful assistance than can be expected from the partisan press, because some of these Reviews, at all events, will publish essays by distinguished representatives of highly divergent doctrines. Thus, a single publication may give its readers material conducive to



mental culture—something more than a onesided advocacy of the prepossessions its readers, for the most part, are assumed to entertain. But by the hypothesis the distinguished men who thus write on opposite sides of a question in the same Review, are each in turn exponents of the pretences held most likely to captivate public support at the polling booths. The trail of electioneering is over them all. Only those writers who are never likely to stand on a hustings can afford to dispense with the false colouring of proposals which electioneering demands in whatever interest it is carried on, and the independent critic, with no political axes of his own to grind, is rarely able to break through the conventionality which assigns so much importance to the reputation of the Specialist. But too often the Specialist is, above all others, the Conventionalist in his own line.

When we pass from the consideration of the way political questions are dealt with in this country, and come to those which have to do with new departures of thought—based, perhaps, on new acquisitions of knowledge in the realms of Natural Philosophy—we are necessarily impressed, in a greatly enhanced degree, with the need for some medium of communication between the advanced guard of inquiry and the world of general culture. It has so long been the fashion to pour ridicule on all varieties of belief arising from psychic inquiry and abnormal experience, that the large body of knowledge accumulating on the hands of persevering students in this field, is a sealed book for most people whose culture has been developed along more conventional grooves. And just because the conductors of most newspapers and other periodicals are impressed with the belief that most of their readers will treat all discussion of psychic problems with contempt, they shrink from giving offence by dealing with them in any way. Perhaps editors who thus avoid them are making a mistake. Perhaps it may only be they themselves, and not the majority of their readers, who are prejudiced in the way imagined. Indeed,

no one who goes much about in modern intelligent society can fail to be struck by the great extent to which the world of modern culture is honeycombed by a belief in many discoveries connected with super-physical investigation, which have broken through the crust of mid-century Agnosticism.

This is all the less surprising in view of the manner in which some conclusions arising from some ultra-physical investigations have been established on a sure foundation. Fifty years ago it was the fashion to laugh at the idea that there was any truth in the stories afloat concerning Mesmerism. Now it is so universally known that the leading phenomena of Mesmerism are genuine, that under a misleading name even the newspapers recognise them as facts in Nature. In that connexion even ignorance is now unusual. With reference to some of the higher phenomena of Mesmerism—Clairvoyance for example—there are still so many people ignorant of the facts that have long since established that department also of ultra-physical science on a sure foundation, that we still continually encounter (in the conventional press) expressions of ridicule directed against “believers” in clairvoyance. One might as well talk of belief and disbelief in the mechanical equivalent of heat. Plenty of people do not know what that phrase means, but their failure to understand it imports no suggestion that those who do are foolish. Only the other day a very distinguished man of science has publicly avowed that he is satisfied of the possibility of sometimes communicating with the disincarnate souls or volumes of consciousness that once made up the personalities of friends who are what is commonly termed “dead.” Many millions of people have been equally satisfied concerning this possibility for forty years past, but at last a time may be regarded as at hand when the elementary facts in this connexion may be taken for granted, and their bearing on other less definite conclusions seriously studied.

Even people who are very far as yet from personal convictions

along such lines, are more than prepared to be interested in the discussion of ideas and alleged discoveries lying in the region of what the last generation held to be "the unknowable." But however this may be, there is distinctly a need at the present time for a Review with general claims on the attention of the cultivated classes, which shall boldly discard the conventional prudery, which shuts out from the pages of most of its contemporaries all articles relating to the newer discoveries and speculations in Natural Philosophy, which people of really advanced thought are anxious to examine and consider. "Broad Views" is not started to promulgate any specific faith in connection with such matters, but its conductors will always be ready to afford a fair field for the presentation, by qualified exponents of modern super-physical research, of the results at which they have arrived, and the inferences they have been enabled to form.

This publication will, however, by no means be confined to the treatment of such topics as those just referred to. The time is peculiarly appropriate for heralding an attempt to deal with public affairs in a manner which shall be absolutely uninfluenced by the antagonistic interests that have hitherto divided most practical politicians into rival parties. Within recent memory an unexpected convulsion threw all previously recognised parties into confusion. By degrees the new arrangement became so definitely solidified that its strata appeared to be permanently settled on a new basis. Now again a plane of cleavage has been established, disconcerting all previous calculations. Surely this condition of things affords room for a periodical which will treat political questions in a new and unconventional way,—which will even be so absolutely free from party bias of the old-fashioned kind, as to welcome the idea that the reign of the party system may be nearing its extinction.

The Twentieth Century may be regarded, in fact, as inaugurating the widely spread acceptance of ideas in politics differing as distinctly

from those prevalent during the latter part of the Nineteenth, as the views of natural philosophy just referred to differ from those of fifty years ago. The earlier conceptions of Political Economy are giving place to an entirely revised theory of national expediency, but that is by no means the only change in progress. The great achievements of the Liberal party during the last half century in the direction of reforming institutions previously unjust towards the people at large, established for a time a vague feeling amongst all thinkers of progressive sympathies, in favour of democratic principles as contrasted with those representing the Toryism of the old school. Now, however, that conditions of public life have been so far modified that all fears of royal or aristocratic tyranny are as completely out of date as the apprehensions of Danish invasion that troubled the peace of King Alfred, the dangers of democratic ascendancy, the national advantages that might accrue from the restoration to constituted authority of some functions of which it has been deprived by the usurpations of the popular element in the Constitution,—are seriously engaging the thoughts of “reformers,” no longer identified as such, with the idea of intensifying the supremacy of the House of Commons. Imperialism as a vague sentiment is triumphant,—has been triumphant for many years past, and has been glorified by men of all parties, only a few of whom at first realised that it demanded a revision of economical theories hitherto scarcely disputed. By degrees it may be leading to a conviction that purely political as well as economical theories will eventually claim reconstruction.

It is not desirable in this preface that we should elaborate such possibilities more fully, but the pages of “Broad Views” will be open to the consideration of methods by which the government of this country might be carried on in a manner that would be better calculated than the existing system to secure grand national purposes without impairing national liberty, or even that supreme parliamentary control which is an essential element in the British Constitution.

EDUCATION AND THE RELIGIOUS IMBROGLIO.

WHEN the historian of the future sits down to write his narrative of the changes made by the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, and the results flowing from the alteration in the law, he will note with surprise some curious features. He will observe that the measures of reform fall under three separate heads. The first was to transfer the care of elementary education from the School Boards to the County and Borough Councils. The second was to place secondary schools as well as primary under the one educational authority. The third was to bring voluntary schools as well as Board schools under that authority. But he will be astonished to find that while the first two parts of the Act excited little attention or antagonism, the whole fury of opposition fell upon the third part and raised an agitation which spread throughout the country, induced many earnest and God-fearing men to protest against it by illegal acts, and had an important influence on the balance of the political parties of the day.

The position of elementary schools in England is a peculiar one, and differs widely from that which they occupy in the cognate countries of Germany and Scotland. In Germany, as in England, the people are deeply religious, and the German theory has been that the duty of the schools is to teach morality and religion first and secular subjects afterwards, and that the religious teaching should be definite and dogmatic. Accordingly the State accepted this responsibility more than a century ago, and established such schools as were needed all over the country. For the Protestant children it created Protestant schools, for the Roman Catholic children Roman Catholic schools; only where the population is not large enough for more than one school it is divided into two parts for the purposes of the two religions. In all cases Protestant teachers are appointed to give instruction in the doctrines of their faith, and Roman Catholic teachers in theirs. Either form of religion is held equal before the State, and both classes of schools are on the same footing as regards secular instruction and maintenance from public funds.

In Scotland, again, where an equally deep religious feeling and belief in the necessity of doctrinal teaching exist a less philo-

sophical solution, but one which satisfies the people, has been adopted. The Government does not intervene to establish such schools as it deems, with an impartial mind, to be required to meet the wants of the people; the School Boards establish the schools, and have the power to decide what kind of doctrinal religious instruction shall be given in them. In most cases this is in accordance with the Presbyterian scheme of faith, and the shorter catechism is taught. Even where there is a large Episcopalian population they have to submit to this teaching. But in certain parts in the West and North of Scotland, where the inhabitants are largely Roman Catholic, School Boards have decided to give instruction in that faith, imparted by teachers of that persuasion, either in entire schools or in parts of schools; and the same arrangement may be made elsewhere for the benefit of Episcopalians or members of other denominations, if a majority of any School Board consents to it. The system seems to be accepted by the Scotch people, and we hear of no complaints made by Episcopalians that they have to pay rates towards the propagation of the Presbyterian faith, or by Presbyterians that their rates are taken to support the Roman Catholic religion.

In England, as in Scotland, the State has taken no direct part in promoting education, and all the schools that existed up to 1870 were the result of voluntary effort. In this effort the Church of England took the lead and bore the main burden, followed by the Roman Catholics, and, at a long interval, by some of the Nonconformist Churches. The schools were built in the first place by private contributions, and have been supported by fees, by Government grants given for secular instruction, and by voluntary subscriptions. Mr. Forster's Act of 1870 made no change in the position of these voluntary schools, but supplemented them by Board schools, in which "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination" may be taught, and any child may be withdrawn under the Conscience Clause "from any religious observance or instruction," however colourless and simply scriptural it may be. These schools received the same grants as the voluntary schools, paid from the Treasury for proficiency in the rudiments of secular knowledge, the balance being made up by the rates. Thus we have had in this country two main classes of schools: the one undenominational, suiting the views of the Nonconformists, entirely supported by public funds; the other denominational, suiting the views of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholics, maintained partly by private funds.

The progress of these two classes of schools since 1870 has been

unequal. The cost of teaching in all its branches was very low in those days, and as long as Mr. Forster's forecast held good, that the rate could never exceed threepence in the £, so long the votaries of denominational religious teaching found it not difficult to raise the necessary subscriptions. But gradually a new and loftier ideal grew up. The standard conception of the provision of light, air, space proper for the classrooms, of the necessity for halls, playgrounds, and subsidiary appliances for teaching art and science, carpentry, cookery, and laundry work broadened and expanded, the school buildings became palaces, higher qualifications were demanded from teachers, and higher salaries given. "The best of everything is hardly good enough for the children" became the maxim of the School Boards, and their rates rose by leaps and bounds. Then the voluntary schools began to fall into the rear, for the subscriptions could not keep up with the movement. Year after year Church of England, Wesleyan and British schools gave up the struggle, and were swallowed up by the School Boards. The amount required to maintain the schools was collected with increasing difficulty, and though the subscription list did not fall off, it did not rise as fast as the standard of educational improvement, and the voluntary schools were more and more left behind in the race for increased efficiency.

It was clear that something must be done to remedy this state of things. The best friends of voluntary schools could not tolerate the thought that half the children in the country should be condemned to receive an inferior scale of secular instruction in order that they might gain proper religious teaching. They urged that it was illogical that while one party could get the best secular teaching, combined with the sort of religious training they desired, at the public expense, the other party, who wished for a slightly more definite instruction in religious doctrines, should have to pay for that and for the secular portion of the education as well. They said they were ready to pay for the cost of the specific religious portion, but they claimed that the rest of the expenditure should be defrayed from the public funds. On the other hand, the opponents of voluntary schools declaimed against the autocratic way in which these schools were managed by private persons, against the compulsion placed on Nonconformists where there was only one school, and that a voluntary one, to attend religious teaching which they disliked, and against the exclusion of all Nonconformists from becoming teachers or pupil teachers in these schools. Lastly, those who, without concerning themselves with religious dogmas, were merely advocates of good education in the abstract, thought it undesirable that institutions so largely affecting the well-

being and future of the country should be subject to no public control whatever, except the fear that inefficiency might be followed by a withdrawal of the educational grants. The problem was how to reconcile these conflicting claims by giving a certain amount of financial assistance from the public rates to these voluntary schools, but not complete support; and by giving a certain amount of control to the local authorities without altogether subverting the position of those who had created and up to the present time maintained the schools.

The solution offered by the Government in the Education Act of 1902 was in this wise. They said to the supporters of voluntary schools, We will place the general cost of school maintenance, so far as secular teaching is concerned, on the rates; but the cost of the special religious teaching which you desire must be borne by yourselves, and shall be contributed (as it cannot be calculated exactly) in the form of the amount needed to keep up the buildings which you have erected in good condition, and to make such structural repairs and improvements as may be required by the Education Authority. In return for this you must give up a considerable portion of the power you have hitherto exercised over these schools. Whereas the trustees or the subscribers have appointed till now all the managers, they shall in future appoint only four, and two others shall be chosen by the local authorities through whom the rates are collected: that is the Borough Councils in the larger towns, the County Council and Parish Councils conjointly in rural districts, and the County Council and Metropolitan Borough Councils conjointly in London. These managers will have power to settle the curriculum of both secular and religious teaching, and the clergyman will no longer be able to claim the right of giving the Scripture lesson without the consent of the managers. And whereas you now have the power to appoint, and do habitually appoint only members of your own denomination to be teachers in the school, in future no one shall be debarred from becoming an assistant teacher or pupil teacher because of his religious persuasion. Only the post of head teacher may in future be confined to persons belonging to the denomination of the school, provided their qualifications are in other respects, as regards secular instruction, satisfactory.

Thus we see that while the supporters of voluntary schools have obtained a very material gain, in that the greater part of the cost of maintenance is thrown upon the rates, they have bought this gain by certain substantial concessions. They have to pay for structural repairs and improvements, the cost of which may sometimes equal, and must always be a material portion of what has hitherto been

raised by subscriptions. They surrender their exclusive control over the management, by admitting two representatives of outside bodies. They abandon the right of confining employment as teachers entirely to members of their own persuasion. The clergyman's right to give the Scripture lesson is made subject to the sanction of the managers. Full financial control is placed in the hands of the local Education Authority, through whose hands the Government grants pass, and to whom application for funds for all purposes must be made. These concessions have been very bitter to the minds of Roman Catholics and of a large number of Churchmen, many of whom think that the relief from the "intolerable strain" has been bought too dear.

On the other hand these concessions have seemed trifles light as air to the more ardent spirits among the Nonconformists, whose ideal it has long been that the State should take over the whole fabric of Elementary Education, allowing no exclusive privileges to any denomination, but imposing a system of colourless religious teaching in all schools. They were disappointed at not realising this end in 1870, and they have lived in hope ever since of achieving it by a process of starving out their rivals. To some extent they have been successful, as a large number of voluntary schools have, from want of funds, been converted into Board schools. Now they find that this weapon is taken from their grasp; the voluntary schools will be supported from the rates; the dream of universal Board schools overspreading the country is fled. Their ideal has been completely defeated, and it is not unnatural that this defeat should bulk more largely in their eyes than the modifications which the ideal of the other side has undergone.

And yet it is hard to understand how practical and reasonable men can have hoped to succeed with so impossible an objective. The Church of England and Roman Catholic schools in the country number over 10,000; they have been built and maintained at the cost of great sacrifices by the adherents of those Churches; they represent a capital value of about twenty-five millions, and it is now asked that the fruit of these sacrifices should be abandoned and this valuable property made over to the State, by compulsory sale or lease, in order that the schools may be placed on the same level as Board schools. To state such a claim is almost to demonstrate the impossibility of it being granted. The maxim *beati possidentes* applies in other quarters as well as in politics. Just as England is admitted to have established, by its expenditure of blood and treasure, its right to hold sway in Egypt, or in the Persian Gulf, just as even

the claim of Russia over Manchuria, though founded on violence and the breach of treaty engagements, is accepted as based on existing facts, so no practical politician, accustomed to deal with realities, will conceive that those who have supported voluntary schools amid so many difficulties will surrender their position and give up what they conscientiously hold to be their right and their duty to maintain.

The form which Nonconformist dissatisfaction at first took was that known as passive resistance—a refusal to pay the rate, a portion of which is levied on account of education. When this mode of opposition was originally mooted, it was so alien to the law-abiding instinct of the nation that most people treated it as an idle threat emanating from a wild burst of passion which would pass away with reflection and the discovery that it was both illogical and ineffective. This, however, has not been the case, for the number of “passive resisters” has grown to be large, and is still increasing. It has been fostered by the unwise proceedings of tolerant or sympathetic magistrates. Their business was, when any person was brought before them as a defaulter in the payment of his rate, simply to inquire whether the rate-collector’s demand was legally made and had not been satisfied, and if so to issue a warrant for its collection by distraint. Instead of this they have in many cases allowed the defaulters to explain that their conscience would not allow them to pay moneys which would be applied to the teaching of a form of religion they condemned, and thus given them the opportunity of self-advertisement and publicity which they desired. The actual sales of distrained goods have been the scenes of similar demonstrations. The procedure has not been without its comic elements. In many cases the passive resister has been deprived of the opportunity of martyrdom by the fact that some friend has paid the required sum on his behalf. Where goods have been sold they have generally been bought in, and the defaulter has only suffered in having to pay costs in addition to the original claim. It seems strange that anyone should think that such a form of opposition to the law can lead to any practical effect.

Nor are they more deterred by being shown the illogicality of their conduct. Voluntary schools have for many years received Government grants, to which every taxpaying Nonconformist, or other, contributes when he pays his taxes. Now he is asked to contribute in the form of rates as well. His conscience accepted the former demand but revolts at the latter. The difference lies in this, that the taxpayer does not know to what branch of general expenditure his payment will be applied. The ratepayer is informed in the demand

note what portion goes to the police rate, the poor rate, and so forth, and to the education rate. The fact is thus brought prominently to his notice, and it is urged that his position is thereby altered, and that if he objects to the kind of education which he has to pay for, he is bound to protest. This is an argument which might obviously be pushed to very inconvenient extremes. The claim that as he was not told that his taxes went to the support of voluntary schools he was not responsible, is opposed to the maxim of the English Courts, that ignorance of the law is no excuse. The claim that a man is entitled to refuse payment towards an object which he disapproves of, though the law sanctions it, is quite a new one, and is subversive of all settled order and government. In Scotland, as we have seen, rates are paid by persons of all persuasions to the support of specific religious doctrines which some of them heartily disapprove, yet even in that land of dour dogmatism, no claim of offended conscience has been raised. Even in England payment for specific religious teaching is no new thing. Whenever a child is admitted into an industrial school or reformatory, he is classified as Church of England, Nonconformist, or Roman Catholic, and religious teaching is provided accordingly at the expense of the rates. The new demand is, therefore, only an extension to a particular class of day schools of a principle which has long been in force as regards industrial and reformatory schools. The very Free Churchmen who raise this bitter cry, that their conscience does not allow them to pay for the teaching of religious doctrines which they disapprove, are receiving a remission of the rates on their chapels and mission rooms. Now the remission of a rate is practically equivalent to a grant from the rates, since others, who possibly disapprove of the doctrines they preach, have to contribute towards the services for which they do not pay. Many of them, again, have sent missions to India and have established schools (very valuable schools of an active "sectarian" type,) which are supported by Government grants out of taxes paid by Hindus and Musulmans. With what face can they accept funds paid by persons who are divided by an enormous gulf from the religion they profess, when they themselves refuse to pay rates towards the maintenance of schools in which Christian doctrine separated from theirs by a narrow line of difference is taught?

The saner and wiser heads, however, among the opponents of the Act have felt that the proper and constitutional way of proceeding under such circumstances is not to refuse to obey the law, but to try to get it amended. We may disregard the petulance of the passive

resisters, but we must treat seriously, and with respect the efforts which are being made by a large and determined body, who are pledged to make the amendment or repeal of the Education Act a main plank in their platform at the coming elections. Already the National Free Church Council has published its plan of campaign with this end for its objective, and already at the elections for the County and Metropolitan Boroughs their influence has been strongly felt. Non-conformist pulpits have been used to preach the duty of voting only for such candidates as will carry out these views, and placards have been exhibited indicating that "if Jesus Christ were a voter" He would support the favourite of the chapel. The weight of the Non-conformist vote will be felt still more at the London County Council election in March, and at the next Dissolution of Parliament. It is important, therefore, that electors should obtain a clear view of what it is that the opponents of the Act demand, and what are the issues which will be placed before them.

It is not necessary to refer to the fiercer and more violent outpourings of anger which appear daily in the newspapers, but it is instructive to quote the published views of so sober and earnest a man as the Rev. Scott Lidgett, an able and leading member of the London School Board, the last man from whom any fanatical utterance might be expected. In his presidential address to the Metropolitan Free Church Federation he says: "We demand with one voice, complete public control over all the schools maintained by the State, the abolition of tests upon teachers, the freedom of schools from religious teaching of a denominational type. . . . A school intrenched in indefensible privileges and maintained for sectarian ends is no fit instrument for teaching the nation to respect and honour Christ." What, then, would he say of the German schools, which are maintained entirely for these "sectarian" ends? What of the Presbyterian schools in Scotland, where the "Shorter Catechism" is taught, or those which are exclusively devoted to Roman Catholic teaching? From what source does he draw the mandate to proclaim a dogma so subversive of historic experience in England; so opposed to the practice of most Christian countries?

The fundamental points of difference have been brought out with sufficient clearness in the correspondence which has recently passed between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Rev. Dr. Horton, of Hampstead, one of the calmest and most learned of the Nonconformist leaders. The Archbishop proposed that a conference should be held in order to see if there was any *modus vivendi* to which both parties could agree without sacrificing what they held

to be essential principles, and he laid down certain positions which he thought might be accepted by both sides as a foundation for such a conference. Briefly stated, they were (1) that the elements of the Christian faith as contained in the Bible should be part of the regular instruction in the schools; (2) that this instruction should only be given by persons qualified to give it genuinely; (3) that it would not be right to banish from the schools the giving of denominational religious teaching to those whose parents desire it.

Dr. Horton's reply was to the effect that the Free Church leaders were agreed with absolute unanimity that any conference must start from an acceptance of two fundamental doctrines which seem to them to be the charter of justice and of religion:—

- (1) That all schools maintained by public money must be absolutely under public control.
- (2) That in all schools maintained by public money all teachers must be appointed by public authority without reference to denominational distinctions.

If, he wrote, these conditions were accepted, we might find a way of maintaining real religious teaching in all schools, and also of giving the fairest opportunity to those who feel it their duty to impart denominational teaching to the children whose parents desire it.

But these conditions, as the Free Church leaders well know, cannot be accepted by the other side. The first principle which they lay down as an axiom, and which they consider too obvious to require proof, is based neither on abstract reason, nor on analogy, nor on the past history and precedents of this country. It is an absolutely new claim which has never been heard before, neither in the debates on the first Education Act of 1870, nor on any of its successors. It is contrary to the practice in force in industrial schools where the State prescribes that the religion of the parents should be taught, and which receive large grants of public money, defrayed not only from taxes, but from rates, and frequently managed by private persons with little or no control from the Government. It cannot be applied to secondary schools or universities, which receive grants in many cases from the Treasury and from County Councils, though they are controlled by Boards of Governors or other voluntary associations of private persons. On the contrary, the only valid principle is that wherever public money is given, public authority should have sufficient control to see that the money is properly spent, but not that they should have complete control where they contribute only a part of the expenditure.

Again, the second principle, instead of being so obviously sound that it requires no proof, offends against reason and experience. If

a man desires to bestow instruction in secular matters, it is admitted that he should be put to some test of his qualifications to teach them. He must produce a Government certificate, or a University degree, or some equivalent evidence that he has studied these subjects in the proper way and with satisfactory results. Why then, if he desires to impart religious instruction, should he be put to no test and asked for no certificate of his qualifications? Even if we had, as the Free Churches desire, universal colourless religious teaching, some proof of fitness should be required from those in whose hands such teaching is placed, and sad results have been known to occur in Board schools from the teaching of the Bible being confided to agnostic or atheistic teachers. Much more, if instruction in the special doctrines of any denomination is retained, should those who appoint the teacher have power to ascertain that he believes those doctrines, and is qualified to impart them.

The fact is, both these principles are a rebound into an extreme on the part of those who have suffered from or have been offended by practices which belong to the opposite extreme. A not unnatural rebound, springing from a not unjustified revulsion. For it cannot be denied that there has been much to reprehend in the way in which many of the clergy of the Church of England have dealt with the voluntary schools in their parishes. Such outrageous breaches of decency as the placing a figure of the Virgin Mary in the school and forcing the children to cross themselves before it and to bow to it have no doubt been rare, but the report of them has filled many persons with a burning indignation, and the feeling that confidence cannot be given to a body in which such excesses can be committed unreprieved has largely undermined the position of the Church of England. Even among more moderate clergymen the sense of uncontrolled power, together with the absence of publicity, has caused the usual degeneration; there has been too much talk of "their" school, too much inclination to use the schools as a vehicle for disseminating their own peculiar views, too little consideration for the feelings or consciences of the members of other denominations. When there is but one school in a parish containing a nearly equal number of Church people and Nonconformists, and when a clergyman of this kind, assisted nominally by two or three persons selected by himself, has practically the sole control of the syllabus of instruction and the appointment of teachers it is not to be wondered at if the Nonconformists feel that their rights were trampled on, and that the mere fact that the Church party built the school and maintained it partly by their subscriptions did not justify such a monopoly of power

in their hands, to the exclusion of the other party from all influence.

Grievances of this class were, no doubt, mainly confined to rural districts, for they could hardly exist in towns which had Board schools to which any parent who disliked the clerical proceedings could remove their children. But in the small country parishes where no choice is open to the parent (and there are about 8,000 of these parishes), the unfairness of the system called loudly for a remedy. The only remedy proposed by the Free Church party was, and still is, annexation of these schools by compulsory sale or lease, thereby upsetting the objects for which money had been expended and trusts created, and the standard of education upheld through many generations of strain and difficulty. That is a remedy no statesman would adopt, and the measures contained in the Education Act are much milder.

We have seen what the remedies are which the Act provides; the body of managers contains two members who are appointed from outside by the local authority; the right of the clergyman to give instruction in the school is subject to the sanction of these managers, and in all matters involving principles the control of the school is vested in the Local Education Authority. These provisions are at the present moment far from satisfying the majority of the Free Churchmen, who claim that the ratepayer is not given sufficient influence in proportion to the amount he contributes to the school fund. It is probable, however, that when more experience of the actual working of the Act is obtained, it will be found that the influence gained is sufficient. The power of the purse, which is held by the Educational Authority, is very great. As a rule, the presence of the two outside managers, representatives of the public, will restrain the clergy from any such extravagances as have been committed before, and if, in disregard of the views of the minority, they still try to ride roughshod over the prejudices or wishes of the parents, the County Council, through its committee, will be able to check them by refusing to supply, not indeed, like the Welsh councils, the funds needed for the maintenance of the schools, but any additional grants they ask for on account of any improvements or reforms they may desire, unless they conform to rules of fairness and good sense.

If in the long run, and after fair trial, the alterations which have been made in the law fail to satisfy a large and much-respected portion of the population, the situation is one of unusual difficulty. That firebrands like Dr. Clifford should remain irreconcilable is only natural, but that grave and clear-sighted leaders like Dr. Horton

and the Rev. Scott Lidgett should feel aggrieved and hostile is a cause for such sincere regret that nothing should be left undone to find a basis of equitable compromise. And yet the only solution which they propose, the annexation of the voluntary schools and the destruction of everything which distinguishes them from Board schools, can neither be accepted by the Church of England nor the Roman Catholics, nor can it be approved by those who desire to see constitutional changes made in an orderly way with due respect to use and wont, and to rights and interests which have been created on a legal footing and from philanthropic motives. The suggestion that no religious instruction at all should be given in the schools supported by public money is so repugnant to the instincts and feelings of the great mass of the people that it need not be discussed here. The German system of providing separate schools for different religious persuasions would be excellent, if we had a *tabula rasa*, but cannot be applied on any large scale to the state of things existing in England. The Scottish system, however, has grown up under historical conditions more similar to our own, and there is at least one suggestion to be drawn from it which might, perhaps, go some way towards smoothing down one class of difficulties.

The essential difference between that system and ours consists in the absence of the Cowper-Temple Clause, and in the results which flow from it. Any School Board can decide that the doctrinal teaching of a certain denomination shall be included in all its schools, or can allot certain schools to one denomination, and certain schools to another, or can provide that the doctrines of different denominations shall be taught in different parts of the same school. If this could be done in our towns with fairness and temper, so that the schools should be distributed according to the numbers of the three main classes, Church of England, Nonconformist, and Roman Catholic, with a special provision for Jewish children where there is a large alien population, then it would be impossible to resist the claims that the voluntary schools in the country should be treated in the same way. A few years ago it seemed as if such a *rapprochement* between the Protestant Churches was likely to grow up that it might be possible for such powers to be exercised by English School Boards with justice to all parties, and without the springing up of religious strife among the members of the Board. The unfortunate dissension which has now arisen has apparently removed the prospect into the dim distance; every election would renew the effort to return more representatives of this or that persuasion, so as to obtain a majority on the Council, and annex more schools to this or that

system of religious teaching. Perhaps in future years, when the present passions have abated, such a step may be practicable; but as things now stand we cannot look to this quarter for relief. There is, however, one important detail in which we might imitate the procedure in Scotland. Under our Conscience Clause, a child must either share in the religious teaching of the school, or be altogether withdrawn from it. In Scotland a child can be withdrawn from any part of it which the parent objects to. We might with advantage accept an amendment in the law by which the parent may require, if a Nonconformist, that his child shall share in the Scriptural lesson, but not in the teaching of the creed or catechism; if a Jew, that the child may attend the Old Testament lesson, not those drawn from the New Testament. In small rural parishes where there is a mixed population and only one school, this should be a material support against the fear and the danger of proselytism.

Again it should be one of the first duties of the Educational Committees in the rural counties to make a complete survey of the educational wants of the county, and to compare the accommodation provided in voluntary schools with the religious divisions among the inhabitants. Where there is a large Nonconformist population, and the schools are entirely in the hands of the Church of England, there immediate steps should be taken to remedy the deficiency by providing undenominational schools whenever an opportunity exists. Several of the old voluntary schools will probably be condemned altogether, as so out of date that they cannot be made to conform to modern requirements: in several cases enlargements will be necessary; in several cases it will be found that the pressure on school accommodation is such that though a new school is not required for each village, yet one might profitably be built in a central position to serve the wants of the Nonconformists of several villages, if they care sufficiently about the matter to wish their children to walk a moderate distance. In these ways a very considerable alleviation of the present grievance in the one-school rural parishes may be effected.

A third suggestion may be made to relieve the irritation felt at the restriction imposed by the law that the head teacher of a voluntary school must belong to the denomination to which the school belongs. The outcry against this provision is, indeed, unreasonable, and the claim to abolish "sectarian tests for teachers" is only popular because it serves as a stepping-stone to the abolition of sectarian teaching. But the right to use the power might be safeguarded to a larger extent than it has been. Managers now *may* appoint assistant or pupil teachers who belong to other persuasions,

but the law does not say that they *must* do so, and if there are two candidates who both possess satisfactory qualifications as teachers of secular subjects, but one belongs to the "denomination," while the other does not, there is no power to compel the managers to appoint the latter. Such a power should, however, exist. Where the children are partly Nonconformist, an equal proportion of the teachers should, as far as possible, be Nonconformist also, and the Education Committee of the County Council should have the right to enforce this rule.

If the Education Act is amended this year or next, these alterations should go some way to mollify the more moderate of its opponents. That they will do enough to appease the most bitter and rancorous partisans on the Nonconformist side is not to be expected. Nothing but the complete overthrow of any system of specific doctrinal teaching in our schools will satisfy them. But what reasonable hopes can they entertain of seeing the accomplishment of their wishes? If Nonconformity puts forth all its forces at the coming elections, while the Church of England and the Roman Catholics are torpid and inactive, it is possible that the present Liberal minority may, by the action of this and other political currents, be converted into a majority. But can anyone expect that it will be such a majority as to overpower both the Conservative and the Roman Catholic vote? Such a result is inconceivable, and without an absolute majority of the Lower House the Nonconformists will not be able to overthrow the influence of the Churches in the schools, for the Irish Roman Catholics cannot forsake their traditional policy on this head, however large a bribe in the direction of Home Rule may be offered them. If the House of Commons is persuaded to accept such a *volte-face*, there is still the House of Lords to be converted. The extremists will run their heads against a stone wall, and the widest measure of success will be attained by those who take broad views on the religious question, and accept such amendments as will remove all semblance of injustice, without wiping out rights and interests established by the labours and sacrifices of the past.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

THE DOCTRINE OF REINCARNATION.

THE theory of evolution that seeks to account for the progress of the human soul by recognising each earth life as a link in a long chain of lives, instead of an isolated experience, has attracted a good deal of attention and not a little sympathy during the last twenty years. It has seemed to provide an answer to some riddles of the earth that were otherwise painfully bewildering. No one can turn the eye of imagination towards the seething masses of miserable, untaught, and criminal humanity without feeling that if each creature has but the one chance of securing salvation or ruining himself for ever, the inequalities of environment are deplorably unfair. We may take refuge in the thought that we did not make the world and are not responsible for its horrors. Or perhaps a good many of us, in spite of a faith formally professed, may feel imperfectly assured of a conscious existence on the other side of Woking, and so be of opinion that the one life resolves itself, at any rate, into all that is practically worth talking about. Meanwhile the variegated intellectual activity of our time affords scope for the development of new phases of religious thinking, coloured by the scientific method, and in this way the doctrine of reincarnation has found its way to favour, and has been fortified by collateral beliefs in regard to the unseen aspects of Nature around us, which must be taken into consideration by anyone who desires to understand the doctrine itself.

In dealing with these, I must ask the reader to remember that I am not here attempting to set forth the whole argument in favour of reincarnation, on which, for those who adopt it, the theory rests. To do this would expand the present statement to an excessive length ; but the doctrine I wish to describe is frightfully caricatured unless the collateral ideas above referred to are taken into account.

And at all events there are, in the cultivated world, great multitudes of people by whom the actuality of vast regions of Nature behind the veil of matter is regarded as certain ; to whom the old-established tenets of religion are not repugnant but merely incomplete ; who feel that we may be on the brink of new developments of knowledge which at no distant period may bring us into conscious

relationship with some phases of nature hitherto thought to be in the region of the unknowable. I do not want to be guilty of the affectation of discussing the main idea I have at present in view, as though to me it were a matter of speculation or mere probability. But the actual conviction that a good many psychic students entertain to the effect that they have gone through various earth lives specifically known to them in the past; that many of their relationships in the current life are nothing less than ancient relationships re-established, and so on, are based on long years of experience connected with the possibilities of acquiring such knowledge. It is not easy to condense results thus obtained through half a lifetime of research, especially when that research has lain along unfamiliar roads, into a few pages. My present purpose, therefore, is simply to describe the doctrine of reincarnation, as it is held by those who have made it, and a multitude of inferences connected with human evolution which ramify from it, their special study. As talked about by people who have not made it such a study, it is often distorted out of all resemblance to its true shape. Even subject to such distortions it has frequently been found attractive to the imagination, and especially valuable as reconciling the mind to the apparent injustice of the world's government, but it can only be fairly judged when set forth without misrepresentation and when explained in conjunction with the collateral doctrines which harmonise it with earlier conceptions of spiritual existence, and show it not merely logical and scientific in itself, but quite compatible with all essential principles of the Christian religion.

The clue to the accurate appreciation of the reincarnation idea will be found in the fundamental conception that a human soul is no more an instantaneous creation *ex nihilo* than the complicated organism of the human body. As far as the physical world is concerned, theologians, even of the most antiquated type, have seen fit to fall into line with the doctrine of evolution. Only at the first glance did this seem to dethrone the Creator. In a little while it was perceived that it merely threw light on the methods adopted by the Creator. Early mankind had jumped to certain conclusions on that point, and for a few moments, so to speak, when these were demonstrably proved to be wrong, the Church fancied its foundations were being shaken. That is now an old story, and Darwin has long since been made welcome in the pulpit. A time will assuredly come,—for some pulpits it has come already—when the principles of evolution will be seen to apply as satisfactorily to the growth of the soul as to that of the body. The two processes have, in fact, been parallel. We might go back behind the earliest beginnings of anything that

can be thought of as a human soul if we sought to picture the old process of the world's development in the mind, but at some stage of the great undertaking, let us assume that some given centre of consciousness has attained to the condition of being a human soul. Geological remains of what is commonly supposed to be primitive man will hardly afford us examples of the primitive organism that sufficed to provide the very youngest souls with suitable vehicles of manifestation on the physical plane, but imagination will be sufficiently helped for the moment if we think of a black savage in the wilds of Australia, and realise the idea that the soul within him is not more advanced along the lines of soul evolution than his body along that line. The accepted view of human growth (as far as bodies are concerned) provides for an enormous procession of generations along which the experience of the race is reflected in its external constitution. Each generation of bodies is evanescent, but the next is a little improvement on the last, and so by degrees the race attains to civilisation. I am not wanting to imply that every remnant of savage races still lingering on earth will go through such a course of improvement, but the existing civilised races certainly sprang originally from races that were savage, and the growth of the bodies may be thought of as a continuous process, if we take account of the faculty inhering in each one of reproducing its kind plus a little improvement.

Now a moment's thought will show that it is not the body that accomplishes the little improvement each time, but the soul within. The consciousness of the man is gathering the experience of life. That enlargement of faculty makes a claim on the evolutionary law for a correspondingly improved organism. It is indeed difficult to reflect in language a correct idea of so delicate a process, for there is another influence at work. The souls coming into incarnation have, in their last lives, acquired something in the nature of capacity they did not possess before. They need a somewhat better vehicle of consciousness than they had last time, and that need is part of the claim on nature of which I speak, but it is only a claim to which nature responds by means of the improved heredity engendered by successive generations on the physical plane.

The actual course of events—it is tedious to be always interrupting the explanation to repeat that it is the description of a belief, and simpler to present it as the elucidation of a natural law—the actual course of events is only luminous to the mind when we realise that after quitting the body, the soul for a time inhabits other vehicles of consciousness on other planes of nature. And the region of nature in which the soul of the primitive savage enjoys a spiritual rest, appro-

priate to his place in evolution, is the same region in which the soul of the most advanced European enjoys his rest (and some of the rewards that may be due to him), but it responds to the characteristics of the soul in a way I will endeavour to explain later. Enough for the moment to say that the inter-incarnate life is in each case as rich and varied as the soul determines that it shall be, by the extent of its own advancement. On the highest levels, indeed, that inter-incarnate experience may touch, the undeveloped soul of the savage is barely conscious. Its growth has only just begun on the physical plane. It is there that by degrees the expansion of consciousness must be accomplished which fits it for vivid consciousness on the higher planes later on.

And as a consequence it will be seen that a very mild degree of moral responsibility attaches to the savage for the use he makes of his lives during the early stage of his progress through the ages. To some extent, no doubt, he does make a good or bad use, according to his lights, of the chances nature gives him, and to that extent, most assuredly, the great law of equilibrium will express itself in the conditions more or less desirable of each life to which he becomes destined. By overlooking or misunderstanding this law, people on the outskirts of the subject often make nonsense of the whole system. In one shape or another, the idea of reward and punishment enters into every scheme of thinking, having to do with a future life, but for want of defined conceptions on the subject, the operations of nature along those lines are apt to be misunderstood. The moral laws of the world are not so awkwardly adjusted that any man can incur an inappropriate penalty or come into possession of an inappropriate reward. Indeed, from an advanced point of view, we almost lose sight of the idea of reward and punishment. We come into touch with the more scientific law of moral equilibrium. The complexities of that law are so profound that its analogue on the physical plane—the law of the conservation of energy—is relatively simple. We do not in any true sense of the word understand why force is indestructible, but we know by experience that it is. We can convert one force into another, heat into chemical action, mechanical motion into electricity, and so on, but we do not know why none of those forces should ever die away without assuming some other of their Protean shapes. The situation is exactly paralleled on the moral plane, where the conservation of energy transforms wrong-doing into suffering by its own spiritual alchemy; happily, also, transforming noble, unselfish, generous action into one or other of the shapes that good may assume, sometimes simple happiness, sometimes opportunities to accomplish the glory

of going on, bound in their turn to lead at later periods to results (to say rewards would seem ignominious) of corresponding dignity.

Anyhow, that is the way the great law of "Karma," as it is sometimes called, actually operates. And thought will show that while there are very few claims made upon it one way or the other by the early races of savage humanity, the complexities of its operation in the case of advanced souls in highly civilised life become enormous. Every life passed in the midst of the complex temptations of modern society loads the soul with karmic forces, both for good and evil, but the point that has been missed by all who had not the clue to the truth afforded by the doctrine of reincarnation—in their speculations as to the consequences to the soul of its good or evil deeds—was necessarily missed in the absence of that clue. Acts of either kind, however specifically related to life on earth, were supposed to meet their reward or penalty under conditions of immaterial existence. Or, indeed, it was supposed that for the sake of considerations lying outside the relations of the soul in question with the moral law, many of the evil deeds might be forgiven, and the soul be as well off, after all, as though such deeds had never been performed. From the point of view of the doctrine now under discussion, the idea of forgiveness is no less foreign to the methods of nature than the idea, for example, of forgiving a crystal of chlorate of potash for the consequences of coming in contact with sulphuric acid. But, first of all, implacability is equally foreign to those methods, and equally foreign again is the idea of imposing on a soul tainted with the consequences of misdoing on the physical plane, a penalty out of proportion to the offence on some spiritual plane of existence. The law of the conservation of energy on the moral plane adapts its action with infallible exactitude to the character and conditions of the disturbance of its equilibrium that may have taken place. The penalties, so to speak, of any misdoing on the physical plane during life await the soul on its return to physical life, and, as regards the vast majority of human entities at the present stage of our evolution, they are incapable of acts for which any appropriate penalty could follow them on to the spiritual plane. There they have their rest, and such happiness, even, as may be appropriate to the extent of their spiritual development, while their physical plane misdoing determines the character of the environment in the midst of which they will ultimately return to physical existence.

Here it may be just worth while to affirm definitely, what any moderately intelligent student of the reincarnation doctrine would take for granted, that it does *not* proclaim the return of human souls under any conditions in animal bodies. This preposterous conception

seems to have been thrown out at early stages of the world's history to frighten the children—as theologians invented the idea of hell-fire for the same purpose at a later date. Or some Eastern writers, in the beginning, may have adopted that symbol as implying that successive births might become more and more degraded if the entities concerned led, time after time, more and more evil lives. Masses of ignorant people in the East to this day, indeed, for that matter, actually do believe in the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies, but I am not concerned at present with discussing the foolishness of popular beliefs in the East or West. No modern student of the law of reincarnation conceives for a moment that the kingdoms of nature are entangled in this ridiculous way. The evolution of spiritual consciousness has, indeed, proceeded by gradual degrees through all the kingdoms, and the individualised souls of human beings emerged, once upon a time, from the less individualised manifestations of life that constitute the animal world. But, once human, the fully individualised soul can never relapse from that condition. It may waver in its progress through the ages between widely varying conditions of welfare. That is the consequence of its own action at each step of the process, but, however evil its activity in life, human fates may be amply distressing enough to restore the balance of disturbed forces. All serious writers on this subject have again and again emphasised the point that I am now making. It has been explained with all possible emphasis that the notion of transmigration into animal bodies was merely one of the caricatures to which the re-incarnation doctrine has been subject, but still, critics from whom one might have expected more intelligence, continue to object that it is absurd to think of a man becoming a snake or a pig! Undoubtedly, that would be absurd, but the doctrine of reincarnation is not responsible for the absurdity.

The working of the law can only be clearly understood in the light of a correct comprehension of the experiences through which the soul passes after the completion of each physical life. From the ordinary point of view, all that is wrapped in complete obscurity, but the great body of teaching out of which the doctrine of re-incarnation emerges in its present scientific shape, deals also with phases of human consciousness that are held to be within the range of investigation by persons gifted with faculties, rare, no doubt, per million of the population, but not so very scarce after all in the aggregate. At all events, the course of successive lives can only be understood by accepting, at least as a hypothesis, the explanation reincarnationists give of the intervening phases of existence, and as the one belief,

that which has to do with the return to the physical plane, is inseparably blended with the other—which has to do with the super-physical conditions of life—that also must be set forth to make the whole idea intelligible. To simplify the task, I put the exposition in the form of a straightforward statement, instead of saying every moment, reincarnationists believe this, and reincarnationists believe that.

The experiences that come on first when a human soul is emancipated from the prison of the flesh are not of a very exalted order. As consciousness fades from the physical vehicle, it carries with it the finer sheath of astral matter which has interpenetrated the coarser physical vehicle during life, and in this ethereal but still quite material envelope, it exists for a time in the region commonly called the astral plane, so called not because it has any connection with the stars, but simply because that term has been employed to denote the condition of nature in question by students of super-physical mystery for many hundred years, and it is inconvenient now to abandon the word. On the astral plane the soul, in a vehicle of consciousness which is insusceptible to heat or cold, incapable of fatigue, subject to no waste, and, therefore, superior to the necessity of taking food, continues an existence for a variable period which in many of its aspects is so like the life just abandoned that uninstructed people who pass over, constantly find it impossible to believe that they are what is called "dead." But that state of things, though, as it grows familiar, and as the field of view is enlarged, it may be agreeable enough, and may be associated with the renewal of friendships and affections interrupted for a time by death, is not the state of things that corresponds to the Heaven of religious teaching. Occult views of the after-states do not by any means abolish Heaven, but few persons are really quite ready for that exalted condition, immediately they leave the earth life. Only some are so wholly absorbed by thought and emotion of a truly spiritual order that they slip through the intermediate condition unconsciously. And by thought and emotion of a spiritual order, I do not mean merely religious fervour. That, when the feeling is not too much overlaid with attachment to external form and ceremony, may carry a soul swiftly over the intermediate period, but in truth real unselfish love directed towards other companion souls of the great human family, quite irrespective of devotion directed towards divine ideals, is a spiritual emotion of transcendent force, carrying the departed soul after a very brief interval to the region or subjective state in which all such emotion blossoms into unimaginable perfection. In that state, moreover, nature is infinitely responsive to all the loftier aspirations and desires of the mind, so that all its

abortive efforts during life, pointing to the acquisition of knowledge, meet with an entirely complete and satisfactory fulfilment. Meanwhile, nothing that has ever been said from the religious point of view concerning the blissful condition of the soul in heaven involves any exaggeration. On the contrary, the basic fact connected with existence on the plane of nature corresponding to the Heaven of theology is bliss, absolute, complete, and unalloyed. Always subject to this qualification, be it remembered, that the capacity of different souls for the sensation of happiness varies almost as greatly as their capacity for appreciating knowledge.

But the methods of nature provide for all cases ; not merely for those of the spiritual aristocracy. How are we to think of the condition in Heaven of, let us say, a drunken coal-heaver, whose earth life has been anything but meritorious ? He is probably to begin with a very young member of the human family, to whom but little has yet been given, and from whom but little will be yet expected, if we may for a moment dramatise the situation without forgetting that the results are all worked out and fall into their places by virtue of infinitely elastic and all-embracing moral laws which cover all possible cases. The drunken coal-heaver, of course, has his consciousness so deeply involved in material existence that the intermediate state of what may be thought of as semi-material existence is for him enormously prolonged. But even in such a man's life there may have been some little gleams of a spiritual feeling, something resembling love for a woman or a child. From such a little seed, or rather round such a little nucleus, when in the progress perhaps of ages the physical life cravings have worn themselves out, a relatively faint capacity for existence on the spiritual plane may be developed. And then such a man, even, has his share of the purer condition of consciousness and of happiness to the extent that his undeveloped nature renders the higher form of happiness possible. He is in presence of conditions which, if he knew how to avail himself of them, would be as responsive in his case as in that of the warm-hearted philanthropist, the noble-minded woman representing the ideal perfection of wife and motherhood, the really devoted lover, the really devout worshipper of Divinity, whatever concrete aspect that may assume in his mind. But he has only room in his consciousness for one little millionth of the harmonies around him. For the rest, for him, it is as though they were not. But he is taking in all the time just as much happiness as he can absorb, and is wholly unaware that there are realms beyond his horizon.

Any accurate appreciation of the condition of things I have been

endeavouring to depict will show how very far the reincarnation doctrine is from doing away with Heaven, one of the first vague objections raised by people who do not understand it properly. It only does away with the profoundly unphilosophical idea that the moral forces engendered during a brief earth life of a few score years at best, can give rise to an infinity of consequence. The periods of time spent in the real heaven I have described are so protracted that early teaching, addressed to a world not yet ripe to think with scientific exactitude, may well be excused for having treated them as infinite to all intents and purposes. For the average period between earth lives ranges between 1500 and 2000 years. So ample is the provision nature makes for rest after the struggle of material existence, of which each of us is in need ! There are many circumstances which in individual cases may expand or curtail the period of spiritual rest, but it is of the foremost importance to realise that the re-incarnation doctrine as affecting mankind at large, involves no idea of a hurried return to earth that would entangle relationships in a manner repugnant to imagination. In two thousand years, even old acquaintances, perhaps, returning to the earth life together, have lost touch with the specific relationships of their last visit. If they are united in bonds of affection those indeed spontaneously re-assert themselves, and so also with our antipathies and enmities. They also re-assert themselves, for the Heaven period over, the soul is back again in the midst of the sin and sorrow, as well as of the love and progress of the former time. And now comes the inevitable reaping of what was sown in the last life, whether the crop be a pleasant harvest of wholesome enjoyment or a dismal fruition of evil doing in the past.

Of all the silly phrases that ignorance has ever coined there is none sillier than "the accident of birth." Birth is no more an accident than the delivery of a letter by the postman at the address on the envelope. I could—for occult research has penetrated very deeply into the methods of nature in respect to the course of human evolution—say a great deal about the mechanism of the law which guides re-birth, but that would involve too protracted a digression. Enough for the moment to insist unreservedly on this idea as one of the fundamental principles of re-incarnation, that the environment into which each soul, as it comes into earth life, is thrown, is the nearest approximation that the law can provide, to a mathematically accurate expression of the soul's desert. I say approximation, because in these days souls are burdened or possessed of such complicated volumes of "karma" that no one life can possibly express them all. Several lives may be tinctured with the action, good or bad, of some lives of great

activity in the past. And then before that elaborate account is adjusted the soul concerned will undoubtedly have been adding both to the debit and the credit side, so there is never a moment, or very rarely with entities of our stage in evolution, when the environment of a life clears off the old account entirely.

Meanwhile be it understood that whatever the environment making for pleasure or suffering may be, the condition of advancement of the Ego, his place on the scale of evolution, his acquired intellectual capacity and his sympathy or want of sympathy with moral ideas, is a permanent fact in his nature that environment does not alter. Within limits he may be raised up or cast down in the world. Station in society is, of course, a very important feature in the soul's environment, and is by no means left to chance, but it would be unusual for an entity to be tossed wildly up and down in the world. Those doing its rougher work at present are for the most part its younger children, and of that sort of work at some time in the past we have most of us had our share, but still there are karmic influences that will operate both ways to exalt or depress condition as compared with the station of the soul in the previous life, and for those who can trace the past lives of their own series, or of others, the effects of that sort of change are very striking.

More important, however, to a correct view of the whole subject than further detail in that direction, is the great principle that people do not come into incarnation singly, spasmodically, or alone, but in company always with many whom they have been associated with in former lives. There is nothing in the least degree to be regarded as surprising in such concurrent reincarnations. By the hypothesis all the persons concerned died from the last life about the same time. They have spent about the same time on the planes of spiritual rest and happiness, where, be it remembered, if they are attached to one another there has been no real separation, and they wear out the forces that keep them on the spiritual plane at about the same rate, side by side. They are ready to resume work on the physical plane at the same time, and they are tied together by the strong bonds of attachment, or (for we must never overlook the evil side of human relationships) by the equally strong bonds of enmity. The man who has bitterly wronged another in one life will be mixed up with his affairs again in the next, and it may be that he will in turn become the sufferer; but to dwell on that possibility would be to suggest a very wooden, inelastic idea of the karmic law. There are endless varieties in the way bad karma may work itself out, and it by no means follows that the victim of wrongdoing in one life is by any pres-

sure of the law bound to revenge himself in the next. Quite the contrary ; he merely keeps up the disturbed equilibrium of the law if he does so, and perpetuates the trouble through future ages. The forgiveness of sins may not be possible in the sense of causing past facts not to have taken place, but it is a very magnificent possibility as regards the disturbance of equilibrium between any two members of the human family. Let the wronged personage forego his vengeance, and " I will repay, saith the Lord." The truthfulness of many phrases in Scripture, when they are properly understood in the light of spiritual science, is a source of much interest and gratification to the occult student.

Besides the common delusion that the doctrine of reincarnation does away with heaven, the familiar objection next to be dealt with arises from the fact that (most) people do not remember their past lives, and the equally familiar answer from the student's point of view is that some of them do. If the account just given of the normal course followed by the soul between lives is properly appreciated, it will be obvious that specific memories of each life in turn fade from the consciousness of the soul before it is ready for another period of physical activity. That readiness, in fact, is expressed by the final obliteration from the consciousness of all detail concerning the last life. As long as its details interest the Ego, the spiritual condition is maintained. But while in this way it is obvious that the normal rule for people at this stage of evolution must be forgetfulness of past lives, the growth and further evolution of their higher vehicles of consciousness will in time provide them with resources by means of which they may recover any past memories that they may desire to recover. Having more or less completely digested Darwinian teaching in regard to the past, it ought not to be very difficult for us to forecast the possibilities of evolution in the future to the extent of realising that great expansions of faculty still await humanity. These will really be especially associated with the further development of the higher vehicles, the more than ethereal bodies in which the soul exists on the higher planes, and which, be it remembered, are already associated with the body during physical life. For most people the development of these higher vehicles is by no means so far advanced as that of the physical organism. Nature does not build her structures from the top downwards, any more than a physical plane architect would do this. The ground floor has to be built, as far as its main walls are concerned at all events, before the upper floors are constructed, and in the vast processes of evolution the same simple rule holds good. It is not until

the consciousness is fairly well developed on the plane of earth life that it begins to work freely in its higher "bodies." That is not inconsistent with what I have said concerning the vivid consciousness of happiness in the inter-incarnate periods. That vivid consciousness for all ordinary people is, as I have endeavoured to explain, a glorification of all that was best in the physical life just spent. It does not mean that the Ego is in a position to *work* with all the possibilities of the spiritual plane on which he enjoys his appropriate rest. But as the evolution of the spiritual body proceeds, that process depending itself on the activities of the soul in incarnation, it becomes more and more able to *live* on the spiritual plane, not merely to bask for a time in its sunshine. And as this power expands, so does the soul carry back into the earth life next in order, a capacity during that life of being conscious in its spiritual body as well as in its physical body. Now on the spiritual plane, for those in tune with its loftier possibilities, desire for knowledge is equivalent to its instant possession. So when any Ego, or soul, is advanced in spiritual growth a little beyond the stage that has been generally attained at present by the most developed representatives of ordinary humanity, it finds itself in a position to transfer its consciousness at will from the one plane to the other without going through the formality of "dying." And if it does that with the desire of recovering recollection of any past life, it will recover that recollection with a degree of amplitude and precision that no ordinary memory even faintly suggests.

Thus already, for some souls are very much further advanced along the line of spiritual evolution than others, I know people who not alone remember their past lives, but are in a position, if it were worth while, to write a complete diary of every day of those past lives. For all persons the faculty in due course of time will come, but its coming may be greatly hastened as compared with the normal progress of the majority, for them a question perhaps, not of centuries, but of a long series of lives, each spaced out in time according to the rules governing re-incarnation.

In connection with this matter of remembering the past, there are many other points of interest to be noted. So variegated are the possibilities of evolution that it may happen to some people to have developed their higher vehicles very considerably, sufficiently to command the possibilities of memory just referred to, and many other grander possibilities as well, without having evolved a physical organism capable of responding to their own consciousness in the higher vehicles. That is a question of physical plane karma. Just as the environment of a life is that which, whether it is agreeable,

or the reverse, the entity concerned has earned for himself by former physical plane activities, so the faculties of the body are the product of his own action in a former life. That is the case with all its faculties. If a man is an ardent musician in one life, he will have a body suited to apprehend and express musical ideas in his next life. So with the other varieties of art, and so also with capacity to deal with the problems of science. The great musician or man of science is not the product of the infinitesimal activities he may engage in between birth and maturity. He is the product of many lives of persistent effort along the line of his speciality. And the peculiar faculties of brain that make for what is called the psychic temperament—the capacity of translating to the waking physical consciousness the impressions or experiences gone through on higher planes while the soul is temporarily in sleep or trance, away from the physical body—are in their turn the product of efforts in that direction in former lives. In reference to the bodily instrument we acquire each time we come into incarnation, nature gives us—to put the idea into that crude fashion—what we want to have if we do not put impediments in her way by generating bad karma, which interferes with the fruition of our wishes. But nature can only rearrange our affairs in respect of such desires at each fresh departure: at the beginning, that is to say, of each fresh life. If last time all our ambitions were bent on some purely mundane object, we are fitted out in the next life accordingly, and then it is too late to change our minds and ask nature to give us a body that would express some wholly different aspiration. In other words, people who are born quite without the faculties of psychic perception, will very rarely be able to acquire them by effort, but if they really learn to want them, they will have them next time.

So now that I have fairly well defined the doctrine of reincarnation as understood by those who believe in it—for many of whom, of course, it is no “theory” at all, but a living fact of consciousness—only one other important suggestion need be made to those for whom as yet it is only a theory. At all events, it is a theory which has the merit of bringing the terrible conditions of life all around us into harmony with the idea of ultimate moral and intellectual progress for all. The laws by which that progress is regulated may, like many other laws of nature, bring about suffering in individual cases for a time, but when we realise that in each individual case, suffering is no more than a transient experience itself, the product of causes that have either been set up by the soul concerned, or constitute some among the earlier influences that have to be brought to bear on it in order to promote its ultimate evolution, the grievous riddle of the earth at all events

assumes a new aspect which robs it of much of its horror. That thought will not operate with anyone who understands the law aright, to render him in the minutest degree less anxious than before to do his best, whatever that may be, to mitigate the suffering of others less advanced than himself. On the contrary, it will stimulate every such effort in a way no mere philanthropic sympathy could stimulate it, because for each reincarnating soul there is no surer road to happiness than eager desire to promote the happiness of others, no surer method of bringing suffering on oneself than the careless neglect of opportunities that may be afforded for softening the pressure of the karmic law on others. But that is not the thought on which any occult student would dwell most earnestly, because the very essence of the higher morality which a comprehension of the whole system of evolution engenders, is the futility of all action designed with a self-regarding motive. The great law is working towards results which the clearest view of the future but dimly foreshadows; but we can see vistas of progress before the human race of such a kind that the progress so far accomplished since the earliest savage condition is a mere first step in the direction along which that progress lies. The onward movement is not to be accomplished by lazily drifting with the current of growth towards higher spheres of being. This world is the appointed arena of all activity which conduces to the grand purpose. Existence in brighter spheres can only be the harvest of the soul's cultivation here, and, but for the methods of nature which bring back each soul again and again to the more or less painful arena of struggle, it would be self-condemned for ever to remain in a state which, by comparison with the potentialities of its nature, would be like that of the infant in arms as compared with the mature man. This physical world is for the human family, not merely the school in which we are trained more or less severely for higher destinies. That view is apt to drift people into thinking of the whole evolutionary process as one in which the entities concerned are helpless puppets in the hands of an arbitrary master. Surely, the familiar teaching which, for so many, unfortunately is little more than a meaningless form of words—to the effect that Divinity is immanent in man—should suggest a loftier view of the truth. The whole stupendous aggregation of moral law in the midst of which we exist, but faintly suggested by the marvellous complexity of the laws that govern physical matter, is the Divine power which affords to every item of its diffused essence, the boundless opportunities this world provides for developing the Divine principle. A time will come for all sooner or later when that principle will have been evolved, and when,

therefore, further return to the sphere of work, struggle, and progress is no longer needful. Then, for such exalted beings, the law of reincarnation will have accomplished its purpose, and in modes of existence that ordinary human imagination at present is incapable of figuring in the mind, the possibilities of even further progress will somehow become manifest. But, with such speculations as that, it is needless to entangle our attempts to comprehend the working of the great evolutionary principle which controls this stage of our development. For vast ranges of time to come, that development can only go on in the sphere of existence to which we are at present bound, from which from time to time we escape to enjoy protracted periods of rest, but from which we are only separated in delusive imagination during such periods. Perhaps, for many of us, life after life at this stage of our career may be spent without much visible advantage, but if so, that is our own fault. All that is needed now to make the progress perceptible, or even rapid, is that our own intelligent effort should unite its influence with those of the natural evolutionary tendency. Then the final purpose of the law of reincarnation will be vindicated, and the soul, enlightened by knowledge, will be enabled eventually to triumph even over that law, and to blend itself in a consciousness which yet loses nothing of the past, with the Almighty Power by Whom the methods of its earlier growth have been designed.

A. P. SINNETT.

A RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

THE Hague Conference of 1899, which resulted in the creation of a Central Bureau of Arbitration, and the arbitration treaties concluded recently by England with the United States, on the one side, and with France, on the other—treaties which, there is reason to believe, are but the forerunners of similar agreements between all the civilised states—mark an epoch in international relations. It is, therefore, a matter both of historical interest and of practical advantage to inquire into the origin and gradual development of this mode of settling differences between nations, to ascertain whether it was known to the old world as a means of avoiding war, and to what extent it was resorted to in practice. Retrospects of this kind have more than once confirmed the saying that there is nothing new under the sun,¹ and that antiquity furnishes, not only precedents, but the very foundations of institutions and practices commonly believed to be the outcome of modern civilisation.² Judicious discrimination must, no doubt, preside over the manner in which such inquiries are conducted. The critical faculty should never be misled by similarities only apparent, or by mere coincidences. Facts should not be contorted or ignored in an effort to prop up theories that are untenable, but the speculative character of a mere hypothesis should be frankly avowed, where proof is inadequate or entirely wanting. The character of

¹ Cf. the curious researches of Ed. Fournier, "*Le Vieux-Neuf, histoire ancienne des inv. et découv. modernes*," 2^e éd., Paris, 1877.

² "On fait encore œuvre de bon citoyen en recherchant parmi les lointains souvenirs la tradition du droit et de la vérité . . . C'est ainsi que les progrès récents du droit des gens donnent aujourd'hui un surcroît d'intérêt à l'histoire des idées et des principes qui le représentent, dans la philosophie comme dans la politique, chez les Grecs et chez les Romains." (E. Egger, "*Les traités publics chez les Grecs et chez les Romains*," Paris, 1866, p. 1.) A curious case of inquiry, with a view to guidance by ancient precedent, is that of Hans Stanley, who, being then Member for Southampton, found himself at a loss what course to pursue in the important debates which, in 1773, arose out of certain proceedings of some high officials of the East India Company. He, therefore, appealed to the Abbé Barthélemy for information as to the practice of the Ancients. The famous archaeologist, whose acquaintance Stanley had made while Chargé d'Affaires in Paris for the peace negotiations of 1761, replied in two letters, or rather memoirs, "*Sur le partage du butin chez les anciens peuples*," ("*Œuvres diverses*," 1823, ii. 19-42.) Stanley was also one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and was later appointed Ambassador to Russia. Dr. Joseph Warton praises him: for his scholarly knowledge of both ancient and modern Greek. (Pope's Works, 1797, ii. 58-9.)

witnesses should also be scrutinised, and the credibility of the authorities cited carefully weighed. For statements enunciated without such tests and guarantees, carry with them no scientific sanction. At the same time, to ignore the past, or to be ignorant of it, often leads to a ludicrous exhibition of self-complacency, as was the case, in respect to the matter now before us, when the American press, more especially, exulted over the arbitration agreement arrived at between England and the United States in 1856, as an entirely new departure in the law of nations. Let us, then, first consider whether there is evidence that international arbitration was known or practised by the peoples of antiquity.

I.

ANCIENT TIMES.

In a treatise on a kindred subject, published a few years ago, I ventured the opinion that, "in the development of human institutions the direction in which progress is least rapid is that of politics. Progress in moral sciences is not achieved through discoveries or inventions, but by the slow development of the human intellect, and by the gradual transformation of those ideas which govern human actions." Now, the most powerful agency in moulding these ideas are religious conceptions; and, I think, it will be found that the various kinds of religious belief are mainly accountable, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown,³ for the form and grade of civilisation to which nations have attained. If we turn to the oldest organised communities in Asia and Egypt, we are struck by the similarity of the effects produced by beliefs, the mainspring of which is fear of the supernatural, and their one rule exclusiveness, which engender the delimitation of castes, and which remain in the jealous keeping of close sacerdotal corporations. The foreigner is, in such circumstances, necessarily considered as an outcast. He who worships another God is looked upon with contempt, and judged as an enemy, whom to exterminate is a pious act. War, therefore, becomes a normal condition, and, indeed, a saintly pursuit. Of this Islamism has been, in later times, the most vivid expression, and the *Jehad* the most convincing evidence. Long before the Mohammedan conquest the Hindus⁴ considered foreigners as "impure

³ "The course of history and the whole character of social development continue to be profoundly influenced by religious systems." ("Social Evolution," p. 19.)

⁴ Buckle ("History of Civilisation in England") after showing that the actions of men are governed by mental and physical laws, proceeds (i. 128-133) to exhibit, in his masterly manner, the difference in the religious conceptions of Hindus and Greeks, and the widely different effect which those conceptions have had on the

in habit and language," and in their order of creation they were placed above wild beasts, it is true, but beneath horses and elephants. The whole life of India seemed to be reflected in those monstrous and terror-inspiring divinities which breathed fire and revelled in blood. The benign dispensation of Buddha revealed a more humane and fraternal moral law. But it had no permanent effect on the political relations of the Indian states.⁵ The Persians base their belief, which is of a purely Iranian character, on the eternal and unceasing war

civilisation and destiny of Asia and Europe. "The effect of these habits of thought on the national religion must be very obvious to whoever has compared the popular creed of India with that of Greece. The mythology of India, like that of every tropical country, is based upon terror, and upon terror too of the most extravagant kind. Evidence of the universality of this feeling abounds in the sacred books of the Hindus, in their traditions, and even in every form and appearance of their gods. And so deeply is all this impressed on the mind, that the most popular deities are invariably those with whom images of fear are most intimately associated. . . . Siva is represented to the Indian mind as a hideous being, encircled by a girdle of snakes, with a human skull in his hand, and wearing a necklace composed of human bones. He has three eyes; the ferocity of his temper is marked by his being clothed in a tiger's skin; he is represented as wandering about like a madman, and over his left shoulder the deadly cobra di capella rears its head. This monstrous creation of an over-strung fancy has a wife, Doorga, called sometimes Kali, and sometimes by other names. She has a body of dark blue, while the palms of her hands are red, to indicate her insatiate appetite for blood. She has four arms, with one of which she carries the skull of a giant; her tongue protudes, and hangs lolling from her mouth; round her waist are the hands of her victims; and her neck is adorned with human heads strung together in a ghastly row. If we now turn to Greece, we find, even in the infancy of its religion, not the faintest trace of anything approaching this. For in Greece, the causes of fear being less abundant, the expression of terror was less common. The Greeks, therefore, were by no means disposed to incorporate into their religion those feelings of dread natural to the Hindus. The tendency of Asiatic civilisation was to widen the distance between men and their deities; the tendency of Greek civilisation was to diminish it. Thus it is that in Hindostan all the gods had something monstrous about them. . . . But the gods of Greece were always represented in forms entirely human. It is thus that in Greece everything tended to exalt the dignity of man, while in India everything tended to depress it. To sum up the whole, it may be said that the Greeks had more respect for human powers; the Hindus for superhuman. . . . In Greece, for the first time in the history of the world, the imagination was, in some degree, tempered and inspired by the understanding. Not that its strength was impaired, or its vitality diminished. It was broken in and tamed; its exuberance was checked; its follies were chastised. But that its energy remained, we have ample proof in those productions of the Greek mind which have survived to our own time. The gain, therefore, was complete; since the inquiring and sceptical faculties of the human understanding were cultivated, without destroying the reverential and poetic instincts of the imagination. . . . Greek literature is the first in which . . . there was a deliberate and systematic attempt to test all opinions by their consonance with human reason, and thus vindicate the right of man to judge for himself on matters which are of supreme and incalculable importance." (Cf. Elphinstone's "History of India," pp. 96-7.)

⁵ Professor Max Müller states ("Natural Religion," p. 112) that the essence of Buddhist morality is the belief in *Karma*. "We are born as what we deserve to be born; we are paying our penalty or receiving our reward in this life for former acts. This makes the sufferer more patient; for he feels that he is wiping out an old debt; while the happy man knows that he is living on the interest of his capital of good works, and that he must try to lay by more capital for a future life." It is a seductive speculation, but, as Mr. Kidd remarks, "it assumes a cause operating in a manner altogether beyond the tests of reason and experience."

waged by Ormuzd against Ahriman, and hold that the foreigner being sinful, ignorant, and uninitiated in their philosophy, should be hurled back into darkness, where evil reigns supreme.⁶ The lugubrious and grotesque structure of the religion of the Egyptians was as repellant of foreigners as it overawed and crushed its own people.⁷ With the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Phoenicians force was law. While the Hebrews conceived Jehovah as an unforgiving, garrulous, and vindictive deity, abhorring all "Gentiles" and unfairly partial towards his "chosen people." Throughout the whole East we find, in spite of philosophic ideas, grandiose and in some respects imposing, a willing submission to despotisms⁸ which know not of liberty or justice, and a blind acceptance of beliefs which beget aversion to and contempt of outsiders. Vague philosophic theories, coupled with an awe-struck adherence to mysticism, are fatal to a healthy exercise of the practical duties of life. Races which, being by nature wedded to idle contemplation, become instinctively averse to action, among which the "saint" stands far above the citizen, and which hold resignation as a much greater virtue than opposition to injustice, must inevitably recede, in the order of the world, to that inferior position which, by the dividing line their own prejudices have drawn, marks the barrier between barbarism and enlightenment. It was the existence of this barrier between Asia and Europe which the Greeks were not slow to perceive and to proclaim as an axiom.

Such being the circumstances, it is not surprising to find that in the whole course of the history of Asia and Egypt there is not a single case of inter-state arbitration to record. It is true that all the professional treatises on arbitration, which make some allusion to ancient times, mention, as a solitary instance, the supposed assertion of Xenophon that Cyrus the Elder, the founder of the Persian Empire, "referred the difference that had arisen between him and the Assyrians to the arbitrament of an Indian Prince." No passage in Xenophon is cited in corroboration of this vague statement; but each writer simply refers to the one who had immediately preceded him—the

⁶ Zend-Avesta, Anquetil's trans., 38.

⁷ "In the religion of the ancient Egyptians we encounter this element (the supernatural) at every point. Professor Thiele says that the two things which were specially characteristic of it were the worship of animals and the worship of the dead. The worship of the dead took the foremost place. 'The animals worshipped—originally nothing but fetishes which they continued to be for the greater majority of the worshippers—were brought by the doctrinal expositions and by the educated classes into connection with certain particular gods, and thus came to be regarded as the terrestrial incarnation of these gods.'" (B. Kidd, *op. cit.*, 110).

⁸ "L'Inde n'a pas connu la véritable moralité, parce qu'elle n'a pas conscience de la liberté humaine." (F. Laurent, "Etudes sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité," 2^e ed. 1880, i. 208.)

one having copied from the other, with more alacrity than discernment.⁹ For there is no such assertion in Xenophon. What he states in the *Cyropædia* (ii. 4, 5) is that ambassadors from "the King of India" came to Cyaxares, and inquired as to the cause of his war against the Assyrians, saying that they were instructed to visit the Assyrians also, and ascertain their views; for the King of India was determined to side with the party that was being wronged. Cyaxares answered that he was doing no wrong to the Assyrians, whom they had better question also. Thereupon, the still youthful Cyrus requested Cyaxares to allow him to add that, should the Assyrians aver that they had been wronged, Cyrus would be glad to choose the King of India as judge in the matter. Nothing appears to have come of this. In any case, it was manifestly, not an instance of arbitration, but one of those plausible, tranquillising assurances which are so readily given and accepted in the East.

Even less germane to the subject is the only other case cited. Plutarch, who relates the circumstances at some length in his treatise on "Fraternal Amity" (18, p. 488), stated that on the death of Darius (486 B.C.) a conflict arose between his two sons, Xerxes and Ariamenes, as to the succession. Artabanus, the brother of Darius, was chosen as arbitrator, and decided in favour of Xerxes. Herodotus, however, an earlier and better informed authority, says (vii. 2-3) that this dispute (one of those constantly recurring in the East in matters of succession) arose during the lifetime of Darius, who, before his death, decided in favour of Xerxes, at the suggestion of the fugitive Demaratus; and he adds, with characteristic perspicacity: "It seems to me that, even without this prompting, Xerxes would have reigned. For Atossa (his mother) was all powerful." Anyhow, the circumstances related by Plutarch do not offer an instance of inter-state arbitration, but an example of a friendly family arrangement. And so Justin (ii. 10, 9) considers it—"veluti ad domesticum judicem deferunt."

More advanced in those matters appear to have been the Celts; for Strabo relates (iv. 4, p. 197) that the Druids of Gaul, because of their known impartiality, were accepted as arbitrators both in private and public disputes, and their influence was so great that, at an earlier

* Scholars not versed in law are quite as liable to such mistakes as jurists not personally acquainted with the Greek texts. Many professed writers on this subject cite, as an instance of inter-state arbitration among Greeks, the arrangement recorded in the famous Herculanean Tablets, which, however, is of a purely local, one might almost say, of a private character. Equally irrelevant is another case cited, that of the people of Cyrene, who, on the advice of the Delphic Oracle (about 550 B.C.), invoked the aid of Demonax, of Mantinea, to reform the institutions of their suffering state. (Herod. iv. 161.)

time, they arbitrated in wars, and turned back armies ready to face one another.

For the earliest instances of some organised system of arbitration,¹⁰ combining political expediency with substantial justice, we must address ourselves to Greece, the cradle of liberty and public life, the fountain head of our civilisation, and, it may be reasonably added, the birthplace of international law.¹¹ We shall there find that inter-state arbitration was not infrequently entrusted to an ecclesiastical body. For such was, in fact the famous Council of the Amphietyons at Delphi, though it was erroneously considered, by the earlier and less critical school of historians, to have been a federal council of the whole of Greece.¹² Its origin is lost in prehistoric times, but its remote antiquity is attested by the fact that the choice of delegates was vested, not in the cities or states of historic Greece,

¹⁰ Arbitration in private matters was, in ancient Athens, a recognised and perfectly ordered branch of civil procedure, the fundamental principle being set forth by Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 13, 10) with characteristic lucidity and directness: "Ὁ γὰρ διατηρῆς τὸ ἐπικτὲς ὁρᾷ, ὃ δὲ δικαστὴς τὸν νόμον." "The arbitrator looks to what is fair, the judge to what is law." The capital work on the subject, Hudtwalcker's "Ueber die Diäteten," 1812, has been supplemented by Meier, "Die Privatschiedrichter und die öffentlichen Diäteten Athens," 1846. See also Perrot, "Essai sur le Droit Public d'Athènes," 1869, pp. 284 ff.

¹¹ The Greeks had formed, at a very early time, a clear notion of the Law of Nations. "it was surely a healthful sign of the working of freedom that in that early age, despite the prevalence of piracy, even that idea of political justice and public right, which is the germ of the law of nations, was not unknown to the Greeks. It would appear that war could not be made without an appropriate cause, and that the offer of redress made it the duty of the injured to come to terms." (Gladstone, "Studies on Homer," iii. 4. Cf. the grand scene in the *Iliad*, iii. 245—301.) See also the very important body of literature on the subject:—Th. Sorgenfrey, "De Vestigijs juris gentium Homerici," Lipsiz, 1871; H. Grotius, "De jure pacis et belli" (ii. 15); Wachsmuth, "Jus gentium quale obtinuerit apud Græcos ante bellorum cum Persis gestorum initium," 1822; G. F. Schoemann, "Antiquitates juris publici Græcorum," 1838; and "Griechische Alterthümer," 1850 (ii. 1—115); Turretini, "De Legationibus publicis apud Athenienses," 1841; Muller-Jochmus, "Das allgemeine Völkerrecht," i. "Geschichte des Völkerrechts im Alterthum," 1848; J. Barbeyrac, "Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens," Supplément: Histoire des anciens traités, 1739; F. Laurent, "Histoire du droit des gens et des relations internationales"; i., "Orient"; ii., "Grèce"; iii., "Rome," 1851; and 2^e ed., 1880, entitled "Etudes sur l'histoire de l'humanité"; E. Egger, "Les traités publics chez les Grecs et chez les Romains," 1866.

¹² Those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Sainte-Croix ("Des Anciens Gouvernements fédératifs," Paris, an vii.) was the first to point out the real character of the Amphietyonic League. Tittmann ("Ueber den Bund der Amphietyonen," Berlin, 1812) inclines more to the earlier view, which, however, finds no favour with Thirlwall and Grote. H. Bürgel, "Die Pylæisch-Delphische Amphietyonie," München, 1877, is the best work on the subject. The following statement of C. Calvo ("Droit International," 4^e ed., 1888, § 1,777), is based upon an entire misconception:—"Les Etats qui formaient la fédération de l'Ancienne Grèce, avaient établi au dessus d'eux un tribunal supérieur permanent, qui se réunissait deux fois l'an. Le Conseil des Amphietyons avait pour mission principale de prévenir par ses décisions arbitrales les guerres qui auraient pu s'élever entre les Etats confédérés. Si l'Etat condamné ne se soumettait pas à la sentence amphietyonique, l'Assemblée était en droit d'armer contre elle toute la confédération."

but in twelve tribes of those races (γένη) into which the Greek people were originally divided.¹³ Later reforms of its organisation, and notably that of the Emperor Augustus, introduced the representation of certain states—necessarily so in the case of some tribes which had ceased to exist as such. But the Amphictyonic Council was never so constituted as to include representatives of all the Greek states; it was certainly not a political organisation. It was mainly concerned, as Strabo states (ix. 3, 7), with the large sums of money and the valuable offerings which had accumulated at the temple of Apollo in Delphi, and with the measures to be taken in common by those interested in the great sanctuary.¹⁴ However, since religion was so powerful and all-pervading a factor in the life of Greece; since the Delphic oracle enjoyed a Panhellenic reputation and reverence; since representatives from the most important centres of Hellenism met there and discussed matters in which the entire Greek people were interested; it was natural that, in certain circumstances, the Council should assume a political importance¹⁵; and

¹³ Instituted, according to the Parian Chronicle, in 1522 B.C., Strabo (ix. 3, 7) says that its early history was unknown in his time (d. 24 A.D.), but that it was recorded that Akrisios (King of Argos, ab. 1315 B.C.) first organised the Amphictyons and determined their jurisdiction. This passage of Strabo, which has been mistaken as attributing wider powers to the Council, is best rendered by Sainte-Croix: Il prescrivit les formes juridiques ou coutumes Amphictyoniques qu'elles garderoient les unes (villes) à l'égard des autres." Pausanias (x. 8, 2), who wrote ab. 175 A.D., is nearer the truth when he speaks of γένη (races, or tribes) as composing the Amphictyony. He gives a detailed account of the reforms introduced by Augustus (30 B.C.). The statement of a contemporary of Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (iv. 25) as to the political and quasi-federal powers of the Council is not reliable. It is true that Æschines (Ktes. 58) speaks of κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων and of Ἑλληνικὸν συνέδριον; and in the decree quoted by Demosthenes (De Cor. 108) the Amphictyons style themselves τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον. But Æschines was the advocate of the cause of Philip, who had gained entire control of the Council, while Demosthenes (De Pac. extr.) characterises it as ἡ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιά, the shadow at Delphi. Cicero's expression, "Amphictyones, id est, commune Græcæ concilium" (De Inv. Rhet. ii. 23) relates to later times, and, in any case, is not put forth as a strict definition of the powers of the Council. When Tacitus (Ann. iv. 14) says: "Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitentur, quis præcipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Græci, conditis per Asiam urbibus, ora maris potiebantur," he refers to the participation in the Amphictyony of the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor, a fact pointing to the existence of the Council before their migration.

¹⁴ Hence the name. The mythical derivation from Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, points only to the great antiquity of the institution. The etymology recorded by Pausanias (x. 8), παρὰ τῶν περιεκοιμένων, is now accepted as co-significant with περικίοντες, the dwellers around, the neighbours. And so spelt ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΕΣ the name appears on the Amphictyonic coins of Delphi, and on inscriptions: C.I.G. 1688, thrice, though in line 20 with *u*. All of which is another proof of the substantial correctness of the traditional pronunciation of Greek. There were in Greece other, local and less notable, Amphictyonice, or bodies delegated by those dwelling around, for the management of the affairs of some famous temple common to them all, e.g., in Delos, Onchestus, Calauria (Strabo viii. 6), &c.

¹⁵ "It may be affirmed, with truth, that the habit of forming Amphictyonic unions, and frequenting each other's religious festivals, was the great means of creating and fostering the primitive feeling of brotherhood among the children of

this, the more easily and unobtrusively, as in ancient Greece there existed no dividing line between clergy and laity: spiritual and temporal offices were held by the same men for varying periods of time. On such occasions the Amphictyonic League undoubtedly became the one representative body through which united Greece made her voice heard. It was thus that the Amphictyons erected a monument in honour of the heroes who fell at Thermopylæ (Herod. vii. 228), and set a price on the head of Ephialtes, the traitor; on which occasion Herodotus (vii. 214) styles them οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι. It is not too much to say that on solemn occasions of this kind the Council assumed the character of a diplomatic assembly, and its members that of ambassadors. And it appears well-established that they recorded at all times what they considered that the international law of Greece ought to have been. But the Council was never invested with sufficient powers to carry its decisions into execution. It relied on the general respect and acquiescence of the nation at large, or, failing this, on the active support of some one of the states. Thus, the unfair exactions to which pilgrims to the shrine were exposed, and, especially, the sacrilegious cultivation of the plain of Kirrha, gave rise to the two so-called "Sacred Wars"—both unjust and cruel proceedings—in the first of which (595 B.C.) the Athenians assisted the Amphictyons against Crissa, while in the second, or Phocian War (356 B.C.), Philip of Macedon was, at the prompting of the Thebans, invited to champion the cause of Apollo. On the defeat of the Phocians, their two votes in the Council were transferred to Philip, thus sanctioning his entry into the affairs of Greece. In 337, at a conference of the Amphictyonic States, he was awarded the hegemony of united Greece in the war to be prosecuted against Persia; and this dignity was confirmed on Alexander by the Amphictyons convoked at Thermopylæ (Diod. Sic. xvii. 4). On this occasion, the Council again acted as the mouthpiece of the whole of Hellenism.

The diversity of the functions delegated, on occasions, to the Amphictyons, and the varying weight of influence which they exercised during the long course of their existence, will explain the apparently conflicting and contradictory estimates of their importance, as recorded by Greek and Roman writers of times widely apart. But we know with certainty that the Council was composed of two sets of

Hellen, in those early times when rudeness, insecurity, and pugnacity did so much to isolate them." "Originally, and chiefly for common religious purposes, but indirectly and occasionally embracing political and social objects along with them. (Grote, "Hist. of Greece," ii. 328, and I. 137.)

deputies, the *Hieromnemes* and the *Pylagoræ*, their office being most highly esteemed. Two meetings were held annually, the spring at Delphi, and the autumn at the Temple of Demeter, in the township of Anthela (Herod. vii. 200) near Pylæ (Thémopylæ). The old Amphictyonic oath, which is quoted by Æschines (de F. L. 116), is the oldest extant document of the kind in the West, and bears evidence of great antiquity: "(I swear that) I shall devastate no city of the Amphictyons, nor cut off their streams of water, either in war or peace; and should anyone transgress against this, I shall march against him and destroy his cities. And should anyone pillage the property of the God, or be privy to or plan anything against the things that are in the sanctuary, I shall take vengeance on him with foot, and hand, and voice, and with all my might." This oath in itself defines sufficiently the character and the scope of the Council, many decisions of which have come down to us textually in inscriptions. From historic evidence, however, we derive indisputable instances of arbitration, the most notable of which are the following:—

After the battle of Platea, Pausanias "presumed, on his own authority, to inscribe on the tripod which the Greeks had dedicated at Delphi," a boastful inscription arrogating to himself the victory. The indignant Greeks appealed to the Amphictyons, who condemned the Lacedæmonians to a fine of one thousand talents, and the excision of the inscription. It was replaced by the names of the states which had participated in the defence of the fatherland (Thuc. i. 132; Demosth. c. Næær. p. 1378). The famous tripod in question, or what remains of it, may still be seen in the old Hippodrome at Constantinople.

Shortly after this, it would appear, the Spartans proposed to the Council that those states which had taken no part against the Persian invasion should be excluded from the Amphictyony. At the suggestion of Themistocles, the proposal was negatived by the Pylagoræ (Plut. Them. 20).

About 380 B.C., the Spartans, under Phœbidas, treacherously seized, in time of peace, Cadmeia, the citadel of Thebes. The Thebans laid complaint before the Amphictyons, who condemned the Spartans to a fine of five hundred talents, to be doubled if not paid within a stated interval. The fine does not appear to have been paid, and there was no other means of imposing the decision, save exclusion of Sparta from the Amphictyony, as well as from the Delphic Temple, and the Pythean games (Diod. Sic. vi. 23-29; Justin. viii. 1).

At a later period (343 B.C.), the Council decided in a dispute

between Athens and Delos, with respect to the Temple of Apollo. The award appears to have been in favour of Athens.¹⁶

Much earlier, and even more demonstrative of the hold which the idea of arbitration had upon the Greek mind, is the case recorded by Pausanias (iv. 5, 1). The Messinians had refused to give up to the Spartans Polychares, a conqueror at the 4th Olympiad (764 B.C.), who, for wrongs done him, had taken revenge on certain Lacedæmonians; but they proposed to refer the difference to the Argive Amphictyony (that of Calauria; see note¹⁴), or to the Court of Areiopagus, at Athens. The Spartans rejected this equitable offer, and the first Messinian war ensued in 743 B.C.

But the earliest instance of inter-state arbitration, which is recorded in minute detail and on unimpeachable authority, is that due to the efforts of Solon (ab. 600 B.C.) concerning the possession of the island of Salamis, over which Athens and Megara had carried on a protracted conflict. The dispute was referred to Sparta (Plut. Solon, 10); and the proceedings of the litigation—the appeal to the pronouncements of the Delphic Oracle, and the authority of Homer,¹⁷ the evidence of local customs and of old records—were as systematic and minute as anything of the kind in recent cases. The very names have been preserved to us of the five Spartan commissioners, who finally gave their award in favour of Athens.

Another memorable case of arbitration occurs within a few years of the above, and again after a stubborn war between Athens and the Mytilenæans for the possession of the promontory of Sigeum. Periander, the powerful tyrant of Corinth, who for his learning and wisdom is generally included among the Seven Sages of Greece, was chosen as arbitrator (606 B.C.), his decision being to the effect that each side should remain in possession of the lands they then held. (Herod. v. 94; Strabo, xiii. 38.)

Themistocles also acted as arbitrator in the dispute between Corinth and Corcyra with respect to the island of Leucadia. He condemned Corinth to a fine of twenty talents, and to remain, in common with Corcyra, in possession of the island, which had been colonised by both cities. (Plut. Them. 24).

But it is at a still later time, the most agitated epoch in Greek

¹⁶ Æschines was first chosen as Athenian commissioner (σύνδικος); but, being suspected as a partisan of Philip of Macedon, who appears to have instigated that the dispute should be submitted to the Amphictyons, Hyperides was sent in his place. He then delivered his most important oration, the *Δηλιακός*. (Plut. "Orat. Vit." ix.; Dem. De Cor. 134.)

¹⁷ Aristotle (Rhet. i. 16) confirms this. It was, however, currently stated in antiquity that Solon had interpolated for the occasion line 558 in the B of the *Iliad*.

history, that we find the principle and practice of arbitration fully recognised. The transactions we shall now rapidly review are set forth by an unimpeachable authority, Thucydides, in the fourth and fifth books of whose history, more especially, we can follow step by step the development of public law among Greek states. In spite of his brevity, Thucydides dwells on the negotiations, analysis them, and quotes the very texts of treaties, texts that have been confirmed to the letter by the discovery of inscriptions.

On the eve of the Peloponnesian War, Corcyra sent emissaries to Corinth (437 B.C.) deprecating recourse to arms, and proposing that the dispute about Epidamnos should be referred to some Peloponnesian city, to be mutually agreed upon, or to the Oracle at Delphi, and that meanwhile a truce should prevail (Thuc. i. 28). In like manner the Athenian delegates, after enunciating the philosophic truth, that men who went headlong into war began by those things to which they should have recourse last of all, appealed to the Lacedæmonians not to break the peace, nor violate their oaths, but to let their differences be adjusted by judicial award, "conformably to the treaty" (i. 78). Upon this Archidamos, the Spartan King, "a wise and prudent man," urged the acceptance of the proposals, "since the Athenians are ready to submit the matters at issue to the award of judicial decision. *For it is not lawful to attack beforehand, as a criminal, one who is willing to refer the cause to judgment*" (i. 85). And, upon the advice of Pericles, the Athenian assembly assured the Spartan envoys that, although they would do nothing on command, "they were ready to settle mutual griefs by means of the law, on equal and like terms, in accordance with the treaties" (i. 145).

In the ninth year of the war (423 B.C.) a truce was negotiated, which provided that the parties "should afford means of judgment to each other, according to the laws of their respective states, so as to settle the doubtful points judicially, without recourse to war" (iv. 118). In the following year a fifty years' truce was agreed upon, the several states engaging on oath that it shall not be lawful to take up arms, but that, for the adjustment of differences, they shall have recourse to law, in accordance with special compacts to be arranged hereafter (v. 18). We have here the first vestige of the "arbitration clause." It assumes concrete shape in the treaty concluded four years later between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives, the text of which is given by Thucydides (v. 79). "If any of the allied states shall have a controversy with another, they shall address themselves to a third state whose impartiality is admitted by both." There was, already, a pending dispute between Argos

and Sparta, in respect to a neighbouring portion of Kynouria, and the Argives had urged, prior to this treaty, that the matter should be submitted to a third state or to some private person (v. 41). From Pausanias (ii. 38, 5) we gather that this was eventually done, the Argives winning Thyera. And in pursuance with the above treaty of 422 B.C. with Argos and their allies, the Lacedæmonians arbitrated on the claim of Elis that the Lepreans should pay annually one talent to the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (v. 31).

Thucydides (iv. 83) refers to another case, that of Perdikas and Arrhibaios, two Macedonian kings, the latter of whom appealed to Brasidas, the Spartan, as to μέσση δικαστῆ, intermediary judge, a term which occurs here for the first time. Very noteworthy is the statement of the great historian (vii. 18) that in the nineteenth year of the war the Lacedæmonians, who attributed their former reverses to the violent proceedings to which they had recourse at a time when the Athenians proposed a judicial settlement of differences (i. 145), now entered upon the campaign full of confidence, seeing that the Athenians had, in their turn, violated the solemn compact, to refer disputes to arbitration.

Besides the cases thus recorded in history, we possess the original official documents of many other arbitral decisions—documents as authentic and indisputable as any contained in modern chancelleries. They are the inscriptions on stone or metal which place in our hands the actual awards of arbitration courts of twenty-four and twenty-five centuries ago. One of these was discovered (near Smyrna), published and annotated by M. Le Bas ("Voyage Archéologique," v. 1). It refers to the year 416 B.C., and is couched in these terms:—"The Argives have adjudged, in execution of the decree of the general assembly of the Hellenes, and consequent upon the declaration of the Melians and the Cimolians that they would abide by whatever the Argives would decide with regard to the islands (in dispute), that the islands of Polyæga, Heteria, and Libia belong to the Cimolians: their judgment is in favour of the Cimolians." Another inscription recites the convention between the city of Athens and the Bœotians referring to the arbitrament of the city of Lamia a certain dispute, which is not therein specified.¹⁸ A third sets forth in the Doric dialect, the decision of the Ætolians on the disputed frontier between the towns of Melitæa and Pyrrha, in Thessaly, and refers certain commercial matters to the arbitrament of the agoronomes

¹⁸ "Antiquités Helléniques," No. 451.

of Melitæa.¹⁹ In a fourth inscription we have the text of the arrangement between Paros and Naxos, as to a religious question, which the judges of Eretria were called upon to decide.²⁰

A whole series of inscriptions, discovered at different times and different places, relates to a dispute between the town of Priene and Samos, which was repeatedly renewed, from the middle of the sixth century to the year 138 B.C. It was, in the first instance, referred to Bias, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, and himself a native of Priene, who was famed for his wisdom in politics and his persuasive advocacy of equity and the right.²¹ About two centuries later (325 B.C.) Lysimachus, King of Thrace, was called upon to decide the same dispute; in a letter, which he addressed to the Samians, he states that Priene had invoked "the *testimony of historians*, and the evidence of acquired rights."²² When, in 260 B.C., the dispute recurred for the third time, it was submitted to Antiochos Theos, King of Syria, who sent commissioners designated as *εὐθέραι* (conciliators). Whatever conciliation they may have been able to bring about must have been short lived; for the same difference was referred, in 150 B.C., to Ptolemy Philometor, King of Egypt, and again, in 138 B.C., to Rome, when a commission of Rhodian judges was appointed.²³ Their award, which exists almost entire, and which recites most of the details given above, is in the Doric dialect, although it is for the behoof of two Ionian cities. Here again we have the testimony of a historian, Mæandrius of Miletus, invoked. The award is accompanied by the confirmatory decision of Rome.²⁴

Another dispute, no less protracted, ended by being referred to Rome. Oropos, a town in the maritime plain bordering on Attica and Bœotia, had become the subject of constant disputes between Athens and Thebes. It was in the hands of the former in 412, when the Bœotians recovered possession; but after the battle of Chæronia, Philip restituted it to the Athenians (Paus. i. 34; Strabo, ix. 22), who, when the wars that ensued later reduced them to great straits, found themselves compelled by necessity to pillage their protégés. The Oropeans, having appealed to the Roman Senate, their claim for damages was referred to Sicyon. The Athenians allowed the case to go by default, and were condemned to a fine of 500 talents. They,

¹⁹ J. L. Ussing, "Inscr. Gr. Inéd.," Havn: 1847, No. 2; also Le Bas, "Voy. Arch.," ii., No. 1,170.

²⁰ Corp. Inscr. Gr., No. 2265.

²¹ C.I.G., No. 2254; also Plut., Quest. Gr. 20, and Diog. Laert. i. 82.

²² C.I.G., No. 2254.

²³ C.I.G., No. 2905.

²⁴ Le Bas, "Voy. Arch." v., Nos. 198 and 199.

however, refused to pay, but sent to Rome an embassy (155 B.C.) of three philosophers, Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaos. This mission remains famous in history as an example of the influence which the culture and intellectual superiority of a weak people can exert over a powerful State. We are told (Plut. Cat. Maj. 22) that the erudition, eloquence, and graceful manners of the ambassadors charmed all those who approached them, and filled them with wonder and delight; Carneades, especially, proved irresistible, and "his fame, like a mighty wind, filled the whole city. . . . His eloquence was able to soften and disarm the fiercest passions, and made so deep an impression upon the youth of Rome, that, forgetting other pleasures and diversions, they became possessed with an enthusiastic love for philosophy." Cato, however, who from the outset was alarmed, determined to get rid of the ambassadors as soon as possible, "on some decent and specious pretext." And at last it was decided, in spite of the award already sanctioned by Rome, that Athens should pay a fine of only one hundred talents; the Senators confessing, as Ælian, himself a Roman, records (Hist. Var. iii. 17) that "the Athenians sent to us ambassadors, not such men as would convince us, but such as would compel us to do as they pleased." The Athenians, however, did not pay even the reduced fine; but, by promises and cajolements, persuaded the Oropians, not only to abandon their claim, but to receive an Athenian garrison, and to send hostages to Athens, the garrison to be withdrawn and the hostages to be set free, should the Oropians have in future any cause of complaint (Paus. vii. 11). Subsequent events, arising out of this arrangement, served as a pretext to the Romans to efface the last vestiges of Greek liberty.

We may here consider another case of a similar dispute, which was referred to a third state, again designated by the Roman conqueror. In an inscription²⁵ of the middle of the first century B.C., remarkable in many respects, we have the award of the Parian arbitrators appointed by the Roman governor of Crete to adjudicate between the towns of Hierapytna and Itanos. The solemn engagement of the arbitrators to fulfil their duty faithfully; the scrupulous attention with which they consider the evidence adduced on each side; the recital of the boundaries of the two cities, in the Doric dialect (that of Crete), in the text of an award drawn up in Ionic; all this is instinct with an actuality so vivid that the reader forgets it is a document some twenty centuries old.

In another Cretan inscription,²⁶ the date of which is uncertain, but which may be attributed to the middle of the third century B.C., we see the arbitration clause set forth with great precision and

²⁵ C.I.G., No. 2561b, in Addendis.

²⁶ C.I.G., No. 2556.

detail. It is a treaty of alliance between Hierapytna and Priansos (or Præsos). The clause refers both to outstanding disputes and any that may arise later between the allies. The Cosmoi (chief magistrates) of the two cities shall decide each year upon a third city, from which arbitrators shall be invited. Time limits are fixed for the notification of claims, and the procedure is determined.

This succinct recital does not exhaust the cases recorded on inscriptions. More and more of these invaluable public documents are being recovered every day, and they prove beyond doubt, not only that the practice of arbitration was organised in the most perfect manner among the Greeks, but that it was esteemed a great and salutary principle. This is confirmed by the fact that, not only lawgivers and statesmen, but poets, and even victors at the great Panhellenic games were chosen as arbitrators. Simonides, on his arrival in Sicily, was instrumental in averting a war between Hiero of Syracuse and Theon of Agrigentum (Schol. ad Pind., Ol. ii. 29); and Pyttalus, of Elis, victor at the Olympic games, arbitrated on a question of boundaries between his own state and the Arcadians (Paus. vi. 16).

A very peculiar case is deduced from some inscriptions of Teos,²⁷ referring to events in the reign of Antigonos (306-301 B.C.). It would appear (for certain parts of these inscriptions are obscure) that he compelled the inhabitants of Lebedos to abandon their city and settle at Teos. In two decrees, in the form of letters to the Teians, he sets forth the conditions of this *συννοικισμός*. For the settlement of various questions, arising out of the fusion of the two populations, Mitylene is to act as arbitrator. The newly formed community will be governed by an entirely fresh body of laws, to be drawn up by a committee, and to be submitted to the approval of the people. But the king reserves to himself the option of sanctioning the project of laws or of referring it to the arbitrament of some independent city. Meanwhile they are to borrow the laws of the neighbouring island of Cos. This singular mixture of arbitrariness and arbitration can only be explained as an attempt on the part of the despot to conciliate the apparently rooted tradition among his subjects that such matter should have the sanction of some impartial authority.

Besides adopting arbitration, both in private disputes and interstate differences, the Greeks put it to use in yet another form, of which the inscriptions reveal very many instances. The beneficent results of conciliatory intervention had evidently so impressed their quick and inquiring minds, that in cases in which the ordinary tribunals could not cope with the work before them, or, more likely, whenever

²⁷ Le Bas, "Voy. Arch." v. 86.

those tribunals were suspected of political leanings and partiality, one or more judges were invited from some allied or friendly city. At Megara we find a decree ²³ of the people of Orchomenos thanking the Megarians for the upright and enlightened judges they had sent, who carried out their instructions faithfully, and in a manner worthy of the confidence reposed in them. A certain Damocreon, son of Zenon, appears to have been sent from Lampsacus to some Ionian city, the name of which is not preserved on the inscription, but which causes a stele to be set up ²⁹ at Lampsacus, recording the gratitude of those who benefited by the services of that arbitrator; and the highest honours are voted to him, as well as to the city of Lampsacus. In the Ionian city of Teos, in Asia Minor, a long but somewhat mutilated inscription has been found ³⁰ in which we read that Bargylia, a town in Caria, had received from Teos a judge, Tyron, son of Polythros, who had fulfilled his mission with great credit, and to the entire satisfaction of the Bargylians and their suzerain. In another Ionian city, Iassos, the island of Calymna declares ³¹ its obligations to the Iassian judges, who had disposed of more than two hundred and fifty cases of litigation by conciliatory means, and had acted loyally and in accordance with local laws. Adramyttion, a town in Mysia (not far from the Hellespont) votes honours and rewards to a judge and to his secretary, sent from Andros; and in commemoration of this event erects a stele ³² in that island under the Roman governor, Cn. Aufidius, 70 B.C. Judges from Andros were also sent to Chalcis ³³; and from Clazomenæ to Smyrna; ³⁴ and from Antandros, a city on the coast of Troas, to Peltæ in Phrygia; ³⁵ and in each case their services are recorded in such public documents, and rewarded.

The number of inscriptions of this class is very considerable. But enough has been said to throw a fresh and, perhaps, an unexpected light on a subject of the highest interest. In order to fully comprehend the very high state of intellectual and moral civilisation to which the Greeks had attained in these matters also, it will be necessary to say a few words as to their mode of procedure in arbitration, its terminology, and the philosophic agencies and principles which had rendered that institution so prevalent among them. These researches, and some reflections on the manner in which the Romans viewed arbitration, will form the subject of another article.

J. GENNADIUS.

²³ Le Bas, "Voy. Arch." ii. 35.

²⁹ C.I.G., No. 3640; translated into French and commented on in "Inscr. recueillies en Grèce par la Commission de Morée," 175.

³⁰ Le Bas, "Voy. Arch." v. 87.

³¹ C.I.G., No. 2671.

³² "Inscr. rec. en Grèce par la Com. de Morée," 175; and C.I.G., No. 2349b.

³³ C.I.G., No. 2147.

³⁴ C.I.G., No. 3184.

³⁵ C.I.G., No. 3508f.

THE POLITICS OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

LORD CURZON's recent tour in the Persian Gulf has once more brought the public mind to bear for a moment upon the politics of the Indian Ocean. The trade of the Gulf and of Southern Persia, important as it is to British manufacturers, who supply nearly sixty per cent. of the imports, is of still more vital interest to the trades of our Indian Empire, who find a natural outlet for their enterprise in the torrid climate of the Gulf and Turkish Arabia, where Englishmen can exist for a number of years, but can hardly be said to live. But the Indian trader and the Indian emigrant has no public voice, and it is fitting that the Viceroy of India, by his recent demonstration, should have declared to the world that the interests of our Indian Empire are in safe keeping. Nor can we underrate the effect which the tour must have had upon the native chiefs of the Arab coast. Such an exhibition of strength has never before been vouchsafed to the population of the Gulf littoral, and it is one which no other Power can imitate. The Russian agent may demand to be saluted with the same number of guns, but he cannot summon to his assistance a naval squadron, or reproduce the scenes on board the *Hardinge*, where Arab chiefs were received by Lord Curzon as subject rulers by a great Sovereign.

But we expect something more of the Viceroy's tour than a mere demonstration of wealth and power. After all, Arab chiefs and Persian governors are less than pawns on the political chessboard. It is just as well to keep them reminded of our supremacy in these waters, for the peace of the Gulf depends upon that supremacy. But all the Arab chiefs and Persian governors combined could not prevent our annexing Southern Persia and the shores of the Arabian Peninsula if we were so inclined. They are really the last people in the world

that we need to convince of our strength of purpose. When Lord Curzon spoke at Maskat and Bunder Abbas and Bushire, he was addressing a far wider audience than that which actually listened to his words ; and when he sailed away from Bushire, without landing to call upon the governor of Fars, his rebuke was not intended merely for the unfortunate governor, who would never have been guilty of a discourtesy, if he had not been inspired from Teheran. In a word, the demonstration was intended to impress Europe, and especially those two European Powers who have their eyes turned to the tepid waters of the Gulf.

As far as his speeches went, Lord Curzon, if we are to trust the cabled reports, said nothing which could indicate a new policy on our part. He referred, of course, to our pre-eminent position in the politics of the Gulf, to our deeds in the past, and our conduct of affairs in the present, and he hinted very strongly that we could brook no rivalry in the Indian Ocean. He reiterated, in fact, the statement made by Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords last May, which bound the Government to oppose any attempt on the part of Russia to come to Bunder Abbas or any other port in the neighbourhood. But not a word was said to indicate that Lord Curzon, or the Government behind him, had any constructive policy in view, or had any idea that our position needed strengthening in order to repel attack with safety. The fact that Lord Curzon did not make any suggestions in this direction proves nothing at all either one way or the other. As he was speaking to the whole of Europe, it was not likely that he would unburden his mind of any secrets, or boldly advocate an active policy which he would not be sure of carrying out. ¶ It was something that he should, as Viceroy of India, visit in an official way a region which is to all intents and purposes a portion of the British Empire, but has never yet been acknowledged as such. For the rest, the situation demanded platitudes, and he was lavish in his utterance of them. It is impossible, however, to believe that the Viceroy did not return from his voyage with clearer ideas and a fuller knowledge of the situation than he possessed at starting. Not only did he look over the ground with his own eyes ; but he had the advantage of long conversation with Sir Arthur Hardinge, who is certainly one of the most enterprising ministers we have ever had in Teheran. The meeting must have been helpful to both ; and when it is remembered that we have now the Hon. Charles Hardinge at the Foreign Office to deal with the affairs of the Middle East, we need not despair of a great improvement in our handling of Persian politics. Mr. Hardinge was *chargé d'affaires* four years ago at Teheran, when the question of

the first Persian loan was being discussed, and it was through his intervention at a critical moment that the ports of Southern Persia were excluded from the agreement which gave Russia a mortgage on the Persian customs as a security for the loan. He has since been First Secretary in St. Petersburg, where he had a very full experience of Russian diplomacy, and had the reputation, which is in itself a great compliment, of being heartily disliked by the Russian Foreign Office. If these three men working harmoniously in London, Teheran, and Calcutta, cannot produce a clear and well-defined British policy in Persia, there must be something wrong about our political system.

In the long run, of course, the head of the Foreign Office is responsible for our policy abroad, and as he is responsible for it to Parliament, he cannot embark upon any enterprise which has not the sanction of the British public; and as the public is naturally apathetic about Eastern affairs, it may be impossible, with the best will in the world, to carry out an active policy. Indeed, there is a very strong temptation put upon a Foreign Minister to deceive with fine phrases a public which would rather live in a fool's paradise, than wake up and fight for its rights. The easiest way of cajoling Parliament is to make high-sounding statements about the integrity of Eastern nations which we have bound ourselves to respect. There is hardly a nation between Sofia and Seoul, whose integrity we are not pledged to maintain. On nearly all these nations, Russia, our great rival, has definite designs, and while, we talk about integrity, Russia is actively pursuing her chosen policy. If she goes a step too far she supplies an official denial which an imperturbable Under-Secretary can use in Parliament, but she never withdraws her foot.

The greatest piece of imposture of this sort was the 1899 agreement with Russia, which defined our respective spheres of influence in China. The agreement nominally gave Manchuria to Russia, and the great Yangtze Valley to England, and was naturally hailed with delight as a great triumph of diplomacy to the credit of the Salisbury Cabinet. In reality, the triumph was all on the side of Russia. By means of the agreement she upset our policy of the open door, which interfered with the natural course of her expansion in the Far East; she obtained recognition of her special rights in Manchuria, which she particularly wanted at the moment, and she gave us absolutely nothing in return. For, after the agreement, we had no privileges in the Yangtze Valley which were not shared by other nations. Russia might pretend to concede privileges to us in that region; but it was not likely that the other trading nations of the world would quietly consent to the domination by England of the

great Yangtze basin, which includes the bulk of the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, the agreement suited the political exigencies of the moment. Our prestige was falling in China, and nothing could save us from further humiliation but the courage and determination necessary for the carrying out of a strong policy. Our Government at the time was either doubtful of the courage and keenness of the British nation, or else its members were grossly ignorant of the real state of affairs. Instead of a strong and courageous policy based upon a determination to give up no part of the Chinese market, we preferred the glittering tinsel of a diplomatic victory which was sure to serve the purpose of the Government for a few years. The Government presented as a free gift to the people, the great and populous Yangtze Valley. It was only a year or two afterwards that the public awoke to the fact that Russia had been bartering with a property which was not hers to give away—a very common device of hers—and we had been grasping a shadowy sphere of influence, whilst she was annexing a rich territory.

Lord Lansdowne's statement with regard to the Persian Gulf made in the House of Lords last May is just as valuable as the sphere of influence agreement of 1899, and no more so, unless we are prepared to adopt a policy which will make that statement real. When we are in rather a tight place, it is very simple for a Foreign Minister to get up and declare that we shall never submit to this or that action on the part of a rival. That merely warns the rival not to make a frontal attack against the position assumed, but it does not at all secure us against flank movements. Lord Lansdowne has bravely asserted that we shall not concede any port in the Persian Gulf to Russia or any other nation, and the public gives a sigh of relief and immediately dismisses the subject from its mind. People forget that such a statement is perfectly valueless, unless the Government has the power to defend the principle which it involves. How many times in the last few years have we talked about the integrity of China, and what single step have we taken to make Russia evacuate Manchuria? In the same fashion we talk about the integrity of Persia, while Russia is daily working to reduce Persia to a state of dependence upon herself; and when Persia has once become a dependency of Russia, how can we prevent Russia having ports on the Gulf? We never seem to realise that throughout Asia we are waging a war of diplomacy with Russia, and our position is nearly always a defensive one, than which nothing can possibly be more fatal to our success. Fabian tactics may protract a war, but they cannot lead to victory in the end, and even the general who acts only on the defensive

is a poor soldier if he does not look to his outposts. And so it is very short-sighted to talk about our position in the Gulf as assured by any diplomatic statement or official demonstration, unless we have a clear idea of what the Gulf means.

The Gulf is an avenue of trade leading to the markets of Persia, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian Peninsula. Of these, the Persian market is by far the most important, and, but for the pearl trade, it would be fair to say that the entire structure of Gulf commerce would be destroyed if the markets of Persia were closed to us. Our great rival in Persia is, of course, Russia. By her system of bounties on exports she has succeeded in securing for herself the lion's share of the Teheran market, defeating our manufacturers in the cotton trade and ruining to a large extent the sugar trade of her French ally. She has now made a descent upon Ispahan, the great market of central Persia and she will very soon work her way down to Shiraz, Yezd, and Kerman on the southern edge of the high Persian plateau. So far her weapon of attack has been her system of bounties on exports, but she has a reserve weapon in the shape of something like an option on all railways to be built in Persia.

No one supposes for an instant that Russia could, at the present moment, demand from the Shah a concession for a naval base at Bunder Abbas. Not only is she herself unprepared to take such a step, but she knows that such an open move against the defences of our Indian Empire would rouse a storm of indignation in England which would immediately lead to hostilities. But let us consider the probable course of events in the next few years and see what may happen if we adhere to the neglectful policy of the past.

She has already a firm control of the Shah's finances. The two loans, which amount to some three million pounds, have been furnished to the Persian Government on such conditions that it is impossible for the Shah to appeal to any other Power for pecuniary assistance until they are paid off; and they cannot be redeemed under any circumstances in less than ten years. The service of the loans absorbs the greater part of the customs revenue, which is the one first-rate asset of the Persian Government; while the internal revenue of the country has shrunk with the depreciation of silver to about one million and a half per annum, which is not enough to pay for the upkeep of the army and the expenses of the royal household at the same time. It is quite certain that before long the Shah will have to come hat in hand to Russia once more, and, having no security to offer, he will either have to give Russia some control of the internal revenue, or he will have to buy assistance with valuable concessions

of another kind. The last loan of a million pounds was not advanced on the security of the customs alone, it had to be won at the expense of a new commercial treaty which was drawn up without any reference to the British Minister and to the detriment of British commerce. We were even ignorant of its provisions for a whole year before it was promulgated. Surely Russia already enjoys a very special position in Persia when she is able to dictate a tariff without consulting the Power who, a few years ago, was chiefly concerned in the commerce of Persia, and even now is hardly surpassed in that direction by Russia herself. Nor is that the only sign of the Shah's dependence. He has an agreement with Russia which gives to that Power the right to fix the date of all railway building in Persia and prevents us from laying a single rail in his dominions until Russia gives us permission. Lastly, the Cossak regiments at Teheran, the only troops in the whole of Persia who could offer an hour's resistance to an invading force, are commanded by a Russian General and subservient to the wishes of the Tsar. Is it not then the purest farce to talk about preserving the integrity of Persia when we have already allowed the Shah to become rather more dependent upon the will of the Russian ruler than Admiral Alexeieff at Port Arthur? When the occasion for the next Russian loan arises, the Russians, who have already mapped out their railway routes to the sea, will doubtless demand something much more definite in the way of railway concessions than the present secret agreement, which only postpones all railway building in Persia until Russia is ready to begin work. They already, of course, regard all lines from the North to Teheran as theirs by right, what they particularly look for is a concession to lay rails from the Caspian or from Askabad to the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean. When such a railway is built the centre of Russian influence will be moved from Teheran to Ispahan, or, perhaps, even to Shiraz.

Consider, for a moment, what this means. From a strategic point of view the great salt desert which divides lower Persia from the North will cease to be a barrier to Russian advance; in addition to the Cossak brigade in Teheran we shall have soldiers of the Tsar guarding the railway from the Elburz mountains to the passes above Bushire; it will be possible for British subjects and British officers to be arrested by Russian officials in Shiraz, as they have been, not long since, in Manchuria. From a commercial point of view the results will be even more disastrous. Russian wares will flood the markets of Yezd and Kerman, where now the British and Indian manufacturers are supreme, and English goods will have about as much chance of getting to Teheran as they now have of reaching Harbin.

And when that state of things has come about who will care whether Russia comes down to the Gulf or not? British commerce and shipping in the Gulf, which depends now very largely upon the trade with the interior of Persia, must inevitably be ruined, and does anyone suppose that the British public can be roused to fight for a position that has already been lost? The lessons of history teach us over and over again that we shall not stir a finger to undo the accomplished fact. Eight years ago anyone who had prophesied that Russia would have a naval base commanding the maritime approaches to Peking would have been looked upon as a madman. Yet, as soon as Russia had obtained her Manchurian railway concession and had begun to build the extension to her Siberian system, Englishmen, from Mr. Dalfour downwards, began to say it was unreasonable to try and prevent Russia from coming down to the Gulf of Pechili. Similarly Russia undertook at the Berlin Congress not to fortify Batoum; but who in these days would venture to dismantle the forts at that harbour? It would be as sensible to ask the Tsar to disarm Cronstadt. The establishment of a Russian naval base at Port Arthur was not a chance move or an isolated action; it was the result of a long-thought-out policy and it was the necessary corollary of the Manchurian railway convention.

In the same way the seizure of Bunder Abbas or some other port in Southern Persia must follow the building of a Russian railway as surely as day follows night. It is not a possibility or a probability but an absolute certainty. And it is equally certain that, when the time comes, the British public will never be aroused to oppose such a seizure. Everyone will say that it is too late to stand in the way of Russia building herself a harbour at the end of a railway which will be as much hers as the Siberian line, and no previous declarations of our Foreign Ministers will have the slightest influence upon our action then.

It will be argued, of course, that this forecast is partly hypothetical; that Russia has not begun to build railways yet, and may never do so south of Teheran. But no one who has the most elementary knowledge of recent affairs in Persia could argue in such a fashion. For years past Russia has been laying her plans for the railway conquest of Persia; she has all her routes mapped out; her engineers had explored southern Persia long before we had made any survey of the country, and twelve years ago she had almost forced an agreement upon the Shah whereby he was to concede to Russia the monopoly of railway building in Persia. The agreement was only altered into its present shape because it was felt that the time was not ripe for such a move, and that such an agreement would have been too much

even for British statemen to swallow. That they have the will to build railways is quite certain, and that they have the ability to do so cannot be doubted, in view of the extraordinarily rapid realisation of the great Manchurian railway scheme. Moreover, the conditions are every day becoming easier. Not only is the present Shah a very poor creature and much less able than his father to fight the power of Russia, but he is in such hopeless financial straits that he cannot refuse anything to his merciless creditor. The one trump card that is left to us in this game, and it is a very insignificant one, is the verbal promise extracted from the late Shah that no railway concessions would be granted in southern Persia without our consent.

It is almost certain, therefore, that, unless we take some action in the near future, Russia will come down with her railways to the Gulf, and it is equally certain that nothing can prevent her controlling the sea terminus of her railways. In England we have a number of people, mostly avowed little Englanders, who do not care a jot whether Russia obtains a naval base in Indian waters or not. Not long ago, writers in magazines even went so far as to advocate the policy of placating Russia—as if we had to placate her in some way or another—by voluntarily conceding to her the port of Bunder Abbas. That idea has lately been happily exploded, and no thinking man who is not frankly a Little Englander has a word now to say in favour of such a policy. To the Little Englanders, and to all those who think that we should be much better off if we let the Empire go hang, and confined ourselves to the British Isles, it is perfectly useless to talk about Persia at all. But among those of a more strenuous mind, there is missionary work to be done. The attitude of those who would like to get rid of India altogether is, at least, logical, and, at all events, it is incorrigible. But those who do honestly desire to conserve our Empire, and see a great danger in allowing Russia to out-flank our position on the North-West frontier, by establishing herself in the Persian Gulf, yet will do nothing to prevent her coming there, are still capable of listening to argument. They cannot get away from the fact that to concede to Russia the power to dominate Southern Persia with her railways is in the long run to give her the port which they desire to withhold from her, and yet they will not go the necessary step further, and admit that the only possible way of avoiding such a result is to undertake ourselves the task of exploiting Southern Persia. They raise all manner of difficulties in the way of such an undertaking. They say that railways in Persia can never pay, that they will be a useless burden upon the national exchequer, that they will need to be defended with troops, and that any attempt

on our part to advance our trade communications with Teheran by railways will be displeasing to Russia. All these objections are feeble in the extreme. To begin with, railways have every chance of paying in Persia, for the simple reason that they will have a complete monopoly of the carrying trade in a country which has large natural resources, but no natural means of communication in the shape of lakes or rivers; even roads are non-existent. As for the matter of defence, it can only become a serious one if we are really afraid of Russia. Provided we build our railways in Southern Persia, Russia cannot possibly interfere with them without attacking us, and if she attacks us she does not attack us in Persia alone, but all over the world. If we are not a match for Russia in a stand-up fight, we cannot defend any part of our Asiatic possessions against her, and we may as well regard India as lost to us at once. If we are a match for Russia, and we ought to be, if we can only unite the British Empire into an organic whole, then any British railway in Persia will be as secure against attack as the London, Chatham and Dover. Those who are afraid to take any forward step in Persia forget that we have railway possessions in China which are even more exposed to Russian attack than any line we could build in the Shah's dominions.

Lastly, I deprecate most emphatically the desire to placate Russia at all costs. She deliberately made a commercial attack upon us, and defeated us in Northern Persia, and there is no reason in the world why we should show more consideration for her interests than she has done for ours. There are some people who think that we should not adopt any tariff in England which would be displeasing to America, who has never once consulted us in arranging her own customs duties. They seem to imagine that the British Empire exists only on sufferance, and must, therefore, bow to the will of all other nations. But I cannot believe that this view is held by the majority of patriotic Englishmen. The majority of English voters acquiesce in the weak attitude of our Government towards Persia, because they know nothing of the country, or of our interests there. If they would read Mr. Valentine Chirol's book on the Middle Eastern question, which is the latest and best contribution to the literature on this subject, they would see that I have not exaggerated the danger of the situation, and they would be convinced in all probability that we have to do something more than rest upon Lord Lansdowne's declarations about the Gulf, or Lord Curzon's speeches to the native authorities. Deeds not declarations are the only things that will avail us in combating our zealous rival in Asia.

H. J. WHIGHAM.

PROGRESS.

PROBABLY since the world began the bitterest and most lasting quarrels have been those which have turned directly or indirectly on the question of progress; for most differences of opinion resolve themselves into disputes in which one man believes more or less in things as they are or have been, and the other in things as they shall become. Indeed, there can hardly be two more opposite types than the man with his eyes in front and the man with his eyes behind, the believer in the ascent of the human race and the believer in its fall; so that any discussion between them is as hopeless as if they spoke different languages, indeed, it is more so, for a foreign tongue may be mastered, but it is as impossible to change a man's way of looking at life without killing him in the process as it is to twist his head round without breaking his neck.

This difference of type was presumably once expressed in politics by the terms Liberal and Conservative; but since modern politics in this country have degenerated into a species of grown-up rounders, where the main object of either party is to get "in" and stay there as long as possible, doing all in its power, meanwhile, whether "in" or "out," to thwart, stifle, maim, and defeat any objects the other side may have in view, however much for the good of the country they may be—since this remarkable system of government has come in vogue, it is clear that the terms Liberal and Conservative as used nowadays do not denote any difference of attitude with regard to Progress.

Neither are the terms Optimist and Pessimist any more suitable to describe this difference, as they denote a variety of temperament rather than creed or conduct. A man who believes in the ultimate perfectibility of the human race, who cherishes large hopes "far off at last, far off for all," may yet have an ingrained habit of looking on the black side of everything within his immediate ken. Such a man is a proximate pessimist, whatever be his beliefs with regard to progress or his efforts to attain it.

The difference between the believer and disbeliever in progress is well illustrated by their attitudes with regard to wrong-doing. To the man with eyes in the back of his head all wrong-doing is sin,

a wilful flying in the face of that Benign Omnipotence which originally created man a sinless being, from which "state of innocency" he deliberately fell at the instigation of his lower nature, with the result that all his descendants to the present time are possessed with a deep sense of their own natural depravity—or at all events, ought to be—and are continually doing things from which they know they had better abstain. The man with eyes in front is equally ready to admit that he does a large number of things which are wrong, but he submits that at the time of doing them they seemed to him the best course to adopt as being most productive of happiness; and accordingly he is not oppressed with the slightest consciousness of sin, realising that it was only his ignorance which made him mistake black for white, and while he has no intention of making the same mistake again, he attributes his former lapses, not to any inherent taint in his own nature, but simply to his low state of development. Either method of self-examination may lead ultimately to a virtuous life, but there can be no question which of the two renders a man better company for his neighbours. Has not the most original of the Americans given as the reason why he would like to live among animals that "they do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins?" And is not every lunatic asylum largely peopled with those to whom the consciousness of sin has proved a burden greater than reason could bear?

In considering the question of progress it is, of course, necessary to have very long sight, and not to expect any perceptible change within a short period of time. The maxim that "Nature never jumps" is as applicable to human institutions as to physical form; the bursting of the dam is only the outcome of forces that have long been imperceptibly gathering to a head. "The idea that nations must necessarily be progressive," says Sir Henry Maine, "is a very mistaken notion. The greater part of the nations of the earth are non-progressive and remain fixed for centuries. In inquiring into the history of institutions, people have been used to consider only a part of Western Europe, and omit India and China, which are non-progressive." It is a little curious to reflect on what has taken place in the East during the twenty years which have elapsed since Maine wrote the above passage; it may have seemed then that both the countries he named were buried in unending slumber, but will anyone say to-day that contact with the West has not sown seeds which will bear a notable harvest ere the close of this century?

If then, we believe that the race is moving on—to the dogs, if you will, or perchance in a quite opposite direction, for I would like

to take both parties with me in my argument—it behoves us to find out, if we can, the causes of such progress and the reason why it is more apparent in the last twenty years. The present age has been called the age of young men, and the newspapers are continually telling us that the average age of a Cabinet Minister or a University Professor or some other functionary who has climbed to the top of his particular pole is so many years younger than it was a century ago. There probably never has been a time when the seniors did not consider that the rising generation had far more license than was good for them, but it would seem to be undeniable that young men and young women are allowed to-day to think for themselves and to act as they please to an extent unheard of when Plancus was Consul or George IV. was king. And if so, it is surely more than a coincidence that a wide spirit of inquiry is abroad which will most certainly result in great changes in the near future.

For there are in the essence only two kinds of education ; the one aims at implanting ideas in the growing mind, which ideas will obviously be no advance upon those held by the teacher, and will lead to the non-progressive attitude ; the other is the one adopted by an infinitesimal number of teachers, but their paucity is counteracted by the fact that it is the method used by nature herself in the absence of human instructors, and that is to induce the growing intellect to formulate its own ideas. It is because they have been obliged to think for themselves and make their own theories, that persons of neglected education are so often self-assertive, self-reliant, and capable. In fact, from this point of view it is almost as great a misfortune to have been "well brought up," as it is later on in life to be happily married.

The attitude of one who has undergone the usual education is briefly expressed in the formula : "What was good enough for my father is good enough for me" ; while the untaught, or rather the self-taught, says : "Because that was good enough for my father, it most emphatically is not good enough for me, for I am a more developed product than my father." And because the adults are in a great majority in this world, and are in possession of almost all the money and all the power, such an expression of opinion will generally subject the utterer to a good deal of personal inconvenience at the hands of his seniors, who have not read the Book of Proverbs for nothing, and hold that a little timely chastisement "will soon knock that nonsense out of children." Which is unfortunately true.

If we believe in the development of the race, we cannot too strongly impress on the rising generation that if they do not outstrip

us in every way they will lamentably fail to justify their existence ; for this is the logical outcome of our creed. But mankind has always declined to be a slave to logic, and possesses an amazing faculty for accepting a theory and turning his back on its conclusions. Were it not that men, generally speaking, dislike new ideas as much as they do new boots, they must have seen that, if the Darwinian theory be correct, the human race has been in a state of progress from its origin until now ; that the tide of human thought, despite temporary stagnations, despite—possibly because of—the rhythmic backflow of each wave, has swept steadily on and will sweep on in *sæcula sæculorum*, evolving we know not what mighty beings in its course.

If the course of Progress has been so slow in the past, if races have deteriorated and been submerged by fresh races of greater vitality but less culture than themselves, it has been due, more than to any other one cause, to the fact that mankind has lost sight of this great fact of Progress, has been oblivious of any definite goal for humanity. Immersed in their own selfish aims, blinded by their own conceit, men have not realised that it is Nature's purpose that their sons should outstrip them, that in each generation the son's little finger should be thicker than the father's loins ; and since they have had neither the wisdom to see this great truth, nor the humility to proclaim it, is it wonderful that the course of this world has been so pitifully slow ? No four words could ever be truer than those of the Latin poet : *possunt quia posse videntur*—believe in your own capability and you at once become capable. Humanity, like the lever of Archimedes, could lift the world if once it learnt its own power.

But as yet the whole training of the young is based on wrong lines, being directed exclusively to the past, and even therein to matters which are ludicrously unimportant in the eyes of those who believe in the evolution of man ; so that a dozen children can tell you the position of Palk Straits, or the details of the battle of Bannockburn, or the exact length of a " Flemish ell," for one who knows whether a window should be opened at the top or the bottom. In fact all those studies which are of really vital importance in evolving the man of the future are with studious ineptitude thrust into the background under the plea of cultivating the intellectual faculties ; though, if that is the end of education, we might as well have kept to the Trivium and Quadrivium of the middle ages. Thus because health is almost a *sine qui non* for right thinking or right living, the young are left to pick up such crumbs of Hygiene as experience will yield them. Because Sociology is a necessary part of the equipment of all who make laws for the community, whether in the village club or in Parliament,

of all, indeed, who would understand the dealings of men, in other words of all save hermits, it is relegated as a study to a few learned persons who can spend ten pounds in the purchase of Mr. Herbert Spencer's works and ten years in their perusal. Of what passes in this country for Religious instruction it is hardly necessary to speak ; while as for Ethics, as they lie at the very basis of everyday life, they are naturally deemed an abstruse study, fitting food, perhaps, for that "fearful wildfowl" the Atheist, but no more adapted for the simple unlearned than the Differential Calculus.

Studies such as these are not merely beneficial in the knowledge they yield, but additionally in the fact that they do not lend themselves to dogmatic teaching, for in the multitude of schools and theories the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* element is very small, and it is only the merest rudiments that can be laid down as universally true. This necessarily leads to an inquiring frame of mind on the part of the student, which is the first step to knowledge. It is only because the sceptic, that is the inquirer, has become so much commoner within the last twenty years, because we probe and analyse and doubt everything and everybody, that the civilised world has made such strides of late. It is strange how successful the back-eyed man has been in persuading the world that doubt is essentially evil ; uncomfortable, indeed, it may be, and generally is, as are all the other first steps to knowledge ; but so far from being an evil it may safely be said that there is no real good which has not had its origin in doubt, as there is certainly no real faith. To do as you are bidden and to believe what you are told are canine virtues to which even the domestic cat rises superior ; the saving grace of humanity is to want to know why. (And yet such is the narrowness of men's vision that even the greatest sceptic is apt to be annoyed if you venture to doubt the truth of his conclusions.)

The real obstacle to Progress is, of course, the *vis inertiae* ; so many quite obvious reforms are nobody's business in particular and accordingly are shelved from year to year ; or should a Peter the Hermit arise and preach a crusade against some ancient absurdity which ought to have been stifled long ago, his neighbours will raise their eyebrows and shrug their shoulders with a pitying or contemptuous smile for one who can so waste his time over what is "no business of his," and will go their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise, and studiously shun "the crank" for the future. As if every reformer were not a crank, from Copernicus to Mr. Benjamin Waugh !

And here we have got to the root of the matter. The reason why men make such strides when they set to work to develop their own

characters or their own back-gardens is because they throw themselves heart and soul into the work. The reason why hardly any progress is made in public affairs is the amazing indifference with which the majority of men regard them. Fortified by an armoury of rusty proverbs and maxims, obvious truisms which the ordinary person is convinced are arguments, whereas they are, of course, nothing but *ex parte* statements which may or may not be applicable to the matter in hand, and can almost always be met by other proverbs of a directly opposite tendency, armed with these venerable missiles from the wayside, they will receive any suggestion they have never heard before with a sage wag of the head, and by way of a first discharge will heave at you the remark that it is advisable to look before you leap ; should you survive this, it will be followed by a trite comparison between the frying-pan and the fire, or the devil you know and the devil you don't know, while if they have enough Latin to bombard you with *festina lente*, and you still remain impenitent, they will give you up as one of those aggravating people who do not know when they are beaten. This habit of taking proverbs for arguments is very common among that large class whose gospel is Salvation by Sitting Still, which comfortable creed they do not, of course, publish in so many words, but disguised under the optimistic statement that "things have a tendency to right themselves," which is undoubtedly true of some things, those in stable equilibrium, for instance, but has little application to a bursting dam or a burning house or the social conditions of the present day. The reason the world does not move faster is that the bulk of people do not want it to do so, partly through laziness, partly through fear ; it is only with the growth of energy and courage that men will see how needless, how curable are half the evils from which the world is suffering.

But till the numbers of the party of progress are so great as to become a menace to the rest of the community, preachers may preach and writers may write, and the public will hear and read and go on their way unchanged. For, owing to a very general belief that education, like teething, is a painful, necessary process to be got over in early youth, most adult people are really inaccessible to new ideas, and merely stand like bunkers across life's course, to the exceeding irritation of those who would do their share in speeding humanity along its destined way. This, indeed, is the supreme test of youth ; so long as a man is open to new ideas he is young, even though his head be white, but those whose ideas are crystallised, whose creed is graven on tablets of stone beyond all possibility of change are old already, though still in their teens. The date of

a man's birth is an unimportant factor in determining his age ; ask rather whether he is deaf and blind to all that will not fit in with the tiny bit of the truth which he has mastered. For it is written : " Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

And yet it is questionable whether we are any of us open to entirely new points of view. Take your own attitude with regard to this paper of mine ; if you like it, is it not because it expresses your own ideas, and the more nearly it does so the warmer your approval ? If, on the other hand, you dislike it, while leaving you your own selection of adjectives, I would submit that your disapproval is based on the fact that it does not express your ideas ; so that, whether you like it or dislike it, you remain the same that you were before. Herein lies the futility of teaching : were it not that Mr. Bernard Shaw has shown us how dangerous it is to try and teach an Englishman by paradoxes, I should be tempted to say that you can never teach a man anything he does not know already ; meaning thereby that the most you can do is to open a door in a man's brain and show him what thoughts he has within, thoughts which he has never used because he did not know he had them, but which, when pointed out, he recognises as having been part of himself from the beginning.

But even this much is not often achieved. Far more often the intelligent portion of the audience may be divided into two classes : those who knew it all before, and those who do not know it, and most emphatically decline to be made to know it. If so, the only real hope of progress lies in the rising generation, and those of their seniors whose minds have not been pruned and lopped and trimmed and squared into conformity with orthodox pattern. And among the young, the girls will probably prove more effective than the boys. Of all generalisations, those about sex are probably the most often contradicted by facts, so that it is with some hesitation I state my belief that a woman, when convinced of the existence of an evil, is more urgent to seek a remedy than a man would be. Owing to their generally defective education it takes longer to make women see a point, but when once they have grasped it, they devote themselves to the practical side of the question with a whole-hearted enthusiasm which puts most men's efforts into the shade. So that a belief in progress almost necessarily implies a belief in woman's rights—for though that unhappy phrase has been giped and caricatured into oblivion, the movement is no more dead than are any of the other great forces which are slowly spreading over the land, such as education and the broadening

of religious thought. But the question of women is too important to be dragged in at the end of a paper on Progress ; the only point to be here noted is that woman has already come so much to the fore that without her co-operation progress is well-nigh impossible.

It is, of course, laying oneself open to an easy gibe to suggest that the future of the race lies in the hands of women and children ; but gibes are no better arguments than proverbs are, though all too often the two together form the whole fighting equipment of the platform warrior, and, indeed, if they are powerless to convince an opponent they are invaluable in diverting the attention of the audience from the real point at issue, and is not that the main object of half the speeches that are made ?

Of those who have read so far, probably nineteen out of twenty will deem all I have said either obvious or erroneous, for such is the usual adult attitude towards all they hear ; but it may be that the twentieth man will have realised a little more clearly the power he possesses in himself to co-operate with Nature in her great purpose, the evolution of the race. It is for this twentieth man that I have written. For h'm life is no longer a shop, or a playground, or a picture-gallery, but a mighty factory, wherein is being built up by millions of workers—slowly if they be unconscious, swiftly so soon as they have grasped the real end of life—that marvellous outcome of all our striving through all the ages, the Mind of Man.

C. B. WHEELER.

THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

WHEN the great controversy began, combatants on both sides seemed impressed with the belief that the battle would be fought out with statistics for ammunition. As a more intelligent appreciation of the questions at stake has been evolved, general principles have been assuming more importance than numerical returns. The vague congeries of incoherent thoughts which, towards the close of the last century, used to be dignified by the name of economic science, has been reconsidered in all its details, and, to quite a surprising extent, the old doctrines have been found replete with fallacies. One leading idea which used to dominate the economic speculations of twenty or thirty years ago had to do with the permanent importance assigned to the interests of "the consumer," and to this day many devotees of ancient formulas are still impressed with the belief that if we can import any given variety of goods from abroad, at a smaller expense than if we produced them at home, that arrangement must be beneficial to the country as a whole. The consumer was regarded as identical with the country, the producer with a narrow interest which all lofty minded philanthropists would readily disregard. From the first, the heretics who held out against the orthodox Free Trade faith maintained that the producer had a right to be considered, and if so considered would be ready, in his turn, to make sacrifices for the sake of other producers; but only since the search-lights of the present controversy have illuminated the situation more fully, have we been generally able to realise that the interest of the producer is the all-important matter to be considered, simply because there cannot be a consumer of any sort throughout the length and breadth of the land who is capable of playing that part, unless, in the first instance, he is a producer of something.

This fundamental truth has not, even yet, been perfectly realised. The working classes and the capitalists, the farmers and the manufacturers, have always been recognised as producers; but, in truth, the idlest ladies of fashion who spend their time and abundant resources in the pursuit of pleasure, the richly endowed owners of yachts and racing stables, are all producers indirectly, in so far as they derive their wealth from some sort of investments themselves devoted to production. None but the paupers in the workhouses

can be excluded from the producing class, and it is absolutely clear that any scheme of legislation which sacrifices the producer to the consumer is at best merely accomplishing a process equivalent to lengthening a piece of string by cutting off one end to tie on at the other.

The old-fashioned free trader used to think that this line of argument was met by the simple belief that the producer, defeated along the course of his usual operations, would put his energy into some more economic industry and devote himself to producing whatever variety of product was most favoured by the conditions of his country, but foreign protective tariffs come into play to defeat this simple operation. The old body of theories which used to constitute the so-called science of political economy depended upon their practical application throughout the world, and when enlightenment on this subject becomes more general, the long prevalence of the belief that one country by itself could maintain a system of Free Trade will be regarded in the retrospect as a manifestation of quite incomprehensible human folly. It can never be worth the while of any country to attempt on a large scale the production of some class of goods not wanted for its own consumption, unless such goods can find a free market abroad. It may not be theoretically most profitable to produce goods that the country is ill-qualified to deal with, but it is better to live on home-made clothes and furniture, for instance, than to spend one's energy in producing, let us say, theodolites, only to discover when an otherwise empty house is filled with these instruments that no one will give us the necessary clothes or furniture in exchange for them.

English people have long been so saturated with the belief that national prosperity is represented by commerce, that they have lost sight of the fundamental idea on which any prosperous commerce can repose. Commerce on a large scale might simply represent the gradual bleeding to death of a country rejoicing in it. Imports taking the shape of the necessities of life might, year after year, be consumed by the producers of the exports, and no margin might be left for profit. That would mean that when the capital resources of the country needed replenishment in order that the industrial production might be continued, there would be no accumulations of profit to provide for that restoration of plant and machinery. The most gigantic commerce might suddenly collapse like an empty eggshell; on the other hand, the nation which was producing the necessities of its own life might not be accumulating any great volume of surplus capital either, but would be engaged in a career that involved no prospect of a catastrophe. and since Free Trade,

whatever attempts may still be made to glorify that phrase, must now be recognised as a pronounced failure, the only direction in which Great Britain can pursue a hopeful economic policy is that which leads towards the policy of self-support.

In the sense usually associated with the phrase, "self-sufficiency" is an attribute which the individual should be careful not to encourage, but the self-sufficiency of a nation is its first condition of health and strength. Perhaps it may be impossible for a country no greater in area than Great Britain and no more favoured by climate, to become self-sufficient in the absolute sense of the term; it may only be possible where nations covering a whole continent are bound together, as in America, by a federation which makes them one; but even if the final counsels of perfection in this matter are not to be realised, the results so far of the fiscal controversy distinctly tend to show that in rendering ourselves as self-sufficient as circumstances will allow we shall best be providing for the welfare of future generations in these islands.

Among all the conclusions to which the controversy has led so far, the one which stands out perhaps more clearly than any other has to do with the profound insincerity of the clamour against taxing food. That clamour appealed in the most shameless way to the stupidity and ignorance of the masses. The grotesque pictorial advertisement by which the *Daily News* in the first instance endeavoured to make it seem that the Chamberlain policy would cut down the size of the quartern loaf to a quarter of its original dimensions, was gradually laughed out of existence, but in truth the whole scheme of the Free Food League is no less profoundly ridiculous. One shrinks from saying insincere, because so many people whose characters one would be loath to impugn have allowed themselves to join in that extraordinary manifestation; but everyone gifted with the most elementary intelligence must be well aware that the trifling corn tax embodied in the Chamberlain scheme (in order that it may be remitted in favour of the Colonies) would be absolutely ineffective in influencing the price of bread in any baker's shop. Only by assigning to the lower classes generally a volume of stupidity which it is hardly possible to suppose them capable of containing can it even be worth while from the point of view of the party politician to re-iterate the preposterous cry about taxing of food. As the thin end of the wedge, some of the more reasonable exponents of the Free Food policy object to the proposed tax, and for what it is worth they may be made a free present of the idea. It is to be hoped in the interests of the country that the 2s. duty on corn will prove merely the thin end of the wedge. In order that her prosperity may be

restored to England it is absolutely necessary to turn back the industrial tide so long flowing into the manufacturing towns on to the now deserted fields. The taxation by which this change would be rendered possible would involve no real additional burdens on the State. Supposing it were productive, then in some other direction a corresponding volume of taxation could be remitted, and the fiscal burden would be exactly what it was before, while the industrial health of the country would be enormously improved. So the impartial reader of speeches on all sides may fairly treat with contempt whatever reasoning rests on the parrot cry, "Your food will cost you more."

Historical delusions are gradually being cleared off the ground as completely as those which have been bequeathed to us by the political economists of the last century. Multitudes of people until recently have honestly been under the belief that the adoption of the Free Trade policy advocated by Cobden inaugurated an era of magnificent industrial prosperity. The tariff changes associated with his name had no more to do with the prosperity which was undeniably made manifest in the course of the following twenty or thirty years than with any eclipses or cometary phenomena which may have coincided with them in time. England, as a matter of fact, led the way in the application of machinery on a large scale to manufactures. The simple-minded enthusiasts of the Cobden school supposed that somehow it was provided for in the scheme of Providence that no other nations should ever understand the use of machinery. Wars abroad, as a matter of fact, retarded their progress for many years, and while these conditions prevailed England did a roaring trade in manufactures of all kinds, and the economists of the period pointed to the results as the consequences of the abolition of the corn laws. The system which has been called Free Trade in this country has never contributed in any appreciable degree to the great development of British manufacturing industries, and now that all nations are as well equipped as ourselves for the industrial competition, there is no reason why they should continue to favour us with their custom. If we are not to drift into bankruptcy as a state, we must manage affairs so that we can dispense with that custom, and that can only be done by turning the forces of production in the direction of meeting the demand of consumers at home.

Perhaps, it is hardly worth while for any public speakers endeavouring to educate the country to emphasise the idea, but nevertheless it is true that we shall not reach the benefits aimed at by the policy conveniently associated with Mr. Chamberlain's name, except across a period of considerable strain and difficulty. Reckless intemperance

with figures leads people to forget that the charge aimed at can only mean the cultivation of economic self-sufficiency. We are in future to work for one another in a greater degree than in the past, since foreign nations are not willing to enter into any great industrial federation which might enable us to work for one another on a still larger scale, but we cannot change our habits with regard to industrial life without going through a great deal of temporary inconvenience. Chamberlain himself has emphasised this, in reference to the cry of the old-fashioned economists, that labour must be turned into those channels in which it is most economically productive. In the course of a generation it may be possible to turn the stream of industry from one channel into another, that is to say, the new generation will forsake the unprofitable trades and apprentice themselves to those which promise better results, but the veteran workman cannot turn his hand from one trade to another. If that in which he is engaged becomes unprofitable he must bear with lower wages and shorter hours of work, together with all that those conditions mean. A large number of the working people of this country will have to suffer, as the re-arrangement of industrial energies is gradually accomplished. Sooner or later that suffering will give rise to foolish and illogical outcries against the working of the Chamberlain policy, but up to the present it has not been found worth while to emphasise the idea in party warfare. Indeed, when we talk of temporary suffering to be endured in order to reach an ultimately desirable goal, we are admitting the necessity of the whole operation and such admissions would not suit the interests of those who are now endeavouring to make political capital out of the prejudices it is so easy to excite with the help of catching phrases that have long been regarded as the axioms of economic science.

It is worth while to keep before the mind the abstract signification of what may be called a genuine Free Trade operation, as compared with one which has to do with the conditions of national self-sufficiency. The idea is best illustrated by conceiving a case of elementary simplicity. Suppose a tailor to have made a coat and to be desirous of obtaining a bag of flour. If he gets that bag of flour from an American, he is just as well off as if he gets it from an English farmer; but in the first case, the aggregate wealth of Great Britain has not been augmented by the transaction, in the second place it has been. If the coat remains with the British farmer the country on the whole is better off to that extent than if it goes abroad. It is less well off by the extent to which the American bag of flour would have been bigger than that which the British farmer can produce, bigger, say by 10 per cent. And that 10 per cent. is glorified by the Free Trade argument, or rather, by the argument in favour of free

markets, as representing a superiority to the extent of 10 per cent. in favour of the first transaction. The fact that the second transaction is superior to the first by 90 per cent., in regard to the extent to which it augments the wealth of the country as a whole, is systematically overlooked.

All these conclusions have to do with general principles evolved by the recent discussion from the original chaos of economic speculations ; but in their bearing on the proposals actually before the country, they relate merely to the domestic interests of Great Britain. No greater mistake could be made than to deal with the Chamberlain policy from that view alone. Its great purpose has been to consolidate the Empire. Its aspect as a protective system is an indirect consequence of the necessity for giving effect to the great idea of imperial federation. As a mere sentimental fancy that idea has been applauded for many years past by leading politicians of all parties. Only those who are practically in earnest saw from the first that imperial federation was only possible on the basis of fiscal reciprocity, and that no system of reciprocity could be established until Great Britain had set itself up with a tariff designed upon modern principles and in accordance with the example set by every other civilised power in the world.

That is among the broad conclusions connected with the new political economy which the great controversy has firmly established. For the rest, the adjustment of preferential rates with the various outlying provinces of the Empire will be a matter for later consideration. When we come to details, a multitude of interesting problems will arise, and among the most interesting will be those relating to India. In that case we have to deal not with the politics of an independent community, but with our own sense of right as regards the innumerable millions of Hindustan. It is obvious, however, that we have one gift which may easily be bestowed upon India in compensation, if necessary, for the denial to her people of a protective tariff as against our own manufactures, and which, for various reasons, they would be disposed to welcome. A reduction in the tea duty having a preferential effect as regards India, would afford a great stimulus to the prosperity of one important Indian export and could easily be provided for by the proceeds of the proposed corn duty. It would, moreover, help to vindicate Mr. Chamberlain's promise that the corn duty should not involve any aggregate increase in the taxes on food. The close examination of Indian trade with the help of statistics will in other ways contribute to prove that, instead of being an embarrassment in the way of realising the Chamberlain policy, the needs and aspirations of India will be distinctly served under the new economic régime.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS.

BY A CAPE TOWN RESIDENT.

It has been said more than once of Russia, that what she loses in war she gains by diplomacy. This dictum applies with equal appropriateness to the Afrikaner party in South Africa. Most people here are awakening to the unpleasant conviction that the net result of a war costing £250,000,000 of money and oceans of blood has been to place that party whose ideals are certainly not those of permanent British supremacy, in a more hopeful position than ever. By this I do not, of course, mean that the actual hauling down of the Union Jack in the British Colonies is a matter of practical politics, as it undoubtedly was during the fateful years immediately preceding the great struggle. The war has cleared out of the way the financial and military *point d'appui* for the establishment of a United States of South Africa by force of arms, and no Afrikaner thinks of rebellion, nor will do so, save in the remote event of England being engaged in such a death struggle with some other Power as would paralyse her resources utterly and entirely.

But, by a different road, and by reliance on different weapons, the Afrikaner Party is nearer the realisation of its ideal than before. That ideal, as conceived by Hofmeyr, the shrewd and cultured ex-journalist who is the brain of the party, albeit not for many years even a Member of the Cape Parliament, differs in important details from that conceived by the forceful old autocrat of Pretoria, the sands of whose eventful life are now running out in exile from the veldt he loved so well. Kruger was the embodiment of the class of Afrikaner too earnest to care for Afrikanerism unless it realised the forms as well as the substance of an independent South Africa, and too impatient to endure any slower method of destroying the edifice of British supremacy than that of direct assault. Hofmeyr, on the other hand, cares nought about names or flags. So long as he gets an absolutely independent South Africa, without the slightest obligations, moral or otherwise, to any other country, other than it may voluntarily from time to time assume, he cares not whether the country be called "Colony" or "Republic." For all he cares, the

Union Jack may float over the Castle at Cape Town till the crack of doom, so long as it is merely a piece of bunting implying nothing more than that a foreign country called Great Britain has been engaged, for a stated remuneration, to do the work of guarding the coasts of South Africa. And he has not the slightest objection to singing occasionally a certain doggrel piece of poetry called "God Save the King" in honour to a certain estimable gentleman in London, so long as the ministers of that estimable gentleman have no more to say about the affairs of South Africa than they have about those of Michigan or Texas. Further, unlike Kruger, he is absolutely devoid of personal ambition, and, so long as he goes to the grave with the comforting conviction that he has picked out a fair number of stones from the edifice of effective British supremacy, he is perfectly reconciled to some one else witnessing the downfall of the structure. Finally, he has a supreme contempt for the crude method of breaking down that edifice by a cannonade. His method is to loosen a stone here, saw through a beam there, and trust to the wind and weather to do the rest. I do not believe that he ever even sympathised with the Boer side in the war, simply because he regarded that war as an exceedingly bad piece of business for Afrikanderdom. But, freed from the disturbing element of the too energetic Mr. Kruger, he is now well content to go on in his own slower but more certain ways. And his ways are those now dominant in Afrikanderdom.

But he has gained through the war; gained a more certain position than ever. Why is this? Simply because, under the Hofmeyrian conditions of constitutional Fabianism in political warfare, the only effectual resistance can be made by the loyal garrison on the spot, the British and Dutch descended colonists, whose ideal is a united South Africa, as an essential part of a formally or morally federated British Empire. And, paradoxical as it may seem, that garrison, before the war earnest, active, and prepared to do yeoman's service, is now demoralised, discontented, and uncertain whether the game of holding the fort is worth the candle. It is a truthful representation of the present state of "loyal" opinion in South Africa to say that the dominant notes are a feeling of disappointment at the results of the war, a bitter consciousness that personal sacrifices have been thrown away, and a sullen resolution to be passively carried along by the tide, even if that tide should break from its moorings their cherished attachment to the British Empire. Be it clearly understood, there is no abatement in loyalty on the part of the loyal population. They desire as little as ever they did to see the connection with the Empire weakened, but they realise the hopelessness

of standing by the side of a mother land which gives away the fruits of victory that they had helped to win, at enormous self-sacrifice, and they say that they cannot face similar sacrifices again. It is this feeling which makes the situation so grave from the Imperialist point of view. It is not that the forces of disruption are more powerful, but that the forces of resistance are weaker. Great Britain has largely lost her local garrison, and she cannot, in the nature of things, hold her position without it. Modern constitutionalism would never sanction any Imperial Ministry acting in South African affairs in advance of the British people on the spot.

This demoralisation of the "loyal" British and Dutch is due to several causes, operating in various degrees in different Colonies. Perhaps the most important at present, certainly in the Cape Colony, is a rooted distrust of that Progressive Party to which, as the Cape has retained, wisely or unwisely, its constitutional system, the maintenance of the Imperial position is confided. And, although the Transvaal has not yet obtained self-government, its political party aspirations very largely take their colour from those of the Cape, so closely associated are the actors in the southern colony with the two bands of spectators in the northern one.

It must be understood that we have in the Cape at present two sharply defined political parties with, so far as practical politics are concerned, no intermediate group. Men there are who call themselves Independents, but they are either disguised members of one party or the other, or they have no possible chance of other than mere academic success. The only man with any claim to stand between the two parties, who has presented himself at the Upper House elections just closed, Mr. Maasdorp, has been ignominiously defeated. And the same fate will, I think, befall every one of the Independent candidates spoken of for the Assembly elections, even including Mr. Schreiner, the Premier during the early part of the war, who is standing for a typical Dutch constituency, despite his undoubted claims as a distinguished son of the soil to the consideration of his fellow countrymen. These parties are, much as all of us may regret it, essentially racial, and, all imported side issues notwithstanding, one stands for the Imperial ideal and the other for one frankly antagonistic to anything more of an Imperial connection than that which I sketched out as Mr. Hofmeyr's policy, a reduction of the Imperial connection to something less than that of Canada, minus Canada's sentimental attachment to the Empire, and plus a scarcely concealed hostility on the part of the larger section of the population. I alluded just now to "imported side issues." The

Progressives have taken up, quite naturally for men mostly of British blood, a large leaven of what would have been called "Liberalism" in Great Britain a quarter of a century ago. They embody as prominent features on their programme equal rights for all civilised men, comparative free trade, notably in necessities of life, and a redistribution of seats so as to bring the representation of constituencies at least approximately into correspondence with the number of electors. The Bond is an organisation almost entirely confined to Dutch speaking farmers; and English people must note that a farmer here is not a tenant, but a large landowner, with very much of the landed oligarchical ideas of an English country gentleman of a century ago. It has lately gathered round it a certain number of other and widely differing interests, and the whole party has been expanded into the South African Party. This includes, besides the Bond farmers, a certain number of democratic doctrinaires of the scholarly type of John Morley, the great majority of the Kafir voters, led by an extremely able Fingo journalist, Mr. Tenge-Jabavu, and the extreme Trades Union "Labour" people of the large towns. And quite recently it has been making efforts, largely successful, to attract to its ranks a class hitherto more British than the Britisher, the coloured people. *En passant*, I must point out that the term "coloured" does not, in Colonial parlance, extend to the Kafirs or similar black races, but is applied to the men of mixed blood (originally from the Dutch and Hottentot stocks) who constitute the main working population of the Western Province. The Kafir has nothing in common with these people.

It goes without saying that these sections are heterogeneous. No interests can be more antagonistic on fiscal matters than those of the producing landed proprietor and the consuming town workman, unless it be those of the Dutch farmer, who wants his labour as cheaply as possible, and those of the coloured man and native, who wants wages pushed as high as they can go. But a common bitter antagonism to De Beers and all its works, and a feeling toward the Empire which ranges from a churlish indifference to a bitter hostility, but never reaches attachment, suffice to unite them for the present, especially as their attitude is almost entirely one of pure negation as regards the items of the Progressive programme, and studiously avoids anything in the shape of definite pledges which are within measurable distance of possible fulfilment. So far as the South African Party is definite, the Bond kernel dictates the tune. The Labour portion of the rind had submitted to dropping cheap food and fair representation, which one would have thought tolerably essential items in a

democratic programme, in return for an Act drastically limiting the expenses of elections (an Act badly wanted), and a promise of a fixed salary of £300 a year for members of Parliament, instead of a much more modest per diem allowance. And neither of these points involved any sacrifice on the part of the Bond, for the Dutch farmer is always able to conduct his election campaign with a minimum expenditure, and he has never been above assessing his legislative services at a tangible monetary value. The reason for the unlooked for passing over to the South African Party of the Kafirs is more deeply seated than antagonism to De Beers, which is undoubtedly the main influence with the Labour people. Considering that the bedrock of offence between the British and Dutch in South Africa has always been, from the original British occupation downwards, the negrophilism of the former and the negrophobism of the latter, many people have found it very difficult to understand that the native should abandon what is really the British side, and go over to a party the dominant portion of which holds the tradition that the black man was created to be the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white. To me, and I happen to know the Kafir particularly well, an explanation presents itself which does not involve either the accusation of gross ingratitude against Mr. Tengo-Jabavu and his compatriots or the still graver accusation of venality, which has been made. Mr. Tengo-Jabavu knows exactly what he is doing. He is not hostile to England, neither does he believe in the Afrikaner. The fact is that although he knows and recognises that there are individual men on both the Progressive and South African Party sides to whom his people owe much, he trusts neither party as a whole, and he believes that, were either party in power with a big, assured majority, the franchises of his people would suffer in more or less degree. He knows that, without the aid of his people and those of the other subsidiary sections, the Bond proper would be in a distinct minority, but that, with their aid, the South African Party will be, whether in a majority or a minority, so evenly balanced with their opponents, that neither party can take any decided action. If such a thing were to happen as the Bond becoming really dominant, I think that his influence would promptly be tipped over the other way. Further, he knows by sad experience that the British Government has an unfortunate knack of treating its enemies better than its friends, and he therefore knows that he has little to expect from that quarter in return for loyal service, but much to calculate on if he renders himself obnoxious. The Dutchman, however, he knows to have a remarkably good memory for anyone who has ever done him an

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injury, and not a bad one for those who have served him. Again, he knows perfectly well that, even should he incur the resentment of the British Party, that party will never, by reason of its home connections, be led into treating him really badly. An Afrikaner Party, successful in reaching a position absolutely independent of British opinion, might whip him with scorpions if it had any old scores chalked up. And, finally, he dreads South African Federation, knowing perfectly well that in a Federation the Cape would be the only State disposed to a liberal native policy, and that all the rest, being very much the other way, would carry the day to his detriment. And he knows that the South African Party, whatever it may say in public, dreads Federation as much as he does. Therefore he backs it up, old traditions notwithstanding. And in all his contentions, I cannot but say that, in acting according to his lights, and doing the best for his own people, he is right, albeit the cynicism of the attitude makes one uncomfortable.

The transfer of the coloured people, only a partial transfer as yet, to the South African Party is due, I believe, paradoxical though it may seem, to the very misdeeds against themselves of the people with whom that party sympathised during the war. The coloured people were whole-heartedly with the Empire during the war. They suffered, I have no hesitation in saying, infinitely more than any section of the population. Albeit refused, for the most part, for military service through a short-sighted concession to Afrikaner prejudice, they were used to a very large extent as scouts and camp followers, work that they did splendidly, and in the doing of which they were murdered, flogged, and otherwise maltreated by the hundreds. For all this suffering they have been but very poorly compensated, and of all the cases of brutal outrage upon coloured men who were only doing their duty, by Boer commandants, I only know of one that has been punished. The coloured man, like many besides, has come to the conclusion that if the Englishman cannot protect the people who stand by him, he had better make terms with the other man. And Lord Milner's weak-kneed concession to the elective element in the Transvaal Legislature in shunting out the coloured man from the municipal franchise has very greatly determined the secession of this element from the British side.

Thus far, then, for the main composition of the two parties. Now we come to the conviction that the party which upholds the standard of loyalty is badly led, wretchedly organised, torn by sectional divisions, grievously deficient in intellectual and oratorical power, and as hopelessly regardless of tactical science as any British general

in the initial stages of a campaign. And it has the national fault of the Britisher in underrating its opponents. Further, there is no getting away from the fact, the leading personalities of the Progressive Party command very much less respect than those in corresponding positions on the other side. The successful financier may be a perfectly honest man, but the man in the street seldom gives him credit for it. And practically all the really influential men on the Progressive side are successful financiers, whatever other professions they may have carried on at one time or another. This is unfortunate. The prejudice of the "have-nots" against the "haves" has been a powerful lever ever since mankind began to play politics, and it is particularly powerful in South Africa, which, despite your English superstition to the contrary, is, outside financial circles, a singularly poor and hand-to-mouth country. The South African Party has, with a persistence rewarded with much success, continuously identified the Progressive Party with capitalism, and ignored its representation of the loyal cult. Of course, this is largely nonsense, in face of the fact that Bondsmen are just as fond of getting hold of directorships and snug parcels of shares as anyone else. The Meat Combine—an institution whose monopoly goes straight to the welfare of the working man, which De Beers does not, for working men get along very well without diamonds—is controlled by Bondsmen and semi-Bondsmen. The Mail monopoly is strongly in sympathy with the South African Party, and is shrewdly suspected of extending to it something more than sympathy. And the second largest holder of De Beers shares is a Bondsman, while Mr. Philpson Stow, whose money keeps alive the *South African News*, is a former life governor of De Beers itself. And, further, it is evident to the thinking politician who reads the Progressive programme and listens to Progressive speeches, that that party is essentially democratic in principle, whilst any reflecting observer can easily see that De Beers has practically no irons which it needs to keep hot in Parliament, whilst the Meat and Mail Companies depend for their very existence on Governmental and Parliamentary countenance. But the average South African voter neither reads, attends meetings, nor reflects. Only object lessons appeal to him. And when he sees that five directors of De Beers are Members of one party in a House of ninety-six, that one of them would be Premier and two others ministers in a Progressive Cabinet, and that at least another twenty, or more than half of the party, are directly or indirectly connected with the mining industry, that object lessons sticks, and gives colour to everything, however wild, that the South African Party spokesmen may say. The obvious tactics of the Progressive

Party would have been to spare no effort to disassociate the party in the eyes of the people from capitalism. A self-denying ordinance forbidding all their prominent capitalists to enter Parliament, however desirable they might be, would have been a most effective move. Instead of this, they have committed the error of flooding Parliament with men who are not only capitalists but known to be such, thereby furnishing abundant texts for opponents. Further; they have so worked matters as to make it clear that the parliamentary aspirant owed his position to his being a financial magnate. They have not attempted to even present a decent appearance of political graduation. Dr. Jameson had never touched Cape politics before he was put in as member for Kimberley. He was elected leader of the party after a short period of service, during which he had been an absolutely silent member. Sir Lewis Michell passed direct from the rigidly non-political position of a bank manager to that of chairman of De Beers, and, as if the representation of an important constituency was an *ex officio* appendage of that chair, he is straightway elected Member for Cape Town. Mr. Abe Bailey dropped with an equally meteor-like flight into the House of Assembly, and many less striking examples might be shown. And the worst of all tactical errors was the selection of Dr. Jameson as leader. I say this with all respect to him. He is a most estimable gentleman, and has every qualification for keeping individual members running amicably together, but he is an absolute tyro in politics, ignorant of the forms of the House, and no debater, although he can speak fairly on a set subject which he has well got up beforehand. And, despite the duty of forgetting and forgiving, he is the hero of the Raid, a mistake to say the least, and stands as specially representative of the great Corporation of which Mr. Rhodes was the head. Surely such an appointment flew needlessly in the face of expediency. Nothing is more certain than that the identification of the Progressive Party with the financial interest is doing harm, more, perhaps by making weak-kneed Progressives cry, "A plague on both your houses," and keep away from the poll, than in any other way. This, I believe, is the main influence at work in bringing about the result at the Legislative Council elections, a return of twelve Progressives to eleven of the South African Party, as against thirteen to ten at the election of 1898, and in a still more marked falling off in the number of votes given. What the Assembly elections may bring forth one cannot say, but that a really workable majority will be obtained, despite the large number of rebels temporarily off the roll, I do not expect.

Cape Town, November 24.

DR. WALLACE'S VIEW OF CREATION.

As a general rule, the progress of knowledge concerning the universe has tended to render advanced representatives of mankind modest rather than arrogant in estimating their own place in creation. The comprehension of the earth as simply one of many planets revolving round the sun, when in due course, it superseded the earlier conception of an illimitable plain illuminated by lamps of varying magnificence hung in the heavens above, gave the first shock to human vanity in the Middle Ages. The mediæval church felt it seriously, and powerful theological arguments, the faggot and the rack amongst them, were directed to disprove the idea that a world governed by the successors of St. Peter could do otherwise than engage the whole attention of its Creator. But as other planets of the solar family came within closer observation, the suspicion that they also might carry through space their respective burdens of souls to be saved, forced itself on the attention of less prejudiced observers, and then the true character of the stellar universe threw the whole scheme of planetary life to which we belong into appalling insignificance. When distant suns, by the million, were recognised in their true character, the reasonable probability that they also were surrounded with life-bearing planets became too obvious to be overlooked. So by degrees the conception of worlds in infinite abundance scattered through space, assumed definite shape in the scientific mind, and was practically diffused through the intelligent world. Proof positive of such a condition of things was necessarily wanting. Certainties concerning distant stars are necessarily few in number, though they now include information which only a few generations ago no one would have conceived susceptible of transmission across interstellar spaces. On the other hand, indeed, more exact knowledge concerning the outer planets of our own family have led to a tolerably sure conviction that some of these, at all events, are not at present in a condition to bear any organised life even remotely resembling our own. That discovery merely emphasises the idea suggested by the geological history of the earth. However clearly destined to be

the scene of intelligent life at some period of its career, every planet must go through phases of preparation, during which if consciousness in any form is associated with it, this must inhabit vehicles of consciousness utterly indifferent to those of the physical plane. So, therefore, the mere fact that the planet Jupiter is but just emerging from the incandescent state and probably surrounded by an atmosphere in which all bodies known to us as liquids and volatile solids would be in the gaseous state, does not tend even to disprove the probability that at a later date Jupiter may be inhabited by an intelligent race perhaps destined to evolve on a plan commensurate with the magnitude of the world it will inhabit.

So, for some people probably, the problems connected with the other worlds of the universe have lain in the nebulous region of future conjecture, no one attempting to form any definite conception of facts beyond reach of precise observation for the moment, but not without hope that at some later date advanced resources of observation might enable mankind even to gain touch with some of the other human families which are probably contemporary with ourselves. We indulge, of course, in mere guess-work in hoping that such possibilities may be developed as time goes on, but for people living in the earlier part of the last century it would have seemed equally extravagant to expect actual knowledge concerning the physical constitution of distant stars.

But suddenly, into the midst of opinions taking generally a hopeful turn, a highly respected veteran of science has hurled an extraordinary volume professing to point out considerations which rob the whole universe at one blow of all the worlds with which it had been peopled in our fancy, and maintaining the extraordinary position that we alone,—the humanity of this earth,—are the only race of intelligent organised beings in creation, the only race not only as regards the solar system, but as regards the whole starry universe to the utmost limits of the Milky Way! If it had been possible to regard the whole of Dr. Alfred Wallace's contention embodied in his book entitled "Man's Place in the Universe" as a huge joke—a hoax played upon the imperfectly trained minds of the community at large—one could at least understand its purpose, but at Dr. Wallace's time of life it is difficult to suppose that he would take the trouble to write a bulky volume of many hundred pages merely to work off a hoax of that description. We must look upon the scheme he has devised as an aberration of genius, the destiny of which one cannot but hope, in consideration of the author's many claims upon public respect, may be oblivion at the earliest possible date.

Meanwhile the subject he deals with is one of perennial interest, and the arguments he puts forward, interesting so far as they suggest to the reader conclusions diametrically the reverse of those which Dr. Wallace reaches. What is the main framework of his argument? First of all he claims for the solar system a central place in the visible universe, but by no hypothesis can this central place be defined with minute accuracy. He assumes the diameter of the visible universe, reckoning the Milky Way as its external circumference, at something like 3,600 light-years. "Light-years," as all students of elementary astronomy will be aware, is a measure of distance adopted to save the inconvenience of counting stellar distances in miles. A mile is no more appropriate as a measurement in dealing with such distances, than an inch would be in calculating the length of a voyage to Australia round the Cape, so the light-year is the distance over which light will travel in a year, moving at its appointed rate of 186,000 miles per second. Well, then, though Sirius, for example, is about eight light-years from the sun, what difference will such a trifle make as compared with the diameter of the Milky Way? It would be just as reasonable to assign the central place to Sirius or even to Arcturus, as to claim it for our own solar system. When Dr. Wallace's ideas were first thrown forward in the shape of articles in one of the monthly reviews, critics objected that the central place could not be continuously occupied by our sun, even though that were its position at the present moment; because, travelling through space at the rate it does, it would certainly, within the period of its existence, even measuring that merely by the known period of the earth's geological history, have carried it right across the whole area of space assigned to the visible universe. Dr. Wallace thinks this objection sufficiently met by representing that its movement may not be continuously in a straight line, but round some centre which, however distantly removed in miles, may nevertheless retain it within the approximately central region where he desires to establish it permanently, but at all events, even granting the fullest value to this argument, it does not touch the objection that obviously arises in connection with the claim to as good a central position as our own for the stars just named, or even for those which constitute the four corners of Orion.

Then the value of a central position will not seem to most people so great as it seems to Dr. Wallace. The idea is that only in this central region of the visible universe can the life of a star be sufficiently stable and exempt from accidental collisions to persist long enough for the development around it of such slow processes as those

involved in the evolution of mankind on this earth. Jumbled together in what he conceives the crowded region of the Milky Way, Dr. Wallace supposes that suns are too continually in collision to favour the idea of their practical employment in the generation of life. One can hardly treat such an argument seriously, resting, as it does, upon such minute specks of knowledge concerning the conditions prevailing in the Milky Way, which are all that we have as yet to go upon. For the rest, returning to our own system, Dr. Wallace's argument is to the effect that this earth alone occupies what he calls the temperate zone of the solar system, and is, therefore, alone qualified to nourish organisms depending on the delicate combinations of carbon and hydrogen, playing so large a part in the composition of the human body. Of course the obvious reply is one familiar to astronomical thinking for many years—that atmospheric conditions so seriously modify the effect of the solar rays on any given mass within their range, that without waiting for further knowledge than chemists already possess, it would be possible for us to prescribe an atmosphere that would render Venus or Mercury cool enough even for our habitation, or which, in the other direction, would provide Mars with an envelope capable of making such good use of the feebler rays reaching that orbit, as would enable them to warm up the surface sufficiently for the most exacting invalid.

With reference to Mars, indeed, we have not merely to rely on the abstract possibilities of the situation, but if we please we may follow the American astronomer Lowell, in his conclusions respecting the evidence that Mars is actually inhabited by intelligent beings who carry on engineering works on a scale which throws our own modest achievements in that line into the shade. The Martian canals, it is true, are still subject to contradictory interpretations. Astronomers who will accept no conclusions until they are fortified by the approval of orthodox authorities, are inclined to slight Lowell's interesting observations. But at all events these go far enough to make us all feel reasonably certain that whether the canals are natural or artificial channels, the meteorological conditions of Mars are, at all events, quite compatible with the growth and development of animal life not remotely dissimilar from our own. The temperature on the surface of Mars is wavering at the poles about the freezing point, and must be compatible, in the equatorial regions, with periodic changes which are most plausibly explained by assuming them to be due to the annual development and decline of crops and foliage. Indeed, so easy is it for us to understand the possibility of life on the orderly, well-regulated surface of Mars, that we might, without serious

difficulty, construct an imaginary argument from that point of view that would justify a Martian Wallace in regarding the physical conditions of the earth as grotesquely incompatible with anything like human life.

Assuming for a moment, to make the reasoning more precise, that Lowell's conception of Martian meteorology is well founded, the Martian Wallace would be above all things impressed with the supreme necessity of a tranquil atmosphere, as alone compatible with the regularity of irrigation required to provide for the fertility of spring and the fecundity of harvest. He would argue, to begin with, that a planet to be habitable must consist, in a pre-eminent degree, of land surfaces adapted to habitation. "From what we have made out of the earth," he would say, "it is obvious that more than two-thirds of that incomprehensibly useless planet is flooded with water and perfectly unfitted to maintain life. Nor in regard to the surviving remnant of possibly habitable land is it conceivable that human life could exist in the presence of the natural conditions which must prevail there. The heavy atmosphere with which the unhappy planet is girded, and which alone, of course, prevents it from being scorched from its proximity to the sun, must render it difficult to keep up any permanent division between the heavens above and the flood beneath. Huge volumes of water are continually ascending under the influence of solar heat to the upper regions of this stormy envelope, driven hither and thither by the wild commotions we can observe as actually in progress. They must discharge their clumsy contents in uncontrollable masses of water calculated to drown any beings on the remnants of land, and utterly to destroy the regularity of seasonal vegetation, nor even if these celestial cascades were absent, would it be possible for the governing powers of an earthly humanity to design an irrigation system which would safely conduct to habitable regions a flow of moisture from the poles. The land surfaces are broken up into irregular fragments probably representing the chaotic consequences of some huge cataclysm in the past. Conceivably, the earth may once have been the seat of intelligent life, although this alone is to strain hypothesis almost too far. To suppose it inhabited in its present condition is to set at defiance all we know concerning the necessary conditions of human existence."

Dr. Wallace's argument is not one whit less presumptuous than that of our imaginary Martian critic, and it is all the more bewildering to find it coming from a man holding his convictions in other directions, because a confirmed Spiritualist should surely be amongst the last to argue that intelligence is only compatible with incarnation in physical

flesh. With varying degrees of confidence, students of nature belonging to the many schools in which her ultra-physical regions are regarded as legitimate fields of research, are satisfied that consciousness even belonging to orders higher than that which ordinary incarnate humanity represents, may be embodied in matter which our physical senses cannot at present cognise. In truth, all speculations concerning the condition of other planets in space, turn, for advanced thinkers—not on the question whether it is conceivable that intelligent beings may somehow be enabled to exist there, but on simply the question whether such planets are or are not closely similar to this with which we are ourselves concerned. It will be very interesting, for example, to know, as, some day, the later races of this earth may know, whether the inhabitants of Venus are making use of organisms bearing any likeness to those of the earthly family. To say such questions can never be answered is to misunderstand the lessons of all knowledge that has been gained in the past. We need not go far back in history to reach a period at which the idea of actually determining the chemical constitution of distant bodies in the heavens would have seemed no less extravagant than to some of us still it may seem extravagant to hope for intelligible news from brother races in other parts of the system. But in any case, even if we should find that our humanity has a monopoly of the hydrocarbon compounds, it is quite possible that sooner or later we shall develop faculties which will enable us to cognise the existence of other races whatever orders of matter they may make use of in evolving their vehicles of consciousness.

PASSING EVENTS.

THE current trouble in connection with Tibet has hardly excited as much attention as it really deserves. Criticised from the point of view of those who merely see in Colonel Younghusband's expedition an attempt to force our trade upon an unwilling people, the main idea involved is altogether missed. No doubt there are, amongst Anglo-Indian politicians, some who are animated by the simple desire to push our influence in all directions, paying no respect whatever to the disinclination of some Eastern communities to tolerate the influx of European civilisation. Such enthusiasts are eager to open up Tibet, merely because the Tibetans want to keep off intruders. But those who represent this feeling have never carried the Government of India with them, and now that serious operations have been undertaken with the view of forcibly establishing more intimate relations with Lhasa than those we have hitherto enjoyed, it is obvious that more lies behind the new policy than can be explained by a mere desire to break down frontier barriers. It is unlikely that we should have been involved in the present undertaking if it had not been for the determined efforts that Russia has been making for some years past to establish herself as the predominant influence at the mysterious Court of the Dalai Lama. The ostensible motives of our present operations are to be found in the neglect by the Tibetan authorities of the obligations undertaken in 1890 in connection with the trade of the Sikkim frontier. These obligations have never been fulfilled, but the trade of the Sikkim frontier would certainly not have been worth even a little war, had it not been for diplomatic entanglements of a far more serious nature. We might have been more than content to let the Tibetans completely alone if they had been as successful in warding off intervention from the North as they hitherto have been in keeping our own people at arm's length ; but within the last few years there has been a *rapprochement* between St. Petersburg and Lhasa, the significance of which cannot be disregarded. In 1899 a Russian agent, none the less a Russian agent because he was a Mongolian by birth, was received at Lhasa by the Dalai Lama and the following year a Tibetan mission actually visited

the Czar at Livadia. In 1901 a second Tibetan mission was welcomed by the Czar at Peterhoff, and politely escorted home by a Russian military detachment. It is not necessary to be saturated with an unreasonable dread of Russian aggression in order to feel that the Government of India cannot remain indifferent to events of this kind which might easily lead to the complete subjection of a country absolutely continuous with our own frontier, to the control of a Russian garrison.

Colonel Younghusband's mission, hitherto attempting by gentle means to secure courteous recognition by the authorities of Lhasa, has been discourteously ignored, or, what is worse, dealt with by inferior officials. Now it will advance into Tibet under a military guard adequate in all probability to protect its advance even to the capital if necessary, and the idea no doubt is to show the Tibetan Government that in hitherto accepting their disinclination to make friends, we were certainly not guided by any conscious inability to have our own way if we liked. For an indefinite future, Lhasa could have maintained its isolation, if that isolation had been honestly maintained, but we cannot submit to a system of isolation which applies merely to ourselves.

Khamba Jong, where Colonel Younghusband's mission has been preparing for its forward movement, is a village about eighty-five miles north of Darjeeling, high up amongst the mountains and close to a lake, the level of which is said to be 13,800ft. above the sea. The country beyond is a mass of high mountains and deep narrow valleys, but the general level of Tibet is itself so high that this does not mean a descent on the other side to any corresponding degree. In seven or eight marches, a well-equipped force could get from Khamba Jong to Shigatse, a place of importance only second to that of Lhasa. Lhasa itself is about 130 miles east of Shigatse and the intervening country would not present any difficulties to a marching force.

THE verdict in the recent action brought by Dr. Bayliss against Mr. Stephen Coleridge was received by most of the newspapers with a chorus of approval. But where no pecuniary injury is incurred by a person libelled, it is not usual to impose heavy damages, and where there is no suspicion of a bad motive and the only suffering on the part of the plaintiff is due to a feeling that his conduct has been misunderstood, it is surprising to find a jury disposed to award damages of great magnitude. It is difficult to understand why the Judge did not impress these principles on the jury; or, assuming that

the jury was composed of men capable of independent thought, it is difficult to understand how they can have failed to apply these principles to the case in hand, no matter what view they imagined the Judge to take. But they decided to fine Mr. Coleridge £2,000 because, believing the testimony of two witnesses who said they saw a dog in process of vivisection show manifest signs of being in pain, he publicly protested against the cruelty of the operator. The operator says the dog was under the influence of an anæsthetic, and was not suffering pain. It is impossible to believe both him and Mlle. af Hageby. One must choose between the witness conceivably biassed by abhorrence of vivisection on principle, and the witness who certainly had a strong personal motive for denying that he had broken the law.

Physiologists, like the plaintiff addicted to vivisection, gathered round him to support the theory that such experiments as that under consideration were necessary for the instruction of students, and were carried out under conditions which precluded suffering on the part of the animals concerned; but, except for the latitude thus granted to the physiologist, the proceedings at the trial were kept narrowly within the limits of the simple question whether in the particular case in point the dog had or had not been anæsthetised. The Judge declined to allow his Court "to be turned into a St. James's Hall meeting," for the discussion of vivisection at large. Perhaps a very different result would have been reached had this been done. It is impossible to consider the merits of any one case of vivisection by itself; where direct evidence conflicts, one has to investigate probabilities by the light of all experience gathered from the system as a whole.

In the recent case, again, the Court and the jury seem to have content to hear that anæsthetics had been administered to the dog, taking it for granted that if that had been done the dog suffered no pain. The obvious question whether the anæsthetic administered was enough to subdue pain seems to have been practically ignored. But in so many ways the course of the trial will have been unsatisfactory to those inclined to regard the result as substantially unjust, that criticism of its details must either be carried very far or abandoned altogether as hopeless, especially in presence of the public feeling that has so generally endorsed that result.

The public feeling in question rests fundamentally on the idea that vivisection has contributed to invest medical men with knowledge that has enabled them to relieve human suffering. Let the animal world suffer to any extent, say the exponents of this theory,

if we are thereby saved from suffering. The fundamental idea is denied by many students of the subject, including some who themselves belong to the medical profession. An eminent American surgeon, the late Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, says in effect that vivisection in the true sense of the term, cutting operations on the living animal, has not contributed to physiological or pathological discoveries of any importance. The pursuit has a fascination for those engaged in it. "It should not be for a moment supposed that cultivation of the intellect leads a man to shrink from inflicting pain. Many educated men are no more humane, are, in fact, far less so, than many comparatively uneducated people. The more eminent the vivisectionist, the more indifferent he usually is to inflicting pain; however cultivated his intellect, he is sometimes absolutely indifferent to it."

Dr. Bigelow differs diametrically in opinion from the professors giving their opinions at the recent trial to the effect that demonstrations in vivisection are necessary for the instruction of students.

SOME men of science, not to mention the unscientific papers, continue to speak of radium and its attributes as though they involved a contradiction of previously established conclusions. But views of matter that have been current in the world for the last ten or twelve years, although few men of science have regarded them as worthy of attention, prepared the way for all the manifestations of radio-activity with which we have been so much concerned of late. And now, indeed, some exponents of orthodox scientific thought are putting forward theories in the shape of independent speculations, which precisely correspond with and unconsciously echo the disregarded explanations referred to above. Students of that much-misunderstood region of research known as Occult Science arrived by their own methods, long before radium was heard of, at the conclusion that all the bodies known as chemical elements consisted really of atoms, each of which was a complicated structure composed of atoms belonging to what they technically call "another plane of nature." These finer atoms, although physical in their constitution, because in the aggregate they build up matter which could give rise to impressions on the physical senses, were themselves too refined in their nature to affect, directly, either the senses, or any instruments of research as yet devised, unless indeed we treat as instruments of research those higher faculties of human perception commonly summed up by the vague term "clairvoyance."

Enough was ascertained by clairvoyant investigation to show that the atoms of any substance of low atomic weight contained fewer ultimate—or to use the expression employed by occult students—"etheric" atoms, than the physical atoms of higher atomic weight. Among bodies known to ordinary chemistry, hydrogen has the lowest of all atomic weights, and it was found that its atoms consisted of no more than eighteen fundamental atoms revolving in definite orbits within very restricted confines. Later observation showed that bodies of higher atomic weight, in some cases at all events, contained primordial atoms in a proportion corresponding with the ratio of their atomic weights. Now, the atomic weight of radium exceeds that of any other known substance, has been given by some of the authorities as 258 (that of hydrogen being 1), and, if the law holds good, the number of primordial atoms in each of its atoms should be 4,500, or a little more. It is easy to conceive that a system so complicated has overpassed the limits of molecular stability. One would expect such a molecule to show signs of breaking up, and, if, as seems still probable, the world is in possession of radium in only very minute quantities, that is intelligible, on the hypothesis that the resources of inorganic evolution were exhausted when the structure of the radium atom was achieved.

Some modern men of science have grasped the idea sufficiently to speak of the elementary molecule as analogous in its structure to the solar system. The comparison was already familiar to occult literature a dozen years ago, and is probably indicative of some natural truths which will gradually dawn on the human understanding when the scientific world learns to avail itself of the opportunities already within its reach.

ONE more word concerning the bearing on the phenomena with which radium has made us lately familiar, of the conjectures concerning the constitution of matter arising from occult research as far as it has proceeded. The molecule of each chemical element, as already explained, is a minute system of etheric atoms revolving amongst themselves in definite orbits and constituting recognisable groups. When two elements unite, the compound molecule represents a new structure which is not merely a double atom in which the original atoms are still recognisable. In the atom of water, for instance, the hydrogen and oxygen atoms are blended into a new design, although their respective groups of atoms are susceptible of extrication one from another. Now, let us apply this idea to the highly complicated molecule of radium. It is difficult in treating a subject of this kind

form the occult point of view, in language adapted to current scientific thinking, to use the terms "atom" and "molecule" with precise accuracy. Conventionally, in ordinary chemistry, a molecule is held to represent two atoms of the elementary substance. When a more intimate knowledge is obtained concerning the true constitution of matter, that method of thinking will certainly be abandoned, and, leaving it out of count for the moment, let us employ the term "atom" as signifying the ultimate or etheric atom, and "molecule" as implying always the more or less complicated structure built-up of atoms, which is commonly thought of as the atom of a chemical element. Well, then, the radium molecule has been seen to be so over-laden with atoms as to have passed beyond the critical point of molecular stability; its component planets, so to speak, are continually flying off into space. As they do this they are loosening the structure of the molecule from which they fly. It is by no means impossible to conceive that such loosening may involve the breaking up of the main body of atoms into separate groups, and some of these groups may easily be thought of as resolving themselves into groups of lower numerical value, but definite in their structure; and this conception is fortified by the discovery which Sir William Ramsey conceives himself to have made in reference to the generation, so to speak, of helium from the emanations of radium. His discovery may still be regarded with distrust by a considerable portion of the scientific world. It may turn out to be founded on too hasty an inference, or it may be ultimately vindicated, in spite of the surrounding distrust. The dispute which at one time arose in connection with the discovery of Argon (as to whether that body was a new element or merely N_3) may suggest the possibility that the alleged transmutation of radium into helium will ultimately drift into general recognition. If it does so, the first outburst of criticism will be to the effect that again all the previous conclusions of science are subverted, and again those who are familiar with the contributions to science as yet unacceptable as a rule that have been offered by occult research, will recognise that the new discovery is merely a fragment of additional confirmation establishing the correctness of the observations at the foundation of such occult chemistry as has so far been evolved.

THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM.

THE great controversy engrossing the country at present has for one of its obvious effects, the disruption of old-established party ties. As a general rule, observers merely speculate on the effect this may have in dividing the House of Commons along new lines of cleavage, and they rarely stop to consider whether it may not pave the way for something better than a mere re-organisation of opposing factions. Certainly there is nothing in connection with the present struggle between the opposing forces of Protection and Free Trade that points to any embarrassment in carrying on political business by means of the old machinery. Two parties could not be more definitely distinguished one from another than by the economical test, which has now, to use a chemical symbol, precipitated the Protectionists from the vast solution hitherto supposed to be saturated with the Free Trade element. But the truth of the matter is that a multitude of considerations besides those arising out of Mr. Chamberlain's great crusade have for a long while past been pointing towards the importance of escaping, as far as possible, from the trammels of old-fashioned convention with reference to the organisation of Parliamentary forces.

It has been plain for many years past that no projects of legislation can obtain any serious attention in the House of Commons unless they have some bearing on the fortunes of the next General Election. Parliamentary criticism of any measure actually put forward points always towards the fortification of the Government position or the chance of weakening its foundations. So painfully has this condition of things affected the value of Parliamentary debates, that a change has come over the manner in which public affairs have been dealt with in the Press during the last few years, which could never have been

anticipated in the days when the Two Party system was in genuine activity. Twenty or thirty years ago Parliament was the only arena in which political leaders sought opportunities for the expression of their views. So pre-eminently important were Parliamentary debates, as compared with any other discussions connected with public affairs, that every newspaper of importance regarded its Parliamentary reports as claiming by right as much of its space as they might require ; all other news was simply condensed into whatever available space might be left over when Parliamentary reports had been set forth at full length. By degrees—unconsciously recognising the change that was coming over public affairs—the leading newspapers began to adopt a different policy, to curtail their Parliamentary reports, and to pay greater attention to what used then for the first time to be called “extra Parliamentary utterances.”

The unconscious acknowledgment, in this way, of Parliamentary deterioration became more and more emphasised as the leading newspapers contracted to more and more insignificant dimensions their summaries of Parliamentary eloquence. The great monthly reviews began to assume new significance in the fields of Parliamentary discussion. Leading statesmen became relatively indifferent to the opportunities afforded them by Parliamentary debates, and put their best work into articles for the *Nineteenth Century* or the *Fortnightly Review*. Platform utterances frequently eclipsed in their importance those that were addressed, from the green benches, to the Speaker. Articles began to appear from time to time in the leading periodicals on the decay of Parliamentary influence, and on what was sometimes called the degradation of the House of Commons. Very rarely indeed, however, has the true origin of this degradation been clearly recognised. Properly appreciated, it is to be found in the continued maintenance of a political system that has really out-worn its usefulness.

Beyond all question the Two Party system maintained the healthy vigour of British political life during many generations in the past. But, what was the real character of the Two Party system when it actually flourished as a means of giving effect to the great national impulses of each period ? Parties were distinguished from each other by characteristics that could never be mistaken. Perhaps, at the earliest period when “Whig” and “Tory” became party designations, fundamental principles were less at stake than family rivalries, personal friendships, and personal antipathies. But no one was ever at a loss to know what would be the course pursued by a Tory or a Whig ministry when in power, and even before fundamental principles

invested opposing Parties with a more dignified *raison d'être* than those developed during the reign of Queen Anne, there was still no room for uncertainty as to the course which either Party in power would pursue. Towards the middle of the past century the antagonism of principle, embodied in Party organisation, reached the highest intensity of its perfection. As the catch-words "Radical" and "Conservative" came into use, the antagonism of genuine thought and conviction represented by those phrases, became as clearly defined as distinction between land and water, and no reader on either side ever dreamt of cloaking his genuine convictions by means of ambiguous phrases that could be twisted at a later date to suit the convenience of new circumstances that might arise. Few of us, perhaps, at the present day would be inclined to identify ourselves with either body of opinion represented, for example, by the ministries of Lord John Russell or the late Lord Derby, but, at all events, while the political conditions prevailed throughout the country, a genuine Two Party system was operative in public affairs.

A general election in those days was not carried on by each leader with the idea of catching as many votes from the other side as he could beguile into his own clutches. It was carried on by an honest conflict between antagonistic schemes of policy, and the country was left a genuine choice between the one and the other. The winning party never hesitated to express—by its conduct of foreign affairs or domestic legislation as the case might be—the sincerity of its preliminary declarations. The winning side carried out its own ideas as long as majorities in the House enabled it to do so. When these faded away, the country had another opportunity of declaring which programme it favoured. But the whole game was played on recognised principles, and for the glory of one programme or the other. The House of Commons for the time being was an effective legislative machine.

Then into English affairs crept the insidious influence of Opportunism. It was not an unnatural growth at the time when Mr. Gladstone began to play a leading part in English politics. The truth of the matter was that the Radical Party by then, had practically won a victory all along the line. British political institutions had been revised in accordance with its ideas. Many even of the old "points of the charter," which, in the days before the Great Exhibition, used to be identified with "red ruin and the breaking-up of laws," had actually penetrated the armour of the constitution. Aristocratic privilege was melting away like an iceberg in a Southern sea; popular rights were flourishing, shall we say, like the growth of a mangrove swamp, and

the radical reformer sat helpless as regards his further activity on a stage where all his enemies were prostrate. Then he began to make the great mistake which looks as though it were ultimately leading to an important reaction in English public affairs. He conceived that it was still necessary for him to justify his existence by going on radically reforming. There was nothing really left for him to do. The icebergs had all melted. The navigation of the waters they once embarrassed was now free and unimpeded, but the traditions of the past still constrained the radical politician to regard himself as at daggers drawn with unseen foes who had vanished from the field of battle. This fundamental delusion is still investing the activities of the Liberal Party with an air of insincerity which is the true explanation of the gradual drift in another direction of the national sympathies it once controlled.

And opportunism meanwhile is a poison that has been infused with equal virulence into the veins of the Conservative Party. The futile hope of conciliating the opposition seems to be continually present as a corroding principle in the minds of Conservative statesmen. In so far as we can still associate any definite ideas with the term "Conservative," in so far as it may still represent sympathy with the rule of the upper, rather than with that of the lower classes, we rarely discern the idea as operative in the public conduct of Conservative Governments in the present day. The avowed adherents of the party can be relied upon to vote straight, however their own aspirations may be flouted. The seduction, therefore, of a few half-hearted followers naturally belonging to the other side, often seems the main purpose in view with Conservative Governments in power. The sides are opposed to each other, as composed of rival candidates for office, but less and less by any honest conflict of principle. And yet, when the whole subject has been under discussion, as from time to time it has been during the last few years, we find even philosophic statesmen like Mr. Balfour formally plodding along in the old groove, and maintaining that the glory of English Parliamentary institutions is inseparably associated with the Two Party system.

How else can you work things? asks the commonplace Parliamentary politician, impatiently. There will always be more men wanting to sit on the Treasury Bench than the Bench can possibly accommodate. Those who are hustled out of it must group themselves together on the other side and fight across the table with just whatever weapons may happen to be available! But the truth of the matter is that nothing could be more easily provided for in English politics than the abolition of the Two Party system, and once we had a

healthier organisation in existence, belief in the efficacy of the dead old system then finally disposed of, would crumble up—as rapidly as the old-fashioned British convictions connected with Free Trade, which seemed at one time as immovably planted in this country as the Alps in Switzerland. The British constitution itself provides the natural remedy for all the evil growths we have been reviewing, and the alternative does not lie, as some people imagine, between the Two Party system on the one side and the autocratic methods of German administration on the other. The Two Party system seems ineradicable from our institutions simply because people will take for granted as a sort of root idea, which must always guide the growth of the tree above, the solidarity of the Cabinet. When the present reign began, a vigorous effort was made by some public writers to show the people of this country that the Cabinet as a feature of the British governing system was an excrescence on the constitution, and in no way its legitimate development. We only have to look back over a few reigns—and the retrospect will not carry us behind the period of Parliamentary supremacy—to find a condition of things in which no Cabinet existed—in which the King's Ministers were a group of Privy Councillors meeting under the presidency of the Sovereign, and held together, not by ties uniting each one to the other, but by threads uniting each to the Sovereign, and converging only at that centre. The old system fell into abeyance simply because the early Georges could not speak English, and were, therefore, unable to preside at meetings of the Privy Council. By slow degrees the group of Privy Councillors constituting the Ministry for the time being, became a Cabinet of partisans bound together for mutual protection. No attack from without directed against anyone could be tolerated by the rest. Within the Cabinet, dissensions might arise and resignations ensue, but the interest of each member obliged the whole group to present a united front to the Parliamentary foe, and in this way the modern solidarity of Cabinets became established as a working principle, harmonising, of course, with the gradual division of sentiment which invested Whigs and Tories with a deep-seated distinction; and so Parliamentary usage has flowed on into our own time—a state of things which is as unconstitutional as it is unfortunate, having been recognised at last as the corner-stone of the whole building.

There would be no difficulty whatever in re-establishing the British constitution on a constitutional basis if the Sovereign were once more left to fulfil the natural obligations of the office he holds. British liberties would not be compromised by the faintest infusion of danger if the King in the first instance exercised his own in-

dependent, individual choice in regard to the appointment of great Ministers of State. He could not maintain such appointments in face of Parliamentary disapproval, for a score of reasons which have to do with the A B C of Parliamentary life. But if Ministers were his individual nominees, the solidarity of the Cabinet would have ceased to present an all but insuperable impediment to the reform of badly administered departments. The Ministers individually responsible for such mal-administration might come under the censure of Parliament without anyone being bound to assume that such censure indirectly hit the others. We do not say their "colleagues," because the very expression "colleague" is a crystallisation of the evil system which has gradually arisen. There is no reason why the Minister in charge of the War Office should be a "colleague" in any true sense of the term, of the Foreign Secretary, or of the Colonial Minister. All the burning questions of public affairs at this moment lead back to the great question of Party organisation. What reasonable hope can possibly be entertained in regard to the healthy administration of such a department as the War Office, as long as the supreme authority therein is necessarily tossed from one hand to the other in accordance with Parliamentary votes, which have nothing to do whatever with the goodness or badness of military administration, and may turn upon some question arising in a totally different department of public affairs? The present system invests with an atmosphere of profound insincerity all parliamentary criticisms levelled at any department of mal-administration with which the Government in power may be identified.

The ferocity of such criticism depends almost entirely upon the question of whether the critic belongs to one camp or the other, whether in his own interest or in that of his friends he desires to keep the ruling party in power or to turn them out. Now and again individual speakers break away from this unwholesome influence, but the broad fact remains that reasonable observers in the outer world no longer study Parliamentary utterances with a view of testing their own convictions; these are left aside as so much more or less amusing clap-trap, and in search of any mental illumination on the real merits of any departmental question, men of sense turn to independent articles in the reviews by experts. Parliamentary debates are ignored more and more, so far as the actual progress of public opinion is concerned.

It is easy to anticipate the objections which, from an entirely commonplace point of view, will be levelled against any proposal to entangle the wearer of the Crown in the actual transaction of

political business. So strange a misconception of the constitutional idea has possessed the British mind for the last two or three generations, that many people, even writers in thoughtful newspapers, will drift into the habit of talking about the Sovereign as though the foremost duty that he or she can perform is to refrain altogether from the performance of any duties whatever. Soon after the present reign began, an animated controversy ensued in the press concerning "Court influence," and what was supposed by some writers concerned to have been its improper extension. How far "Court influence" should be allowed to play a part in public affairs occupied the attention of several well-known writers, whom it is unnecessary here to name, and one of these, representing the extreme constitutional idea, described the Sovereign as "debarred by usage from offering formal advice to the Minister on any political question." Even those who leaned to think that this rule was somewhat too rigid, declared it to be the merest truism that the Sovereign must be denied the right to give any authoritative command or pronouncement, but went so far as to allow that in many cases during the reign of Queen Victoria, she had by the admission of various Ministers, "rendered them important services by her advice at various crises."

This way of putting the idea must have rasped the feelings of many people inspired by something like genuine loyalty for the great Sovereign concerned, but few may have stopped to analyse the really mischievous nature of the principle which the phrase embodied. There was a time in English history, no doubt, when the power of the Crown was something to be feared, and when the low level of public morality was such that power was always supposed to be exercised, by whoever held it, for purely selfish ends. Many of the absurdities of our own legal procedure turn round the old tradition according to which the power of the Crown was something to be feared by the people, but leaving these aside for the moment, the situation at present is clearly one in which the people of this country have no more reason to be afraid of royal tyranny than of a second deluge or a collision with another planet. Inverting an old political epigram, the power of the Crown has diminished, is diminishing, and ought to be increased, in the interests of popular welfare. It is the one influence that can be brought to bear on our political system to dissipate some of the evil consequences of Parliamentary traditions, which, having lost their original significance, are associated now with no meaning except that derived from individual ambitions pointing to the pleasure and privilege of official positions.

Silly jealousy of Court influence may be in harmony with the

sympathies of a considerable body of Englishmen still tainted by the speculative republicanism towards which the Liberal Party leaned, fifty years ago, under the influence of the Manchester school, but nothing can be more obvious than the profoundly unconstitutional character of all such doctrine. The effacement of the Sovereign with reference to all the activities of government that has gradually been accomplished under the influence of democratic usurpation, is distinctly unconstitutional by any interpretation of that unwritten code which constitutes the foundation of our political system. Modern conditions of political life make it absurdly impossible for any Sovereign in modern centuries to restore the autocratic methods which culminated in the Tudor reigns. Popular jealousy or fear in regard to the extension of Court influence in politics is altogether childish in the present day. So distinctly do many people indeed perceive that the dangers to which the country is subject are those which spring from ultra-democratic influences, that certainly immense numbers would welcome the re-entrance of the Sovereign on to the political stage. But, in truth, such restoration of a more constitutional Government than that under which we have been suffering for the last few decades, would involve so slight a self-assertion on the part of the Sovereign that it is hardly possible to conceive any great national antagonism to the change. In so far as there is any sense whatever in the dislike to Court influence represented by those who took up arms against it a few years ago, it can only have to do with the possibility—the theoretical possibility—that persons unworthy of promotion would be thrust into political office because they might be individually favoured by the King. Such embarrassments could not arise, because, however freely, in the first instance, the Sovereign might select his Ministers, none could remain in office if they were distinctly antagonistic to the predominant sentiment of the House of Commons; indeed, it is perfectly certain that, considering the way public business is transacted at the present day, no appointment would be made until measures had been taken to ascertain that it would not be repugnant to the most influential section of the Parliamentary body. It is more than probable that if some step were taken in the direction of making use in public affairs of that enormously powerful agency which stands paralysed in our midst at present, public enthusiasm would respond to the effort to an extent that formal and commonplace thinkers are incapable of foreseeing. The apathy with which the nation at large listens to the rhodomontade of ultra-democratic orators, misleads a great many observers into supposing that these command a sympathy of which

a careful analysis would scarcely show a trace. A few years ago a friend of the writer was listening with amusement to a Hyde Park orator, declaiming against the abominations of aristocracy and the general outrage on popular liberty embodied in monarchical institutions. The crowd listened with a patience that might well have been mistaken by an outsider for approval. Suddenly, however, in the midst of the speaker's glowing eloquence, the mass of his audience turned and fled in the direction of the road outside the Park. The Prince of Wales, as he was then, was seen to be driving along, and the democrat's audience deserted his platform to rush to the railings and cheer the Prince. The little incident was more profoundly instructive than many of apparently deeper import. If, in the midst of newspaper articles deprecating the danger of Court influence some new scheme were to be launched by another Chamberlain, for the utilisation in practical politics, of the monarch's authority, it is more than likely that the masses would cheer that proposal to the echo, and sweep away all jealousy of the Crown as rising breezes clear away a mist.

Incidentally, it will be observed, if the restoration of the Sovereign to his true place in the constitution were accomplished—with the consequent dispersion of the stupid old conventions which, at present, oblige Parliamentary leaders to regard themselves as belonging to one camp or the other—then all the truly able men in the House would become available for the service of the State, whether they had been politically born—so to speak—on the Liberal or Conservative side. It is not necessary to focus this idea upon particular personalities, but the most orthodox Conservative would gladly recognise that, at all events, two or three men might be pointed out amongst those at present in the Opposition, whose talents would distinctly conduce to the welfare of the State if turned into the proper departmental channels. Under the pestilent dominion of the Two Party system the two or three in question must be content to remain outside the sphere of official usefulness, until some convulsion of public feeling may turn the whole political machine upside down, with the result of throwing out of work equally valuable public servants among those now in office.

But, in truth, the mischief of the Two Party system as at present operative gives rise to still more deplorable results in another direction. It has practically deprived the country of anything that can properly be called a legislature. The House of Commons is no longer, for any practical purposes, a legislative machine. It is simply an assembly concerned with manipulating public questions in a way that may best promote the interests or ambitions of rival groups.

Who amongst us, familiar in any way with practical politics, can be blind to the fact that schemes of legal reform, aimed merely at curing definite abuses, have no possible chance of a hearing, in these days, in view of the extent to which the time of Parliament is taken up by burning questions? Burning questions are simply those which are likely to affect general elections, and thus influence the fortunes of Ministers or their rivals. And yet, who is there with any knowledge of general business outside politics, or with any interest in great social questions, who is not profoundly moved by the deplorable state in which the public law of England stands, in reference to a score or so of important subjects? Who that ever skims the law reports can fail to be impressed with the profound stupidity leading to continual injustice, that distinguishes the law relating to libel? Will any man of business be disposed to deny that the latest attempt to set to rights the body of law relating to public companies has done more than make confusion worse confounded? What is the chance of getting Parliamentary attention seriously turned to the question whether or not the organisation of Parliament would be improved by the adoption of the female vote? Is any department of law controlling the intimacy of human relationship more deplorably stocked with anomalies and absurdities than that which has to do with the problems of divorce? And with reference to all the antiquated foolishness which prevails throughout our judicial system connected with what we call contempt of Court, what chance is there of securing Parliamentary attention for any rational scheme which should put the privileges of the Judges on a sound foundation? For that matter, all prevailing theories concerning the British Judge are entangled closely with the main subject to which this paper has been devoted. There is so much to justify the feeling, even in its exaggerated form, that the Judge worship which prevails so widely in this country is rarely examined with reference to its true origin. Of course, it springs, in the first instance, from fear of royal tyranny. The power of the Judge is expanded and emphasised in every possible way in order that he may become the shield of the people as against the possible excesses of the kingly power, and yet, in the present day, when the shield is much more needed by the kingly power to protect itself from democratic usurpation, a vague superstition still surrounds the judicial bench with a halo of popular enthusiasm that has no longer any intelligible justification. On the contrary, though this reflection might carry us into wide fields of exploration, grave problems for the future will arise when people begin to see that under the existing system the British Judge is the only servant of the State who is entirely exempt

from the natural penalties which in every other department of life fall upon the man who neglects his duty or discharges it ill. Needless to say, however, that in the present condition of politics, no one seriously endeavouring to give legislative sanction to a more healthy view of the judicial office would have the faintest chance of a hearing.

How long the old superstition which maintains the Two Party system on its present footing, may stand in the way of any movement in the right direction, one cannot, of course, at present, say. The new excitement connected with the probable reversal of our commercial policy may help to turn general attention towards the views to which this article has given expression—views for the most part which find ready sympathy in private conversation, even among men who are still sufficiently intimidated by convention to be shy of putting them forward on platforms or in the House. But, in any case, a close observation of the political situation that has been illuminated rather than created by the fiscal controversy will show that the Two Party system as it used to exist and flourish in this country exists no longer in reality, but is out of date, obsolete, and dead in truth, though its slowly decaying remains still poison the political atmosphere.

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THE MEMORY OF NATURE.

STUDENTS concerned with the study of that profoundly interesting body of natural law governing the phenomena which superphysical science is engaged in investigating, find themselves, as time goes on, in presence of an increasing difficulty when they wish to lay before the world at large the results of their researches. Few departments of science have progressed more, within the last few years, than that which deals with mysteries hitherto called occult, but nothing has been known of its gradual development by people absorbed in the more familiar avocations of life, and serious occult inquiry has unfortunately been divided from these by a margin or fringe of more or less absurd frivolity, the character of which has entirely veiled from public view the real nature of the operations in the background. The mere frivolities of occultism are of themselves sufficiently entertaining to attract a good deal of attention. A change of feeling in reference to the whole subject, which has gone further than even those influenced by it may be fully aware, has induced a great many people to engage themselves with more or less zeal in this frivolity ; but the broad result of all this is that thinkers of the ordinary type imagine that all devotees of occult inquiry part company, at the outset of their various pursuits, with the cool, balanced judgment required for the conduct of any new research, and pursue the notions with which they are possessed under the influence of boundless credulity, and in disregard of the conclusions reached by sedate students of nature who have worked, during the progress of natural science, with continual and cautious reference to knowledge accumulated by their predecessors. The truth of the matter is that the genuine achievements of occult investigation during the last dozen years have been accomplished with as much prudence, care, and bal-

anced judgment as those which have had to do, during the same period, with the advance made in chemical or electrical science, and the real reason why so wide a gulf still divides the knowledge that has thus been acquired from that possessed by the world at large, is to be found in the fact that serious occult investigation can only be conducted by methods which differ in some important respects from those by which purely physical investigation has hitherto been carried on.

Clearly, it is possible to push forward knowledge in either one of two very different ways. We may attach ourselves to the block of knowledge already acquired, and add to it particle by particle, as the coral insects construct their islands. We may on the other hand, if there seems adequate justification for attempting that method, start from the nucleus of an entirely new hypothesis, established, so to speak, far on in advance of existing knowledge in the ocean of the unknown and uncertain, and constantly keeping in mind at the outset of such new work that the nucleus represents hypothesis and not ascertained fact, surround it, so to speak, by all the inferences by which its actually can be tested, expanding the structure downwards as well as upwards until at last it may come into communication with existing knowledge, be recognised then as in continuous relations with this, and thus finally acquire as definite a right to be regarded as a part of the whole structure as though it had been thrown out in the first instance by the old-fashioned method. In the last half dozen years serious occult inquiry has been carried on in the manner just described, as also to some limited extent in accordance with the older method of building from original foundations. That older method has been mainly represented by the activities of the society devoted to psychical research, the other has been adopted by students encouraged to frame their first hypotheses by bolder speculation based upon abnormal experience. Speaking from the point of view of the later school, it appears to me that the accretions of previously existing knowledge accomplished by means of the old-fashioned method have been extremely insignificant compared to those which have been developed by the other. It appears to me also that a great many results acquired by the newer method are now fairly in touch with the main body of previously familiar knowledge, and can thus be rendered intelligible to a larger audience than that in tune from the outset with the newer system. I propose to select from the results attained a coherent group of conclusions concerning some of the great laws of nature which could only have been developed from previously existing knowledge after protracted delay.

The far-sighted speculations that have given rise to the results

in question turned round experiences—not always of a very impressive or dignified character in themselves, but none the less suggestive for people who could discern underlying principles—acquired in connection with the strange faculty by virtue of which some persons of abnormal gifts have, from time to time, been able to recognise events at a distance, to read writing set before them when they have been effectually blindfolded, and to divine by some unintelligible method the pathological condition of people suffering from disease without using any of the resources of ordinary medical diagnosis. All these faculties have been comprehensively described as *Clairvoyance*, and have lain so far beyond the ordinary range of experience, and have been at first so entirely unattended by any intelligible explanations, that most people advancing cautiously along the beaten paths of science have treated the whole body of phenomena concerned with contemptuous neglect, convinced, in spite of whatever testimony seemed to support the stories told, that no condition of things they failed to apprehend could possibly exist. The facts nevertheless accumulated by even the early students of *Clairvoyance* remained a body of facts no less absolute in their character as such, than the observations of astronomy, even though the majority of mankind have chosen to disregard them. Dr. Esdaile, himself a patient and laborious practitioner of curative mesmerism, whose results at Calcutta are attested by floods of contemporary evidence, speaks of the researches in *Clairvoyance* conducted by the French mesmerist, Dr. Pétitin, as conclusively establishing the reality of *Clairvoyance* as a fact in nature; while later on Dr. Gregory accumulated a volume of evidence on the subject, the result mainly of his own, but also to a considerable degree of independent contemporary observation, compared to which Dr. Pétitin's cases were the mere first drops of the thunderstorm. At the present day people who speak of *Clairvoyance* as though the whole thing were a superstition at variance with the enlarged wisdom represented by modern physical science, are simply exhibiting ignorance of the work done in this department very ludicrous from the point of view of those of us who in the present day, in connection with our own further studies, have come to be as familiar with the fact of *Clairvoyance*, as with the process of conveying thought by means of the telegraph or the penny post.

One of the circumstances under which *Clairvoyance* of the spasmodic, untrained kind is occasionally manifest, passes with students familiar with the subject under the name of *psychometry*. The circumstances under which this variety of the gift in question is most

often manifested are these :—Certain persons by feeling a piece of writing, a letter or whatever it may be, without reading or paying the least attention to its contents, will derive impressions concerning the writer, occasionally consisting of mere broad feeling as to his character and temperament, sometimes running into minute detail as to the circumstances under which the writing in question was produced. I myself, in testing the capacity of a friend along these peculiar lines of clairvoyant perception, have taken up a bundle of miscellaneous letters just as they lay in the drawer of a writing-table, and have given them one by one to the sensitive, who has told me something concerning each writer, more or less important, but always with accuracy so far as it went, in fifteen or twenty cases in succession.

This experiment, of course, is one of an elementary order. We approach achievements really of the same nature, but apparently more complicated when we deal with natural objects. The effect of these in the case of the highly gifted psychometrist is to put his consciousness in touch with previous conditions of nature associated with the object he holds. To illustrate what I mean, let me describe a case in point. I have long been in the habit, when travelling abroad, of picking up pebbles or chipping bits of old walls to use when opportunity should serve as objects for psychometric experiments. I gave one such fragment of stone on one occasion to a psychometrist, and within ten minutes she had quite accurately described to me the leading characteristics of a very peculiarly configured island off the coast of Norway where I had picked up the stone some years previously. Enthusiasts for the telepathic idea will here suggest that I knew the characteristics of the place all the time, and that my friend obtained her impressions from my mind. It is a great step in advance of commonplace thinking to reach a comprehension of telepathy as a fact in nature, no less distinctly established as such than the circulation of the blood, but many people who have gone so far are inclined to pause in their progress and assign all manner of psychic phenomena to telepathy with a persistence that is not a little unreasonable in the estimation of those who are familiar with other laws. To cover the telepathic suggestion in this case, however, I will give another instance of psychometry within my own experience. I gave on one occasion to a psychometrist a jade ring which I had myself bought in China, expecting to hear a description of the place where I procured it. Instead of this I received an account of a vision concerned entirely with wild mountain scenery with which I myself was totally unacquainted. Some time afterwards I ascertained that the

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jade so commonly used for ornamental purposes in China comes originally from the huge mountain ranges between East Turkestan and Tibet, and in this case the original "magnetism" of the stone had carried back the clairvoyant perceptions of my sensitive to the very region from which it had been quarried. Here it will be seen that there was no room for the telepathic hypothesis. And let me add, having just for the first time in this paper used the term "magnetism," that I apologise for it as very inappropriate to the mysterious currents of influence that continue to flow between objects and the places from which they have come. It is a word only used by occultists for want of a better, and embodies no suggestion that the magnetism in question is identical with that of the lodestone and its offspring.

The two experiments last described are still in the nature of elementary attempts. When the faculty employed is found in higher perfection, it will enable us to trace back the history of any given place or building along a connected series of retrospective visions which may apparently extend back to infinity without exhibiting the slightest indication of a tendency to fade. I have thus, with adequate help, been enabled to look back to the actual construction of Stonehenge, and in other investigations of a similar character, have dealt with problems of remote history of an even more interesting kind; but with these for the moment it is not my purpose to deal. I am concerned simply with the principle involved in all such investigations, and, in order to consider that more systematically, we must turn aside for a moment into other paths of occult research, and examine, as far as we are able, the nature of that consciousness on which it is possible to impress either views of the present or visions of the past.

For the occult student, no fact connected with human consciousness is more certain than the fact that it does not depend upon its embodiment within the physical framework of a human being. Of course, to establish this fundamental truth to the satisfaction of those who are quite outside the researches which have to do with it, would involve very long dissertations on that branch of the subject alone, and the record of much laborious experiment. But summing up the knowledge obtained by students along these lines for the purpose of the explanation more especially in hand, it may be enough to say that it is a common experience for people of adequately developed psychic faculty to meet one another in vehicles of consciousness belonging to a finer order of materiality than that of which physical bodies are composed, when, as far as their physical bodies are con-

cerned, these are far apart or even asleep in different parts of the world. The intercourse on that other plane of nature with which they are then concerned, will be fully remembered by both in the waking state, and may be the subject of subsequent verification.

The bearing of such experience on the psychometric mystery has to do with the manner in which it shows that the consciousness which perceives or remembers is something quite independent of the physical brain, which in the waking state of its embodiment in flesh is undoubtedly the vehicle of its perception or remembrance, as much the vehicle as the piano when played upon is the instrument which produces the music although the conception of that music has been a state of consciousness in the player's mind before the keyboard was touched. In this way one may remark parenthetically that all the laborious imaginings of physiologists who have endeavoured to assign memory to molecular changes going on in the brain whenever an impression is received, may be cast completely aside on the scrap-heap of obsolete delusions. There is no more molecular change in the human brain after it has been used to excite an impression on the consciousness associated with it for the moment, than there is a permanent change in the strings of a piano because some definite chord has been struck.

One other conception concerning consciousness must be recognised in order to bring us within range of anything resembling an explanation of psychometry. A psychic of adequate development can, as I have just asserted, bring back into the waking state a memory of experiences enjoyed on a higher plane of nature in appropriate vehicles of consciousness; but, in truth, all moderately advanced human beings in the vanguard of evolution at present do this in a greater or less degree without fully realising what they are about. Amongst quite ordinary people their best and loftiest thoughts and impulses may really be a reflection, in this way, of impressions gathered from higher planes of nature, and in the case of the ordinary psychometrist we have an example of faculties standing mid-way between those of quite ordinary people and those of occult students so far advanced as to be able to understand the nature of their own higher activities. The mere psychometrist feels as if the object he touches linked him in some way with a specific vision. The more advanced psychic will realise that that vision is only part of a series so extensive that it may not inappropriately be called "the memory of nature."

For all of us an analysis of memory is a hopeless undertaking. Occult research goes no further than to show that it is a function of consciousness and that consciousness itself, as we are in the habit of contemplating it, is, as it were, the lower end of a fibre, the upper end

of which is so completely immersed in that divine all-comprehensive consciousness on which the very existence of the whole scheme of creation depends, that nothing could be more futile than for us at present to attempt a description of its attributes. But without presuming to grapple with metaphysical problems that can only, if handled at all, throw light upon the impotence of embodied thinking, it is enough to recognise that, as we ascend higher and higher along that fibre of which I speak, itself, of course, a mere allegorical suggestion, we undoubtedly enlarge our lateral range of consciousness. That is to say, at the extreme tip of the fibre, or in our embodied waking state, consciousness is concentrated within the tip; higher up, impressions flow in, as it were, from all sides, and at a certain degree of elevation this inflow is tantamount to a consciousness which extends over all transactions which have had to do with the development of the evolutionary scheme to which that fibre belongs. Memory, in this way, as we commonly use the expression, meaning thereby the recollection possible at the extreme tip of the fibre, relates merely to those impressions which have actually been acquired by consciousness within those limitations. In the ordinary language of commonplace thinking, no one would expect to remember more than he has once known or perceived; but the memory of the single, individualised, embodied consciousness is a memory as minute in reference to the memory of nature, of which it is really a part, as the single individual himself is minute compared with the whole world. There is a condition to which it is possible for human consciousness to ascend, at which memory may relate to anything that has ever transpired within the world to which that ray of consciousness belongs.

No one who appreciates in the slightest degree the significance of this dazzling thought can fail to realise something of the horizon it opens out before the mind. Half a century ago, patient Dr. Gregory, groping along the path of research with no better light than that afforded by pre-existing knowledge of the common-place order, perceived, from what he saw of Clairvoyance, that it foreshadowed a mighty possibility which he sketched in something like prophetic language. If this faculty should be capable of any very great development it would put us, he saw, in possession of means for investigating the past history of the world, beside which literary records would sink into insignificance. No doubt to those who are steeped in materialistic habits of thought, nothing as yet will seem trustworthy as a method of historical investigation except the written record, or the equally tangible testimony of ancient monuments; but with those who have only gone a little way in the practical use

of the higher faculties, this habit of mind is entirely out of date. The faculty, indeed, in the case of people who have only advanced a little way towards its perfection, may often be itself untrustworthy. Evidence concerning the past which may be collected from the imperfectly trained observer must be abundantly verified by collateral observation of an independent character before it would command the respect of any cautious inquirer. But this much we have clearly ascertained ; the nature of the record itself, whatever that may be, which constitutes nature's memory, correctly seen, is infallible ? It is the impress on a medium which cannot lie, of a record corresponding with the fact, self-recorded more rigorously than the photographic image by its object. The picture "in the astral light," to use a technical expression, may be seen through many distorted media, just as a scene of nature herself may be viewed through corrugated glass, but the view is not corrugated. So with the picture in in astral light ; it is unchangeably defined with faultless accuracy, and the circumstances which at one time may obscure the preceptions of one observer, will be cleared away for another, and we already know that there is a point of view from which the imperishable records can be observed, from which, if the observer can obtain that point of view, no possibility of distortion or error threatens him with the smallest mistake.

Of course, the conception we are dealing with is one which bewilders the imagination. If it is possible to evoke from the memory of nature the aspect of any single room, or of any one group of people there assembled at some former time, it is obviously necessary to assume that every room in every house in the world is contributing in the same way to the immeasurable store of records. That every landscape has impressed its changing features, as the seasons revolved, on the same imperishable pages ; that there has never been a moment of time since the world began in connection with which the memory of the conditions prevailing at that moment has been blotted out of existence. The finite human understanding is so little able to grasp a condition of things like this, that for a long time to come the Philistine thinker will take refuge in simple incredulity. The only reply to such incredulity which it is necessary to make is, that the repudiation of any conjecture concerning nature, not to speak of observations built on facts, merely because conjecture assumes nature to be very complicated, is to exhibit a Bœotian state of mind in reference to many phenomena with which we are daily in contact. Take the methods by which the contents of any single room are made perceptible to the vision or senses of persons within it ; by the vibrations of

ether. What do these vibrations really signify? From every point of matter within the room, however variegated its contents, a sphere of vibration must be extending in all directions. Each point can be seen from any part of the room equally well by different observers, and yet every point is crossed by the vibrations emitted from every other point of matter within the room. The complexity of such vibrations is something in itself no less calculated to loosen the reason of anyone who attempts to follow out the whole process in imagination, than the attempt to grasp infinity, whether of time or space; and none of these vibrations, of all the million million spheres of such which every room contains, is alike in its character, for they represent, besides the objective point from which they emanate, the infinite varieties of colour and intensities of light with which these points may have to do. It would be easy to derive from chemical science, for people familiar with that line of thought, illustrations concerning the resources of nature for dealing with complexity which are no less effective than that which I have just put forward. Take the case of a reaction between two solutions, of different solids. Each molecule in each of these solutions is something, the construction of which from the point of view of ordinary science, can but be dimly conjectured, but, which, at all events, is a piece of mechanism of highly elaborate structure within dimensions which great mathematical authority declared to bear about the same relation to a drop of water as that which a cricket ball bears to the earth. In little more than an instant of time, when the two solutions are mingled, every molecule in the mixture has been entirely reconstructed, every molecule, remember, of a number of which, if the mixture consists of less liquid than might be contained in a common tumbler, would be represented by a row of ciphers stretching across this page. Only by those who ponder on the meaning of astronomical distances, and on the equally appalling significance of the infinitely little, will the power of nature to grapple with complexity, be reverently appreciated.

What then lies before mankind as the ultimate possibility of the state of things concerning the memory of nature of which modern occult research has now definite assurance? Clearly, it is obvious that no one who realises the possibility of inquiring into the knowledge of the past, by putting himself into relations with the memory of nature, will be content with the mere discovery of the methods by which this can be done. He will seek to apply this method to practical uses, and with its help to solve some of the problems which obscure the early history of mankind. For that matter in some cases he will apply it to the elucidation of historical problems lying within a

nearer range ; but whatever are the results he thus obtains he will find himself in presence of this dilemma : the results will be almost valueless for those who fail to appreciate the method, while it seems unreasonable to go at great length into a description of the method without indicating for the benefit of those who may be able to grasp its true significance some of the results which may illustrate its range and potency. Applied to some historical problems of the foremost interest, it has actually let in a flood of light upon many occurrences which have hitherto been accepted by the civilised world on the basis of misleading literary testimony ; but, however little desirous the occult student may be to reserve for himself the benefit of his own clearer knowledge, it will not serve any useful purpose to throw into the arena of modern thought, entirely unfamiliar versions of past events embraced within the historical period. It is useless to do this, at any rate, in advance of the more general recognition of the great scientific principles on which alone accurate pictures of the remote past can be reconstructed.

A. P. SINNET.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE MACEDONIAN PROBLEM.

LIBERAL opinion in England seems indisposed to forgive the British Government for having approved the Austro-Russian scheme of reforms, in virtue of which the three vilayets of Kossovo, Monastir, and Salonica are to remain under the sovereignty of the Sultan. Austria and Russia will not transform Macedonia into an autonomous province; they will not, by cutting into two what remains of Turkey in Europe, raise also the question of Epirus and Albania, and consequently that of the succession of the Ottoman Empire.

This last eventuality is so formidable, that it has, until now, prevented the appointment of a Christian Commissioner-general; for such an appointment would tend to detach more categorically the three vilayets from Constantinople, and would insensibly lead them, either to complete independence from the Ottoman yoke, or to dependence on the neighbouring states which covet them. Do these apprehensions, and this hesitancy, appear to sentimentalists so vain that their conscience revolts against the Powers which did not dare to pass beyond? Combining their efforts with a view to avoid the necessity of an intervention, which would have brought them face to face with the dismemberment of Turkey, the six Powers have, for the moment, spared the world greater misfortunes; for, in the present state of things, such a dismemberment cannot take place without a general conflagration.

Still, I cannot say that I am an admirer of this famous scheme of reforms, which satisfies no one—neither the Greeks, nor the Mussulmans, nor the Bulgarians. It is a very easy task to pretend to replace, as if by magic, inequality, oppression, and barbarism by order and prosperity, only because the European consuls and the assessors

of Austria and Russia will survey the execution of some niggardly measure of reform, vaguely conceived. At that rate it would be the simplest thing in the world to govern nations. But how is it that progress comes so slowly in countries much more homogeneous, which enjoy laws of a liberal kind, better adapted to their own circumstances? As a matter of fact, the Austro-Russian scheme leaves the question insoluble; nay, it is probable that it will render it more involved.

I fear this hasty solution, however alluring it may seem. I fear lest what is called the European concert may undertake to decide the fate of hundreds of thousands of men, without being informed what those people really are, what are their necessities, their aspirations; without being fully cognisant of the data of one of the most puzzling political problems which has ever presented itself for solution.

Almost everything is unknown in Europe with regard to this problem, and this in spite of so many years of diplomatic parleys, of official reports, of journalistic inquiries. The Powers have been pleased to extend their solicitude over the three vilayets, although the disturbances and the outrages did not reach the province of Kossovo, and left intact three-fourths of the two other vilayets. On the other hand, the north of Thrace has been convulsed. Why exclude it from the benefit of the proposed reforms? And, in general, why refuse some amelioration in the lot of the whole of Thrace and Epirus, provinces which surely are neither less heavily taxed, nor less abominably governed, nor less worthy of interest than this unreal "Macedonia," a fictitious fabrication of the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg? This Macedonia, moreover, is not the Macedonia of the Bulgarians, who prefer to define it in such a way as to enable them to play in it a game as profitable as that which they played in Eastern Roumelia, where many and considerable groups of other races have been swallowed up by them, and now live under their yoke, as discontented with their present lot as they were before. Again, the real Macedonia, the Macedonia of the Greeks, who know the history of their past, and are conscious of their rights and of their force, differs both from the former and the latter of these two acceptations. It is the Macedonia which has up to this time victoriously resisted the destruction of its identity by those inroads and conquests of the barbarians that have elsewhere changed the face of Europe. It has resisted the mixture of races, and the Ottoman occupation, and has preserved indelible the character which Hellenism inculcated into it thousands of years ago. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that many are those who find themselves at a loss when

they see that the same name represents a country, which is mentioned sometimes as thoroughly Greek, sometimes as Slav, sometimes, and with no less reason, as Turkish and Mussulman.

I am well aware that there are travellers who, having crossed the country, or having made some excursions in it, or even having stayed one or two months in the same vilayet, fancy that they have learned all about the country, express themselves dogmatically, and imagine that they have penetrated into the psychology of those peoples who for centuries past have not succeeded in understanding each other. But take even the opinions of the most authorised persons, the opinions of the European consuls, who have passed a considerable part of their lives in Macedonia; read the Blue or Yellow Books, and you will be astonished at the contradictions in them. Consider the studies of one who has made the Eastern question a speciality, Mr. J. D. Bouchier, correspondent of *The Times*. He is so little certain of the number of Bulgarians in Europe, that in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" he estimates them sometimes at 4,500,000 (article "Bulgaria") and sometimes at 4,100,000 (article "Balkan Peninsula"); and this difference refers exclusively to that part of the race which lives outside the principality. He also thinks that the Hellenic race in the Balkan Peninsula numbered, in 1899, 4,200,000, including the 300,000 Greeks living in Constantinople. This would allow only 900,000 Greeks as existing outside the Kingdom of Greece. But as he admits of only 50,000 Greeks in Macedonia and 60,000 in Bulgaria, it is impossible to see how he can locate the balance of 600,000 within the comparatively narrow limits of Epirus and Thrace.

Roumania claims a considerable number of the inhabitants in the three vilayets, but does not exactly know whether they are four or six hundred thousand, or even a million (see Blue Book, Turkey, 1903, No. 3, pp. 24 and 43); and this, notwithstanding the existence of the school of the Roumanian propaganda, for which the Roumanian Government has spent, within the last thirty years, many millions of francs. Yet, in a speech which Mr. Harèt, minister of Public Instruction, delivered on November, 1901, in the Roumanian Chamber, he affirmed that there were no more than 23 Roumanian schools in the district of Monastir, against 366 Greek (as a matter of fact, the latter are more numerous) and 245 Bulgarian. Of these 23 schools there were some which had never had any pupils at all, while in the gymnasium of Monastir there was, up to 1898, no professor to teach the Roumanian language to the six pupils whom the Roumanian propaganda succeeded in inscribing on its register. This was but natural; since the Latin dialect spoken by these Greco-Vallachs of Macedonia

differs from Roumanian almost as much as the Calabrian dialect differs from the Walloon ; and I have yet to learn that Belgium has ever taken an active interest in the intellectual condition of the peasants of Brindisi. The Greco-Vallachs, or "Koutso-Vlachs," are bilingual, but they use Greek only when expressing their strongest and dearest emotions. They are more attached to the traditions of the Greek Fatherland than the inhabitants of Greece itself, and their popular songs are sung as far as the Peloponnesus. That is why the Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia has never been, nor will ever be, anything but a pleasantry ; I will not venture to say a "farce," as the above-mentioned minister, Mr. Harèt, most decidedly said.

If to the 600,000, or the 1,000,000, of these supposititious Roumanians, you add the 1,035,000 Bulgarians, which the statistics of Sofia, of the Exarchate, and of M. Kintcheff claim as existing in Macedonia, then the 1,300,000 Mussulmans registered in the official documents of the Ottoman Empire, the 700,000 Greeks whom Hellenism claims in the vilayets of Salonica and Monastir, the 200,000 "brothers," whom the Servians declare are to be met with as far south as the town of Salonica ; if you add all these, you will obtain, with the Jews and the Gypsies scattered here and there, a total of more than four millions of inhabitants. On the other hand, the Bulgarians do not admit more than 95,000—in some cases not so much as 10,000—Servians ; they do not see in Macedonia more than 250,000 Greeks ; indeed, they reduce their number even to 25,000, laughable as this may seem. Mr. Guiffky, a very learned man, in a communication to the Geographical Society of Berlin, states that the Bulgarians in Macedonia scarcely surpass 340,000. The Roumanians are not reckoned by anyone as an element of importance. The Countess Kapnist does not see more than 100,000 Albanians, and so on. But this is enough to give us another view of Macedonia—relieved of five-sixths of its inhabitants and reduced to as sparsely inhabited a country as the high plateaux of Central Asia.

Sensible persons will, of course, say that we must not insist too much upon these imaginary statistics, statistics made to order, or at random, in respect to a country in which means of scrupulous verification do not exist. Still, the delimitations sanctioned by the Conference of Constantinople in 1876, and the treaty of San Stefano in 1878, were traced on the basis of no better data. On analogous data the map of Europe was altered by the Congress of Berlin, when Eastern Roumelia was created. Similarly, on the ground of information of this description, there is a desire at the present time to favour the pretensions of the Bulgarians, and sacrifice to them numerous

and compact populations which are in no way disposed to endure their supremacy.

The great argument of the Bulgarians is that of language. Every person speaking one of the three Slavonic dialects of Macedonia—whether at the same time he uses or not Greek, Turkish, or Servian, is claimed by them, and must belong to them. I will not enter here upon scientific considerations, nor indicate how many races in Europe have lost their original language, how many others use, at one and the same time, two languages. But history, and even the history of recent times, teaches us that language is not the only factor in determining nationality or in directing the leanings of patriotism.

Whole states, possessing strong cohesion and great homogeneity, have been formed upon other bases than that of language, or race, or religion. Witness Switzerland and Belgium; even France and England. The linguistic factor not only loses all its cohesive force, but it becomes a cause of strife and discord, when it is in glaring opposition to those things which constitute national feeling, namely, historical traditions, common sufferings and joys, the ideal of life, customs, and material interests. The Albanian Gheghs would rather sell themselves to the devil than unite with the Albanian Tosks. The state of things in Macedonia is even more striking, and it entirely disproves the argument drawn from the affinity of idioms. Here we have races living for centuries side by side; the Slavic race which came from the North-East, and the people established since pre-historic ages, the people who have at all times formed the stem of the Hellenic and Byzantine world. For a thousand years they have been pounded together by ruthless wars and butcheries, incursions of barbarians and social commotions; their communal organisation, their property and their very lives were constantly menaced, convulsed, and destroyed. In the long darkness of their abasement, almost completely isolated from the outer world, they gradually came to speak a commonly understood idiom in certain parts only of that territory. But it has proved impossible for them to blend together, impossible to form one and the same national entity. And when the propagandas came from without to stir up the gloom of their life, neither grammar nor vocabulary have availed to induce them to adopt the novel nationalistic ideals presented to them. In vain did the Bulgarian propaganda establish a separate church and special schools; in vain, though supported by the whole weight and influence of the neighbouring principality, did it preach to them that they were Bulgarians, or at least "Macedonians." The new doctrine touched the hearts of only those who felt themselves intimately Slavs. It was powerless to shake

the convictions of these who knew too well that they belonged to the Hellenic world. No linguistic argument, no admonition, no exaction, no threat could shake them ; and when menaced with the daggers of assassins, they preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than to abjure their national faith. Such, in fact, has been the case, when within the last few months the priests and the notables of Nereti, Rambi, Nestram, Fonpanista, and of several other villages in the *cazas* of Florina, Kastoria, and Monastir were foully murdered by the agents of the Bulgarian propaganda. This stubborn and unalterable attachment to the Hellenic nationality is explained away in certain quarters, as due to the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and to the activity of the Greek schools. But the Patriarchate is the head of the Orthodox Church in Turkey as a whole ; it is œcumenical, that is to say, Catholic, and has never admitted any distinction of race in the fold of the faithful. Besides, by reason of a rather loose organisation and very limited resources, its assimilating power has been insignificant in all the really Slav countries ; indeed, Bulgarianism may be said to have sprung out of its very bosom. As regards the Greek schools, how is it possible to ignore the reasoning that, since they give tuition in a language which is supposed to be contrary to the feelings of the majority (some say the totality) of the population, they did not disappear immediately after the establishment of the Bulgarian schools, which were much more lavishly endowed and which used the Slavonic idiom, the only one, as the Bulgarians aver, congenial to the soul and the mouth of "Macedonians" ? If the Greek schools, instead of disappearing, had a yearly increasing attendance, and even put forth more vigorous roots, it was because they responded to the real needs of the inhabitants, whom no one compelled to attend these schools or maintain them. They were quite free to go to the Bulgarian establishments, if the language and the ideas there taught were acceptable to them. Moreover, what are the available means of Hellenism, pre-occupied as we are with the fate of so many other provinces, in comparison with the action of the rich Bulgarian Exarchate, which has concentrated all its forces on central Macedonia, in order to exterminate Hellenism in that country ?

One is struck with the failure of this revolution in the central districts, even before the Turks appeared on the spot, sowing ruin and desolation as they advanced. A general rising of all the villages, a *levée en masse* of all the inhabitants had been proclaimed ; and, if they were inspired by the same Slav ideas, no available power would have been able to resist them at that time. During long months Europe, fearing the remedy more than the evil, prevented the Sultan

from interfering. Nothing then hindered the Bulgarians; they held the field, and they might have occupied entire towns. Does anyone believe that a down-trodden people—even the most submissive in the world—would have remained, in the face of such an absence of repressive force, so indifferent, nay, so hostile, if those who came were their brothers, hastening as liberators to free them from a crushing tyranny?

Wherever the majority of the population was Greek, it did not see in the Bulgarian bands brothers or liberators. It kept them at a distance; indeed, whole villages in Thrace fought against them. Elsewhere the inhabitants fled before these strange saviours, who spared only those who gave money or took up arms. But as these fugitives did not cross over to Bulgaria, their exodus had not the privilege of being recorded in illustrated journals photographically, so as to move the Christians of the West to pity. Fortunately, Lord Percy has travelled over Macedonia, and has not forgotten what he saw with his own eyes. In some places even the Bulgarian priests, who continued to preach hatred to Hellenism, were driven away. I do not think that there is an example in history, of a people who have maintained with such splendid resolution, so firm a will of remaining faithful to its traditions, to its national faith, as these poor Greek peasants of Macedonia. The misfortunes of the Bulgarian villagers excite with reason the sympathies of Europe; but are they not also worthy of equal pity and of more admiration, these ignored heroes, these martyrs of an ideal so lofty, that they are content to die in obscurity, and by the hand of those very men who proclaim themselves their liberators?

If the linguistic argument leads to grave errors in the ethnological examination of Macedonia and the adjoining countries, there is also serious difficulty in grouping the population according to religious confessions. Let us consult the great ethnographic maps published at Sofia in 1901, which, for the friends of the Bulgarians, constitute the only source of reliable information. These maps have the most beautiful appearance. Their text lays such claims to scrupulous exactness, that one could be tempted, at first sight, to believe in them blindly. I purposely avoid discussing them here; but I will simply compare their statements with the Hellenic data, which constantly belie them, and I will show on what mistakes, wilful or not, those statements are founded.

The population of the three vilayets of Kossovo, Monastir, and Salonica is therein computed at about 2,500,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly 1,125,000 are Mahomedans of various races. These

totals are obtained by multiplying the number of the Turkish houses by 4, and that of the remaining Mussulmans, Christians, Israelites, Gypsies, &c., by 5. If we multiplied uniformly by 5, we would obtain about 1,230,000 Mahomedans out of a total of 2,600,000 inhabitants. Contrasted to this imposing Mussulman mass—united as it is in hatred against all the infidels of whatever race—there are 1,276,000 Christians, sharply divided among themselves. The text forgets to present a general table, even approximate, of the followers of the Exarchate, which represents the Bulgarian nationality in Macedonia. Besides, it is very vague in its remarks on the mixed villages which are inhabited partly by Bulgarising Macedonians. But for anyone acquainted with local circumstances, it is not difficult to discover in the details of the tables, that the Christians are therein classified in the following manner: 95,000 Orthodox Servians, 38,000 Bulgarians (!) not subject to the Exarchate, 569,000 adherents of the Exarchate acknowledging themselves Bulgarians, 550,000 Greeks in race or feelings (250,000 of whom speak only Greek in their homes), 20,000 Albanian Catholics, and some thousands belonging to other religions. These are, I repeat it, the official Bulgarian data, and they are valuable in this sense, that they contradict the statements of the fanatic advocates of their cause. They are far from even approximating truth, because the number of houses in each village is often a mere haphazard statement, because the multiplication by 5 is hardly rational, and, finally, because there is more than one error in the classification of Bulgarising and Hellenising Christians. Nevertheless, they agree nearly with the Greek statistics as to the number of the Mussulmans in the three vilayets; and this number is, as we have seen, overwhelming.

Can the Great Powers delude themselves to such an extent as to believe that these hundreds of thousands of men, accustomed for generations to live in arms, in order to oppress, plunder, and overpower the Christians, will not oppose, by every means at their disposal, reforms which deprive them of their iniquitous privileges, of their supremacy and plunder? It is only by defeat and a military occupation that the Mahomedans can be compelled to treat the Christians as equals, and submit to equal laws. But in Macedonia, it is the Mussulmans who are in a majority, and that majority includes 600,000 Albanians, some of the most wild and ferocious mountaineers in the Peninsula. Certainly, the new gendarmerie of 20,000 or 25,000 men—the Christian members of which will be proscribed victims wherever Albanians or Turks are most numerous—will not maintain order or be able to enforce respect for the decisions of

the Governor-General and his councillors. In such circumstances, recourse will be had, as before, to the Turkish Army ; and I do not see what will be the change for the better in such distant districts as lie beyond the immediate supervision of the consuls or of the European Commissioners.

The Mussulmans are not the only section of the population which will laugh to scorn the weakness of the new administration. In every village where Bulgarism predominates, the local gendarmerie will go hand in hand with the members of the committees. What will then happen if the Greeks, exasperated by these plots, organise themselves also, and foment sedition, wherever their influence is predominant.

It is strange that the Powers have not considered how best to render their overwhelming task easier by diminishing as much as possible the dangers which result from the resistance of the Mussulmans, as well as from the antagonism of the Christians. In their anxiety not to disturb the *status quo*, they accepted the delimitation of the three vilayets, such as the caprice of the Porte had defined it—a delimitation which responds to neither natural nor national conditions. It is hard to understand how the *status quo* would have been jeopardised if a new division of the three vilayets had been made ; not the halting and timorous one which the Austro-Russian scheme has, at last, vaguely promised, but one corresponding to the configuration of the soil and to the grouping of the people who inhabit those vilayets. There are parts of the three vilayets which are purely Albanian and Mussulman ; and in these the reforms, in order to succeed, must be conceived on a plan quite different from the rest. Then, again, there are two Slav towns, the inhabitants of which could be accustomed to live in a relatively quiet manner, until they were endowed with a better set of laws and more equitable fiscal system. Finally, in the South, we have a more civilised zone, where Hellenism incontestably predominates, and where a more liberal plan of social, economical, and administrative reforms would meet with fewer obstacles, and, supported by the majority of the population, would have a chance of being carried into effect. The Bulgarian ethnological maps concede that to the south of Nevrocop, Melnik, Petritsa, Stroumnitza, Tikfés, Prilip, Kritchevo, and Achris, the Bulgarian nationality and influence is extremely weak, and have not been able to injure Hellenism seriously. It is true that the Greeks who cling tenaciously to their ancient heritage, push more to the north the line of their predominance ; and this they do with every appearance of right. But I think it is not impossible to arrive at a satisfactory

demarcation; and I scarcely conceive that anyone would deny that which the Bulgarians themselves avow, however reluctantly.

It is to be presumed that, if the three vilayets were remodelled, in this manner, into four homogeneous provinces, a more stable condition of things would be established there, without recourse being had to the appointment of a Governor-General. The creation of such a post, besides administering a fresh blow to the sovereignty of the Sultan, requires, from the person who is to hold it, almost super-human aptitudes, and burdens him with responsibilities which must prove crushing. So difficult is it to reconcile powerful and diametrically opposed interests—interests which will soon be seen to break loose and become uncontrollable in the projected weak administration of the three vilayets. If four new provinces were constituted and Valis appointed, they would have a better chance to succeed in the application of reforms adapted to the conditions of provinces so remodelled, provided always that they have at their disposal the armed force necessary for repressing disturbances, and that they are actively aided by general councils so composed, that the rights of the minority as well as of the majority were not overlooked.

Everything tends to show that, in spite of the Austro-Russian project, the difficulties of the question will remain untouched. Unless we have a violent solution, which, according to all appearances, will take no account of the wishes of the peoples inhabiting Macedonia, I do not believe that pacification of this disturbed part of Europe, and satisfaction of the various national aspirations there centred, will be attained unless this complicated problem is approached with a less prejudiced mind and after a more thorough study of its discordant elements.

L. A. COROMILAS.

INDIA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS:

A PLEA FOR HONEST FREE TRADE.

THE persistent worship of a discredited fetish must have a stupefying effect alike on the moral and on the intellectual sense of its bigoted votaries. No ordinarily intelligent person can honestly believe that our system of unrestricted and untaxed imports, with exports taxed up to the hilt at every foreign port, is rightly termed "Free Trade." Or that a system of Preferential Tariffs, devised simply for the purpose of consolidating our Empire, and making it self-contained and self-sufficing, is rightly termed "Protection." Or that the trifling import duty of 2s. a quarter, which Mr. Chamberlain proposes to put on foreign corn simply to remit it on corn grown within the Empire—and all for the purpose I have just mentioned, of consolidating the Empire—can by any possibility have any appreciable effect on the price of bread in any baker's shop. And yet, a considerable number of people, about whose intelligence and whose honesty in ordinary things one would have no doubt whatever, seem almost to glory in these palpable shams. In private life, no one would deny that the famous "Big loaf and Little loaf" of the *Daily News* is an obvious attempt to trade on popular ignorance or stupidity. And yet all this is done without a blush, much less an apology, in order to bolster up a discredited fetish, by those who would never dream of picking a pocket or robbing a till, but think they may sail near the wind in the cause of so-called "Free Trade." The whole scheme of the Free Food League is ridiculous to the last degree and it sails under an obviously false flag; and yet, solely by reason of this great delusion, it enrols many adherents of whom most of us would expect better things.

It seems to me that this lack of the sense of moral and intellectual responsibility, in regard both to statements and to methods, is even

more evident in the treatment of the Indian aspect of this great question by the Free Fooders and Free Importers, than in any other branch of the subject. Everyone knows that the ex-Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, is an extreme Cobdenite, and that consequently it would have been discourteous on Mr. Chamberlain's part to come to close quarters with this section of his great plan, even if it had been possible for him to do so, so long as Lord George had the entire control of Indian affairs; and yet all the Free Fooders with one voice have been crying aloud that Mr. Chamberlain has forgotten India or has ignored it for his own sinister purposes. Well, the fact that Sir Charles Elliott, absolutely the first living authority on Indian economics, has joined the Tariff Commission, finally disposes of this ridiculous and malicious figment. I quite agree with Mr. Henry Beauchamp of the *Madras Mail*—whose thoughtful and well-reasoned articles regarding the possible and probable effects of Preferential Tariffs on Indian commerce have been most helpful to really earnest students of this great problem—that it would have been an advantage to India to be more largely represented on that Commission, especially by representatives of “native producers and consumers, and of the mercantile community.” The names of many great authorities—Sir George Arbuthnot, of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, Sir Krishnamurti Iyer, the accomplished Dewan of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, and others from every part of India—will occur to all of us as eminently qualified to take a leading part in this great inquest. But it may be fairly surmised that there would be great difficulty and delay in securing the presence of really front-rank men of this stamp from India; and Mr. Chamberlain has himself told us, at the first meeting of the Commission, that the pressing need of all has been, to keep the numbers of the Commission within workable limits. That being so, I feel very confident that nine out of ten of those best qualified to judge will agree with me, that, if there is only to be a single representative of India on the Commission, Sir Charles Elliott is the one man whose encyclopædic knowledge of the Indian conditions of this question marks him out for the work.

Next, it is positively notorious that German, American, and Belgian dumping on the defenceless markets of India is every year more and more rapidly encroaching on our British trade with India, and ousting British goods from those markets—the biggest of all markets still open to us, and the market of infinitely the greatest promise to us for the future, if only we have the wisdom and the honesty to secure it for ourselves in the only honourable way, by a system of fair “give and take” between this country and India. I have given elsewhere the figures of

this decline of our trade—in many branches an absolute decline, in all a comparative one—from the latest official returns ; and can do so again, if my accuracy is challenged. The fact, indeed, is hardly denied by the Free Importers, though they search (or pretend to search) for its cause everywhere but in the right place. I venture to state as a positive fact, that our imports into India of iron and steel, of hardware and cutlery, of woollen goods, and even (at least, in tendency) of cotton goods, are gradually being transferred to the foreigners. And I go further. I maintain that, *ex naturâ rei*, the tendency could not possibly be otherwise—as everyone must see who has any intelligent knowledge of what dumping really means, and how it works. Here are the vast manufacturing concerns of Germany and America—who would in the nature of things be serious rivals of ours, even if the competition were a fair and even one—secured in their immense home-trade by their system of Tariffs ; consequently they can profitably increase their plant indefinitely, they can keep their machinery going day and night at high pressure year in and year out, and thus multiply their output and their profits *usque ad infinitum*—at any rate until they have succeeded in absolutely crushing our competition. And why ? Simply because, having a protected home-market—if anyone attempted to dump on *them*, up would go the tariff until dumping became impossible—and their sales in that home-market yielding them sufficient profits to cover all the initial cost of their plant, machinery, &c. they are able to sell their surplus products (every year becoming greater, of course, because the greater the surplus the less the cost of production, and the greater the profit) in the unprotected markets of England and India, simply because the English and Indian manufacturers have first of all to provide for the interest on their outlay in the way of plant, machinery, &c. And further, it is an absolute fact that India's exports of food and raw materials show the corresponding tendency, to seek markets outside the empire.

Well, now, that surely is a very serious matter for the manufacturers and for the operatives of Oldham and Manchester, of Leeds and Bradford, of Sheffield and Wolverhampton, and in fact of all our manufacturing districts. It seems to me little less than amazing that—apart altogether from all other causes—the imminent jeopardy in which our whole Indian trade is placed, and must be placed, by the dumping there of all foreign surpluses that are not dumped here, has not long ago aroused the keenest apprehensions in all our great staple industries, notwithstanding the old “free-trade” prejudices and follies.

And even now, when just and reasonable apprehensions have been

aroused by the plain-speaking of Mr. Chamberlain, every bigot of the Free Imports school feels himself bound to darken counsel, by accounting for our inelastic British trade by every reason but the right one, and decrying every proposal for Tariff Reform as unnecessary or harmful.

This obscurantist method is especially easy of application to our Indian commercial and fiscal relations, because of the extreme ignorance of the general relations between the British and Indian Governments that is prevalent in England, even among the educated classes.

Let me offer, as an instance of this, suggestion—started, I am sorry to say, by some politicians who must have known its fraudulent character—that is becoming quite popular among the speakers and writers against Preferential Tariffs for India, as to what might happen in India if we introduced Preferential Tariffs there. It is actually suggested by these wiseacres, that if we sanction the imposition of import duties by the Indian Government on foreign imports, the Indian peoples, being “intensely protectionist,” will demand that the Indian Government shall also impose duties on the import of English goods! And not only so, they will also become discontented and disaffected if we refuse to sanction such an idiotic and disloyal proceeding! And lastly (this is the climax of “Free Trade” cant and hypocrisy), we shall have to give way to these disloyal demands, because, forsooth, we shall have deprived ourselves of the excuse behind which we have hitherto sheltered ourselves, that we know “Free Trade” is gospel truth!

Now, to anyone who is acquainted with our method of governing India, and who has even a slight knowledge of the fiscal history of recent years in India, all this is such utter rubbish that it is difficult to discuss it in measured terms.

Let me briefly state the facts :—

Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler are justified, from their narrow point of view, in calling India “intensely protectionist.” For Indian economists—like those of the whole civilised world, except a few English professors who are too lazy or too narrow-minded to study any German, French, or other foreign works on the science which they assume to “profess”—are for the most part believers in the National School of Political Economy, rather than in the cosmopolitan theories that have so long held the field in our English Universities. The cosmopolitan system, preached with such remarkable ability by Ricardo, Mill, Bastiat, and other great writers, achieved its triumph in England mainly because the revolutionary propaganda of Cobden was eagerly supported by the manufacturing interest

for the temporary purpose of reducing the agricultural interest to a subordinate position. Its triumph might have become a permanent one, to the advantage of everybody, if only the other nations of the world had had the grace to fulfil Cobden's predictions. But Indian economists have seen all those predictions ludicrously falsified. They have seen that, with the growth of the national sentiment throughout the civilised world—with the consolidation, on national principles, of all the great empires of the world, Germany, America, Italy, France, Russia, and (so far as possible) even Austria-Hungary and the Scandinavian Powers—the cosmopolitan system of economics has everywhere, except in the British Empire, been abandoned for the "New Economics" of Imperialism, based on the writings of List and others, and carried into effect by such men as Bismarck and McKinley. And these Indian economists, whom superficial observers may regard as simply "Protectionists" and therefore not to be argued with, have seen that British prejudices in favour of cosmopolitanism have produced, within the British Empire, a fiscal system—or rather a chaotic negation of all system in fiscal matters—that is directly opposed to all the nationalist or imperialist tendencies of the present day, and that is only potent in the direction of that disintegration of the Empire to which it is a powerful incentive. Further, they have observed that every community within the Empire, that is sufficiently powerful to do so, has revolted against this obsolete system, and, being denied an Imperialist system by the folly of our antiquated "Free Traders," has set up a nationalist system of its own. And lastly, they have seen that these very same British "Free Traders," while forcing their Free Trade notions on India at the point of the bayonet, to the great detriment of Indian arts and industries, have not scrupled to impose such duties on the import of Indian produce into England as may be convenient to the British Exchequer.

Is it any wonder that India is "intensely Protectionist?" And is it any wonder that India, with her experience of the tender mercies of our British "Free Trade," is, for the moment at any rate, disposed to be Protectionist against British goods even more than against foreign goods? And is it possible for any Free Trader to be really so stupid as to suppose that that disposition will be lessened, by our assuring the Indian Protectionist economists that we know what is good for them much better than they do, and by our shoving the gospel truths of Free Trade down their throats?

Human nature being what it is, does it not seem at least more likely that we may succeed in lessening that Indian disposition towards Protection against British goods, if we approach Indian public opinion

on more equal terms, and not from the "superior" heights of the British Free Trader?

If the Free Trader will only consent to forswear cant, and look at the facts *en plein jour*, he knows, as we all know, that the talk of India imposing Protective duties on the import of Lancashire cotton goods, or Yorkshire woollen goods, or Sheffield cutlery, or any other great British staple, under any conceivable circumstances whatever, is the merest drivel. The Secretary of State who sanctioned such a disloyal act, and the Ministry who agreed to it, would be out of office in a week—we all know that—whatever might be the grounds on which it was proposed. How then can politicians like Lord George Hamilton, and Sir Henry Fowler, and the Free Trade candidate for Central Bradford, and crowds of other Radical speakers, offer such an obviously stupid suggestion in good faith? And some of these astonishing people have the effrontery to suggest that this absurd and impossible result may somehow ensue from the adoption of a plan than is *ex hypothesi* only devised for the purpose of increasing and facilitating inter-Imperial trade by means of preferences over the foreigner.

No, let us recognise that in these fiscal matters, England has much that she can offer to benefit India; and India has much that we can conscientiously ask her to offer—but only on such a fair give and take system—to benefit England. Let us recognise that, on this system, and treating India on this fair level of equality, England has a perfect right to expect that India shall at once take off every duty that is now imposed on Lancashire cottons and Yorkshire woollens and Sheffield cutlery, and every other duty on British goods. Why? Certainly not because of our "superior" idea that Free Trade is best for India though she despises and hates it. That is the contention of the Free Traders, and India may well be irritated by its arrogant folly. But let us put it on a higher and nobler ground. We expect that treatment of British products by India, because we are prepared to offer Indian products the same friendly treatment; because we, too, are prepared to admit her products as free of duty as we possibly can; because we regard import duties against sister States within the British Empire as the most pernicious form of *octroi*, an *octroi* that must tend to disintegrate the Empire.

And in this connection, and in the cause of Empire, I am not in the least afraid of being called a Protectionist. I glory, as an Englishman, in the thought of the mighty stimulus that will be instantly imparted to our Lancashire and Yorkshire and Midland industries, when their products are admitted free to the markets of the 300,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects, while the same products

of the protected industries of the foreigner are taxed at every Indian port.

Nor less do I glory, as an Anglo-Indian, in the thought of the security from famine afforded to the Indian masses, by the only means that can ensure that security—by the vast expansion of the area under food-crops, cultivated under irrigation and therefore not liable to loss by drought, that must ensue from the free admission of Indian wheat and barley to England while foreign wheat pays a tax of 2s. a quarter. For those food-crops, which could never pay the cost of cultivation and irrigation on the off-chance of being needed to supply Indian wants in famine, will easily and profitably be grown for this export trade, and can always be diverted to famine districts when needed. I glory in the immense extension of employment of Indian labour that will similarly follow on the stimulus given to the cultivation of Indian tea, cocoa, coffee, sugar, tobacco, indigo, and all the other Indian products which will command the English market, as well as the Colonial market, under Mr. Chamberlain's plan.

And, finally, let us never forget that the fiscal union of England and India, alone, even apart from the Colonies, means by far the grandest Free Trade Federation of the world. It means a free trade community that will enjoy practically absolute Free Trade within its own limits, numbering perhaps a sixth of the whole human race, and more populous than the United States and Germany and France, with all their colonies, put together. And that will be honest Free Trade, not the sham for which the Free Importers are blindly shouting. Is not that an ideal worth striving for? Mr. Chamberlain has shown us that it is attainable without any appreciable sacrifice on our part. But even if it were otherwise—even if there were some foundation for the laborious calculations of the Free Fooders as to the extra farthing—is not this glorious ideal, an ideal of almost illimitable possibilities for the future both of India and of England, worth some little risk of sacrifice on our part?

1901. 10. 17.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

A RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

II.

THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

A RETROSPECTIVE analysis of the contents of the preceding article will establish the fact that, during the six centuries anterior to the Christian era, the cases—so far ascertained—of arbitration between the various Greek states are more numerous and more important than the instances to be met with in the annals of Rome, of the Middle Ages, and of the world's history in later times, up to the Jay Treaty of 1794. In considering this proposition, which at first sight may appear incredible, but which I believe to be exact, we shall ascertain still more conclusively that international arbitration had its origin and has found favour among nations devoted to free institutions, and in times when intellectual culture flourished; while, on the other hand, it remained unknown to barbarous races, or has proved incompatible with the conditions essential to despotism, and the pursuits of a conquering people.

Before entering upon this part of our subject, it is necessary to supplement the narrative of inter-state arbitration among the Greeks by some account of their customary procedure. The mere review of the cases referred to must have convinced the reader that that procedure was of an elaborate and perfect kind. The states agreeing to refer a dispute to arbitration usually concluded a convention, reciting the points of their difference, and fixing the time and place at which the case should be tried by the arbitrator, whose decision they bound themselves to respect and carry into effect. The arbitrator solemnly swore to fulfil his sacred duty impartially and conscientiously; and he heard and scrupulously examined the pleadings of the special

commissioners appointed by either side. Evidence, local, historical, and of living witnesses was adduced and carefully tested. Finally, the award was drawn up in duplicate, each of the litigants receiving a copy, which was engraved on tablets of stone or metal, to be set up in a temple or some public place, so that they might be accessible and known to all the citizens. The Amphictyonic decrees were promulgated in like manner.³⁶

The copious terminology which has come down to us also speaks of the extensive practice of arbitration among the Greeks. *Λόγῳ κρίνεσθαι*, or *λόγῳ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν τὰ δίκαια περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν*, or *δίκας τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι*, was said of those who referred a dispute to arbitration. The agreement to arbitrate was known as *σύμβολον* the document containing the instructions to the commissioners, as *διάγραμμα* the commissioners were called *σύνδικοι* the neutral state, chosen as arbiter, *πόλις ἑκκλητος* and to elect such an arbiter, *ἐκκλησίαν ἐλέσθαι* the arbitrator *δικαστής*, *διαιτητής*, or *μέσος δικαστής* a neutral commissioner for the purpose of bringing about a compromise, *διαλυτής*, *διαλλακτής*, or *εὐθέτης* to conciliate, or arbitrate between two states, *δίκη διαλύειν πόλεις* the act of conciliation or compromise, *σύλλυσις* settling a dispute, *διακρίνειν* the process of judging of a dispute, *διαδικασία* the function of an international judge, *δικαστεία* the arbitral award, *κρίσις* to confirm an award or an act of conciliation, *ἐπικρίνειν διαλλαγὰς* the tablet on which the award was inscribed, *στήλη*. The terms *δαίτα*, *διαιτησία*, *διαίτησις*, *διαιτητής*, *διαίτη ἐπιτρέπειν*, were terms more specially used in connection with private arbitration.³⁷

The hold which the idea of arbitration had—as these facts attest—on the Greek mind, can only be accounted for by those religious conceptions³⁸ to which allusion has been made at the outset. But

³⁶ M. Revon ("L'Arbitrage International," 1892, page 83) speaks of the Amphictyonic Council as, "l'institution qui, entre autres, semble incarner la tendance des Grecs vers l'arbitrage. . . . Elle fonda bien un certain droit des gens : restrictions à la guerre, trêves accordées pour ensevelir les morts, interdiction d'exécuter des saisies à titre de représailles, de couper les canaux ou de détourner les fleuves qui apportent l'eau à une ville assiégée, défense de la détruire une fois prise, respect à ceux qui se réfugent dans les temples, et mille autre tempéraments de même sorte." In connection with some of these regulations, see R. Dareste, "Du droit des représailles principalement chez les anciens Grecs" ("Reveu des études Grecques," 1889, pp. 305—321), wherein another case of arbitration is mentioned (p. 308 n.) between the towns of Lation and Olonte, as recorded in an inscription. The city of Cnossos, in Crete, was appointed arbitrator in this case.

³⁷ In later and modern Greek the terms generally used are *αἵρετοκρισία* and *αἵρετοκριτής*.

³⁸ "La religion, qui a fondé l'ancien droit des gens, peut seule en établir un nouveau. L'homme ne corrige ses lois qu'après avoir changé ses dieux. Toute sa vie juridique s'imprime de l'image qu'il s'en forme. Dis-moi qui tu adores, et je te dirai qui tu es ; car l'idole méchante fait l'idolâtre cruel, et le Dieu bon rend son fidèle plus doux." (Revon, *op. cit.*, p. 105.)

religious beliefs are formulated and developed by such philosophic systems, as the genius of each people gives birth to. And the influence of philosophy was in no instance more pronounced than with the Greeks, a people eager for knowledge of every kind, ready to inquire into every problem, averse to obscurity, thirsting for enlightenment and progress. If, therefore, we cast even a rapid glance over this aspect of Greek genius, we shall find that Greek philosophy, of whatever school, and taken as a whole, was the first to promulgate, in a manner as positive and lucid as it was captivating and convincing, the doctrine of humanity and goodwill to all men. Such was the teaching of Pythagoras, in its genuine and pure form ;³⁹ so taught Anaxagoras, the father of Attic philosophy, who declared himself a citizen, not merely of his native town of Clazomenæ, but of the whole of Greece : for Greece in herself was then the world. To the tenets of Anaxagoras Socrates traced his own knowledge, which moved him to say that he was, not of Athens or of Corinth, but a citizen of the world⁴⁰—*κόσμιος*. The influence which the teaching of Socrates exercised on morals in Greece was most powerful and beneficial, in this direction also, because it resided in the example of his whole life, in the cheerfulness and, at the same time, in the sobriety of his mind and soul—the most perfect soul, as Montaigne says (*Essais* ii. 11), that was ever known to him.⁴¹

³⁹ Critical scholars, who have sought the truth, have ascertained beyond dispute that there are two distinct and divergent sets of traditions relating to Pythagoras : the ancient and reliable one, derived from Plato and other authorities of his worth and reliability ; and the much later one, of post-Christian times, supplied by Diogenes Laertius, Iamblichus, and other uncritical compilers, who have retailed the manifest fabrications of a muddle-headed, gullible and superstitious age. The Neo-Platonic writers of that time laid it down as an axiom that nothing should be deemed incredible which referred to the deity and its supposed workings. We may therefore easily conceive the immensity of the field thus opened to fancies and fabrications of all kinds—including the supposititious precepts and practices of Pythagoras.

⁴⁰ This saying of Socrates is often referred to by ancient authors (*Arr. Epict. Diss.* i. 9 ; *Plut. de Exil.* v. p. 601 ; &c.). Cicero (*Tuscul.* v. 37) explains that Socrates considered himself a citizen of any place inhabited by human beings.

⁴¹ "But a far greater, more deep-reaching, and more universal influence on the religious life of man's spirit than it was ever in the power of Stoicism to exert, was destined to proceed from the Platonic philosophy. It dates its beginning from that man who appears to us as the forerunner of a higher development of humanity, as the greatest man of the ancient world—one in whom the spirit of that world, going beyond itself, strove after a more glorious future—from Socrates, whose whole life seems invested in a mystery and riddle corresponding to his prophetic character. . . . The influence of Socrates, working to the same end (awakening men's aspiration after the godlike) has been often experienced in those great crises of man's history which were destined, by the dissolution of the old, to prepare the way for a new creation. As one who lived in a crisis of this sort (*Marsiglio Ficino*) has said, the Platonic Socrates, like John the Baptist, was a forerunner of Christ. This was pre-eminently true, so far as it relates to the first manifestation of Christ to the whole world." (*J. A. W. Neander, "Hist. of the Christian Religion," Bohn, 1850, i. 25.*) This view is borne out by the Fathers of the Church themselves, one of the earliest of whom, Justin Martyr, known also as

The disciple and successor of Socrates, Plato, who by universal consent is surnamed the Divine,⁴² while far surpassing all other teachers by the ennobling grace, the irresistible charm of his words, came so near to the humanity and loftiness of the Christian dispensation that, on the one hand the Neo-Platonists accused the Christians of appropriating the dogmas of the philosopher, while, on the other hand, some of the Fathers of the Church find no better explanation of this surprising similarity than the surmise that the founder of the Academy possessed some knowledge of those Scriptures which the founder of Christianity had come to fulfil.⁴³ Plato in his Republic, pictures his ideal of a perfect state as founded on justice and humanity, enjoying the blessings of peace, and extending goodwill to all men. It was impossible that teaching so pure, couched in terms so enthralling, and expressed in a language so divine,⁴⁴ should fail to make a deep and lasting impression, not only on the philosophic speculations of the Greeks, but on their practical politics also. Aristippus, though in other respects he strayed away from the principles and the practice of his great master, Socrates, yet declared himself a citizen of the world; as did also Diogenes the Cynic (Diog. Laert. vi. 2, 63,

the Philosopher, says that "those who lived according to reason are Christians, even though accounted as atheists. Such among the Greeks are Socrates and Heraclitus, and those who resembled them" (Apol. i. 46). "And they who were born before Christ, as to his humanity, when they endeavoured to examine and confute things by reason, were dragged before the judgment seats as wicked men and busybodies. He who was more active in this than all of them was Socrates. . . . He exhorted them to gain the knowledge of God, who was unknown to them, by the investigation by reason. . . . Christ was known even to Socrates in part" (Apol. ii. §10, &c.). Therefore, Shelley calls Socrates "the Je-us Christ of Greece." And Lamartine, in his preface to "La mort de Socrate," says: "Il avait combattu toute sa vie cet empire des sens que le Christ venait renverser; sa philosophie était toute religieuse." A recent and more scientific French author, Ernest Havet, enters thus upon an inquiry of the relations between Greek philosophy and Christianity: "J'étudie le Christianisme dans ses origines, non pas seulement dans ses origines immédiates . . . mais dans ses sources premières et plus profondes, celles de l'antiquité hellénique, dont il est sorti presque tout entier . . . C'est précisément me que je me propose d'établir, que le Christianisme est beaucoup plus hellénique qu'il n'est juif" (Le Christianisme et ses Origines, Introd. p. v.). It is, therefore, but natural for F. C. Baur ("Church Hist. of the First Three Centuries," i. 11) to admit that "the well-known parallel drawn by so many writers between Socrates and Christ . . . is certainly not without justice."

⁴² On ne s'approche de Platon (says the French philosopher Leroux, in "Encycl. Nouvelle," s. v. "Egalité"), que comme on s'approche du Christ, avec respect et amour.

⁴³ St. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v. 14, p. 705 ff.) finds an almost entire identity between the fundamental principles of Plato's philosophy and of Christian ethics. (Cf. K. Löschhorn, "Studien zur platonischen und christlichen ethik," 1880.)

⁴⁴ "C'est à la langue des Hellènes que le Christianisme doit son extension rapide sur une grande partie de la terre (Plank, "Geschichte des Christenthums," ii. 260 ss.). L'élément Hellénique qui de bonne heure pénétra la doctrine Chrétienne, lui imprima aussi ce caractère de généralité qui l'élève au-dessus de toutes les religions du passé." (F. Laurent, "Études sur l'Hist. de l'Humanité," ii. 367. Cf. E. Hatch, "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," London, 1898.)

and ii. 8, 99). The disciple of the latter, Crates of Thebes, in one of his highly philosophic tragedies, expresses the same sentiment (*ibid.* vi. 7, 98) in lines of great beauty :

Οὐχ εἰς πάτρας μοι πύργος, οὐ μία στέγη,
πάσης δέ χέρσου καὶ πόλισμα καὶ δόμος
ἔτοιμος ἡμῖν ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι πάρα.

And the theatre was a most potent factor in the political, no less than in the social life of the Greeks. Therefore, to the other claims which Aristophanes has on our admiration, this must also be added, that in critical times and adverse circumstances, he, more than any other scenic poet, had the courage and the sagacity to inveigh against the evils of war, and to advocate peace and conciliation. Equally impressive and beautiful is the apophthegm of the founder of a different school of philosophy, Democritus, who said that for the wise man every country is habitable ; since to the virtuous soul all the world is Fatherland. 'Ανδρὶ σοφῷ πᾶσα γῆ βατή' ψυχῆς γὰρ ἀγαθῆς πατρὶς ὁ ξύμπας κόσμος (Stob. Floril. xl. 7). It would be difficult to find a more broad-minded conception of humanity, expressed in words as touching as they are grand, than in Plutarch's treatise on Exile, § 5.⁴⁵ And when we turn to the Stoics, we find the idea of the universality of fatherland carried so far,⁴⁶ as to appear all but a negation of the duties of citizenship.

It would lead to great lengths, and considerably beyond the scope of this article, if we attempted to answer here the question which naturally arises—how did the Greeks reconcile these doctrines with their intense love of country, their enthusiastic devotion to particular cities—tendencies which characterised their public life and powerfully affected their whole history. What is certain, and what must here suffice, is the fact that the two tendencies were found to be not irreconcilable, and that the teaching of their great thinkers, the sublime principles which Greek philosophy inculcated into the hearts of the most bright-minded and intellectually refined race that ever lived,* enabled the Greeks, in spite of adverse circumstances, and of the

* Cf. the extracts from two similar treatises in Stob. Floril. xl. 8 and 9.

* See the exquisite passages in Arrian's Dissertations of Epictetus, i. 9.

* Mr. Lecky ("History of European Morals," i. 418) considers it an extraordinary event in history "that within the narrow limits and scanty population of the Greek States should have arisen men, who, in almost every conceivable form of genius, in philosophy, in epic, dramatic, and lyric poetry, in written and spoken eloquence, in statesmanship, in sculpture, in painting, and probably also in music, should have attained almost or altogether the highest limits of human perfection." Another authority, who has investigated this phenomenon, not from a literary or philosophical point of view, but on strictly scientific principles, speaks even more emphatically. Mr. Galton's anthropological researches, his statistical and comparative measurements of the physical and moral faculties of man, have led him to the conclusion that "the ablest race of whom history bears record is unquestionably

pernicious influences of those times, to entertain broader views of humanity than any other people of antiquity ; to rise to a conception of public law more mature than anything we meet with later, even up to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς—every land is a Fatherland—was the dictum of the Delphic Oracle, “the oracle of the universe,” as Cicero styles it. Its agency in the cause of peace, which it repeatedly counselled both to the Greek states and to the Asiatic despots who had recourse to its guidance, was most powerful ; all the more effective, since, in adopting the advice of a religious institution, no one could be suspected of submitting to foreign dictation of a political bias. Consequently, also, the Oracle promoted arbitration and conciliation in the affairs of Greece. We have already seen (note 10) the distinction between a judge and an arbiter, as defined by Aristotle, who goes on (*loc. cit.*) to add : “For this purpose has the (function of the) arbiter been devised, that what is fair should prevail.”⁴⁷ And further on (*Rhet.* iii. 11) he records the saying of Archytas the Pythagorean, that “an arbiter and an altar are alike ; for in them do those who suffer from injustice seek refuge.” Æschines thought that no argument was more likely to reconcile the Athenians to the crafty policy of his client, Philip of Macedon, than to assure them that he was ready to refer all their disputes to arbitration ; and for this he claimed that great credit was due to Philip (*c. Ctes.* 30 ff., *De F. L.*, 35). It is not for mere oratorical

the ancient Greeks, partly because their masterpieces in the principal departments of intellectual activity are still unsurpassed, and partly because the population which gave birth to the creators of these masterpieces was very small.” He goes on to show that “the millions of all Europe, breeding as they have done for the subsequent two thousand years, have never produced their (Socrates’ and Phidias’) equals.” And, in concluding a closely reasoned argument, he adds : “It follows from all this, that the average ability of the Athenian race is, on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own ; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro. This estimate, which may seem prodigious to some, is confirmed by the quick intelligence and high culture of the Athenian commonalty, before whom literary works were recited, and works of art exhibited, of a far more severe character than could possibly be appreciated by the average of our race, the calibre of whose intellect is easily gauged by a glance at the contents of a railway bookstall” (“Hereditary Genius,” pp. 329 and 331). The statement of Sir Henry Maine, that, in an intellectual sense, nothing moves in the Western world that is not Greek in its origin, was, in a way, anticipated by Shelley (Preface to “Hellas”) when he wrote : “We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their root in Greece. But for Greece, Rome—the instructor, the conqueror, or the metropolis of our ancestors, would have spread no illumination with her arms, and we might still have been savages and idolaters ; or, what is worse, might have arrived at such a stagnant and miserable state of social institution as China possesses.” See also the reflections of Emerson (“Essay on History”), and “What we owe to Greece,” in S. H. Butcher’s “Some Aspects of the Greek Genius,” London, 1891.

⁴⁷ Seneca (*l. iii. de benef.* c. 7) plagiarising the above with an unconcernedness truly Latin, says that the judge is limited by rules of law ; the umpire is left quite free, and can soften law and justice by kindness and mercy.

effect that Aristides the rhetorician, in extolling the imperishable achievements of the Athenians, refers repeatedly to their endeavours to let inter-state arbitration prevail. In his "Panathenaic" (i. 158, ed. Jebb), he declares that the city of Athens strove to accustom the other Greeks to restrain themselves from rushing headlong into war, and to prefer submitting their differences to the adjudication of reason (λόγῳ κρίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν). He records (Pro Pac. Laced. i. 393) the fact that the Athenians returned this one reply to the repeated and peremptory embassies of the Lacedæmonians: let some judicial arrangement be sought, and let not war be waged among Greeks.⁴⁸ Again (Leuctr. 2. i. 429), he recalls to mind that the Thebans also were invited to settle disputes by arbitration. And in his praise of Pericles (Pro Quatr. Vir. ii. 149), this he especially thinks worthy of admiration, that he was averse to war at the outset, and counselled that differences should be adjusted amicably.

When Ælius Aristides wrote, (towards the middle of the second century of our era), the hard rule of Rome held the world under a yoke of iron. Nothing had availed to assuage the violence or mollify the rigour of Roman aggression, though the humanising philosophy of the Greeks had been interpreted nobly by those Roman thinkers who were reared in the schools of Greece. Marcus Aurelius, who was a philosopher first and an Emperor after, whom his people believed to have been sent by the gods to benefit mankind,⁴⁹ who thought in Greek, and in Greek wrote that truly golden book of his, he alone adopted to the full the teaching of his Greek masters. "My city [socially], and my country [politically]: as Antoninus, it is Rome; as a man, the world. Therefore, what are beneficial to them, are the only things that are good to me" (vi. 44). And again: "Some (poet) has said: 'Dear city of Cecrops.' And wilt thou not say, 'Dear city of God?'" (iv. 23). Such are some of the *Meditations concerning Himself*—meditations diametrically opposed to the comfortable but ignoble idea conveyed by the aphorism, "ubi bene, ibi patria." Long before

⁴⁸ In the preceding article I omitted to refer to another case of mediation, if not, strictly speaking, of arbitration, which is very briefly recorded by Plutarch (Demetr. xxii.). The Athenians, he says, intervened, and brought about an amicable arrangement between Demetrius and the Rhodians, both parties desiring the cessation of hostilities.

⁴⁹ "On sent en soi-même un plaisir secret, lorsqu'on parle de cet empereur. On ne peu lire sa vie sans une espèce d'attendrissement. Tel est l'effet qu'elle produit, qu'on a meilleure opinion de soi-même, parce qu'on a meilleure opinion des hommes." Montesquieu, "Grandeur et Décadence des Romains," xvi.—Cardinal Francesco Barberino dedicated his translation (1667) of that book to his own soul, "that it might blush more red than the scarlet of his robe, witnessing the virtues of that Gentile." At the very outset of his *Meditations* (i. 6) Marcus enumerates among the things in life for which he is grateful, the fact that he had Greek masters and had received a Greek training.

him, Cicero poured forth to unwilling ears the high principles with which his mind had been adorned by the philosophy of Greece, stigmatising the rapacity and injustice of his countrymen. "*Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*," was an old axiom with the Romans. Originally *hostis* signified both an enemy and a stranger, the two meanings being ordinarily confounded.⁵⁰ "*Hostis apud majores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicemus*. Indicant XII Tabulæ, ut: *status dies cum hoste*; itemque, *adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*." This, on the authority of Cicero (*De Off.* i. 12), who also condemns the practice of expelling, without any just or assignable cause, an entire body of foreign residents. "They also act inhumanly who prevent foreigners from inhabiting their cities, and banish them; as Pennus did in a former generation, and Papius recently" (*Ibid.* iii. 11; *Cf.* *Pro Arch.* 5; *Pro Balb.* 23; *Ad Att.* iv. 16, &c.). Junius Pennus, tribune in 126 B.C., had a law passed expelling all foreigners (*peregrini*) from Rome; and this law was re-enacted in 65 B.C., under the tribune Caius Papius, "on the pretence that they were too numerous, and did not seem worthy to live with the Romans," as Dio Cassius expressly states (*xxxvii.* 9; *Cf.* *Val. Max.* iii. 4, § 5).

* "Plus que les autres peuples, les Romains voyaient des ennemis dans toutes les nations, parce qu'ils convoitaient la domination du monde entier. Ils gravèrent sur la loi des XII tables la qualification d'ennemi pour désigner l'étranger. Les jurisconsultes traduisirent ces sentiments en règles juridiques, avec la rigueur qui les caractérisent." (F. Laurent, "*Hist. de l'Humanité*," iii. 67.) Compare with this the theory and practice of the Greeks. The persons of strangers were deemed sacred, and they enjoyed the immunities of suppliants; they were considered as sent by Zeus, one of whose attributes was that of *ξένιος*. So from the earliest times in Homer:—

... οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
 ξείνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες
 ξεινοὶ τε, πτωχοὶ τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε.
 (*Od.* xiv. 56; also vi. 207, &c.)

Cf. *Apol. Rhod.* *Argen.* ii. 1132.)

And according to the saying of Pythagoras—*ξένος ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, οὐ μόνον πολίτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενοῦς διαφέρει*—a stranger, if a just man, was considered not only more than a fellow-citizen, but more even than a relative. This religious reverence was so intense, that it was believed the gods themselves often appeared among men disguised as strangers:

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξεινοῖσιν τοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
 παντοῖοι τέλειθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόλῃας·

Od. xvii. 484.

a belief not dissimilar to the Apostolic behest: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares" (*Heb.* xiii. 2). Indeed, Zeus was supposed to fare along with the strangers that were being entertained, and, if wronged, to become their avenger (*Od.* ix. 270):

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετῶν τε, ξείνων τε,
 ξένιος, ὅς ξεινοῖσιν ἄμ' αἰδοῖοισιν ὑπῆλξε.

Any violation of the laws of hospitality was deemed a crime among men, and an act of impiety to the gods, which was punished severely, as the *δίκαι κακοξενίας* directed. In a word, the customs of hospitality offer one of the most beautiful aspects of Greek life, a trait of national character which still subsists among the people of Greece.

At the outset of the above treatise⁵¹ (i. 11), Cicero remarks: "We should, in my opinion, always take measures for such a peace as may contain no element of treachery, in which—had my advice been followed—we might have enjoyed some, if not the best, form of government. Of this we have now not any." He had excellent reasons for giving this advice;⁵² he proposed to comment (iii. 22) upon one of the most disgraceful breaches of a solemn compact which history records: "If supremacy is sought for the sake of glory, let guilt be excluded, in which there can be no glory; but if power for its own sake is to be attained by any means, it can never be an advantage, when it involves infamy. The proposal, therefore, of Lucius Philippus, the son of Quintus, was not expedient: that the (Greek) states which Lucius Sylla had made free, by a decree of the Senate, and in consideration of a sum of money, should be again made tributary, and that we should not refund the money which they had paid for their exemption. The Senate acquiesced. A disgrace to the empire! The honour of pirates is better than was that of the Senate!" No doubt, he had in view this iniquitous proceeding, as also the hypocrisy which invariably accompanied Roman aggression, when he further advised: "We should also bear in mind that justice must be regarded even toward the most humble. . . . Of all forms of injustice none is more hateful than the conduct of those who, while practising the deepest deception, contrive to appear sincere" (i. 13).

III.

ROMAN TIMES.

SUCH lofty teaching had no effect on Roman policy. In private matters arbitration was, indeed, a recognised and thoroughly organised institution in Rome, as we have seen it in Greece; and it was from the mother country that the colonists transplanted that institution to the Greek cities of Sicily. So that it was found flourishing there, and was sanctioned and confirmed by the *Lex Rupilia*, when (131 B.C.)

⁵¹ This work of Cicero is admittedly based upon Greek models, and is partly translated verbatim from Greek original texts. (See Garve's Transl., 6th Ed. Breslau, 1819.)

⁵² "En réalité, toutes les conventions de Rome furent des *traités inégaux* qui soumettaient les vaincus ou les alliés à une dépendance plus ou moins directe. Quand les Romains avaient entièrement abattu leurs ennemis, ils ne faisaient pas de traité avec eux; appliquant aux relations internationales la précision de leur langage juridique, ils qualifiaient de *loi* les conditions qu'ils dictaient à ceux qui se livraient à leur merci. Aujourd'hui que les formules ne nous imposent plus, nous ne pouvons mieux caractériser la nature des relations de Rome avec les nations étrangères, qu'en disant que toutes subissaient la loi du vainqueur." (F. Laurent, *op. cit.* iii. 190.)

the Proconsul P. Rupilius presided over a commission⁵³ for the revision of the laws of the island, in a sense favourable to Roman mastery. Inter-state arbitration, however, was considered by Rome permissible to her tributaries for the adjustment of their minor differences; but for herself useful only as a sure and safe means of appropriating the object in dispute, and, at the same time, of absorbing the litigants themselves.⁵⁴ We have already seen that Roman administrators referred, on occasion, differences which had been submitted to them to the arbitrament of third parties. But there is not a single case on record in which Rome permitted a dispute of her own to be dealt with in this manner. "Tu regere imperio populos, Romani, memento," was her watchword. And when at the zenith of her power, having proudly declared herself to be "the abriter of the world," she deemed it illogical to condescend to deal on equal terms with others.

There existed, however, in Rome an institution the rôle of which, as in the case of the Amphictyonic Council in Greece, had some semblance of mediation. Consequently, its nature has been entirely misconceived by a certain school of historians.⁵⁵ They erroneously suppose that the functions of the college of priests called the Fetiales was to endeavour to conciliate and compromise differences, so as to obviate war between Rome and other states. But their duties—which are succinctly defined by Varro (*De Ling. Lat.* v. 86)—were limited to this only: to make demand for satisfaction, when a dispute had been provoked; to pronounce that the war to be waged by Rome was a just one; and, finally, to perform certain rites, signifying the formal declaration of war. They were also present at the formalities attending the

⁵³ Cf. R. Dareste, *De forma et conditione Siciliæ provinciae Romanæ*; Paris, 1830, c. iii.

⁵⁴ "Il est inutile d'ajouter que les Romains, par le caractère même de leur politique extérieure, n'étaient pas propres au rôle du médiateur. Il leur manquait, pour le remplir, la principale qualité, savoir, l'impartialité. L'histoire nous a transmis, en effet, plus d'un exemple de leur mauvaise foi." (L. Kamarowsky, "*Le Tribunal International*," 1887, p. 118.)

⁵⁵ The following is from Bossuet's "Discours sur l'histoire universelle," iii. 6:—"Qu'y a-t-il de plus beau et de plus saint, que les collèges des féciaux? Ce conseil était établi pour juger si une guerre était juste. Quand la justice de la guerre était reconnue, le Sénat prenait des mesures pour l'entreprendre. Mais on croyait devoir avant tout redemander dans les formes à l'usurpateur les choses injustement ravies, et l'on n'en venait aux extrémités qu'après avoir épuisé les voies de la douceur." And he goes on to declare that this famous institution might well serve as an example to Christians "à qui un Dieu venu pour pacifier toutes choses n'a pu inspirer la charité de la paix." It is refreshing to turn from this verbiage to a letter of Renan (*Revue Illustrée*, October, 1892) in which he urges his friend Peyrat to "boldly show up what an amount of simple-mindedness and trust in the dicta of mere rhetoricians was needed to accept as masterpieces such a sterile production as the '*Histoire Universelle*,' which in our day would barely deserve to have a place in a nuns' library."

conclusion of peace, when the conditions of such peace had already been fixed. Therefore, they had, as a matter of fact, no part to play, until after war or peace had been decided upon by the Senate. In case of war they proceeded to the frontier of the neighbouring state and there solemnly pronounced certain imprecations, calling the gods to witness that the cause of Rome was just, and their demands equitable.⁵⁶ This was repeated within the territory of the intended victim, and, if within thirty days submission was not proffered, the formal declaration of war was made by the "pater patratus populi Romani," the elected chief of the Fetiales, who again proceeded to the frontier, and shot across the boundary line a spear charred and smeared with blood—an emblem of the fire and slaughter which awaited the enemy. The act of demanding satisfaction and of declaring war was named *clarigatio*.

This ceremony, which had not so much as the semblance of an offer of arbitration, but which announced the alternative of submission or war, was intended merely to minister to the self-righteousness of a people who desired to represent to themselves every war, however iniquitous, as a "just" one. The gross pharisaism of the proceedings became even more glaring when Rome began to extend her conquests beyond the sea. The observance of the traditional rites of the Fetiales then became inconvenient, not to say impossible. They, therefore, had recourse to a piece of that kind of sophistry which has abided to this day an inherited characteristic of the pontificate of Rome. A plot of land situated in the city itself was fictitiously (and facetiously) transformed into an enemy's territory by being transferred, for the time being, to some captive from the country already doomed;⁵⁷ and the mock ceremony was gone through with much gravity on the said piece of ground. The performers in this farce, the College of Fetiales, which is spoken of with bated breath and reverential awe by Latin writers,⁵⁸ is not known to have effected the

⁵⁶ "An impious prayer, which the priest, unless he had been an imposter, must have uttered with horror; for even to this day it is as clear as sunlight that Rome broke the oaths, and had supplied the immediate occasions of war by her violation of right. And thus a religious institution . . . became the cause of a heavier sin and greater hardness of heart, when it no longer awakened awe, and was retained only in a hypocritical spirit." (B. G. Niebuhr, "History of Rome," iii. 183).

⁵⁷ It is stated that the first time they had recourse to this subterfuge was on the invasion of Pyrrhus, when an Epirote deserter was supposed to have bought the piece of land opposite the temple of Bellona. (Servius, ad *Æniad.* ix. 53.)

⁵⁸ "Sans doute les historiens (romains) cherchent à justifier les violences de leur patrie par des prétextes fallacieux; ils jettent sur l'égoïsme nu de cette race sans idéal un splendide manteau symbolique; ils tentent de voiler son absence complète de sens juridique et de sens moral; et pour faire illusion, ils nous montrent un beau décor solennel, brodé de pompeuses procédures; seulement, cet appareil théâtral ne sert qu'à masquer un grand vide. En fait de justice vraie les Romains n'ont rien élevé de solide." (M. Revon, *op. cit.* 96.)

compromise of any one dispute, or to have averted a single war on which Rome was bent. Each and all in succession were declared to be "*justum piumque bellum*"; and this having been done with a measure of solemnity, and with the accompaniment of certain rites, the Roman people were satisfied that their war was "*just*," i.e., *legal*. In such matters the form counted with them for everything, the essence for nothing. The Fetiales, therefore, did not exercise so much as a moderating influence in favour of peace. Had they possessed any such power, it would certainly have grown with time, and would have abided as long as the Roman people existed. But their functions were the expression of national character and of certain religious conceptions, with the gradual weakening of which the institution also disappeared. After the second Punic war there is hardly any mention of Fetiales.⁵⁹

Another Roman institution, that of the *Recupatores*, is equally removed from the realities of international arbitration. It was the outcome of certain treaties with neighbouring states for the establishment of courts empowered to deal out justice to Roman citizens living in such states, and to citizens of such states residing in Rome.⁶⁰ The jurisdiction of these courts was confined to private matters; they had none of the attributes essential to international arbitration. Rome knew of no such institution in respect to outsiders. She made use of arbitration in order either to sow discord among her neighbours or to paralyse their means of defence, or to pave the way to fresh usurpations, or to swallow up, not only the oyster, but the contending claimants also. The history of the world offers no parallel to such iniquitous perfidity and systematic bad faith; unless, indeed, we seek it in the annals of the Venetian Republic.⁶¹

That the function of the Fetiales—whom Cicero (*De Leg. ii.*

⁵⁹ "Leur besogne propre est de dissimuler les grandes injustices de l'état sous des formes solennelles; il ne sont qu'un instrument au moyen duquel on pratique des iniquités légales: '*per fetiales legitimas injurias faciendo*,' dit é ergiquement Lactance (*Inst. vi. 9*). Aussi ces injustices des Romains n'en sont-elles que plus odieuses; car le mal franchement exécuté est moins haïssable que l'hypocrisie." (*M. Revon, op. cit. 98.*)

⁶⁰ The Greeks had a similar institution, the *ξενικὸν δικαστήριον*, or *κριτήριον ξίνων*, and the *ξινodίκας* or *ξενικούς δικαστάς*. (See Julius Pollux "*Hermeneumata*," ed. Boucherie, p. 200)

⁶¹ Lorsqu'ils laissaient la liberté à quelques villes, ils y faisaient d'abord naître deux factions; l'une défendait les lois et la liberté du pays; l'autre soutenait qu'il n'y avait de lois que la volonté des Romains. . . . Lorsqu'ils avaient vaincu quelque prince considérable, ils mettaient dans le traité qu'il ne pourrait faire la guerre pour ses différens avec les alliés des Romains (c'est-à-dire ordinairement avec tous ses voisins), mais qu'il les mettrait en arbitrage. . . . Lor-qu'il y avait quelques disputes dans un état, ils jugeaient d'abord l'affaire; et, par là, ils étaient sûrs de n'avoir contre eux que la partie qu'ils avaient déjà condamnée. . . . Quelquefois ils abusaient de la subtilité des termes de leur langue. Ils détruisirent Carthage, disant qu'ils avaient promis de conserver la cité et non pas la ville. On sait comment les

14) styles "interpretes juris belli et pacis"—was but a simple formality, absolutely devoid of authority in deciding peace or war, is made manifest from the occurrences which immediately preceded and caused the capture of Rome by Brennus. The facts are related by Plutarch (Camill. 17, 18), Appian (iv. 3), and Livy (v. 36, 37), whose very words I shall here quote. On the appearance of the Gauls, the inhabitants of Clusium solicited the aid of the Romans, "although they had no claim on them, either in right of alliance or friendship." Active aid was not given, but "the three Fabii, sons of Ambustus, were sent to mediate with the Gauls. This was an embassy, mild in its import, but entrusted to men of tempers too ferocious." However, the Gauls received them courteously, on account of the name of Rome, and, putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to conference. And when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians, whose city they attacked, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said: "The injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us, who are strangers, numerous and poor. In the same manner you Romans were injured formerly by the Albans, the Fidenates and the Ardeates, and lately by the people of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make war; if they refuse to share with you their goods, you enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and demolish their cities. Cease then to express your compassion for the Clusians, lest you teach the Gauls in their turn to commiserate those that have been oppressed by the Romans."

On this, the Roman ambassadors went into Clusium urging the inhabitants to rally against the barbarians; and "contrary to the law of nations took a part in the action—a fact which could not be concealed. Besides, Quintus Fabius rode forward beyond the line and slew a general of the Gauls, who was making a furious charge against the standard of the Etrurians, running him through the side with his spear. He was recognised by the Gauls while stripping

Étoliens, qui s'étaient abandonnés à leur foi, furent trompés . . . Ils pouvaient même donner à un traité une interprétation arbitraire : aussi, lorsqu'ils voulurent abaisser les Rhodiens, ils dirent qu'ils ne leur avaient pas donné autrefois la Lycie comme présent, mais comme amie et alliée . . . Enfin, ils jugèrent les rois pour leurs fautes et leurs crimes particuliers . . . Les magistrats et les gouverneurs vendaient aux rois leurs injustices. Deux compétiteurs se ruinaient à l'envi, pour acheter une protection toujours douteuse contre un rival qui n'était pas entièrement épuisé : car on n'avait pas même cette justice des brigands, qui portent une certaine probité dans l'exercice du crime." (Montesquieu, "Grand. et déc. des Romains," c. vi.) The proceedings of Napoleon, who was known in his time as the "Corsican robber, an infamous bandit," &c., were, in comparison, highly respectable.

his adversary of his arms; on which notice was conveyed round through the whole army that he was one of the Roman ambassadors." And Brennus, calling the gods to witness "that against all the laws and usages of mankind, which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy," drew off his men, bid the Clusians farewell, and advanced towards Rome slowly, sending ahead heralds "to complain of the ill-treatment they had received, and to demand that the Fabii should be delivered into their hands as a satisfaction for having violated the law of nations." The Senate considered the demand of the Gauls just, and many spoke against the Fabii; "particularly the priests, called fetials, represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the Senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the persons who alone were to blame, and to avert the wrath of heaven from the rest of the Romans." But, as Livy significantly adds, "in the case of nobles of such exalted rank, partial favour prevented the senators passing a decree conformable to their judgment"; and they, therefore, "referred the matter to the people; and the priests accused Fabius with the same ardour before them; but such was the disregard they (the people) expressed for the fetiales, and such contempt for religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brothers military tribunes." Thereupon the Gauls, "hearing that the violators of the rights of mankind had even been recompensed with honours, and that their embassy had been slighted, inflamed with anger," marched on Rome (389 B.C.).

Compare with this grotesque attempt at mediation the attitude of Rome, when the Tarentines and the other Greeks of Southern Italy, being hard pressed and in danger of absorption, invoked the help of Pyrrhus (280 B.C.). He sent heralds to the Roman camp proposing that, before they came to extremities, they should endeavour to put an end to their differences amicably, by accepting him as a mediator or arbitrator. But the consul, M. Valerius Lævinus, sent back a haughty reply to the effect that the Romans neither accepted arbitration, nor feared the issue of war (Plut. Pyr. 16).

Not only irreconcilable, but perfidious to the last degree was the conduct of Rome when another offer of mediation or arbitration was made by her own allies. The events which led up to the protracted war waged against Perseus, the last King of Macedon, are typical of the hypocrisy and duplicity of Roman policy; an endeavour, among other things, having then been made to defame before attacking a brave enemy, by representing him as the off-spring of concubinage. In the third year of hostilities (169 B.C.) Prusias, King of Bithynia and

brother-in-law of Perseus, and the Rhodians, who had given every proof of fidelity to Rome, sent ambassadors offering to the Senate their good offices for the conclusion of peace upon moderate terms for Perseus. And here, again, let the advocate of Rome, Livy (xliv. 14), relate what ensued :—"The purpose of both was to effect a peace with King Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands ; for he declared that he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it. But on Perseus sending to him ambassadors on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised him to become a mediator with the Senate ; and he requested that 'if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would allow him some share of merit in the re-establishment of peace.' Such was the discourse of the King's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously mentioning their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of King Antiochus, proceeded in this manner : that 'at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and the Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with King Perseus, which they had since unwillingly broken, without having any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war. For three years past they felt many inconveniences from the war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to warn him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should obstruct a pacification."

This account of the speech of the Rhodian ambassadors—the true tenour of which, however, may be read between the lines—is given by Livy in order to justify both the outrageous reply of the Senate and his own sanctimonious reflexions : "I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation ; we may, then, easily judge what emotions they produced in the minds of the senators." The emotion produced had the effect described by Montesquieu (see note 61). The senators decreed that the Lycians and Carians, who by treaty were subject to Rhodes, should henceforth "enjoy independence." Livy adds that, according to another account, the senators made the following reply

(which, however, they may have made, while promulgating also the above decree). As in the case of Perseus, and other intended victims, whom they first endeavoured to defame, so they acted with the Rhodians, their faithful allies. They had ventured to suggest an equitable arrangement; they recompensed them by charging them with that duplicity and bad faith which Rome systematically practised: "In the commencement of the present war the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with King Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if the matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors just now had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. The Rhodians, by their messengers, had acted the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world; at their word the Romans must take up arms and lay them down; and must soon appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians for their sanction of treaties. And was this, indeed, the case, that, unless their orders were obeyed and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each State, according to its deserts in the course of war."

Such was the haughty and prevaricating reply which the Roman Senate returned to a just appeal, reasonably formulated. And adding insult to injury, it "sent the usual present of the sum of two thousand asses to each of the ambassadors," who, with much dignity, refused to accept them. The cause for which the Rhodians pleaded was so irreproachable that Cato himself took up their defence in a speech, "*Pro Rhodiensibus*," fragments of which have been preserved by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* vii. 3), which was known to Livy (xlv. 25), but which he deliberately suppressed. Yet it was impossible not to admire the dignity and manliness with which they always spoke before the Senate. Twenty-two years earlier another Rhodian embassy had been sent to Rome, and in the great speech which both Polybius (xxii. 5, 6) and Livy (xxxvii. 54) report, they declared that "the Greeks, unfortunate though they may be, are animated by a spirit worthy of your own."

After these cases of what may be considered rather as proffered mediation, coming now to instances of actual arbitration, we encounter, at the very outset, one of the most revolting examples of

spoliation recorded in history. The circumstances refer to the year 445 B.C., and it is perhaps best to let Livy (iii. 71, 72) relate this infamous business in his own words : " The honourable victory obtained over their enemies, the people disgraced at home by a scandalous decision of a dispute concerning the boundaries of their allies. The people of Aricia and those of Ardea had often contended in arms the right of property to a certain district of land ; and, wearied by many losses on both sides, referred the affair to the arbitration of the Roman people. Both parties attended to support their claims, and an assembly was held by the magistrates at their request. Here the matter was debated with great vehemence ; and, after the witnesses had been produced, when the tribes ought to have been called and those assembled proceed to give their suffrages, there arose one Publius Scaptius, a plebeian, a very old man, who said : ' Consuls, if I may be permitted to speak on a matter which concerns the interest of the commonwealth, I will not suffer the people to proceed in a mistake with respect to this affair.' The consuls saying that he was not worthy of attention, and should not be heard, he exclaimed that the cause of the public was betrayed ; and, on their ordering him to be removed, called on the tribunes for protection. The tribunes, who almost in every case are rather ruled by, than rule the multitude, to gratify the populace, gave liberty to Scaptius to say what he pleased. He then began by informing them that ' he was in his eighty-third year, that he had served as a soldier in the very district in dispute, and was not young even then, that being his twentieth campaign, when the operations against the Carioli were carried on. He could, therefore, speak with knowledge on an affair, which, though after such a length of time it was generally forgotten, was deeply fixed in his memory. The lands in dispute, he said, had belonged to the territory of Carioli, and when Carioli was taken, became, by right of war, the property of the Roman people. He wondered by what precedent the Ardeans and Aricians could justify their expectations of surreptitiously wresting from the Roman state, by making it an arbiter, instead of proprietor, its right to a tract, to which, while the state of Corioli subsisted, they had never advanced any kind of claim ; and he warmly recommended it to the people, not to be led by improper notions of delicacy to pass a sentence subversive of their own rights.'

" The consuls, when they perceived that Scaptius was heard, not only with silence, but with approbation, appealed to gods and men against the infamy of the proceeding ; and, sending for the principal senators, went round with them to the tribes, beseeching them ' not to be guilty of a crime of the worst kind, which could afford a

precedent still more pernicious, by converting to their own use a matter in dispute, whereon they were to decide as judges. Especially when, as the case stood, although it were allowable for a judge to show regard to his own emolument, yet the utmost advantage that could accrue from the seizure of the lands, would by no means counter-balance the loss which they sustain in the alienation of the affection of their allies, by such an act of injustice. For the loss of reputation and the esteem of mankind are of importance beyond what can be estimated. Did they imagine that the neighbouring states would impute this proceeding to Scaptius, an old babbler in the assemblies? This indeed would serve, instead of a statue, to dignify the Scaptian name. But the Roman people would incur the imputation of corrupt chicanery and fraudulent usurpation of the claims of others. For what judge, in a cause between private persons, ever acted in this manner, adjudging to himself the property in dispute? Surely, even Scaptius himself, dead as he was to all sense of shame, would not act in such a manner, thus the consuls, thus the senators exclaimed; but covetousness and Scaptius, the instigator of that covetousness, had greater influence. The tribes being called, gave their judgment that the land in question was the property of the Roman people. It is not denied that it might with justice have been so determined, had the matter been tried before the judges; but as the affair was circumstanced, the infamy of their determination was in no degree lessened by the equity of their title; nor did it appear to the Aricians and Ardeans themselves in blacker or more hideous colours than it did in the Roman Senate."

It would be interesting to know upon what conceivable ground—especially after the declarations of the consuls in respect to the worthlessness of the only witness, the "old babbler"—could any other tribunal have decided in the same sense. Livy, who wrote with a view how most to flatter the vanity of his countrymen, and how least to touch the susceptibilities of his contemporaries, is prudent enough not to insist too much in seeking extenuating circumstances in this disgraceful affair. Nor does Dionysius of Halicarnassus (xi. 32), who relates the shameful proceedings in much the same manner, refer to any such circumstance; but adds that, indignant at the first decision, the consuls had the balloting repeated three times, and each time the Roman people declared themselves masters of the disputed land.

About 185 B.C. (for the date is not given with precision) there occurred another similar outrage, which is related and commented upon by Cicero (*De Off.* i. 10) as follows:—"No more, indeed, is our countryman commendable, if it be true—for I merely follow the report

—that Quintus Fabius Labeo, or some other, when named by the Senate as arbiter respecting the boundaries of the territories of Nola and Naples, remonstrated, upon his arrival on the spot, with each party separately, not to be exacting or covetous, and to recede rather than encroach. When they had severally acceded to this, some breadth of land remained between them. He then fixed their limits where they had themselves (by receding) defined them, and the intervening space he adjudged to the Roman people. This is deception, not arbitration.” The doubts which Cicero expresses, as to the veracity of the report, are set at rest by Valerius Maximus, who, recording the facts (vii. 3, 4), condemns this infamy in strong terms: “*Improbo tamen præstigiorum genere novum civitati nostræ vertigal accessit.*” Of this same Labeo it is further related by Valerius Maximus that, having defeated Antiochos, and having stipulated by a treaty of peace that half the king’s ships should be delivered up to him, he ordered that each ship be cut in halves, thus destroying the entire fleet. In referring to the slight doubt as to the date alluded to above, Barbeyrac adds (p. 373) very pertinently: “*Il n’importe où on la place, pour montrer, et l’usage en matières de semblables choses, et le peu de scrupule qui faisait la politique des Romains d’user de tromperies grossières, que les sages d’entr’eux n’ont pu s’empêcher de condamner.*”

Livy (xlv. 13) briefly records (169 B.C.) another similar case: “The Senate gave hearing to a controversy between deputies from Pisa and others from Luna; the former complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists, while the latter insisted that the lands in question had been marked out to them by the triumvirs. The Senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries.” The result is not stated, but their appears, in this case, to have been no spoliation. Most likely it was deemed unnecessary, since both litigants were eventually swallowed up.

The case, or rather the series of events, which follows in chronological order is perhaps the most complete example of the systematic perfidity with which Rome acted in all like circumstances. For more than twenty years Masinissa, King of Numidia, relying on the support of Rome, had provoked and wronged the Carthaginians by raids and spoliations, which resulted in the seizure of a number of towns on the littoral of the Syrtis, known as the Emporia. He forced them to pay to him the tribute formerly levied by the Carthaginians. The latter sent an embassy to Rome (172 B.C.) praying that the difference should be decided by the Senate. Consequently Scipio Africanus and two other commissioners were sent out; who, as Livy (xxxiv. 62) relates, “after reviewing the ground and hearing what would be said

on both sides, left everything as they found it, without giving any opinion. Whether they acted in this manner from their own judgment, or in pursuance of instructions received from home, is by no means certain; but this much is most certain: that, as affairs were circumstanced, it was highly expedient to leave the dispute undecided. For, had the case been otherwise, Scipio alone, either from his knowledge of the matter, or the influence which he possessed and to which he had just claim on both sides, could, with a nod, have ended the controversy." The conscientious doubts of the Roman historian are effectually disposed of, both by what he himself relates, and by the well-known fact that Rome was just then considering the possibility of war against Antiochos the Great, King of Syria. It was, therefore, "highly expedient" to encourage Masinissa to hound the Carthaginians, without at the same time declaring overtly against them, lest they be driven into the arms of Antiochos. Consequently we find, ten years later, a recrudescence of the dispute, which is again related by Livy (xl. 17) at some length. "The Romans were arbitrators in a difference between the Carthaginians and Masinissa about a tract of land taken from them by Gala, the father of Masinissa." It was repeatedly reconquered by each party, who finally sent embassies to Rome and debated the matter before the Senate with as much violence, we are told, as they had waged the struggle for the land, Commissioners were again sent out, with the result that "they did not alter the right of possession, but remitted the cause entirely to the Senate of Rome." On apparently similar grounds as before, the Senate found it "highly expedient" to decide nothing, but allow the wrangling to go on for another ten years, when the unfortunate Carthaginians sent a third embassy to Rome, followed by Galussa, son of Masinissa.

Let us again listen to the narrative (lxii. 23) of the Roman historian: "Warm disputes passed between them in presence of the Senate, The Carthaginians complained that besides the district about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns or forts in the Carthaginian-territories. This was easy for him, who suffered no consideration to restrain him. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and, although they knew that if they forced the Numidians thence, the war would be waged within their own territory, yet they were deterred by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to

wage war against the allies of the Roman people. . . . They were sent, they said, to beseech the Senate to grant them one of three things : either that they, as a common ally, should, on a fair discussion, determine what was the right of each ; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves in a just war against unjust attacks ; or, finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. Their grants would be, at all events, more moderate than his usurpations. . . . If they could obtain none of these things, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage under Roman masters to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once than to continue to breathe under the will of an executioner. Having spoken thus, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves to the ground, and in this posture excited both compassion for themselves and no less displeasure for the king."

The sentiments of compassion for the one party, and the displeasure for the other, which were thus excited, do not appear to have been either deep or of long duration ; nor did they prevent the Senate from acting with its traditional perfidity. Galussa, who was called upon to answer those charges, was permitted to withdraw on the specious pretext that he had no instructions from his father. And the Senate preceeded gravely to formulate certain vague platitudes as to the wickedness of seizing what is not one's own—a sanctimonious admonition which, coming from such a source, Masinissa was not very likely to take to heart ; the more so as his son was told to go back to him, all the way to Numidia, and find out what he had to say to it. How fully Livy enters into the spirit of the comedy, his concluding remarks amply demonstrate. "With this answer the Carthaginians and the prince (Galussa) were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions which hospitality required were performed with all courtesy."

What followed is related by two more impartial and more authoritative witnesses, Polybius (xxxii. 2) and Appian (De Bell. Pun. 67-73), the latter of whom gives a very detailed account. Polybius, with his admirable insight into character and real motive, remarks that "on their repeated embassies to Rome the Carthaginians were worsted, not because they were in the wrong, but because those who judged them considered it their interest to form such an estimate of the case." Appian also asserts repeatedly (67 and 68) that the

successive missions of arbitrators were instructed by the Senate to favour Masinissa as much as possible; and that when the Carthaginians appealed to Rome, they were promised commissioners, but in each case their departure was delayed till it was pretty sure that Masinissa had already inflicted considerable injury on Carthage.

The last commission sent out included, of all men, Cato, the intractable enemy of Carthage. Arriving on the territory in dispute, the commissioners called upon both sides to place in their hands absolutely all contentious matters. Masinissa, relying on the favour of Rome, readily consented. The Carthaginians, however, who had every reason to doubt the equity of their judges, replied that, matters already settled by the treaty of peace with Scipio, after the second Punic war, could not fairly be subject to question or revision; but what had been done in contravention of that compact were the points to be arbitrated upon. The commissioners thereupon declined to consider those points only, and confined themselves to inspecting and inquiring into the condition of the country. During the fifty years' peace, that had elapsed, Carthage had recovered with astonishing rapidity, acquiring fresh power and wealth from its fertile lands and its trade oversea. So much so that the commissioners, who had been sent as peaceful arbiters, returned to Rome as harbingers of war, declaring that they had been filled with fear, not less than with jealousy, at the prosperity of Carthage. Cato, more especially, that austere and upright Roman, was unsparing in his denunciation of the old enemy, whose latest offence was rapid recuperation. To emphasise his argument, the incorruptible old man, lifting his toga, revealed specimens of the fine and large figs he had brought over with him; and he impressed upon the mind of the conscript fathers that this fruit was produced—manifestly for their use and benefit—in a land distant only three days' sail from Rome (Plut. Cato Maj. xxvii. ⁶³). All good Romans therefore conscientiously agreed with Cato, when he declared that "*delenda est Carthago*."

Meanwhile the traditional policy of Rome had been at work in Carthage: the ostensible arbitral missions had engendered divisions and dissensions (see note 61). Three factions had sprung up in the doomed city: the Roman party, one favouring Masinissa, and the "democratic" party which sought independence from foreign control. The democrats succeeded in banishing forty prominent

⁶³ See also the version of the incident given by Pliny (N. H. xv. 20), who is lost in admiration of its manifold merits, and who concludes: "The thing, however, that is the most astonishing of all—indeed I can conceive nothing more truly marvellous—is the fact that a city thus mighty . . . owed its fall at last to an illustration drawn from a single fig!"

Masinissians, and persuaded the people to swear that they would not permit so much as a proposal for their repatriation. The exiles took refuge with Masinissa, who immediately sent his sons, Galussa and Micipsa, to demand their reinstatement. But the gates of the city were shut upon them, and, in a *mêlée* which ensued, some of Galussa's followers were killed. On this pretext Masinissa declared war (150 B.C.), and an indcisive action followed. Scipio the Younger, who had meanwhile arrived from Spain, witnessed the encounter from the top of a hill "as from a theatre," declaring that "he had enjoyed the sight as only two before him had done in the Trojan war, Zeus from mount Ida, and Poseidon from Samothrace" (App. 71; Val. Max. ii. 10, 4). As he was then in Masinissa's camp, "as an old friend," the Carthaginians appealed to him to arbitrate, offering to cede the Emporia to Masinissa, and pay him one thousand talents. But Masinissa insisted that the deserters also should be delivered up to him. Scipio therefore left without bringing about a compromise, and allowed the war to continue. The Carthaginians, being now pressed by famine and pestilence, were soon compelled to submit to all the demands of their enemy, reinstate his partisans, and pay, in the course of fifty years, an indemnity of five thousand talents. Thus Rome exploited the rôle of arbiter to such good effect as to reduce the Carthaginians to a condition favourable to her designs for a third Punic war.

Similar was the perfidity of Pompey, but very different the sagacity of the disputants with whom he had to deal (64 B.C.). Tigranes, King of Armenia, and Phraates III., King of the Parthians, had been at war over some disputed frontier, without reaching any result, save the detection of underhand Roman intrigue. They both sent ambassadors to Pompey, who was then in Syria, the Armenians soliciting help, the Parthians complaining bitterly of the many wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the Romans, in defiance of the treaty recently concluded between them. Pompey, possessed with both shame and apprehension at these complaints, which were well founded, evinced hostility to neither party, and pretended not to condescend to notice the charges made by the Parthians; but declared that he would not, like Lucullus, compromise his successes by a grasping policy; that it was dangerous to add incessantly to one's acquisitions, and most unjust to covet that which belonged to others." He thus philosophised (shrewdly remarks Dio Cassius), because he could not then take"; and he ended by saying that, as his two friends were disputing about a mere frontier line, he would refer their difference to three commissioners, whom, in fact, he despatched. The litigants

accepted them as actual arbiters, thus putting an end to their dispute. "For they both knew very well that, whichever of the two should (by continuing the strife) get the better of the other, he would only be promoting the ulterior projects of the Romans, and would himself fall a victim to their rapacity, all the more easily" (Dio Cass. xxxvii. 6, 7, p. 115; App. De Bell. Mythr. cvi. p. 404; Plut. Pomp. 39).

I will finally refer to an inscription which was discovered in 1506 some ten miles outside the city of Genoa, and which recites the award of Marcus Minucius Rufus and his brother Quintus, who were sent (about 120 B.C.) as arbiters of a dispute between the inhabitants of Genua and the Viturii. The harsh and peremptory wording of this text conveys the impression, not of an impartial award, but of an arbitrary decision, the commissioners on either side figuring, not so much as representatives of free cities, but as humble functionaries who had come to take cognisance of a foregone resolve.⁶³

Mention may also be made of certain awards, the exact nature of which is not stated, but which were apparently of little importance, and which some of the Roman Emperors pronounced during their provincial tours. One or two of those decisions are referred to vaguely by Philostratus (i. 24, 3 and 5; 25, 19), more with a view to the orations then pronounced by rhetoricians, than to the merits of the cases in question.

I have been unable, so far, to trace a case of arbitration which Calvo (Droit. Intern. § 1709) and others after him assert to have occurred between the Romans and the Samnites.⁶⁴ They vaguely attribute such a statement to Livy, but give no reference. One of them (Revon, *op. cit.* p. 103) adds the following remarks in respect to this supposed unique case in which Rome is held to have acted on equal terms. "Mais il ne faut pas oublier ce qu'était Rome à cette époque: un simple camp de brigands, un village tout pareil, suivant l'ingénieuse comparaison de Montesquieu, à 'ces villages de Crimée faits pour enfermer le butin, les bestiaux, et les fruits de la campagne.'"

Such has history—divested of myth and dithyramb—shown the policy of Rome to have been: founded upon cruel injustice, thriving

⁶³ See "Q. et M. Minuciorum sententia inter Genuates et Viturios dicta." Edidit et illustravit A. A. F. Rudorff; Berlin, 1842. A later treatise is that of A. Grassi, "Della sentenza inscritta nella tavola di Porcevera"; Genova, 1865. Some of the inscriptions included in Orelli's collection (Nos. 3110, 3118, 3347) refer to similar decisions.

⁶⁴ "Les guerres des Samnites datent de ce qu'on appelle les beaux temps de Rome; et cependant le Sénat se montra sans foi, et les généraux furent sans pitié." (F. Laurent, *op. cit.* p. 32.)

on deception and fraud, glorying in the results of falsehood and perfidy. It is not surprising that pharisaism, so deeply rooted, should have sedulously sought to cloak its infamies by defaming those whom it had first despoiled; by deprecating what it had invented—"mendacia Græca"—and by denouncing what it had caused—"fides Punica." No hatred is more bitter than that which a guilty conscience engenders towards those that have been wronged. No wrong is so hard to bear as that inflicted by a self-righteous wrong-doer.⁶⁵

The ancient Greeks had, no doubt, many faults to answer for. But their errors were those of light-hearted children, compared with the premeditated and deliberately planned crimes of Rome. The Greeks were the apostles of humanity; the Romans the propagators of brutality. And here again, as I have endeavoured to do, whenever a final verdict had to be sought, I shall leave it to an impartial authority to pronounce—

"L'orgueil des Hellènes vient surtout d'une supériorité intellectuelle, consciente d'elle même; tandis que l'orgueil romain a plutôt pour cause une pensée de force et de domination. Chez les Grecs, peuple d'artistes, de lettrés, de démocrates remuants, on méprise le barbare, parce qu'on le juge inintelligent et servile; chez les Romains, peuple de soldats, d'administrateurs, de jurisconsultes, on le dédaigne plutôt parce qu'il est faible, impuissant, mal organisé. . . . Si l'exclusivisme intellectuel peut quelquefois s'adoucir et s'apaiser, l'égoïsme de la force est implacable. Or, de tout temps, Rome eut le sentiment de sa brutale mission dans le monde. . . . C'est ainsi qu'un petit camp de brigands devint la ville souveraine" (Revon, *op. cit.* pp. 88, 89).

Let us listen to yet another high authority, the learned author of "L'histoire de l'Humanité":—"Les Grecs sont une race privilégiée parmi toutes celles qui ont paru sur la terre. Déjà dans l'antiquité ils furent glorifiés par leurs vainqueurs: le plus beau génie de Rome proclama qu'ils avaient civilisé les nations, en leur enseignant la douceur et l'humanité. Ce peuple étonnant remua toutes les idées,

* "L'histoire de Rome est une suite non-interrompue de guerres. Si nous en croyons les Romains, dans une lutte de plus de sept siècles, ils auraient toujours eu la justice de leur côté. Les écrivains Romains sont remplis de ses prétentions, et ils ont trouvé croyance entière chez les historiens. Ces témoignages ont longtemps imposés à l'humanité. Aujourd'hui l'illusion est détruite, et, au lieu de célébrer la justice des Romains, on va jusqu'à mettre en question s'ils ont eu un droit des gens (voir Osenbrüger, "De juris belli et pacis Roman." p. 9). . . . Il est vrai qu'il y a eu moins de perfidie, moins de violence dans les entreprises de Rome, petite cité d'Italie, que dans les conquêtes de Rome, maîtresse du monde. . . . La faiblesse n'est pas capable des abus que la force se permet; en célébrant les anciens Romains nous faisons honneur à leur vertu de ce qui était l'effet de leur impuissance." (F. Laurent, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 11 and 16). The judicious Barbeyrac (i. p. 247), also speaks "du peu de scrupule que faisoit ces Romains, si vantez, de violer les règles de la justice et du Droit des Gens."

tous les sentiments. Ses philosophes unirent les abstractions de la raison spéculative aux travaux pratiques de l'homme d'état; l'un d'eux donna dans le monde païen le sublime spectacle d'un homme mourant pour une idée, martyr du devoir. Ses poètes, ses orateurs, ses historiens s'élevèrent à une hauteur qui est presque demeurée inaccessible. Quand l'antiquité s'écroula, quand les barbares du nord envahirent l'empire romain, les ténèbres couvrirent l'Europe pendant les longs siècles du moyen âge. Qui ranima la vie de l'intelligence? qui émancipa la chrétienté courbée sous le despotisme intellectuel de l'église? Ce furent les écrivains de la Grèce, qui, sortant de leurs tombeaux, imprimèrent ce puissant élan à la civilisation européenne. La Renaissance eut l'importance d'une révolution; elle prépara la Réforme, en la dépassant" (F. Laurent, *op. cit.* ii. p. 1).

How true this is, how powerful was the influence of Greek ideas also in the field of international relations, even during the dark ages, will be gathered from the contents of the next and concluding article. It will deal with arbitration in the mediæval and modern times, up to the Genevan award.

J. GENNADIUS.

THE SOLDIER'S EMOLUMENTS.

BY AN ARMY PAYMASTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the wide publicity now given to army matters, a belief is still current that the British soldier costs the British public only the traditional shilling a day, and that the profession of arms compares unfavourably with any other occupation which can be followed by the wage-earning population.

This view of soldiering is certainly not shared by the class of men chiefly concerned, for the number of recruits who join the army in any given year is only a fraction of the number who would don the King's livery if they were acceptable to the military authorities. Calculations show that for every man finally approved for service in the regular forces, at least ten are rejected as unfit, and so we may reach the conclusion that at least 350,000 aspirants for the army annually approach the recruiting sergeant, in the full conviction that soldiering is a much better "job" than they are likely to get in civil life, having regard to its emoluments and to the permanent character of the employment.

Unfortunately our system of recruiting is such that the only class fully informed concerning the advantages of the army as a career, is the class to which it is least desirable to offer them, while the class which would best supply our annual demand for recruits remains inaccessible to the ordinary recruiter. Out of every thousand youngsters passed into the service, more than six hundred would be described as labourers, servants, husbandmen, &c., nearly three hundred are artisans or mechanics, eighty are shopmen, clerks or students, and thirty are boys under seventeen years of age. Of all who join the army not one in ten could by any stretch of language be called "well-educated."

And yet, as I hope to show, the army is a profession which offers at the present moment to a "superior" recruit, advantages greater than are easily obtainable in private employment, or even in the lower branches of the Civil Service. Nothing is more certain than that any well-conducted soldier who can lift himself out of the ruck, and attain the rank of sergeant, may secure continuous employment for twenty-one years, and then retire into civil life with a pension

of £45 a year while yet on the sunny side of forty. Or, if army service be regarded from an educational point of view, and not as a profession, the prospect is hardly less alluring, for a three years' course of gymnastics, shooting, drill and manœuvres at the expense of the public will be followed by a pension of sixpence a day for thirteen years as a Section B or Section D reservist.

Indeed, so elastic are the terms of army service to-day that almost any sort of bargain on the limited liability principle may be struck with the Government by a young man of good physique and good character. Even when a lack of inches renders him ineligible for the "Blues," or ignorance of a trade precludes his joining the Royal Engineers, he may become a smart gunner, a dashing hussar, or a dapper foot soldier, and so at any moment render himself self-supporting and wholly independent of those ups and downs of civilian life which are usually associated with the "state of trade." And as, at the age at which men enlist, present needs are generally of more importance than future prospects, I propose to show precisely what the Government has to offer the recruit who joins the army to-day.

In the first place, it grants him immediate release from all pecuniary cares; from the hour at which the recruit takes the oath to bear true allegiance to the King, he secures food, clothing, lodging, gas, coals, and five shillings a week pocket-money. This arrangement continues for at least six months, a period of probation during which his commanding officer has power to discharge him (with the usual gratuity) as not likely to become an efficient soldier. But when his novitiate is ended, and he becomes a "duty" man, the recruit should have no difficulty in satisfying his military superiors that he is eligible for a "rise" of 3s. a week. This is quaintly called the messing and kit allowance. With 8s. a week pocket-money, the apprentice soldier should then carry on for another eighteen months, when he becomes eligible for his first "good conduct" badge. On assuming this military decoration, he becomes entitled to an extra penny a day, which brings his weekly income, after all regimental debts are paid, to 8s. 6d. a week. I wonder how many young men of twenty find themselves, year in and year out, with 8s. 6d. a week clear, to save or to spend, after paying their landlord, the butcher and baker, the tailor and the bootmaker. What is it not worth to them, this lease of an increasing income for three, seven, twelve, or twenty-one years, coupled with regularity of life, travel, fresh air, and wholesome exercise, nerve-bracing and frame-strengthening? And there is no description of British soldier who cannot claim all these privileges as the irreducible minimum of what has been secured to him by the

latest issue of the King's Regulations. As regards "pay," indeed, I have assumed that our recruit is a simple private in a marching regiment, but if we turn to the trooper of the line or household cavalry, the horse, field or garrison gunner, and the guardsman, the case for the army as a profession is even stronger; for all of these soldiers receive higher pay than the Infantry of the Line. Better placed yet, financially speaking, are men of the Army Service Corps, the Royal Army Medical Corps, and the Army Ordnance Corps, who all receive, in addition to ordinary pay, what is called "corps" pay; and the Royal Engineer, being a tradesman, earns an "extra" called Engineer pay.

Then every soldier secures an engagement for at least twelve years, although, with few exceptions, he is given the option of passing three-fourths of that period on furlough as a reservist, and, indeed, is compelled to spend four or five years in this state of suspended animation, unless specially permitted to "extend" his colour service after enlistment.

Over and above his daily pay and allowances the soldier earns a trifle which he is only entitled to draw on leaving the colours. At the end of seven or twelve years he receives this deferred pay at the rate of £1 a year, so that in the ordinary case of a man going to the Reserve in seven years he should take with him a bonus of £7 and whatever sum he has saved out of the pocket-money of seven years, together with a new suit of mufti. He must be a very improvident soldier who cannot muster, on his return to civil life at the age of 25, a capital of at least £60; and remember, too, that henceforward as every quarter-day comes round, he will receive an army money order for £4 11s. 3d. until the end of his engagement; nay, more, he can afterwards join Section D of the Army Reserve, and so secure his quarterly pension for another four years.

Of course, many prudent young men enlist for three years with the Colours merely in order to secure on return to civil life this pension of 6d. a day for thirteen years. During the whole of this time they are liable to be mobilised for active service, and in time of war an extra year of service is due under the original contract. Many were so caught in 1899 when within a few days of discharge, but there was little to complain of in cases where a man had been partly or wholly maintained for ten, twelve, or fifteen years in anticipation of such an emergency. On active service, of course, the soldiers' emoluments are increased. All who were married left their families in charge of an army paymaster, who remitted daily 13d. for the wife, and 2d. for each child of a soldier. Atkins himself had his pocket-

money increased by 3d. a day, and so was in a position to contribute to the support of his family nearly 7s. a week. There was, in fact, never any good reason why the soldier's wife should have received less than 14s. a week during her husband's absence in South Africa, without appeal to any charitable fund whatever. Then, of course, at the close of the war there was the inevitable "blood" money, and, in the case of Reservists, a special "gratuity" varying with rank and length of service during the emergency. For every month of mobilised service the reservist received on discharge, in addition to all other emoluments granted to ordinary soldiers, seven days' full pay and allowances; in other words, nine-tenths of the reservists were maintained for six months after return to their homes. The remainder were even more fortunate. Invalids received special emoluments known as Sick Furlough and Working Furlough.

On the tented field, many soldiers, of course, win honours and promotion, and the honours granted to private soldiers are never barren ones. Should he be awarded a medal for distinguished conduct it is accompanied by a money reward of £20; the Victoria Cross carries with it an annuity of £10 a year, and so does the medal for meritorious service. Any soldier who is discharged from the army after a campaign, as unfit for further service, receives a "disability" pension, graded solely with reference to his apparent incapacity to earn a living; these pensions are renewed, increased, or reduced, from time to time, in accordance with circumstances; but the principle has now been thoroughly established, that no soldier must be allowed to drift into the workhouse because he has been rendered unfit by service in the field to earn a livelihood. Indeed, it is hard to escape a pension in these days if the claim is based on war service. Only the other day a man was awarded a pension for life because he had once spent five days in the Crimea!

Nothing that a Government can do, however, will prevent newspaper critics of a certain class from making a "thin red 'ero" of every ex-soldier who dies in the workhouse, but I would ask all who are interested in any such case to inquire, before lavishing too much sympathy upon the "veteran," whether he had not rashly commuted his pension, or whether he had not arranged with the Union authorities to take him in as a "paying guest," on terms which gave him all that he required, and left him a margin out of his pension for pocket-money. For I know personally at least a score of pensioners who board and lodge in the union by contract with the Guardians of the poor; but are no more paupers than their "betters" who live *en pension* at hotels. In such cases, the clerk to the Guardians sends his quarterly

account to the pensioner's banker—the army paymaster—who discharges the bill and remits the balance of the pension to the ex-soldier.

Few people have any idea of the cost of the legion of army pensioners—who, by the way, are all liable for service at home. At the last roll-call no fewer than 77,000 pensioners were found to be in existence, exclusive of those who are inmates of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals. Chelsea is maintained at a cost of £27,000 a year; the smaller establishment at Kilmainham for Irish soldiers costs over £5,000 a year; and the out-pensioners divide between them nearly two millions of the sum voted annually for army services.

Among the advantages of the army, and by no means the least of them, is the opportunity which Government affords our soldiers to improve their education, and so fit themselves for promotion in the service and commercial employment on return to civil life. In bygone times how many a gallant fellow perforce remained a private throughout his service of twenty-one years, because he was educationally unfitted for promotion; but now the school-master is abroad in the army. At the headquarters of every regiment and in every garrison is a school for soldiers under a trained teacher, and promising pupils may themselves become "acting" schoolmasters or soldier-assistants, with "extra duty" pay. Schools also exist for the children of such soldiers as are married "with leave." Some £45,000 a year is expended on the upkeep of these educational establishments for the benefit of the rank and file.

The School of Music is maintained for the training of musicians for the army. Every corps has its bandmaster, its sergeant-drummer, and several drummers, fifers or trumpeters; to these are added any soldiers who can play any instrument, or boys who enlist in order to be taught; and in this manner the military band is formed, every member of which takes his share of the fees paid for private engagements, and is kept proficient in an art which will become a valuable source of income to him on leaving the army. Our military musicians, if massed together would probably muster 10,000 men, who are all required to shoot and drill like other soldiers, though spared the unpleasant duties associated with guards, fatigues, and working-parties.

So far I have been speaking of the private soldier; let me now refer to the non-commissioned officers. It is, however, but a case of the grub and the butterfly. The first step on the ladder of promotion is reached when the soldier is promoted to corporal, second-corporal, or bombardier; he is then a full-fledged non-commissioned officer, and must abandon the "good conduct" badge and pay appertaining

to the private trooper, sapper or gunner, in consideration of the higher pay of his new rank. A "second corporal" of Engineers who does not live in barracks will receive 34s. 5d. a week, viz., 2s. 2d. ordinary pay, 1s. 6d. corps pay, and 1s. 3d. allowances for food and lodging per diem. Before actual promotion, however, a corporal has been tried and proved as a "lance" corporal, with extra pay at the rate of 3d. a day. In the same way, before promotion to the rank of sergeant, the corporal's abilities will be tested by a provisional appointment as "lance" sergeant, with extra pay of 4d. a day.

His promotion to the rank of sergeant is, however, the real turning-point in a soldier's career, and in various ways the change of status is impressed upon him. In the first place he discards his old uniform and puts on clothing of a superior quality; in the infantry he wears a sash; he no longer takes his meals in the barrack-room with the rank and file, but becomes a member of the sergeants' mess; he is given a separate apartment in barracks called a "bunk;" he may employ a private soldier to clean his kit; and—most precious of all privileges—he finds himself eligible for the next vacancy on the married roll, and possessed of the right to re-engage to complete a service of twenty-one years, and so qualify for a sergeant's pension. In an Infantry Battalion the rank of sergeant may be reached by a superior man in about seven years, so that a term of at least fourteen years is still before him, in which to climb to the higher grades of colour-sergeant and quarter-master sergeant. Here as a non-commissioned officer he must stop, for the next promotion would lift him at once into the grade of "warrant" officer, an enviable class that secures most of the privileges of the commissioned ranks without any of its financial disadvantages.

It would hardly be too much to say that the army as a profession, exists mainly for the benefit of the warrant officers and sergeants; they certainly came into the service empty handed, they live, marry, and bring up a family at the expense of the public, and on retirement they become pensioners for the rest of their lives. The extent and variety of such appointments is so considerable, that at any time three complete divisions might be formed exclusively of these professional soldiers. But in order to gather together this *corps de elite* we should need to call them from the ends of the earth, for wherever the British flag flies there will be found representatives of the class that has been aptly styled the "backbone" of the Army. India alone absorbs nearly 4,000 sergeants and warrant officers; others are serving in the Mediterranean, in South Africa and Egypt, in North America and the Far East; in Cyprus and Sierra Leone, Nova Scotia,

and Barbadoes; in Ceylon and Wei-Hai-Wei, Hong Kong, and Esquimalt.

Five thousand sergeants and warrant officers hold appointments at home as instructors to the auxiliary forces; a thousand are employed in military schools and military prisons; and 16,000 are serving at home or colonial stations with cavalry, artillery, engineers, infantry, or in the Army Service Corps, Army Medical Corps, Army Ordnance Corps and Army Pay Corps.

The nominal "pay" of these expert soldiers will range from 2s. 9d. a day, in the case of a junior sergeant of infantry, to 7s. 5d. a day, in the case of a sergeant-major of the Army Ordnance Corps; but these sums by no means represent their actual earnings.

Skill and industry find a market in the army as in civil life, and the instructors in musketry, gunnery, fencing, gymnastics, signalling, riding, and cookery are all drawn from the class of soldier who has made the army a profession, and to whom special remuneration is given in the shape of "extra-duty" pay. Even clerks and accountants may receive 1s. or 1s. 6d. a day extra for keeping regimental accounts or copying documents. The regimental master-tailor is often the prosperous head of a flourishing business while drawing army pay and qualifying for a sergeant's pension. In the mounted branches of the service the foundation of a modest fortune may be laid by the non-commissioned officers who are competent to supervise farriers, saddlers, wheelers, collar-makers or carriage-smiths, and who may retire well equipped for civil life with a pension, their savings, and a trade at their finger-ends.

These situations moreover represent not the prizes, but the blanks of the profession, for out of 30,000 sergeants and warrant officers, about 700 are destined for the honour of the King's commission, as quarter master or riding master, with pay from 9s. to 15s. a day, with free quarters for their families, and ultimately, a pension of £200 a year. The present senior riding master in the army received his commission after little more than nine years service.

Even the private soldier can hardly avoid participating to some extent in the annual distribution of £50,000 for "extra duty" and "working" pay, prizes for skill at arms, &c., but what the "old" soldier prefers is a pleasant billet in the officers' or sergeants' mess, in the canteen or recreation rooms, where his experience is the reverse of Sam Weller's, there being "little to do and plenty to get" in those establishments. The really industrious men find occupation and pecuniary rewards in the stores or the regimental workshops, if

they fail to reach the summit of their ambition, namely, to become servant or groom to an officer and wear mufti. I may say without fear of contradiction that the soldier who confesses to an income which is limited to his ordinary pay and allowances is self-convicted of idleness, incapacity, or misconduct.

Even the negative virtue of personal tidiness does not go unrewarded in the army, for a sum of £180,000 is annually apportioned among soldiers as "compensation in lieu of clothing," a term which, perhaps, needs explanation. The soldier is allowed every half year a pair of boots, every year a frock and pair of trousers, and every second year a tunic; but a paternal Government is quite willing to give him the money value of any of these articles of clothing which he does not actually need for immediate use. It is, therefore, to the soldier's interest to take care of his garments, to mend and patch them, and to add to his private store when the kits of deserters and discharged men are sold by barrack-room auction; and men who thus invest a portion of their pocket-money in keeping their kits complete and in good order, recover the outlay and make a profit on the transaction by selling to Government at full value the new clothing issued in excess of their actual requirements.

Soldiers have now, I think, only two grievances, and both are included in the objectionable term "stoppages," a term which is likely to remain obnoxious until soldiers are sufficiently enlightened to perceive the reasonableness of deductions from their pay on account of loss of services, and in respect of loss and damage to public property; and although Barrack Damage and Hospital stoppages have given rise to much discontent, the candid inquirer is bound to admit that the abolition of these checks on malingering and hooliganism would be attended by grave difficulties. Take the matter of barrack damages, to begin with. The soldiers' residence, which we call a "barracks," contains a large number of furnished apartments, in which the lodgers are apt to cut capers and indulge in a considerable amount of horse-play. Unfortunately, in the course of these high jinks, the furniture, fittings, and utensils are somewhat roughly handled, and articles are even conveyed bodily away. In these circumstances, is there anything unreasonable in calling upon the occupants of the apartment to make good the loss and damage? In civil life, nobody would dream of calling into question the propriety of such an arrangement, and yet it is common to read a diatribe against War Office oppression when it endeavours to protect the taxpayers' pocket from the rude assaults of absent-minded and light-hearted soldiery. The sum collected from the troops on account of barrack damages is about

£25,000 a year, and is expended in replacing such articles as pokers, shovels, gas-globes, sheets and blankets, basins and plates, mattresses, mirrors, mops, brushes, inventory boards, bread-crocks, and soup-cans, which Mr. Atkins in his merry moods delights to make away with.

Let us now glance at the situation in regard to hospital stoppages. The estimated value of medical attendance, drugs and diet in barracks is 2s. a day (that is what an officer would have to pay if his civilian servant were admitted), but the soldier in ordinary cases is charged only 7d. a day; and though he loses his "allowance" of 5d. a day during his stay in hospital, he is exempt for that period from the subscriptions to his company mess, so that all soldiers secure at least 5d. a day while laid up, in ordinary cases of sickness. But there are three classes of patients who are treated differently. Those who are suffering from the results of active service receive full pay and allowances without stoppages of any kind, just as though they were on duty; soldiers whose illness can be fairly attributed to military service are stopped only half the usual sum, and so clear 9d. a day while in hospital; men whose illness is the direct result of some military offence, being treated as if in prison in regard to pay, are perforce admitted to hospital on the footing of pauper inmates, for they forfeit the whole of their pay and allowances while unfit for duty. As a general rule, however, a soldier in hospital is there in consequence of his own vice or folly, and his pocket money is reduced to 5d. a day in consequence. Where is the private employer who would show greater consideration?

And where is the private employer who would ordain that all routine work should cease in the early afternoon? If time is money, soldiers are lavishly paid indeed. The military day is over at 3 p.m., for the last parade is dismissed by that hour, and then, if not "on guard," the infantry soldier may put on his lounge suit and gymnasium shoes, he may potter about from reading room to skittle alley, he may practice fencing or play cricket, indulge in football or hockey, An hour later the tea-bugle sounds, and after the meal is finished, it is Atkins' peculiar pleasure to array himself in his brightest garments, gird his spotless belt about him, and seize his swagger cane, all of which is preparatory to a walk townwards, where he will interview his civilian friends, and discourse glibly of the hardships of soldiering!

THE CRISIS IN MOROCCO.

MOROCCO is the last great non-European State now bordering the Mediterranean, and the interests of three Powers are vitally connected with its fate. Spain realises that its annexation by another Power would mean the extinction of her last hopes of extension beyond the peninsula. Great Britain has to fear the installation of a rival in a fortified Tangier, and the loss of a valuable trade. France is striving for the undisputed possession of the southern coast of the Mediterranean, from Tunis to the Straits of Gibraltar, and even for the 1,500 miles of Atlantic coast between the Straits and Senegambia. The extension of British rule in the Upper Nile Valley has obliged her to abandon her dream of a belt of French territory stretching from Senegal in the west to Jibutil in the east, but a protectorate over Morocco would secure the accomplishment of her earlier ambition, the connection of her Mediterranean possessions with the French Colonies in the Western Soudan, the Congo, and West Africa. Both Italy and Germany have been endeavouring to find some plausible excuses for claiming to be consulted in the Moorish settlement. These, however, are negligible, and may be regarded as advanced in order that they may be abandoned in return for some adequate consideration.

M. Delcassé, realising that expansion in the Far East would be inconsistent with the Franco-Russian alliance and that the future of Egypt is virtually settled, has made the acquisition of Morocco the principal aim of his foreign policy. It would, indeed, be rash to assert that a provisional arrangement has not already been made with Lord Lansdowne. It will be remembered that the public is not always admitted into the confidence of great foreign Ministers. Neither Englishmen nor Germans have yet learnt the whole truth about German East Africa, though it is common knowledge that some arrangement has been made.

The present phase of the Moorish imbroglio need not be traced farther back than 1894. In that year Mulai Hassan died, after a reign of more than twenty years. Abd-el-Aziz, the present Sultan, was then only fourteen years old. His chance of election would have been small had it not been for the energetic action of Hassan's vizier, Si Ahmed Ben Musa. He happened to be on the spot at the time his master was stricken down, and realised that the succession of Abd-el-Aziz depended upon his being able to claim the support of "The Faithful"

as Sultan and not merely as an individual member of the Shereefian family. Ben Musa concealed the old Sultan's death so successfully that for two days the palanquin bearers were not aware that they bore a corpse. The respite gave the Vizier time. He had Abd-el-Aziz proclaimed Sultan at Ramat, before the adherents of Mulai Mohammed, his elder brother, could act. After a rising in his favour had been suppressed, Mulai Mohammed was imprisoned in the palace at Mekinez, where he remained until a few months ago. Si Ahmed Ben Musa, as vizier, held the supreme power in Morocco until his death in 1900, when Abd-el-Aziz became ruler *de facto*.

Perhaps too much was expected of a youth of nineteen, but it is certain that Abd-el-Aziz has not proved to be the strong man that Morocco needed to pilot her through the shoals that lie before her. He has shown himself imprudent and extravagant. He has spent time upon cameras, bicycles, and motor cars that would have been better employed in considering the effect of such innovations on fanatical subjects. This lack of political imagination and tact is particularly deplorable, as Abd-el-Aziz is in many ways so admirably well disposed. He has attempted important reforms. He strove to improve the administration of justice, and the condition of the gaols. He aimed at the reformation of the Kaids, or district rulers, by giving them salaries instead of leaving them to recompense themselves at their own discretion for their trouble in collecting the Sultan's revenue. In all these changes the influence of the Europeans at Tangier and at the court of Fez could be traced, an Englishman being conspicuously concerned. This was Kaid Maclean, the Moorish Commander-in-Chief, who has served Morocco for thirty years. As the rumours of the Sultan's European proclivities spread a strong agitation arose. Nominally an autocrat and bound by no laws, civil or religious, in reality the Sultan's only claim to the obedience of his subjects lies in his right to the title of "Commander of the Faithful." This he obtains through his membership of the Shereefian family, which traces its descent from the Prophet and has supplied Morocco with its rulers for centuries. Once a doubt as to the sincerity of Abd-el-Aziz's Islamism arose, his chief hold over the Berber tribes on the slopes of the Atlas mountains disappeared.

The anti-European agitation culminated in the murder of Mr. D. J. Cooper, an Englishman, in October, 1902, in the market place at Fez. The assassin, a sherif or holy man, had vowed to kill the first European he met. After the deed he fled to the Mulai Edrees, a saint's tomb just outside the city walls, and, perhaps, the holiest shrine in Morocco. By Abd-el-Aziz's direct orders, however, he was dragged from the temple,

placed on a mule and driven through the streets prior to public execution. This violation of the sanctuary of Mulai Edrees sent a thrill through the land. There can be no doubt that the feeling aroused materially contributed to the early successes of the revolution, which broke out in the same month. This was headed by Bu Hamara. He was first heard of on October 15, 1902, a few days after the murder of Mr. Cooper. Bu Hamara is not of Shereefian rank, and has no possible chance of succeeding to the throne. Bearing in mind the feeling aroused in France by the reports of English influence at the Court of Fez, it is significant that Bu Hamara acquired the funds with which to win over the Berber tribes, in Algeria. It is said that during the Twat expedition he supplied the French authorities with camels. These he arranged should be taken by his bands and afterwards resold to his former customers.

Bu Hamara started by winning over the mountain tribe of Ghiata. This enabled him to set up a "court" at Teza, which has been his headquarters for the past year. The Government had some small successes at the end of 1902, but when the Shereefian troops were defeated near Teza, Abd-el-Aziz judged it best to return to Fez. In February, 1903, the campaign against Bu Hamara was renewed. The results were sufficient, in the opinion of the Sultan, to justify a letter to his subjects, which was read in the mosques throughout Morocco. It ran:—"Our army has met the Pretender and driven him to the winds; he himself, by the hands of God, being drowned in the river. Thus is our country delivered from the scourge." With an Oriental disdain of logic, a wretched criminal was paraded in a cage through the streets of Fez, whom the populace were also asked to regard as "The Donkey Man." As a matter of fact Bu Hamara is still at Teza. The Sultan, on the contrary, owing to inability to pay them, has been forced to disband his militia. The authority of Abd-el-Aziz has all but evaporated, and anarchy prevails over the greater part of the country he is supposed to rule.

The Berber revolt is not, however, the greatest danger with which the Moorish Empire is faced. Were the various Powers of one mind, there would be no difficulty in supplying the Sultan with the money and arms necessary for the subjugation of the rebels. France, however, realises that her diplomatic task will be all the easier if the Moorish Government is not permitted to become too strong. The internal revolution, to begin with, made it even more difficult than usual for the Sultan to keep a tight hand upon the tribes of the Algerian border. The disturbances culminated in an attack upon M. Jonnart, the Governor-General of Algeria. He had come over the border to

confer with the Amel of Figig, an acknowledged Moorish oasis. This lies just beyond the Fort of Beni Ounif, the last of the French border outposts, which has become of particular importance through the completion of the extension of the railway. Figig itself is an important place. There are about 30,000 inhabitants in the villages of the district, Zenaga being the chief. It is a religious centre for the Saharan tribes, and even the French Arabs in the Tell or Coast region of Algeria are in the habit of sending offerings to the shrine every year.

As Figig is certain to assume importance when M. Delcassé decides that the moment has come for France to move, it is necessary to realise clearly the course of French diplomacy in that region. The oasis of Figig is actually mentioned by name in the Franco-Moorish treaty of 1845, and is undoubtedly Moorish territory. The treaty, however, generally only delimited the frontier for a short distance from the sea. Article IV. says:—"In the Sahara there is no territorial limit to be established between the two countries, since the land cannot be tilled, and can only be used as pasture ground for the Arabs of the two Empires, who come and camp to find pasturage and the water which they may require. The two Sovereigns shall exercise in what manner they please the fulness of their rights over their respective subjects in the Sahara." A common frontier of two hundred kilometres was therefore arranged, and the nomadic cattle breeders wandered about in search of water and pasture, spending one season of the year in Algeria and another in Morocco. For many years France made no effort to get the boundary fixed. No doubt her foreign ministers acted upon the well-known diplomatic rule, that an ill-defined frontier is always to the disadvantage of the weaker party. It has certainly proved so in this case, and France has never hesitated to take advantage of every opportunity. In 1900, for instance, Algerian troops moved down and occupied the country around the fertile oasis of Twat (though it has appeared in French maps as Moorish territory). Abd-el-Aziz protested that the annexation of Twat was a distinct violation of the French agreement, but in 1902 he was compelled to acknowledge the French claim. The Sultan was, no doubt, forced into this by M. Delcassé's promise that delimitation should be at once proceeded with. It was arranged at the same time that the tribes belonging to both countries should be enumerated in due form, so that no further question could arise. With Twat fresh in his recollection the feelings of the Sultan can be imagined when he heard about six months ago that a French expedition had moved out against Figig. This was nominally in consequence of the attack upon M. Jonnart, but in reality coincided with the completion of the railway to Beni Ounif. This, for the first

time, made the expedition possible. To satisfy the Sultan, the Figig expedition is always referred to as "*une opération de police*." Its purpose is always said to be the punishment of marauders, who are always assumed to be Moors, and to be in the habit of intercepting military convoys for the border garrison.

Some of the more ardently patriotic French newspapers have not hesitated to assert that the Figig expedition is really intended to establish a French protectorate over Morocco. On the other hand, we have M. Delcassé's repeated assurances that he has every intention of maintaining the *status quo* in Morocco. We cannot, however, fail to realise the analogy between the present circumstances and those which led up to the French annexation of Tunis. At the Conference of Berlin, Great Britain allowed it to be understood that, as far as she was concerned, there was no objection to France acting as she pleased. Tunis was, of course, at the time a fief of the Turkish Empire. France waited for three years. In 1881 the Kroumirs on the Algerian border provided an excuse by a more than usual activity in cattle raiding. The French swooped down and Tunis became a part of French North Africa.

The presence of unruly Moorish tribes is by no means the only excuse France has made for interference in the internal affairs of Morocco. With the inland districts in a state of rebellion the Sultan has naturally been unable to enforce the payment of tribute and the funds in the Moorish treasury have in consequence reached an abnormally low ebb. This difficulty has been present all through 1903. Early in the year a loan of ten million pesetas was arranged with some Spanish bankers, and about the same time the Sultan borrowed 7½ million francs from the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. The interest was 6 per cent, the security being the only real guarantee Morocco can offer,—her customs receipts. At the present time negotiations are going on for a fresh loan. A syndicate of Parisian bankers, in which some English financiers are also believed to be interested, have offered 50 million francs. They propose to pay off the Sultan's debts, cancel previous loans, and give the Moorish Treasury some ten million francs for current expenses. In return they ask for the right to place a European collector in each Moorish custom-house, particularly at Tangier. Before the hypothecation can be arranged the joint approval of the French and British Governments is necessary. To the present M. Delcassé has refused. He suggests that a portion of the customs receipts has been already set aside, and that the margin allowed to meet these liabilities is none too large. Translating this into terms of diplomacy, M. Delcassé realises that in the former French loan

he has already a sufficient weapon. This would be weakened by a new loan in which English capitalists also had a share. He can, therefore, readily repeat his assurance that a disturbance of the present régime is the last thing desired. Should difficulties arise, however, his Government would feel fully justified in pleading that "large financial interests in Morocco demand strong action." An empty treasury may at any time mean a collapse of the Shereefian authority. And if under difficult circumstances Abd-el-Aziz fails to consolidate his power, public opinion will demand a protectorate in Morocco, similar to that exercised over the Bey of Tunis. Before this M. Delcassé will bow.

In the absence of any settled law of international entail it is a little difficult to guess by what process of reasoning any given Power arrives at the conclusion that a certain territory is her right. It is certain that France considers itself the heir of the Morocco sultanate. During the last two years the energetic Colonial party, led by M. Etienne, has been conducting a vigorous educational campaign. No Frenchman has been permitted to raise a doubt as to the justness of the contention. When, for instance, M. Delafosse suggested a *protocole de désintéressement* between England, France, and Spain, by which the integrity of the Moorish Empire would be secured and all foreign intervention excluded, his proposals were received with shouts of dissent. This plan, of course, would be the logical outcome of M. Delcassé's statements. The Colonial Party, however, wishes it to be perfectly clear that nothing less than ultimate possession will satisfy them. By constantly keeping their views to the fore these politicians have persuaded France that Morocco is as French as Algeria, and that no other Power has any appreciable rights. Meanwhile Great Britain and Spain have done little to present the other side of the case.

At present Spain holds Ceuta and two or three other places on the coast of the Riff region. Senor Bernal, the military Governor at Ceuta, has been very active of late. He has taken Gibraltar as his model. The artillery has been brought up to date. Springs have been tapped, and it is proposed that a coaling station should be established. Senor Bernal hopes that these changes will make Ceuta the real centre of Spanish Africa. The great disadvantage under which Ceuta labours as a military stronghold is that its town is dominated by Tetuan, which, of course, belongs to Morocco. Spain is anxious to add this town to its other African possessions. While Tetuan belongs to a weak power like Morocco, Ceuta is safe, but in the hands of a powerful State like France it would be valueless. France has, however, been friendly to the present régime in Spain, and during the last thirty years has left no stone unturned to secure the confidence of Spain. The Spanish

Governments have always realised this. As late as July last, with the possible chance of discord arising out of the Morocco Settlement in his mind, Senor Silvela spoke of "The close union binding us tightly to our neighbour, the French Republic." We may, therefore, assume that France will placate Spain by offering all that kingdom can reasonably expect. It may be that she will be permitted to add to her territory in the Riff region, so that she will hold a narrow strip of the coast around Ceuta. It is true that the French Colonial party advocate the neutralisation of the entire coast of the Strait except Ceuta, but it will probably be worth the while of France to be more generous. She will not then have to fear a possible coalition between a dissatisfied Spain and ourselves.

The French Colonial extremists have lost no opportunity of impressing upon French public opinion the idea that the rights of Great Britain in reference to Morocco are negligible, even though the party organ, the *Depêche Coloniale*, is not anglophobist, but supports the *entente cordiale* in marked contrast to the spirit shown a few years ago. Yet no one can deny that at present we possess about forty per cent. of the Morocco trade. During 1901, out of a total export trade of £1,767,000 (goat and sheep skins, almonds, olive oil and eggs) Great Britain held £537,000. This figure had been £618,000 in 1900. Of the Morocco imports, which were valued at £1,635,000 (cottons, sugars, tea, &c.), our share was £758,000. But the commercial side of the question is by no means the most important. For a hundred years we have made it a cardinal point in our Imperial policy that the key to the Western Mediterranean should be in British hands. This would cease to be the case were the whole of the north-western corner of Africa to pass into the possession of France. It is true that the aspirations of the French Colonial party have not yet reached the point of proposing the fortification of Tangier. M. Etienne has even declared that France would not attempt to bring Tangier under her dominion—"Jamais, Jamais, Jamais!" It suggests the "neutralisation of the coast line." This might be a satisfactory arrangement could we be certain of an era of eternal peace. But what safeguard would it offer Great Britain in the event of war? Nothing less than a great military expedition could prevent the fortification of Tangier, if the whole of the surrounding country belonged to France. The case is, of course, very different at present, when such a step could only be possible after the Moorish power had been overthrown, and the Berber tribes reduced to order.

Nor again do the French Colonial party expect that Great Britain will abandon her trading rights without a struggle. They agree that they are considerable, and should be respected. We cannot, however,

forget our experience in Madagascar. Trade can be destroyed by other methods than hostile tariffs. By judiciously diverting the course of inland trade France would be able to make the coast trade of Morocco of smaller and smaller value, until Great Britain's share would become valueless. It is true that the French trade with Morocco would suffer as well, but that of Algeria would increase by leaps and bounds. And through it all British and French imports would be subject to precisely the same tariff. The trade would be lost to Great Britain without breaking a clause of any treaty.

The growth of the Anglo-French *rapprochement* has been, perhaps, the most momentous change in the international situation of recent years. The exchange of courtesies has been the outward and visible sign of the general recognition of the fact that there are fewer points of disagreement between Great Britain and France than there have been for a century. We must, however, beware lest in an excess of generosity we should offer more than we can afford to give. At the end of 1902, M. Delcassé attempted, through the French Embassy in London, to ascertain the lines upon which Great Britain would settle the North African difficulty. His advances were met with an unexpected cordiality by Lord Lansdowne. Since then there have been constant rumours that a deal is in progress. M. Jean Hess, the French Colonial explorer and expert, even alleges that the Franco-Spanish section has already been agreed upon. Spain is to receive the Moorish territory between the left bank of the Moulouya and the southern crest of the Sabou basin. As between England and France, he asserts that Morocco will be the French prize in a general settlement, which will include the abandonment of France's claims in Egypt, Newfoundland and Siam. It is difficult to see how any agreement on these lines ought to satisfy an English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It cannot be seriously proposed that Great Britain should risk the fortification of a French post at Tangier and the loss of its present hold upon the Morocco trade, in return for the French official recognition of Egypt. This is a diplomatic fact as universally recognised as the French occupation of Tunis. If the course of affairs in Morocco renders a settlement necessary it is essential that Great Britain's rights should not be undervalued. Nor, on the contrary, should the value placed by Frenchmen upon their "rights" in the Newfoundland fisheries, in Siam and in Egypt be accepted without inquiry. It is certainly very desirable that all difficulties between the two countries should be cleared up, but the cause of peace would not be served if we purchased the present goodwill of our neighbours by too readily abandoning undoubted and valuable rights,

THE MANAGEMENT OF MANKIND.

MR. H. G. WELLS has shown himself gifted with a fertile and variegated imagination, and in some of his works, with a keen comprehension of the hidden springs controlling human action. One of his recent stories, "The Sea Lady," although purely farcical as regards its general structure, contained some episodes of great poetical beauty towards the close, and suggested currents of thought too subtle to be plainly expressed in language. But in the professedly serious volume he has lately given to the world, entitled "Man in the Making," Mr. Wells seems to have been under the impression that he was evolving deep philosophical conceptions, when, in reality, the whole series of essays does little more than throw into shape some of his most superficial antipathies. The leading idea of the volume is that we are engaged at the present moment in making the mankind of the future; in bringing up the next generation; and that practically all other considerations should be merged in the supremely important effort to bring up that generation in the healthiest, most pure-minded and lofty condition conceivable. But the existing generation has to live its life even while engaged in the task of rearing its progeny, and Mr. Wells's practical conception concerning the manner in which that life should be led, as, indeed, concerning the way in which the children of the masses should be provided for, will probably recommend themselves to very few among those who are likely to be his readers.

Whether to let the neglected baby of the lower classes take his chance, or to re-organise the vast population of these islands on Spartan principles, so that all young children should be brought up in public institutions; this problem is one of very old standing. Mr. Wells aims—in all his proposals for the consideration either of Government or Providence—at being original, so he takes a middle

course between the two extreme ideas just suggested. Where children are not properly cared for by their natural parents, he would put them out to board under the authority of the State, and charge the expenses against the parents. But the difficulty of getting blood out of a stone, though fairly well recognised in practical life, might in view of the rapid progress of science be conceived as even more possible than the extraction of board-money for their children from drunken parents in the East-end. A great deal might be urged in favour of vast public institutions for the rearing of gutter children, who at present cost the community almost as much for their schooling and ultimate imprisonment as they would cost for their entire maintenance under the more comprehensive system, but one need hardly go into detail in discussing the unpractical character of Mr. Wells's middle course.

The most remarkable feature of his treatise has to do with its view of political institutions. There was a time, some fifty years ago, when a fairly considerable body of people in England were drifting, under the influence of what was then, and then seemed to be the permanent, ascendancy of liberal ideas, into an attitude of languid academic republicanism. The philosophical radicals of the Manchester school were not eager to blow up Buckingham Palace, or burn the châteaux of the aristocracy, but they tried to teach the world that it would be a good thing when Buckingham Palace should be tenantless, the House of Lords turned into a museum of antiquities, and the divine principle of popular election applied to every detail of Government organisation. Now, however, like the political economy of fifty years ago, philosophic radicalism has fallen into hopeless disrepute. One may shrink from echoing the Stuart doctrine of divine right, one may have grave doubts concerning the official perfection of primogeniture, and one may even follow some agricultural theorists who distinctly disapprove of large estates. But, on the other hand, the fuller experience which the last fifty years have given us of the results springing from popular election, has so weakened the foundations of the earlier radicalism that certainly the tendency of modern thought is to seek political salvation by means of monarchical and aristocratic institutions—rather than by the exaggeration of democratic methods—provided these can be brought into improved working order.

Welding his radicalism with his zeal for the improvement of babies, Mr. Wells is shocked to think that people cannot be tolerant in an easy-going way of royalty and privilege without setting a desperately bad example. "You cannot kneel to the king without presenting a

kneeling example to the people ; without becoming as good a teacher of servility as though you were servile to the marrow." There are almost as many false and unwholesome ideas embodied in that protest as there are words in the sentence. Undeniably, kingship, royalty in any form, has to be evolved into a higher degree of perfection than has yet been provided for by the accepted methods of its evolution, before it is entirely worthy of the fervent loyalty expressed in the act of kneeling ; but to associate the idea of servility with loyalty is to make as morally degraded a mistake as would be involved in a sneer at the self-sacrifice of love in private life. One may distinctly, in private life, forego one's own advantage sometimes for the sake of another human being, no more actually exalted, perhaps, in the scale of creation than ourselves, but the capacity for doing this is the measure of the extent to which a human being has evolved himself towards a higher divine condition. So in politics, loyalty to the sovereign may be exactly the corresponding feeling to that which inspires the noblest conduct in private life and conduces to individual progress. On the nature of loyalty to the Crown one might dilate to infinitude. The value of such loyalty as a purifying influence circulating through the veins of a nation, can hardly be over-rated. The practical value of royal supremacy, if, in imagination, we invest the monarch with the mental and moral attributes appropriate to his station, might be almost infinite.

The democratic system involves the maximum infusion of administrative corruption, as the present condition of New York may serve to elucidate. A theoretically perfect king would have no motive for making any appointment except that which had to do with the public interest. It may be argued that to speculate concerning the influence on affairs of the theoretically perfect king is absurd when the chances of birth may convey the crown to stupid or worthless successors even of a Marcus Aurelius, but it is clearly unfair to consider the problem with reference exclusively to the stupid and worthless, as writers of Mr. Wells's type persist in doing. The truth is that, like so many other phenomena of the modern world, royalty has been undergoing a remarkable improvement in the course of the last half-century. It is interesting to investigate the share in effecting that improvement which was taken by the beloved Sovereign who last passed away from these realms. When Queen Victoria came to the throne, there was hardly a court in Europe presided over by a man whom any lofty-minded observer could respect. When Queen Victoria quitted the throne she so long adorned, there was hardly a sovereign in Europe—not

more than one or two at the most—who failed to command respect both on mental and moral grounds. Whether the change was brought about by her influence and example, or was somehow a phenomenon concurrent with her appearance on the scene, is a question one need not here discuss; but at all events, the change has been brought about, and in view of that change, together with the glance we may simultaneously take over the disappointments of the democratic philosopher, one can only say that no time could be less wisely chosen for the revival by Mr. Wells of an all but forgotten and discarded theory of public life, than this in which he has launched his essays against the current of a steadily moving stream, flowing in exactly the opposite direction from that in which he wishes us to travel.

These criticisms, however, deal with the proposals before us merely from the point of view of Mr. Wells himself, who treats mankind as simply a succession of generations each distinct from its predecessor. Almost all sociological problems assume a new colouring when once we recognise the continuity of mankind by the light of the all-important principle of Re-incarnation. Many people who are favourably impressed by that doctrine as an idea by itself, fail to see how it gears in with the practical business of life in many different ways. For the moment let us take an illustration from problems remote from those which Mr. Wells is handling. Good people are often eager to carry out schemes for the improvement of some of the lower races. The gradual development of civilisation among the negro races of Africa, for instance, presents itself to some imaginations as a task peculiarly worthy of philanthropic effort. The dream of the future in this connection supplies a picture of an Africa inhabited by black races living lives of European decorum and cultivating the arts and sciences. Those who understand the scheme of evolution to which we all belong a little better know that the improvement of any one individual negro means his birth next time in a superior race, where he will find free scope for further improvement. The grand climax of negro evolution will be reached when there are no more negroes left on earth at all, when all shall have passed on into higher races. This does not mean that we should meanwhile neglect the welfare of the negro, but a comprehension of the manner in which progress would really be accomplished would give a more intelligent direction to energies spent on the task referred to.

Now, with appropriate modifications, the same idea has to be applied to problems of civilised sociology. We need not treat with contempt the duty of educating the next generation, but our foremost duty—if people would only understand the matter aright—

is to live in the present on such principles that when the existing generation comes back again in due time it will show evidence of not having lived the previous time in vain. The next generation may, undoubtedly, be helped in its upward growth by arrangements that we may make for its advantage, but it will in the main have to depend on itself for its growth, and we could not make a greater mistake than to suppose that from our present point of view we can see exactly what social and other conditions will be best calculated to promote that growth. In so far as by virtue of our own enlightenment we may have attained to the comprehension of some broad ethical principles, we may wisely take care that these shall not be forgotten by our immediate descendants. Schemes of education should, of course, pass on such results as we have ourselves reached in connection with mental and moral progress, and most existing schemes of education, one may incidentally remark, are ludicrously ill-designed from that point of view; but the main principle to be guided by in imagination might be defined as follows:—Broadly speaking we represent a generation of mankind which was last in physical embodiment in a fairly remote past. We have gone through various experiences this time, and have acquired certain knowledge that we did not possess before. We modify the institutions around us accordingly, and we leave our work to be the starting-point of the next generation. It would be a profound delusion to suppose that we are “making” that generation, defining the conditions under which its people are going to live. They will frame those conditions for themselves, if they have any vigour of their own, and in turn when we of this generation come back for another spell of embodied existence we shall find a multitude of ideas current and available for us to work with, which as yet are quite unforeseen. There is plenty of time before us all. That is one of the consolatory reflections which the view of Nature we are handling suggests, and which many impatient philanthropists are apt to forget, and that is probably why the Supreme Wisdom presiding over the whole undertaking is content to “make mankind” by degrees, and is so happily independent of the advice from time to time offered with the kindest intentions by writers like Mr. Wells, who frame projects for the better management of the human race under the disadvantage of not comprehending the basic principle of the evolutionary method in actual operation.

A ROYAL ROMANCE.

THE earlier reigns of the Hanoverian dynasty have constituted a period of English history which few writers have hitherto cared to investigate very profoundly. The "Four Georges" have, it is true, been the butt of plentiful satire, but their failings have been more often discussed by writers glad to cast as much discredit as possible on royalty as such, than by historians dealing with events for the sake of their own intrinsic interest. Mr. W. H. Wilkins has, however, constituted himself the annalist of the Hanoverian period in a manner which not only carries him to the front rank as the leading authority in regard to the facts of the time, but, on his general literary merits, confirms him as one of the most successful exponents of the episodal method in dealing with national annals. His deeply touching story concerning the wrongs of the hapless princess who had the misfortune to be the wife of George I., "*The Love of an Uncrowned Queen*," was followed by a less pathetic but not less brilliantly effective survey of the period influenced by "*Caroline the Illustrious*," consort of George II., and now we have from the same pen a biography of a later Hanoverian princess whose brief, eventful, and tragic career has been unaccountably neglected hitherto by students of modern history.*

Caroline Matilda was the youngest of the numerous family brought up by Frederick and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales, during the reign of George II. George III. was her eldest brother, and she herself, poor little thing, in many respects the pearl of the family, was sent over at sixteen years of age to Copenhagen to be the wife of the young King of Denmark, Christian VII., only a year or two older than herself, who had just succeeded his father, Frederick V. No pains whatever were taken to ascertain whether she would be decently treated in this gilded exile. She was simply sacrificed to a political idea, torn from all her own companionships, tossed into the keeping of strangers in a strange land, and scandalously neglected

* "*A Queen of Tears ; Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway and Princess of Great Britain and Ireland.*" By W. H. Wilkins, M.A. With illustrations ; in two volumes. Longman, Green & Co.

almost from the first by the little wretch, her husband, subsequently known in this country by the nickname of the "Northern Scamp," so that the first two or three years of her married existence were as miserable as they could be made. Then followed events which invest her story with some superficial resemblance to that of Sophie Dorothea. She certainly fell in love (although to what lengths the *liaison* was carried remains a mystery to the very end) with a brilliant and fascinating Court doctor, Struensee by name, who was clever enough to turn her attachment to such advantage that he became, for a brief twelve months or so, an omnipotent Prime Minister.

The tale of his progress is too long and intricate to be minutely repeated here; his success was accomplished by reason of the fact that the young King's preposterous vices ultimately landed him in a state of partial imbecility, so that when, under Struensee's clever guidance, the young Queen contrived to gain supremacy over him, his signature was always available for any purpose which served the ambition of the Minister. Ultimately, he and the Queen were overthrown by a palace conspiracy organised under the direction of the King's stepmother, Juliana; and by the simple device of capturing the King in his bedroom at night, the conspirators obtained his signature to documents directing the arrest of Struensee and the Queen. The witless monarch was made to believe an absurd story to the effect that these two were conspiring against him, and never from that moment did the conspirators allow either of their victims to have speech with him. They and all who are likely to be their friends are hurried off to captivity. The King remains in the custody of his new keepers. Special tribunals are organised to try the Minister and the Queen. Spurious confessions are wrung from both by falsehood and treachery of the most sickening description. Struensee is barbarously executed. Queen Matilda is divorced and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, although the gallant efforts of the English Ambassador at Copenhagen, Sir Robert Keith, who succeeds in stirring up George III. to some action on behalf of his ill-used sister, leads to her ultimate rescue from the grip of her enemies.

The whole story, which really is told for the first time in the volumes before us, is one of thrilling interest throughout, and is by no means concluded by the rescue of the Queen, accomplished by Sir Robert Keith, when he is at last enabled to threaten the infamous cabal then constituting the Danish Government with a declaration of war by England and the bombardment of their capital if they do not give up the British princess. She is conducted to the grand old castle at Celle, near Hanover, the place of which we hear so much in the

beginning of the former narrative concerning Sophie Dorothea. The place is suitably prepared for her reception, and there she holds a quiet little Court for a year or two, adored by the people of the place, warmly supported by the countenance of a sister married to the reigning prince of the neighbourhood, and under the brightening influence of a generally diffused conviction to the effect that she is an innocent victim of the Danish conspiracy and quite guiltless of the personal disgrace attached to her by the sentence of divorce. But the peaceful though somewhat monotonous current of her life at Celle is interrupted before long by a new excitement. The old nobility of Denmark, who had been alienated from Struensee by the arrogant audacity of certain democratic reforms carried out during his administration, soon found that the régime of Juliana and her co-conspirators was no less intolerable in different ways. A large party was gradually formed in favour of a restoration of the exiled Queen. Plots pointing to this restoration were developed to a high degree of completion. The sanction even of George III. was obtained. Matilda herself became eager to accomplish this magnificent achievement, and the great coup was all but ready for accomplishment, when she herself was stricken down by an epidemic fever raging in Celle and died after a few days' illness. Perhaps the tragedy of her life would have been even more deplorable had she succeeded for a time in regaining possession of her lost throne. The Danish Court was a vortex of intrigue and treachery, and, if she had lived, one cannot but think that poor Matilda would have been better off in her tranquil seclusion at Celle than enthroned at Copenhagen. A time came long after her death when Nemesis overtook the faction by which she had been worsted, and as soon as her son, the young Crown Prince, came to be old enough, at seventeen or so, to assert himself, he contrived in turn by a counter-palace revolution, to get control of the imbecile monarch and wield his signature for the assertion of his own rights and the overthrow of Juliana's crew.

Herein lies the most deeply seated interest of the whole narrative. In the midst of this corrupt and semi-barbarous nobility of Denmark, surrounded by a more or less turbulent populace, the supremacy of the King, no matter how contaminated by his notorious mental degradation, was accepted without a murmur on all hands. No matter by what absurd device or violence his signature to an order was obtained, once recognised, it was obeyed and submitted to in a quite incomprehensible fashion, even when it robbed conspirators of the fruits of their temporary successes. Danish kings were supposed to be surrounded and guided by Councils of State. When it suited the

convenience of Struensee during his control of the King's signature to abolish the Council of State, this arrangement was carried out by a single decree in the name of the Royal Scarecrow. Favourites, at one moment apparently triumphant, vanished helplessly into exile when some rival intriguer contrived to capture the hand that produced the royal signature. Juliana herself, in the end, bears seclusion in a provincial palace with the conviction that the game is played out, when at last one of those ridiculous decrees with the method of manufacturing which she has so long been familiar, is turned against herself. It was not loyalty, in any beautiful sense of the word, that gave rise to this unaccountable submissiveness. No one in contact with Christian VII. ever had any feeling but contempt and loathing for him. The populace abroad were too completely outside the range of palace intrigues to be counted at all in the plots and counter-plots continually developed. Nothing in the attitude of mind of the Danish nobility corresponded to the feeling which induced the cavaliers of the early Stuart dynasty to regard the sovereign as invested with divine right. It was the habit of Denmark to regard the King as supreme, not on account of his celestial origin or his virtues, but simply because he was the King; and so, though Christian represented the worst form of degeneracy, was a moral and physical wreck at twenty-two, no one ever thought of breaking through the routine which constituted him the national autocrat.

It seems as though the cyclic changes which through the ages have governed the characteristics of royalty, have been curiously out of tune with the cyclic changes determining the fervour of loyalty. The 16th century bears the record of much genuine royal ability and worth, plentifully interspersed with disloyalty and rebellion. The 17th and 18th centuries show us the character of royalty strangely on the decline and the fervour of loyalty still more strangely in the ascendant. Within the 19th century the conditions have been reversed. The miserable spectacle of vice and stupidity enthroned, which was so conspicuously exhibited during the period covered by the narrative immediately under review, has been succeeded, under influences which are interesting from many points of view, by a period in which royalty is perhaps more worthy of respect and consideration than at any previous period of civilised history. But loyalty, though languidly maintained as a sentiment to be set to music at public dinners, has faded away from the political institutions of the modern world to an extent which is certainly unexampled in history and which, in the estimation of some observers, who hope that a new cyclic wave may be gathering volume, is no less deplorable.

PASSING EVENTS.

A NEW Act of Parliament came into force at the beginning of this year, enabling judges in criminal cases, when they are satisfied that an accused person has not himself the means of paying for the assistance of counsel, to appoint solicitors and counsel on his behalf at the public expense. The Recorder of London and some other judicial officers presiding over Sessions Courts have promptly fallen foul of this Act; rather, it would seem, on account of the trouble it imposes on themselves than with any special regard to the interests of the taxpayer. Applied to under the Act on behalf of an Italian tradesman who claimed to be a poor person under the meaning of the Act, the Recorder criticised the newly ripened law at some length, and not without acrimony. A great deal of his time would, he thought, be taken up in examining these applications, and how he could ascertain whether the prisoners claiming assistance under the Act were really impecunious or not, he did not know. He would be wasting the valuable time of juries keeping them waiting while he was investigating claims. It was incredible that an Act of this importance should be passed by the legislature without any consultation with the officers of the Central Criminal Court. And another judicial officer, charging the Middlesex Court jury, inveighed against the futility and extravagance of the new measure, declaring that he had presided at the trial of 2,500 prisoners and never yet had seen an innocent man convicted: a statement which simply amounts to saying that however many of the 2,500 may have been innocent, he, the presiding judge, had never been able to distinguish these cases from the others.

Very possibly the Act may have been clumsily constructed, but the criticisms now directed against it seem rather to emphasise the evil it was intended to counteract than to justify the procedure that has hitherto been in force. Certainly it is quite a matter of speculation

how far a prisoner innocently accused is likely to be saved from unjust conviction by the help of a professional lawyer. A litigant with whom the present writer is acquainted, once said, in reference to a certain case in which he successfully defended himself from an unjust attack, "It was far too serious a case to be entrusted to counsel." And even when an accused person may not have the nerve or capacity to defend himself, surely the Judge ought not, in criminal cases, to be regarded as a mere umpire? In a case heard in the Central Criminal Court on the very day when the Recorder protested against the new Act, he himself, in directing an acquittal, remarked that as he had had no opportunity in that case of appointing counsel to defend, he had been obliged to defend the prisoner himself. That he adopted the right course in so doing is perfectly obvious, but if his remark was intended to imply that he was unfairly called upon to undertake this function, his language was much less admirable than his conduct. What on earth is the use of a judge in a criminal court if he does not prevent the commission of injustice? It is the foremost duty of every such judge to defend prisoners from the one-sided attack of prosecuting counsel, whether there may be counsel on the other side to play the game in the conventional fashion or whether the "poor prisoner," as the common phrase runs, is "undefended." Complaints against the new Act on the ground that it would charge the revenue with unnecessary burdens, entirely overlook the fact that at present the revenue is charged with the fees of prosecuting counsel, and it is their business to obtain convictions quite without regard to the fundamental principle supposed to govern English jurisprudence (under the loftiest conceivable sanction), namely, that it is better ten guilty persons should escape than that one innocent person should be punished. Some Continental systems of criminal procedure have often been scornfully criticised on this side of the Channel, on the ground that the judges play the part of prosecutors. Doubtless they have constantly drifted into this unseemly custom, but the theory under which they take a more active part in the investigation of the facts than is usual in this country, with counsel employed on both sides, rests itself upon a perfectly sound theory. It is the business of a judge to investigate the case before him, and not merely to act as umpire between the bowler and the batsman. The tendency to reduce English judicial proceedings to a game in which it is only important that the rules should be observed, is terribly apt to bring about a condition of things satirised by the cabman who did not know where to go when told to drive to the Royal Courts of Justice, but found his way without difficulty to the Law Courts.

THE vast territories of the American federation, besides exhibiting so many other fascinating attributes, may be regarded as the great sociological laboratories of the world. Perhaps the whole political system which prevails there may be regarded as a stupendous experiment, the final conclusions to be derived from which are as yet undetermined; but Americans are not afraid of trying experiments, even when the fundamental principles governing human relationship are at stake. Students of primitive or savage customs often devote themselves, with greater zeal than the interest of savage life warrants, to the rules governing the marriage relationship in such communities. It would be much more to the purpose if they studied the laws affecting that relationship in the various States of the American Union. So marvellously simple, in many cases, is the system on which divorce may be obtained, that here and there it has almost been reduced to conformity with what someone has called the "postcard system." Enthusiasts for feminine liberty have been found to maintain that the woman at least, burdened more heavily than the man by the matrimonial yoke, should be able to obtain a divorce by return of post, merely by applying for it, even on a post-card, to the proper Government office. On the other hand, in some States of the Union, the tendency seems to be to control human liberty in reference to marriage by regulations which have never yet been actually put in force. A society in Iowa, deeply concerned by the progress of what has been called degeneracy, has prepared a Bill for submission to the legislature of that State, providing that before a marriage licence can be issued to any person, a physician's certificate must be obtained showing that the bride and bridegroom concerned are physically and mentally qualified to present the State with children of corresponding perfections. In its broadest and simplest aspects, there is no novelty in the idea thus developed. Many people have accepted lives of celibacy under the dictates of a conscientious feeling in harmony with this idea, but the medical certificate does not necessarily recommend itself to the imagination as adequately taking the place of individual conscience, and without diving very profoundly into the mysteries which shroud the providential design connected with the progress of the species, one may somehow feel a vague assurance that natural law is not likely to be altogether dependent for its success on the assistance of even the most eminently qualified medical practitioners.

POLICE reports a week or two ago cast a momentary glance at a case in which a middle-aged man of respectable appearance appealed

to a constable for help by reason of having totally lost his memory. He did not know who he was, nor where he lived, nor anything about himself, and was taken to a hospital, where doctors investigated his case without apparently arriving at any results. This is only one of several similar examples that have been noticed briefly in the papers during the last year or two, and forgotten immediately afterwards. They would be infinitely better worth close investigation than many of the subjects towards which public attention is turned, but the ordinary doctor who is supposed to be professionally qualified for such investigations is not the man most likely to arrive at sound conclusions in reference to such mysteries. He is always prone to suppose that abnormal psychic development must ensue from some physiological derangement, and thus seeks for the explanation in a direction which carries him in a totally wrong direction. Indeed, the habit of supposing the doctor the right person to handle such mysteries as those associated with the early developments of mesmerism, was the mistake which kept back the development of that super-physical branch of knowledge for the best part of a century. To refer the phenomena of consciousness to the physiologist is like treating the pianoforte maker as the only person qualified to compose a sonata.

ABNORMAL phenomena connected with human life are just those which, properly made use of, might be most helpful in connection with the interpretation of its problems, but for want of seeing their inner significance most people around us simply gape at them as more or less amusing wonders. Take the absurd case of the child who has been called the "fat boy of Peckham," a child who at five years of age, or six, has grown to the stature and strength of a man, in this case without any corresponding growth of intelligence. A pendant to the case of this overgrown child is to be found in one reported from Germany, where a girl never outgrows the physical condition of babyhood, but eventually in her cradle acquires the intelligence of a grown being. The significance of such eccentricities of nature is so completely missed that the current papers rarely treat them as more than the text for a few passing jokes. They are really indications, which ought not to be misunderstood by the simplest observer, of the fact that human consciousness is not the mere outcome of physical conditions. But the ordinary world at this stage of its evolution seems incapable of drawing logical inferences from given states of fact unless these are already provided for by orthodox conceptions of natural law.

RESULTS of some sort or other can hardly fail to arise from the formidable manifesto lately directed against "cigarette smoking amongst the young." The protest is signed by nearly a dozen peers of the realm, by judges and bishops in abundance and by headmasters of great schools literally by the score. They affirm that cigarette smoking in England is undermining the health and ruining the character "of many English boys in various grades of society." Parents are solemnly enjoined "to control their boys in regard to this habit." and the clergyman who seems to be especially in charge of the manifesto goes further than this in his covering letter to the *Times*, and declares "that the time has arrived for the legislature to take action in this matter."

The manifesto has a ludicrous aspect from one point of view. Has the reign of gentle persuasion and sweet reasonableness in the nursery, superseding earlier and simpler methods of discipline, landed us in presence of a rising generation which, when at variance with grown-up opinion, is in a position to follow the dictates of its better judgment? If the modern boy, as the bishops and headmasters imply, is poisoning himself with cigarette smoke, that cannot be in accordance with the wishes of his father and mother. He has simply been allowed to drift into the conviction that these wishes have no practical bearing on life. Must the Public Prosecutor be called upon to restore the balance of power in the British family? or will a reaction set in against the system of relying exclusively on appeals to the nobler emotions of those whom the peers and bishops of the manifesto vaguely describe as "the young"?

As for the Anti-Cigarette Crusade, on its general merits the present protest might have been more effective if the dangers arising had been defined with greater precision. On the face of things it looks ridiculous to bring in the cigarette guilty of crimes against humanity, leaving the pipe and the cigar to pursue their nefarious course unchecked. Of course, any sort of smoking is damaging to the nervous system when pushed to excess; the same may be said of almost every variety of eating and drinking. At the same time, the experience of many generations is to the effect that the moderate enjoyment of tobacco is no more prejudicial to health than the moderate use of wine, tea or coffee; and of all ways in which tobacco can be used, the cigarette, it might be urged, is surely the least violent in its effects. Of course, the answer is, that just because the smoke of a cigarette is lighter or milder than that of a pipe or cigar, it is more often inhaled into the lungs. Dealt with in that way, it is almost as injurious to the old as to "the young." Perhaps the current agitation is prompted less by an appreciation of

this principle than by indignation at the extent to which the modern young are out of hand. And this applies to the young of the female variety as well as to the boys. School girls have been writing to the papers declaring their "experience" to be that cigarettes soothe and fortify the system under the strain of lessons. One finds half a dozen a day distinctly conducive to her welfare. One need not be a fossil of past ages, horrified at the idea of cigarette smoking as "unwomanly," to doubt whether it can be wise for young ladies to begin the practice before they have outgrown their short frocks. Certainly the modern girls' boarding school must have developed liberal institutions with astonishing audacity if the question is now left entirely to the discretion of the pupils.

ONE is used to regarding the Lord Chamberlain's authority over the stage as productive of comic entanglements, but, as a rule, its absurdities have to do with the Court Censor's care for the morals of the public. Sometimes he has been roused to protest against caricaturing statesmen—happily there is no inclination at present amongst the dramatists to caricature personages in a more exalted station—but recently the Lord Chamberlain has developed a new variety of sensitiveness. He has forbidden Mr. Arthur Shirley to call a play "The White Slaves of London," indiscreetly giving his reason, which is that there are no slaves in London. As it happens that several popular writers in ordinary literature have been discussing the condition of "The Child Slaves of Britain," and "The White Slaves of England," referring, of course, to onerous conditions of labour in its lowest levels, the dramatist feels himself especially aggrieved by the interference with his freedom in the use of metaphorical language. But, perhaps, he ought rather to be congratulated. The more ridiculous the Lord Chamberlain's authority over the stage becomes, the more likely it is that some better system of supervising its activities will be ultimately worked out. Would absolute freedom be the simple solution of the problem? Such freedom, that is to say, as is enjoyed by the ordinary journalist, subject to the penalties of the law if he misuses it? As the Lord Chamberlain's authority emerges from that conception of the place in society of the player, when, by law, he was a rogue and a vagabond, unless the recognised "servant" of some noble patron, the natural inference seems to be that now he is a favoured artist, with knighthood not beyond the range of his ambitions, the inconvenient patronage of his last surviving patron might be withdrawn.

BROAD VIEWS.

VOL. I.

MARCH, 1904.

No. 3.

THE METEOROLOGY OF THE EMPIRE

DURING THE UNIQUE PERIOD 1892-1902:

THE subject of the present article is the meteorology of a unique period—viz., 1892-1902, during which various parts of the Empire, more especially India, Australia, and South Africa, have suffered more severely from droughts and famine than during any other similar period for a hundred years at least. The period 1895 to 1902 was one of almost continuous drought over a large part of the interior of Australia. The drought was very severe in New South Wales and Queensland. It is estimated that in New South Wales, at least fifty million sheep, valued at £12,500,000, perished from want of fodder and water. An example of the effects of the drought is afforded by the case of one single district in New South Wales. It possessed over 3,300,000 sheep in 1891, and less than half a million in 1901.

South Africa (more especially the inland region) has suffered from drought almost as prolonged and severe as that affecting Australia. Mr. Hutchings, Forest Conservator in Cape Colony, described it briefly in the following terms:—"In the Karoo the present drought (1903) is considered the worst during the past fifty years. For example, at Hanover (Upper Karoo) barely three-quarters of an inch of rain has fallen during the past year, or only about 5 per cent. of the normal fall of the year—viz., 15 inches. The drought has lasted on and off since 1896, and during the worst years cattle and sheep have perished by millions. In British Central Africa, the drought has lasted since 1898, and it is reported that the Shore Lake is now nearly dry. Last summer's crops in the Transvaal, so sorely needed after the war, were a complete failure, whilst in Natal, Rhodesia, and the country to the north, there was in many places famine." The drought has hence

lasted in South and East Africa with varying intensity from 1896 to 1903.

The rainfall in Abyssinia, and probably also in the Equatorial Lake district, has been considerably less than usual, as is shown by the flood discharge in the Nile as measured in September at Assouan. The mean discharge in September is 9,050 cubic metres per second. The following table gives the mean discharge in September of each year of the period 1895 to 1902 :—

MEAN DISCHARGE AT ASSOUAN IN SEPTEMBER.

Year.				
1895	...	...	10,050	cubic metres per second.
1896	...	...	10,300	" "
1897	...	...	8,600	" "
1898	...	...	10,050	" "
1899	...	...	6,150	" "
1900	...	...	7,800	" "
1901	...	...	8,400	" "
1902	...	...	6,450	" "

The discharge was hence lower than the normal in five years out of eight, and was conspicuously in defect in 1899 and in 1902.

Mauritius, an important sugar-producing island under British rule in the centre of the Indian Ocean, has suffered more or less from deficient rainfall during the period 1895 to 1902. The drought in that island, as in India, was most severe in 1896 and 1899, and was terminated by favourable rains and a bumper sugar crop in 1903.

In India, the whole period from 1892 to 1902 has been characterised by very remarkable variations of rainfall, and by the occurrence of the two most severe droughts and famine which have visited India during the past 150 years. During the first three years of the period 1892 to 1894, the rainfall was in superabundance, culminating in an average excess of nine inches, or 22 per cent., in 1893. The total excess of that period averaged over twenty inches, or nearly half a year's additional supply, the normal annual fall in India being 41 inches. During the remainder of the period the rainfall has been, with the exception of that of the year 1898, deficient in amount, and more or less unsatisfactory in its distribution. In the years 1896 and 1899, the drought was very severe over by far the greater part of the interior of India, and the crops failed more or less completely. These droughts were hence followed by famine. The famine of 1896 to 1897 affected seriously an area of over 125,000 square miles, and a population of 34,000,000. State relief was given for a year to an average of nearly two and a quarter millions daily. A very serious feature was the great mortality amongst the cattle. In the worst districts they died off almost completely.

The famine of 1899 to 1900 affected a larger area and population than the 1896 famine. Famine relief on a scale previously unknown was given for over a year, and over six millions were continuously relieved and supported by Government when the famine was in its worst phase. The mortality of cattle due to want of fodder and water was appalling. In Gujarat and the neighbouring districts practically none were left at the end of the famine. Two millions are estimated to have perished in the Central Provinces, and an equal number in the Bombay Presidency. The results were especially disastrous in Gujarat, where the fodder famine was complete, and the wealth of the people was largely sunk in their cattle. In their efforts to save them they spent all their savings and endured the greatest privations. They sold their jewels, their household goods, and even the doors and rafters of their houses, to procure fodder. Their efforts failed, their cattle died, and with their cattle all their accumulated wealth disappeared.

It will thus be seen that the same pitiful story of disappearance of accumulated wealth, loss of cattle by a slow miserable starvation, and of human suffering in an extensive area, including a large part of Africa, India, and Australia, was due to a protracted drought, paralleled, so far as we are aware, only by the seven years of famine in Egypt of biblical history.

The data that have already been collected show that the drought of 1895 to 1902 was a more or less general meteorological feature of the whole area including Abyssinia, East and South Africa, Persia, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, India, probably Thibet, and the greater part or whole of Australia. That area, it may be noted, depends chiefly or solely for its rainfall upon moist winds coming from the Indian Ocean.

The period is unique from the meteorological standpoint, as it is certain that no such prolonged and widely spread deficiency of rain has occurred during the past hundred or hundred and fifty years. It hence deserves the most careful study. The present article is devoted to a statement of the accompanying meteorological features in India, for which fairly complete data are available, a result of the Meteorological Department established by the Government of India nearly thirty years ago.

It appears to be desirable, in order that the abnormalities of the period in India may be fully appreciated, to describe as briefly as possible consistent with clearness the chief features of the annual cycle of the weather changes in India.

The greater part of India is within the tropics, but the more northern districts, more especially the Punjab, are well outside the

tropics, and are, in fact, in almost the same latitude as Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. In consequence partly of its peculiarities of position, the meteorology of the whole of India during one half of the year is essentially tropical. During the remainder of the year, the meteorology of the more northern regions resembles that of the temperate regions of Southern Europe in many respects.

The meteorology of India in its broader aspects is essentially simple, regular, and massive, and hence in remarkable contrast with that of countries in Western Europe. The regularities in India form the primary feature, and it is only occasionally that the irregularities are cumulative to an overpowering extent.

The primary feature in the meteorology of India is the division of the year into two half-yearly periods or seasons, usually known as the South-West and North-East monsoons, but better distinguished as the wet and dry seasons. The usual terms are based on the ordinary wind directions of the Indian seas, whereas the suggested names represent the leading characteristics of the two seasons in India itself.

The dry season sets in earliest over North-Western India, usually in October, and gradually extends southwards and eastwards during the next two months. It is usually fully established over the whole of India before the end of December. Dry land winds with clear skies constitute its leading feature. During the first half of the period from December to February the weather is cool, dry, and singularly bright and pleasant over the whole of Northern and Central India. The only interruptions in the period are due to the passage of extensive shallow depressions which originate chiefly in Persia and pass across Northern India from west to east, that is, in the same general direction as Atlantic and European storms generally. They give light or moderate rain to the plains of Northern India, of the greatest value for the cold weather wheat crop. The most noteworthy feature of these storms is the heavy snowfall which they supply to the Western Himalayas, averaging on the higher elevations probably from fifty to a hundred feet in depth. This snowfall, hardened and concentrated into the vast valley glaciers, is the source of the vast body of water which flows in river and canal over the plains of the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Behar. This snowfall occurs, it should be noted, almost solely in the dry, and not in the wet season, when the plains and lower hills are deluged with frequent rain. This contrast is striking and instructive.

The increasing elevation of the sun during the next three months (March to May) causes a fairly steady increase of the temperature at rates ranging from a quarter of a degree per diem in Southern India,

to half a degree per diem in North Western India. This period, the hot weather season, culminates in a period of excessive heat in the last week of May and the first week of June, over Northern and Central India, when day temperatures of 115° to 125° are registered. Exceedingly dry, hot winds blow in the interior and raise clouds of thick dust from the parched, baked soil. The contrasts of temperature and humidity between the land and sea and the plains and hills give rise to local storms of peculiar intensity and sometimes of tornadic force. Violent thunderstorms occur at frequent intervals in the coast and hill districts, more especially in Bengal and Assam and in Malabar, and dust storms in the drier districts of the interior. The rain accompanying these storms is of only slight agricultural value except in Assam, where it is of much importance for the early or spring tea crops.

The dry season usually terminates in a brief period of almost unbearable heat and dryness. Suddenly, and almost as if at the stroke of an enchanter's wand, a marvellous transformation occurs. Strong winds, laden with moisture, advance from the equator over the Indian seas in the course of three or four days, and then pour into India, clouding over the skies, reducing the temperature, and giving frequent rain. The weather conditions are completely reversed in the course of a few days. All nature becomes instinct with life and growth, and the fields under the hands of the labourer are prepared for the rice, millet, cotton, and other summer crops.

The rain falls in a more or less intermittent fashion, short periods of cloudy weather, with perhaps occasional light showers, alternating with periods of heavy general rains; the latter are frequently initiated by the advance of small cyclonic storms, which form on the north of the Bay and march along tracks varying from north to west across Northern India. These storms give the cyclonic downpours which are necessary to flood the fields for the great rice crops in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the eastern districts of the Central Provinces. The intervals of fine weather, known as "breaks in the rains," afford opportunities to cultivators to weed their crops, and are as essential to their proper growth as are the bursts of heavy rain. If the alternation of rain and of fine cloudy weather or sunshine be in proper measure, the crops yield an outturn of extraordinary abundance, such as is probably never realised in European countries. It is chiefly due to this fact that the ravages of drought and famine disappear almost as by magic on the occurrence of a favourable season.

The rains usually continue in North Western India until the end of September, when light winds with clear skies set in, and the land

surface gradually dries up. This is hence, on the whole, the most unpleasant and malarious period of the year. This change of weather gradually extends eastwards over the Gangetic Plain and southwards over the Peninsula, the Madras Coast districts usually incurring the final rainfall of the retreating humid currents.

The period of the monsoon rains hence differs very considerably in different parts of India, ranging from about three months in the Punjab to five or six months on the coast districts of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Burma. The preceding remarks have indicated generally the characteristics of favourable monsoon rains. It requires a combination of conditions to give a really good monsoon over the country generally; these only occur probably once in about three or five years.

The rains may be unsatisfactory in various ways. They may be in excess or defect. Excess rarely affects large areas to such an extent as to destroy the crops. Deficient rainfall, when large in amount and affecting extensive areas, is due to want of strength and volume in the humid currents. This is shown frequently by delay in the commencement of the rains, and by the premature closure. Retardation of the beginning of the rains, unless very prolonged, is of little importance, as it only delays to some extent the sowing and planting out of the rain crops. The early termination of the rains is, on the other hand, very serious, as it may prevent the maturing of the crops, more especially the rice crop, which withers away and dries off if it does not receive frequent to occasional rain during the latter stages of its growth. The rainfall for the whole monsoon period may also be very scanty, and not sufficient for the ordinary crops. Finally the intervals of fine weather, known as breaks, may be prolonged to such an extent that the crops dry up, and any subsequent rain is useless.

The following table gives a statement of the variation of the mean rainfall over the whole of India from the normal amount for each year of the eleven-year period, 1892-1902.

VARIAION OF THE MEAN RAINFALL FROM THE NORMAL.

		Dry Season. Inches.	Wet Season. Inches.	Whole Year. Inches.
Wet Period.....	1892	- 0.60	+ 5.69	+ 5.09
	1893	+ 4.35	+ 4.72	+ 9.07
	1894	- 0.28	+ 6.75	+ 6.47
Dry Period.....	1895	- 0.24	- 1.95	- 2.19
	1896	- 1.24	- 3.59	- 4.83
	1897	- 0.13	- 0.02	- 0.15
	1898	- 0.50	+ 0.93	+ 0.43
	1899	+ 0.20	- 11.84	- 11.14
	1900	- 0.27	- 0.30	- 0.57
	1901	+ 0.99	- 5.12	- 4.13
	1902	- 0.73	- 1.64	- 2.05

These figures have been obtained from the rainfall returns of about 450 representative stations carefully selected by the late Mr. Blanford, Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India, and in the calculation for the means, allowance is made for the extent of area represented by each station. The mean or normal rainfall in India as determined by this method is 41 inches, of which barely three inches, or 7 per cent. of the whole, falls during the dry season, and the remainder in the six months of the wet season.

These figures are sufficiently suggestive of the broad facts of the meteorology during the eleven years 1892-1902.

The rains of 1893 and 1894 set in about the normal date, and were chiefly noteworthy for their late termination, abundance, and persistence, to such an extent that the crops suffered considerably in many parts of the Central Provinces and the Gangetic Plain.

The chief features of the rains of 1895 were the weakness of the current, the occurrence of a long break in July, and their early termination in North Western and Central India.

The rains of 1896 commenced late, and were scanty throughout over the greater part of the Gangetic Plain, so that in many parts the crops failed almost entirely. Their worst feature was their very early termination, at least a month earlier than usual, in the Central Provinces, Berar, &c., where the crops, which up to that stage were promising, died off, and hence failed almost as largely as in the United Provinces.

The rains were delayed to some extent in 1897 and 1898, but were in both years favourable and abundant in the latter half of the monsoon, except in parts of North Bombay and Rajputana. The crops were hence generally satisfactory, and in some districts very abundant, and the effects of famine quickly disappeared.

The rains of 1899 were unsatisfactory in every respect over by far the greater part of India. They were late throughout and terminated abnormally early, and the current, more especially the Bombay current, was exceedingly weak throughout. The rainfall over a large part of the field of that current was hence so small in amount as to be utterly ineffective either for water supply or growth of fodder.

The rains were later than usual, and terminated very early over North Western India, in 1901. The crops failed more or less completely in Rajputana and parts of North Bombay.

The rains of 1902 and 1903 were similar in their chief features to those of 1897 and 1898, and the drought period probably ended in 1902.

The most prominent feature of the rainfall variation in India

during the period 1892-1902, as given in the preceding table, is that in the years most representative of each period, viz., 1893 of the wet period and 1896 and 1899 of the dry period, the variations were of the same character throughout the year, and independent of season. The variations were neither seasonal nor annual, but of long period, and the conditions giving rise to those two remarkable positive and negative phases of rainfall are not seasonal or annual, but obtaining in greater or less intensity for periods of several years.

It may also be again noted that these rainfall phases or variations were common to a very large area, of which India covers a very small part, and including distant regions as East and South Africa and Australia. The phases of the variation differed to some extent in intensity and epoch, but the most characteristic features were common to the whole area dependent on the Indian Ocean for its rainfall. The actions determining these large rainfall phases are hence primarily not local but general, affecting not only the Indian Oceanic area but also any similar large area in which opposite and compensatory variations were exhibited. This phase of the meteorology of the period has not yet been investigated.

An examination of the variations of the meteorological conditions of cloud amount, humidity, and temperature in India shows that they were in strict accordance with the rainfall variation. For example, cloud and humidity were in excess in the wet period and lower than usual during the whole of the dry period, the latter variation being most pronounced in the drought years 1896 and 1899.

The temperature variations were opposite in character or sign to those of cloud humidity and rainfall. In other words, temperature was persistently slightly lower than usual from 1892 to 1894, and higher than usual, month after month, almost without exception, from 1895 to 1902. The mean yearly temperature of the whole of India during that period was steadily about 1° higher than normal, the excess being slightly greater in the drought years of 1896 and 1899. It is evident that the variations of temperature, humidity, and cloud were strictly correlated to those of rainfall, and that all were the result of the general factors, conditions, or activities which determined the cycle of positive and negative rainfall phases.

No method has yet been devised for measuring directly the variations in the volume and intensity of a large air movement, as, *e.g.*, the South-West monsoon circulation. It is probable that the variation of the total mean rainfall in India measures approximately the variations in the air movement. It is from the probable relation between rainfall and general air movement that the expressions,

a strong monsoon, a normal monsoon, a weak monsoon, &c., are employed in India.

Variations of air movement are necessarily related directly to variations of air pressure. The latter feature is, in fact, the chief evidence we have of the former.

The most prominent feature in the air pressure conditions in Southern Asia and the Indian Ocean is their inverse annual variation. Pressure is high and excessive in Southern and Central Asia in the Northern (winter) months and at the same time low in the same (but summer) months in the Indian Ocean. It decreases from January to June or July in the former area, and increases in the latter area, due to inverse changes of temperature conditions. This inverse (or see-saw) variation about the equator as a kind of fulcrum or stationary pressure line, is simply and adequately explained by the assumption of a transfer, or balance of transfer, of air northwards and southwards across the equator in the two seasons of the year. If this explanation be correct (and it is accepted by most meteorologists) it would follow that the transfer would vary somewhat in amount from year to year, giving an excess of air mass and pressure at one time to Southern Asia, with the corresponding deficiency in the Indian Ocean, and the opposite variations in another year. In other words, there should be long period variations of pressure of small amplitude in India, and the Mauritius (as representing the Indian Ocean), of the same period but of opposite phases. The pressure data of the period 1876 to 1894 and of 1902 to 1903 were in close agreement with this inference, and hence confirm the general assumption upon which it is based. For example, in 1893, the mean pressure of the year was somewhat above the normal in India, and in Hong Kong and Zikawei in China, but was correspondingly below it at Batavia, Mauritius, Cape Town, Perth, and Adelaide.

One of the more noteworthy features of the unique period 1895 to 1901 is that this inverse relation between the pressure variations in Southern Asia and the Indian Ocean was not exhibited, and that variations due to some larger and more general actions were superimposed, and obscured those due to the action of air movement, giving rise to the ordinary inverse pressure changes in these areas. For example, in the years 1896 and 1899 of severe drought in India, the mean pressure of the year was normal or in slight excess at Zikawei, Hong Kong, Singapore, Batavia, Mauritius, Cape Town, Perth, and Adelaide, and also in India. Again, in the intervening year 1898, when the monsoon rains were normal and favourable, the mean pressure of the year was in marked defect in all the areas represented by

these stations, including India. It may, hence, be fairly assumed that the parallel variations of pressure over the whole area affected by drought in the period 1895 to 1902, indicated variations of the general air movement or circulation, which were probably the important factors in determining the variations of rainfall in the same large region.

The preceding remarks have, it is believed, localised the area of these remarkable meteorological features, and to some extent indicated the character of the determining actions. It may be noted, not merely as a coincidence, but as perhaps indicating an efficient cause, that the length of the double period (1892 to 1902) is about eleven years, *i.e.*, practically the same as the sun spot period; and also that the inequality in the length of the positive and negative phases of the rainfall in India resembles to some extent a similar inequality between the lengths of the periods of increasing and decreasing number of spots in the periodicity of that element of solar observation.

Meteorological observations at certain stations in India afford some evidence of variations in intensity of solar activity during the past five years at least. The sun emits a steady stream of radiant energy, of which an excessively small fraction is intercepted by the earth. A portion of this is absorbed in its passage through the atmosphere, the balance reaching the earth's surface in varying amounts, depending upon a number of conditions. The measurement of the amount of the solar energy which reaches the earth's surface is effected in varying ways. The simplest method is by means of the solar radiation thermometer. This is exposed to the sun, and is raised to a temperature considerably higher than that of an ordinary thermometer in the open air but shaded from the sun. The differences between the readings of the solar radiation thermometer and an ordinary thermometer in the shade at the same place, furnish a rough measure of the solar radiation at the time and place of record. The observations taken with these instruments at the first-class observatories at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, and Simla, all agree in showing that the solar radiation was practically normal or in slight excess from 1892 to 1897, but fell considerably below it from 1898 to 1902, and was in large defect as compared with the average in 1899 and 1900. The atmospheric conditions of decreased cloud and humidity during that period were favourable for diminished absorption by the air, and hence for the receipt of increased solar energy at the earth's surface, on the assumption of unchanged solar activity. These observations hence appear to establish that the rate of the flow of radiant energy from the sun was below its normal intensity during the period 1898 to 1902. It is to be hoped that the more exact measure

ments of this deficiency which are taken at certain observatories in Europe will be made available in order to verify the Indian data, and the inferences based on them.

The inquiry into the meteorology of this unique period has not proceeded beyond this stage in India for lack of data. It would be very desirable that information for Australia, South and East Africa, as complete as that for India should be forthcoming. It is, we believe, beyond the bounds of reasonable expectation to hope that the meteorological bureaus of the different countries in Europe, America, and Asia will combine to collect and publish their data on a uniform system, with a central international bureau to discuss the larger phases of weather affecting extensive areas of the world's surface in common.

The next development of weather study will almost certainly be in the direction of international or world meteorology, and its relation to the phenomena of sun spots and terrestrial magnetism.

Sir Norman Lockyer has, we believe, made a most valuable and fertile suggestion which might lead up to this development. It is that the English Meteorological Office should collect meteorological data from the whole Empire, and should have a special branch to deal with and discuss the larger problems which would arise from such an extension of its field of work.

It may perhaps be objected that Great Britain is outside the tropics, and that its weather has no connection with that of either India or Australia. This, however, is a matter which has not been taken up by any meteorologist for investigation and definite conclusions. The facts of the past ten or twelve years are, to say the least, suggestive. Whilst the Colonies and Empire in the East were suffering from drought, parts of England were experiencing year after year shortage of rain. When the drought in Australia and in East India was giving way in 1903, England had a plethora of rain, almost tropical in character, disastrous to the crops. World Empire entails world duties, and one of these appears at the present time to be the study of meteorology from the imperial, and not solely from the national or parochial standpoint.

JOHN ELIOT.

THE MYSTERIES OF MESMERISM.

THE movement of a glacier down a mountain side symbolises not inaptly the progress of modern intelligence in the direction of natural mysteries lying beyond the reach of researches concerned with physical matter. The progress is continuous but it is not rapid. Careful observation enables us to feel sure that it is going on, but just as the broken sheet of ice looks stationary to the casual observer, so the solid masses of conventional ignorance seem rooted to the earth as firmly as the rocks by their side in the estimation of those who are not qualified to apprehend that, after all, ice is viscous in its fundamental nature. Some glaciers, moreover, recede for a time, while others advance, and this helps to render the illustration more appropriate. There are departments of occult knowledge in reference to which the mediæval world was considerably further advanced than the advance guard of civilisation in the midst of which we stand. To give illustrations, however, of the way in which, in some cases, this recession is to be observed, would involve parentheses of unnecessary length. The purpose of this paper is to deal with a case in which the slowly moving intelligence of civilised mankind has been creeping forward during the last century with such unusual activity, that at last it has all but overtaken the super-physical discoveries of Friedrich Alton Mesmer at a period ante-dating the French Revolution.

Even in the newspapers of the present day we find the phenomena of "hypnotism" constantly referred to; as often, of course, misunderstood and misrepresented. But at all events, one broad belief has penetrated the armour of modern incredulity, and few people at the present day pretending to any touch with modern culture would be prepared to deny—as their commonplace, orthodox predecessors of fifty years ago denied—that positive results of one sort or another ensue from the condition vaguely defined as hypnotism. Meanwhile, concurrently with the glacier-like progress of intelligence, hampered by orthodoxy, those who have been seriously concerned during the past century, and especially during its last quarter, with the investigation of the natural mysteries with which what is called hypnotism has to do, have considerably outrun the scientific analyses of these phenomena which were attempted by the early discoverers of Mesmer's period, and it is possible now to provide scientific interpretations

for processes which in the beginning were utterly mysterious in their character, even for those whose experiments—blindfold almost as they were—led to their formulation.

The intelligent apprehension of the phenomena now summed up by that unfortunate term "hypnotism" need not, of course, be interfered with by the adoption of that label. Names are but labels for the most part, and their connotations, if inaccurate, are soon forgotten, but just at present, while the whole body of conceptions connected with hypnotism are for most people of recent origin, it is to be deplored that a label should have been chosen which distinctly misdescribes the phenomena to which it is affixed. It came into use in the middle of the last century at the suggestion of Mr. Braid, a Manchester surgeon, who found himself in difficulties when, having stoutly declared that all mesmerism was imposture, he encountered experiences which convinced him that it was a grave reality. He scrambled out of this embarrassment by the absurd device of announcing that while "mesmerism" was, of course, imposture, he had discovered a great natural law which might be described as "hypnotism." His hypnotism, in reality, bore the same relationship to mesmerism that a bunch of cut flowers might bear to the garden from which they were taken. It was just a fragment of Mesmer's discovery torn from its natural environment. But he afforded the world at large—infected with a disposition to ridicule the real founder of the new science—an excuse for continuing to do so even in the presence of the fact that the existence of the science had been demonstrated. To this day, the multitude at large, half instructed on the subject, continues to suppose that Braid, the Manchester surgeon, has the glory of having really put a scientific face upon this department of super-physical fact, when in reality he contributed largely to retard its true comprehension.

The broad, fundamental distinction between the belief which Braid sought to propagate, and that which was recommended by Mesmer and his immediate followers, had to do with the question whether there was any reality in what the early mesmerists called the "mesmeric fluid." This intangible something lay quite outside the range of any investigation which the medical practitioners of the early nineteenth century could bring to bear upon it, and was, therefore, scouted as the delusive doctrine of a charlatan. Braid's idea of hypnotism was that it represented simply an abnormal condition, into which the human constitution could be thrown by processes involving a partial paralysis of the nervous system. Such a partial paralysis is undoubtedly a possibility. It may, when accomplished,

give rise to some curious results both physical and psychological, but it is a dangerous and unhealthy mode of bringing about those results which, with scores of others of vastly greater importance, may be brought about by the true mesmeric method, which has to do with the action of those subtle forces summed up in the beginning, hypothetically, as the mesmeric fluid. Before dealing, however, with the intricacies of super-physical science with which these forces are related, it may be as well to glance back over the circumstances which, during the last century, attended the gradual recognition by the cultivated world of the great truth reached towards its close, that there is "something in hypnotism."

Like the founders of many other faiths, Mesmer was in his modest way a martyr to the cause he served. He had arrived by practical experience at knowledge of the fact that extraordinary results of a psychological character, as well as those connected with the cure of disease, could be attained under the influence of the invisible forces set in motion by the processes which soon came to be known as mesmerism. His name was associated with them for the good reason that they were so little understood as to make it impossible to coin any expression which should connote their origin; and to this day, the mysteries of mesmerism are so obscure to most of us, that the original label (implying nothing more than the fact that this branch of science was first constituted by Mesmer) is still the best we can make use of. For a little while, in Paris, Mesmer enjoyed a popularity which seems rather to have intoxicated his imagination. He cultivated theatrical effect in connection with the treatment of his patients and the instruction of his pupils; he formed a secret society to which it hardly seems that he had any secrets to impart; he took heavy fees from his wealthy admirers, although it should never be forgotten that he did more in connection with the gratuitous treatment of the poor than is usual even in the medical profession, generous enough in this way; and eventually he published an extraordinary treatise called "*La Théorie du Monde*," which he regarded as of so much importance that he priced the limited edition at £100 a copy. In reality it was quite destitute of the scientific value attaching to his practical work. Then he fell into disrepute, on the strength, no doubt, of his exaggerated pretences, and wore out his life in seclusion.

Then began the protracted fight between those who had acquired real knowledge at his hands and the ignorant masses of the medical profession who regarded their own science as insulted by the pretensions of the mesmerists. The progress of that real knowledge toward recognition throughout the nineteenth century may be regarded as a

protracted struggle on the part of those personally acquainted with the truth, to force their knowledge through the phalanx of irritated resistance which the great majority of the medical profession planted across their path. Certainly a few medical men stand out honourably from the general ruck. In the middle of the century, Dr. Esdaile, in charge of the Calcutta hospital, was open-minded enough to try experiments himself, obtained the most brilliant and wonderful results, was able to perform serious operations painlessly, before anæsthetics were dreamed of, and recorded his achievements in books, fortified by the corroborative testimony of all the most distinguished witnesses whom he could bring together in Calcutta at the time. All that, however, was angrily ignored by the medical profession generally, and Dr. Elliotson, one of the very few who about the same date was brave enough to declare the unwelcome truth, deplores the fact that his confrères at large were as brainlessly indifferent to mesmeric phenomena as the cattle grazing in the meadows were indifferent to the wonders of the steam carriages passing by them on the railroads. Unhappily, they did not content themselves with Bœotian indifference, but were actively infuriated by the accounts which Elliotson and a very few others were able to give of their actual experience. On one occasion a paper was actually brought before the Medico-Chirurgical Society, in which a case at Dr. Elliotson's hospital was minutely described with the testimony of many unassailable witnesses who were present. A man whose leg had been amputated had been enabled to endure this operation in a state of entire unconsciousness by reason of the mesmeric treatment he had received. Although the facts were vouched for in a manner which might, one would have thought, have rendered incredulity too silly to be maintained, the Society in question passed a resolution declaring the whole story unworthy of attention, and adding a clause to the effect that if such methods of treatment were possible, they would be flying in the face of providence, which had decreed pain as a necessary concomitant of surgical operations.

The early students of mesmerism concentrated their attention to such an extent on the medical aspect of the subject, that the voluminous writings of Deleuze and De Puysegur are mainly concerned with narrations having to do with remarkable cures and with practical directions for the use of those willing to tread in their footsteps, and a huge encyclopædic work in German entitled "*Archiv für den Thierischen Magnetismus*," is almost entirely concerned with similar narratives, although both this work (in twelve volumes by several authors) and also De Puysegur's extensive treatise are concerned more or less with the deeply suggestive fact that patients under

mesmeric influence were sometimes clairvoyant concerning the future progress and ultimate results of their maladies. All speculations of that period, however, relating to the cause of such clairvoyant perception was necessarily futile (as we now perceive), for want of much collateral information which has since gathered round the subject, and the same remark applies to the more direct experiments in clairvoyance recorded in the mesmeric literature produced during the middle of the last century. Gautier, a French writer on the "History of Somnambulism," gives an interesting account of a clairvoyante, the daughter of a certain Mons. Pigeaire. The father was misguided enough to imagine that because the young lady's faculties had been the subject of a hundred conclusive proofs in presence of many witnesses, the Academie de Médecine would therefore appreciate the huge importance of this new development. The Académie proved brutally and stupidly antagonistic, and after a bitter war of words between Mons. Pigeaire's supporters and the opposing doctors, this episode came to an end. But for all reasonable observers who would appreciate the value of human testimony, the writings of Cahagnet and Petitin, or, coming to our own country, those of Dr. Gregory, established the reality of clairvoyance as a possibility connected with human development, on a scientific basis. It is impossible, however, in the limits of such an article as this, to go over the history of mesmeric progress from the beginning, or to review the literature of the subject in any way which would even faintly indicate its magnitude. The more important task at this date is to interpret, as we are now able to do with the help of collateral occult research, much that takes place in connection with true mesmerism, the origin and rationale of which were hopelessly beyond the grasp of the early investigators.

The great trouble in connection with the progress of curative mesmerism, to deal with that relatively simple side of the subject first, had to do with the uncertainty attending all its manifestations. Dazzling and wonderful results would be obtained in one case, and the first experimentalists imagined that the same influences which brought these about would be operative in all similar cases. Sensitiveness to the mesmeric influence, however, varies in human creatures over a very wide range, and the capacity to energise what may be vaguely called the curative agencies of mesmerism varies in an equal degree. Probably mesmeric force developed to its theoretical maximum would be capable of overcoming the resistance of what may be thought of as the minimum sensitiveness, while, on the other hand, the maximum sensitiveness is amenable to the influence of even the

feeblest variety of mesmeric force. Between these two extremes all possible relationships of force and sensitiveness can be imagined, and their permutations explain the apparently capricious character attending the results of mesmeric experiment. But still, dealing with the curative aspects of the subject, the investigation of these becomes further embarrassed by the fact that forces and influences that cannot be properly ascribed to mesmeric influence may be invoked under certain conditions on behalf of physical sufferings. A huge volume of experience gathered by the devotees of what is called Christian Science, and by those who represent various modifications of the same system, will serve to illustrate this important principle. The Christian Scientists are emphatic in denying that their results are obtained by any processes that can be defined as mesmeric. Until the finer forces of nature and the super-physical agencies around us are better understood than at present, it may be that very few practical representatives either of curative mesmerism or of Christian Science can be relied upon to know with certainty whether the results obtained proceed in any way from themselves, or from altogether higher agencies which they somehow invoke. But keeping to those aspects of the inquiry with which we are more or less qualified to deal, we can now, with the help of general knowledge which modern occult research has accumulated, go a long way towards explaining the rationale of curative processes which really belong to the mesmeric method.

First of all, the fundamental truth connected with true mesmerism is that a something called originally "the mesmeric fluid," and now by other names in modern occultism, does actually pass in connection with mesmeric processes from the operator to the patient. Exponents of the hypnotic theory deny this, of course, thereby exhibiting their inability to discern what really happens. The first consideration which justifies the view of those who maintain that a subtle fluid or influence material in its nature, however refined and invisible to ordinary eyesight, does actually pass from operator to subject in the case of mesmeric processes, resides in the simple fact that they can see it. It is not perceptible to quite ordinary sight, but is the first super-physical manifestation discernible by anyone whose faculties are illuminated by the faintest gleams of clairvoyant perception. And the classical researches of Baron Reichenbach in the middle of the last century established the fact that visible radiations do proceed from the fingers of mesmeric operators, on a foundation which, to all intents and purposes, is as firm as those which bear the universally accepted truths of physical science. In the course of his inquiries,

Baron Reichenbach found more than sixty people who were able to perceive the facts he was investigating, and no matter how difficult others may find it to repeat his experiments (very easily repeated by those who know the right way to work), the records he has given us are amply sufficient to establish the broad fact. But in the further progress of the explanations which this paper will contain, it will be impossible to stop at every step to indicate the authority on which the occult principles referred to individually rest. The literature of super-physical science is gradually becoming extensive, and if any conclusions embodied in the exposition I am attempting, are unfamiliar to some of my readers, they must for the moment, in order to understand the exposition, take for granted that these principles have been established by independent research.

The clue, then, to the comprehension of the curative results obtained in some, indeed in many cases, by mesmeric processes, is to be found in the existence of a force or subtle fluid emanating, in the first instance, from the Sun, and constituting what may be called the vital principle of life—as distinguished from consciousness. This vital principle in which the world is bathed may undergo various modifications, just as food may be thought of as having various aspects in the course of its conversion into the flesh and blood of a living creature. All healthy human beings are perpetually absorbing the crude vital principle around them, and transmuting that, by processes even more subtle than those which go on in connection with the assimilation of food, into the health-giving energy which, when they have assimilated more than they require for their own use, they are enabled to exhale. Vigorous and healthy people thus unconsciously bestow a mesmeric influence on those around them, but, like many other of the subtler media with which ordinary science is not as yet concerned, the vital fluid is amenable to the control of thought and intention. It can, therefore, be directed with specific energy against a chosen patient, or even against some ailment which may be due to the insufficient development in the patient's own system of the crude vital principle around him. He is then simply invigorated by the additional supply, and the morbid condition of the affected organs is corrected.

Some of the phenomena of mesmerism which appear wholly inexplicable by the light of ordinary reasoning, yield us explanations when we realise the presence in the human system of this vital fluid. To illustrate my meaning plainly, I will refer to an experiment described in many of the earlier books on mesmerism, and available for repetition by anyone who is fortunate enough to be able to experiment with a subject sensitive enough to go into a trance under his

influence. I am describing an experiment which I have myself performed on more occasions than one, the description of which would have been derided by commonplace thinkers up to within the last few years, but which nevertheless exhibits a phenomenon of surpassing importance for all who are competent to study the finer forces operative in the human organism. It is well known to everyone who has been concerned in any way with mesmeric practice that a sensitive subject in a mesmeric trance is more or less completely under anæsthetic influence. Such a person will be completely insensible, for example, to the prick of a needle which may be run through the arm, or—if the experimentalist is more determined to prove the situation than nice in his taste—up the quick of the nail. Although this condition of things is itself incapable of explanation, without reference to the laws governing the action of the vital fluid, it may be carried a step further, into a region which seems so desperately inexplicable as to be almost outside the possibilities of belief to those who have not actually seen the experiment carried out. After proving that the sensitive is perfectly unconscious of the needle's prick, the mesmerist may give the needle to anyone else who may be present, and, standing himself at some distance from his patient, will ask the third person to prick *him*, anywhere at discretion. The sensitive will be seen, when the mesmerist is pricked, to give a start indicative of pain. An appropriate movement will almost always indicate a feeling of pain in the region of the body where the mesmerist himself has been pricked. For those who conceive this phenomenon difficult of belief, I will only repeat, in the most expressive terms I can employ, that I have myself verified its actuality in the presence of several other people.

Without reference to the observations of occult science in connection with that subtle agency which I have here called the "vital fluid" (to avoid the use of unfamiliar technical language), I may safely defy any commonplace physiologist, even though he may have reached the stage of recognising the reality of "hypnotism," to suggest anything resembling an explanation of the curious manifestation described. From the point of view of comprehending the activities within the human system of the vital fluid, the explanation is found to be simple enough. I have already described it as radiating in tolerable abundance from persons of sufficiently good and vigorous health to be capable of producing mesmeric phenomena, but radiation does not explain the whole of its activities. Before there is any superabundance to radiate, there must be enough to circulate all over the nervous system, and even persons who may be so far from generating a superabundance of the vital fluid that they operate as partial vacua, so to speak—absorbing that which may flow from others—their nervous system

must be more or less completely bathed in that vital fluid, or life itself would not go on. It is really the channel of nervous sensation. The actual physical thread which can be dissected out of a human body and identified as a nerve, is not itself the conductor of sensation to or of impulses from the brain. It is the vital fluid by which it is energised, saturated, or surrounded, whichever idea may be most suggestive to the mind, which really conveys the sensation or impulse, in the same way (to make use of an illustration derived from one of the hypotheses concerning electrical activities), that a copper wire is not, itself, the conductor of a current, but in some way saturated with or surrounded by ether in a condition to transmit the electric force.

Now when the anæsthetic effect is produced with a sensitive under mesmeric influence, the normal conditions of the vital fluid in the subject's organism are disturbed. It may be that the vital fluid from the mesmerist displaces that previously saturating the subject's brain. Or, in the case of partial anæsthesia, produced, let us suppose, by passes over one arm alone, the vital fluid has been driven out from that arm and replaced by that of the mesmerist, and is thus no longer in what may be called electrical communication with the brain. It cannot send any messages to that central bureau, and when the needle is employed, it cannot send in any complaints on the subject. But where the trance is fairly complete, as it must be in the case of the experiment I am endeavouring to explain, the patient's brain is certainly saturated by the mesmerist's vital fluid, and thus in electrical communication with his own brain. (Please observe that I use the word electrical here to embody the idea of subtle communication, without necessarily implying that the forces in operation are distinctly of the same character as those concerned with the storage battery.) Now it will be observed that the condition of things established by the completion of the experiment is this:—The patient's brain and the mesmerist's brain are in direct communication. Communication has been cut off between the nervous system of the subject generally and that brain. Therefore, the subject is insensible to the prick of the needle; but when the mesmerist is pricked, his nervous system in its normal condition communicates the fact to his brain. The two brains concerned are for the time being acting in unison. That portion of each receives whatever little shock may convey the idea, for instance, that the right hand has been hurt. Although, therefore, the patient's brain has not really received any direct message from his or her own hand, the brain is under the impression that such a message has been received, and thus gives exactly such a manifestation of feeling as would have been given had the prick been received in his or her own organism, under normal conditions.

A difficulty may here arise in the mind of some acute reader in connection with this point. The subject's brain is cut off from communication with his hand to the extent that he feels no message announcing that it has been hurt, but he is able apparently to send down a message involving its movement or jerk, when the experiment under review is performed! A question of great subtlety is involved in this apparent embarrassment, and it seems to imply that a difference must be recognised between the activities of the vital fluid (generally spoken of as the nerve aura in this connection), as manifested in the motor and sensory systems of nerves. Anyhow, in a multitude of cases we find the fact to be that, while complete anæsthesia prevails the motor nervous system will transmit its orders to the muscles and they will obey accordingly when the impulse in the first instance comes from the brain of the mesmerist. Thus a mesmeric subject in a complete trance may be simply ordered to get up and walk, for example, from one chair to another, and will do so without any difficulty, and without retaining any subsequent waking consciousness in his brain of having done so.

I am very far as yet from asserting that occult study has enabled us to fathom all the mysteries of mesmerism, but at all events, in regard to the peculiarly beautiful and instructive experiments I have been describing, it affords us conclusive assurance that the vital fluid in question operates by means of its subtle vibrations, to convey from one person to another, ideas of the same kind as those that are conveyed within the organism of a human being from one portion of his nervous system to the brain. Agencies far more subtle even than those which we have here been considering must be taken into account when we come to deal with the higher psychology attending the genuine mesmeric state. As I said in the beginning of this paper, the earlier mesmeric students were concerned almost entirely with the practical interest of their discoveries in connection with the cure of disease. The entrancing interest of those discoveries, which later on showed that the mesmeric conditions enabled some sensitives to take note of conditions of existence altogether exalted above those of the physical world, was reserved for later investigation. Mesmerism, properly made use of, is a process by means of which some of the loftiest conclusions to be obtained concerning the higher nature of man may be reached, but with these I must hope to engage the reader's attention on some other opportunity.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE ABOLITION OF PRIMOGENITURE.

THERE are many anomalies in the laws of England, and not the least of these occur in the laws that regulate the devolution of property on death. The Law of Real Property (or in other words the Law of Land) is essentially a feudal institution. It is feudal in theory ; it is feudal in spirit ; and it is only the pruning knife of modern legislation that has cut away its feudal practices. Once a symmetrical structure, and a logical whole, the blows that it has sustained have been many ; and it now presents the appearance of a building half pulled down while the new structure that is to take its place is only half erected. And of its feudal relics, perhaps, the most distinctive is Primogeniture.

There are three different descriptions of property, the devolution of which is regulated by different rules upon a death intestate. In the first place there are freeholds which descend according to the rules of primogeniture. In the second place, there are copyhold lands. These are lands that were anciently held by the "villeins" in a manor, and their descent is regulated entirely by the custom of the particular manor to which they belong. These customs of descent vary greatly in different manors and in different parts of the country, but the greater number of them show a leaning towards primogeniture. Then, in the third place, there is personal property, which is divided among the "next of kin," according to the scheme enacted by the Statutes of Distribution. In the commonest cases of a man dying leaving a family, one third goes to the widow, and the remaining two thirds to the children, or if there is no widow the whole is divided equally among the children without distinction of age or sex. That there should be these three classes of property governed by widely differing rules is sufficiently extraordinary, but there is an anomaly superadded that makes the whole scheme inelegant beyond description, while at the

same time its effects something towards ameliorating the rigours of primogeniture. It is this, that leaseholds, or "chattel" interests in land as they are technically called, are classed as personal property, and not as land, and so are distributed equally among the children. This means that, supposing a man to possess a freehold house, it would on his death intestate descend to his eldest son; but, if instead, he held that house under a lease for 999 years at a peppercorn rent, it would be divided among his children equally, though the value of the property in the one case is just as great as it is in the other. Surely the simple statement of such a case of itself cries aloud for reform, yet such is the apathy of Parliament towards schemes of legal reform that the rule has stood as the law of the land for well-nigh a thousand years.

Of later years there has been, indeed, a certain tendency towards the assimilation of all property under one rule of descent. The Conveyancing Acts of 1881 and 1882 enacted that lands held as trustee should devolve upon the personal representative (of course, only for the purposes of administration) upon death. The same statutes made a like provision in the case of mortgages, though perhaps it is somewhat incomprehensible to the "man in the street" that there should be any necessity for the enactment, because if a person chooses to invest his savings in a loan on the security of a mortgage of land, the money is quite as much personal property as if he had invested it in the purchase of railway stock. The Land Transfer Act of 1897 carried the matter further still. It enacted that all lands except copyholds should devolve on the personal representative (executor or administrator) on death; but again only for the purposes of administration—the law of primogeniture as affecting the *beneficial* interest in the land was left severely untouched.

In considering this problem it is essential to remember that for practical purposes there is a great distinction between the great landlords—the owners of the entailed estates—and the small proprietors. The great landlords are hardly affected at all by the law of primogeniture, but, as we shall show a little further on, by the custom of primogeniture, which is quite a different thing. The small proprietor is most often a person who has invested his savings in land, and looks upon the land simply as an investment for his money. He has no family sentiment in favour of "making an eldest son," his ideas are modern and not feudal, and above all he is much more likely to die intestate, and without a settlement affecting his property, than the great landlord. To enact that upon the death intestate of such a man his whole landed property shall descend to his eldest son to the entire

exclusion of his other children is a crying injustice, and an idea completely repugnant to the whole sentiment of the man himself, of his family, and of the class from which he probably springs. M. Locke-King used to quote a classic instance of the utter injustice of the existing law. A man who worked for his own living married a wife with a certain amount of money (this was before the Married Woman's Property Act), and they agreed to invest the wife's small fortune in purchasing the house in which they lived, so that it would be a home for the wife if she survived her husband. The house was freehold, and the man died intestate, with the result that the house descended to a nephew of his, and the widow, left without a penny in the world, was obliged to obtain parish relief. Such a flagrant case as this could not occur at the present time, in the first place because by the operation of the Married Woman's Property Acts, the wife's fortune would never have become the property of her husband, and in the second place because a small act was passed in 1890 providing that, in the event of the death of a man intestate and *without children*, his widow should be entitled to £500 out of his estate. But such a measure cannot be regarded as anything else but a temporary palliative ; it does not touch the evil of primogeniture ; and the only real remedy is to abolish the law of primogeniture, root and branch.

Our proposal is, therefore, to assimilate the rules for the devolution of property on death by making the "equal partability" rule that now applies to personal property and leaseholds apply to all property whatsoever ; and at the same time to abolish all special customs of descent as applying to copyholds or otherwise. In a word to allow the personal property lion to swallow up the real property lamb.

The idea is no new one. In 1836 and 1837, Mr. Ewart moved the House of Commons for leave to introduce a Bill with this object. Then that most persistent advocate of various reforms in our Land laws, Mr. Locke-King, introduced a similar measure in 1850, and again at intervals until 1869. In the latter year a majority in the House was at last obtained for the "Real Estate Succession Bill" ; and in 1870 it was introduced under the ægis of the Government, but only to be subsequently withdrawn. Mr. Locke-King, nothing daunted, made another venture with the assistance of Mr. Hinde Palmer in 1873, and after the death of the former his mantle descended upon Mr. T. B. Potter, who made the last attempt in 1876. The second reading was then rejected by a majority of 210 to 175, and as the wave of enthusiasm in favour of Law Reform that reached its height in the earlier seventies under the guidance of Lord Selborne had by that time spent its force, the measure was not subsequently brought forward.

Now, for the purpose of meeting criticisms that will probably be advanced against the proposal here outlined, it cannot be too distinctly set out that its operation will in no way interfere with the great estates, or with the free power of disposing of all property by will. The large landed estates, as a matter of fact, are not affected at all by the law of primogeniture, their devolution is governed by the *custom* of primogeniture. This is not the place to enter into the dark mysteries of the conveyancer's chambers. It must be sufficient to say that the usual process is that upon the marriage of the eldest son, or on some similar occasion, he and his father agree to "break the entail" created by a previous settlement, probably the one made upon the marriage of the father himself. Then they resettle the property, giving a life interest in the first place to the father, then a life interest to the son, and then the estate is entailed upon the son's eldest son, if such a person shall exist in the future. At the same time there are a multitude of subsidiary provisions to be made; the son must have an allowance until his father's death, a jointure must be provided for the son's wife in the event of his predeceasing her, portions must be given to the younger brothers and the sisters, and the mortgages upon the estate will probably have to be rearranged and very possibly increased. The result of this is that until the son's eldest son attains his majority the property cannot be dealt with, because the person in possession of it is only a tenant for life, and not an absolute owner. It is true that by the operation of the Settled Land Acts a tenant for life can sell the property just as much as if he were the absolute owner, but he cannot take the proceeds for his own use, as they become subject to the trusts of the settlement, and he only gets the income of them during his life. It is quite competent for the son to refuse to agree to the settlement, but it is greatly to his advantage to do so (as well as more in accordance with his family sentiment), because, if he does not, he cannot get an allowance out of the estate, and is entirely dependent for his income until his father's death upon his father's bounty and his own exertions, although upon that event his right to succeed is indefeasible. As a matter of fact the son usually finds himself bound in such a skilfully devised network that he does not attempt to escape, and so the succession goes on from generation to generation. The family settlement is sometimes made upon other occasions than marriage, and sometimes even by will, but it is the rarest event for an estate to be at any time free from the trammels of a settlement, and still more rare for the absolute owner of an estate of any size to die intestate. While a settlement exists it is immaterial whether the life tenant makes a will or not, because the estate will

devolve according to the limitations of the settlement, and the life tenant has really nothing to say in the matter. Therefore, in considering the abolition of the law of primogeniture, it is not necessary to consider the large estates, because they would not be affected by any such measure. To go further than this and attempt to interfere with the power of owners to "do as they like with their own," would be a heroic measure, and one of enormous difficulty. We do not propose heroic measures, but merely the abolition of a rule that produces no apparent benefit, and is entirely opposed to the feelings of the class among which it chiefly operates.

In this connection some objectors will probably raise the point that the adoption of the "equal partability" rule for land will increase the subdivision of the soil to a dangerous degree. They will argue that the small properties will be divided among a number of children, that each will take his or her share and cultivate it, and that we shall have a state of affairs approaching to that of the "petite culture" of France, which has never been firmly rooted on the soil of England, probably because the climate and the conditions are unsuited to it. Such a result might be for good or might be for evil—that is a matter of opinion—but, good or bad, we do not think that it will result from the reform proposed.

It has not been found to operate in the case of leaseholds, though it is true that leaseholds are usually houses that it is impossible to subdivide. Nevertheless in London, in the mining districts, and in most of the large towns, there are thousands upon thousands of leasehold properties to which the equal partability rule applies with no visible inconvenience. If the owner of such a property should die intestate, it is usually found an easy matter to arrange either that one of those entitled shall take the property and buy the others out by giving them the value of their shares in cash, or else to sell the property and divide the proceeds. On the other hand, should one of the beneficiaries prove unreasonable, it is competent by means of a partition action to have the property sold under the order of the Court. In cases where the property is of less value than £500, the County Court has jurisdiction to make such an order, otherwise the Chancery Division of the High Court. It is true that the procedure "in Chancery" is still needlessly cumbersome and expensive, but that is a case for a separate reform; it can hardly be advanced as a serious argument against the abolition of primogeniture. If these difficulties have been found of small dimensions in the case of the enormously large and valuable leasehold interests in the country, it does not seem reasonable to suppose that they will prove insuperable obstacles in the case of

freeholds. At any rate, the present rule is a survival of mediæval barbarism utterly unsuited to the conditions of modern life, and only rendered tolerable by complete liberty of testation. The advantages of its retention, and the disadvantages of its abolition, are alike so few that we see no difficulty in concluding that the abolition of the law of primogeniture would be a welcome reform in removing an inelegant anomaly from the law ; in sweeping away an ancient relic that is opposed to modern feeling ; and in abrogating a rule that stirs up the bitterest feelings in the family circle.

H. J. RANDALL.

THE WAY OF THE VIVISECTOR.

WHEN Nature was fashioning the earth—at once man's schoolhouse and his playground—she riddled it with tasks and problems whose performance and solution should stimulate and direct his growth along the lines of evolution.

Primitive man, a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, found his infant faculties doubtless sufficiently taxed by the duties of hewing and drawing.

As mind and body grew, needs more complex evolved new faculties for their fulfilment. So evolution has proceeded, necessity mothering invention, difficulty whetting development. The evening of one day which has seen the solution of one task has been followed by the morning of another which has set some further task. Every day we plunge hands and wits still deeper within the crust of earth wherein are hid the treasure secrets. So we came upon the gold and silver and the precious stones, desire of which has developed continents and bridged oceans.

So we have found the laws of gravity, of chemical combination, the wealth reserves of magnetic and electrical forces—the problems and potencies lying in the molecule.

But the main point about these discoveries has been less the material value of the things discovered than the evolution of faculty and character stimulated by their seeking. For each discovery after a while is found to be but the outer shell of something more precious, showing that Nature sets more store upon the seeking than upon the finding. Otherwise, why not have given us the kernel without so many shells to crack?

Now of all these marvellous phenomena the most marvellous is that of human life. Amid the anatomical complexities, the physio-

logical and psychological mysteries of the human body, Nature has concealed her most wonderful, her most highly vitalised and latest evolved potencies.

Here is the riddle of all riddles for the Sphynx of Science to interpret. Here is subject to tax the highest skill, the subtlest thought, the most delicate, far-reaching, intuitive and analytical processes of human intelligence.

Yet, how does modern medical science seek to deal with it ?

The answer is so grotesque a leap from the sublime to the ridiculous that one hesitates to state it.

For, the most subtle and intricate of all the phenomena of existence, Science is at this epoch of twentieth century progress attempting to solve by the aid of the carving knife.

Clad like a butcher in a blouse, with mackintosh sleeves to the elbows, lest she become blood-stained to the elbows, she takes scalpel and sponge, and having clamped a living creature to a board, she cuts and hews her way through skin and bone and muscle, amid pulsing artery and shrinking nerve, in order to discover by these crudest and most primitive of brutal methods something of that most elusive mystery of mysteries—Life !

While the chemist in his laboratory employs the subtlest means, analytical and synthetical, at his command to solve the problem of a common crystal, evaporating, precipitating, combining, subliming, weighing *in vacuo*, examining beneath the microscope, testing by the spectroscope, the physiologist dares in all gravity to approach the intricate secrets of the human body-cell, knife in hand, and protected by mackintosh sleeves !

How much about carbon can the collier learn, who with his pick in his hand, hacks and cleaves his way amid the coal stratum ? Compare his method with that of the chemist who deals with carbon in the atom, determining its nature and constitution by the most careful and exhaustive processes, studying its infinitesimal changes of attitude and combination when brought into relation with other newly released atoms. His are the methods of true science.

The way of the physiologist is the way of the collier, the clumsy way of primitive man.

It was not for such crude and bloody methods Nature hid her richest secrets within living bodies. It is not to such crude and bloody methods she will yield them.

Within the last decade, the Science of Chemistry, pursuing its subtle researches after subtle truths by subtle processes, has made revelation upon revelation, until now it has opened up to our astonished

gaze the marvels of radio-activity, the boundary line of a new and unsuspected region of phenomena.

In the same decade what has the Science of Physiology given us? A morass of confused and conflicting data. The life of physiology, its exponents confess, is but a span of three years. Which being interpreted means that the errors as to the laws of life into which the mutilation of living bodies necessarily leads, are errors so obvious and gross that in three years they are thrown aside as worthless. And an error so short-lived could not have held even a glimmering of truth. The discovery that the moon was compounded of green cheese assuredly held longer. Certainly the theory that the earth was flat, and that the sun revolved about it, maintained its sway for centuries, and still has adherents!

The physiologist by employing methods delicate as those of the chemist, has given us in Histology (the minute anatomy of the body) a most fascinating and instructive study. As the chemist reveals to us the constitution and properties of the chemical molecule, so the histologist shows us the construction and life history of the microscopic nerve and brain and bone and muscle cell whereof the body is built up. But as the chemist works with bloodless hands, with his mind, with his test tubes, his solutions, his spectroscope, so also the histologist works with bloodless hands, with his mind, with his tiny films of dead tissue, his staining re-agents, and with his microscope.

It is only when he attempts to wrest its secrets violently from the living body that the physiologist plunges into morasses of error, as men would do who should seek to learn the laws and constitution of a country by carrying war and devastation into it.

For without doubt the multiple misconceptions, conflicting statements, and general confusions of physiology have arisen from the circumstance that the living body ceases to perform, perhaps reverses, all but its cruder processes when the knife is amid its living tissues, in precisely the same manner that the normal characteristics of a man would vanish the moment we should place a revolver to his head. As for the more subtle phenomena, these are not things one can carve and lay bare with a scalpel!

The vivisector cuts away the thorax in order to see with the naked eye the heart at its labours pumping the blood throughout the blood-vessels.

In point of fact he can learn a hundredfold more that is pertinent and instructive about the circulation by studying the construction of the valves and chambers of the dead heart, by listening stethescopi-

cally to its pulsations through the walls of the healthy living chest, or by observing the deviations from the normal which occur in disease.

Never, it has been asserted, could Harvey have discovered the circulation of the blood had it not been for vivisection. Absurd! The secret was an open secret to one who had first mastered the anatomical distribution of the bloodvessels, the construction of the heart, and the direction of the blood-currents indicated by its valves and by the valves of the aorta and of the veins, and had carefully observed and tabulated the aberrations from the normal furnished by disease, and later by the post-mortem table.

The problem as to how the arterial blood eventually got into the veins, and was by them conducted back to the heart for re-oxygenation in the lungs, could have been wholly solved by observing under the microscope the capillary circulation of the web of a living frog's foot without further incommodating the frog than by somewhat alarming it. Certainly, it was not revealed by means of vivisection, being hid from all but microscopic sight.

It was doubtless to bridge gaps interesting as those between anatomical construction and physiological function that Nature gifted man with reason and deductive powers. Were her truths written like advertisements of patent pills in large letters up and down the earth, man would have remained a clown, lacking the stimulus and mental effort afforded by the need to find them for himself.

All the added power which vivisection gives is the opportunity of witnessing in the flesh the cruder processes, which anatomy and observation of the living have already proved.

A recent trial showed the physiologist cutting into a living dog in order to demonstrate ocularly to his students the already established truth that the salivary secretion is not dependent upon blood pressure.

A far prettier and more instructive demonstration might have been given by standing before the same creature, free and unmutilated, offering him a bit of biscuit. In a short time, if he were hungry, the saliva would have been seen to drip from the poor brute's mouth, in token not only that the sympathetic nerve supply to the salivary glands had stimulated secretion, but, further (and this is a very interesting phenomenon, absent from the clumsy vivisection demonstration), that such secretion was capable of being stimulated by an intellectual and emotional impression—the dog's mental perception that his master was holding food in his hand, and his simple faith that the holding of food was but his master's prelude to bestowing it.

The most interesting teaching of the lesson was missed, therefore,

when the poor creature's intelligence was cut off—as the operator averred that it was.

So it is, so must it necessarily be with all such experiments, only the crudest facts—facts which anatomy and pathology have long since established—can be laid bare by the knife.

Subtler and more complex truths are not to be so elicited, while the results of tying ducts, a practice whereof the vivisector is fond *ad nauseam*, are infinitely better studied in the living and conscious subjects of diseases in whom ducts have become occluded by new growths or by the pressure of surrounding tissues.

I pass over such fiendish and wholly fruitless experiments as tests to determine which form of injury, cutting, burning, twisting, or bruising, gives rise to the acutest pain. That vivisection is a practice so demoralising as to result in the reversion of a man of education to the type of the worst variety of hooligan is sufficient condemnation of the practice.

In some or another stage of existence these experimenters in the school of anguish may, by the logical operation of forces they have entrained upon themselves, be afforded personal and poignant opportunity of deciding the question!

In the meantime by such practices they are not only bringing a noble art into disrepute, but they have further put an absolute stop to medical progress. Disease and degeneracy are spreading alarmingly.

Were it not that sanitation and hygiene, long since sweeping ahead of the medical science whereof they are but the handmaids, have been obeying Nature's laws, ventilating, cleansing, draining, diffusing knowledge about food and clothing, and fresh air, we should indeed be in sad plight.

For modern preventive medicine, misled by the vivisector, is so pre-occupied in decanting serum from the blood of horses previously contaminated with disease, in compounding pills from the thyroid glands of sheep, the pituitary glands of guinea pigs, the pancreas of rabbits, and the devising of other such mediæval and disgusting medicaments, that she neglects to study the great laws of Nature wherein alone are to be found the true methods of prevention.

Modern medicine, misled by the vivisector, has indeed passed so wholly out of touch with scientific truth as to be actually seeking at this epoch of the world's progress, a *cure*—a *panacea*! Not only that, but, like the mediæval witch or the "medicine man" of savage tribes, she is actually seeking that *cure*—that *panacea* for the complex ills of flesh—in the living blood of guinea pigs and horses. Truly it may be

said that the modern scientist is a person lacking the sense of humour ! How otherwise could he suppose that cancer and tubercle—degenerations of tissue, inherited or acquired by decades of deleterious influences—are to be “cured” by sundry subcutaneous injections of horse serum ?

The position would be too utterly absurd to consider outside the pages of black magic, were it not that the position is accredited by the advance guard of modern medical science.

For, after all, it is not the microbe (for whose destruction the serum injections are intended) which is the cause of tubercle or of cancer. The microbe is no more a cause of tubercle than the bacterium is a cause of putrefaction.

The bacterium is a factor bred of putrefactive conditions in order to hasten those conditions, and so further the destruction of deleterious matter. No doubt also the microbe is a factor, bred of degenerative tissue change in order to hasten and further the elimination from existence of an organisation which is a menace to itself and to the race.

Healthy tissue, it is admitted, is the only known antidote to disease microbes, which is merely another way of stating that healthy tissue will not allow itself to be the breeding ground of alien organisms.

The true scope of preventive medicine is to be found in determining the physical and sociological, the hereditary and personal conditions which secure sound health and wholesome tissue for the human creature. A preventive medicine which aspires to make the human creature, not sound and healthy, but merely immune (insensitive, that is) to deleterious aliens which are invading his degenerating tissues, is but assisting the deadly progress of degeneracy.

That which we term disease is in reality a process of health whereby the body seeks to segregate and to throw off from the general economy elements injurious to its well-being. Pain, fever, inflammation, ulceration are but symptoms of a struggle going on between the body proper and the alien, whether this latter be uric acid occasioning gout in its protean forms, or whether it be the degenerative elements we know as tubercle or cancer.

Science which aims at producing immunity—such a blunting and demoralisation, that is, of the body's conscience that it no longer attempts to segregate and cast out the maleficent alien, but tolerates its presence in its midst—is adopting the methods of a man who, by stopping his eyes and ears to the claims of his creditors, allows his liabilities to so accumulate that they will presently overwhelm him in bankruptcy.

The truth is that in reverting to the primitive methods of the vivisectioning knife, we have reverted also to a primitive belief in cures and panaceas—a creed as unscientific and absurd as it is, alas! baseless in its anticipations.

As for the serums and the antitoxins, the discovery of which has meant tortured death to hundreds of thousands of defenceless, innocent creatures, only one has any vogue—anti-diphtheritic serum. For the present it remains in fashion, but with Dr. Koch's anti-tuberculin, which until its dangerous and deadly properties discovered themselves, was said to work wonders, so anti-diphtheritic serum will doubtless soon pass, as many another once-vaunted "cure" has done, into the limbo of disrepute.

For, as Dr. Walter Hadwen has recently pointed out, most conclusive evidence against this remedy has been furnished by the Registrar-General's returns, which show that not only has it failed to cure cases of undoubted diphtheria, but that its use has actually increased the death rate from this cause:—

"The average annual death rate per million from diphtheria for England and Wales for the ten years 1881-90, was 162; for the ten years 1891-1900 (during which period antitoxin was introduced), it was 262."

Indeed, the deaths per million from diphtheria in England and Wales have never been so low as they were during the nine years before anti-diphtheritic serum was introduced. In the face of such conclusive evidence one wonders that any doctor can be found with sufficient hardihood to administer the treatment.

For my part, I have seen too much of the effects of mental influence upon disease to attach the slightest importance to any remedy which needs to be subcutaneously injected in order to obtain results.

For it immediately ranges itself beside other phenomena which are undoubtedly to be found in the region of hypnotic influence. Every doctor knows that patients unable to sleep without their accustomed "hypodermic" of morphia, will fall asleep equally well upon receiving a "hypodermic" of pure water. The phenomena of hypnotism indeed are too well established to require reiteration here.

The press the other day called attention to that which has been styled the "Remarkable Case of Count Hochberg." It would indeed deserve the name could one persuade oneself that the patient in the last stages of tuberculosis (a tissue degeneration resulting probably from generations of causes), was "cured" by sundry hypodermic injections obtained, as its inventor gravely describes, by "*breeding*

young bacilli on leuco-toxic calf's serum, liver broth, and glycerine, extracting from this feeding-ground a toxic substance which kills small animals, immunising horses by injections of this filtered toxic substance, and subsequently drawing off their blood and decanting the serum."

Does it not read indeed like the witchcraft of the dark ages ?
"*Take a Dead Child's Finger and a Toad's Heart, a Sprig of Witch-Hazel gathered at the Full of the Moon. Simmer gently in a Copper Cauldron till the Hour of Dawn. Then add Drop by Drop the Blood of a Young Chick killed as the Clock strikes Six. The Broth will cure all Phrenzies or other Disorders of the Brain !*"

Let him who entertains the pleasing delusion that the art of medicine is grandly marching forward to the scientific harmonies of the vivisection table, but call in the aid of medicine to "cure" so common and simple a malady as influenza. Will he find that the up-to-date Pharmacopœia, with its serums, antitoxins, and tabloids of pigs' and sheep's and guinea pigs' organs, will furnish him a specific ? By no means. He will find that medical treatment is as powerless to-day against influenza as it was a century ago.

The wiser and more experienced his doctor the less will he rely upon the up-to-date Pharmacopœia, the more he will turn his attention to the factors of nourishment and warmth, and rest: the more, that is, he will leave the patient to work out his own recovery by means of the resources latent in his own tissues.

Here is not only a practical test of the disabilities of modern medicine, but an exemplification, moreover, of the truth that not in abnormal products juggled out of the blood of living creatures, nor in any of the absurd theories and still more absurd nostrums which are the expression of the errors of the vivisection chamber, are healing and the art of healing to be found.

They are to be found only by diligent and reverent study of nature and her methods as revealed by her living works in health and in disease. Her great truths and mysteries cannot be violently wrested from her. Only by humble co-operation with her and by loyal application of man's highest, subtlest faculties to the understanding of those truths can we hope to attain knowledge. For not all the scientists of all the nations could heal a pin scratch on a baby's arm were Nature not to set in motion one of her beneficent laws !

ARABELLA KENEALY, L.R.C.P.

OUR POLICY AT THE PORTE.

THE drift of British foreign policy during the last dozen or fifteen years has operated in a very interesting way to undo the work of a similar period lying immediately behind those years, and identified in a conspicuous degree with the influence of Mr. Gladstone. The object of the present paper is not so much to criticise the policy associated with that great name, as to take note of the manner in which it has been gradually reversed. We need not, however, disguise the natural inference that a policy which has been reversed in nearly every detail, and the reversal of which has only been accomplished by a terrible expenditure of blood and treasure, must necessarily have been lacking in that distinguishing note of true statesmanship, the quality of permanence. M. Jules Ferry was of opinion that the expansion of a race beyond its frontiers was the modern manifestation of the struggle for life. Mr. Gladstone apparently cherished the opposite conviction; but he did not succeed in wedding his countrymen to his views. Whatever may be said of his foreign policy, it is matter of historical fact that it did not stand the test of the wear and tear of time. Indeed, the process of reversal had been going on for some years before his death. Now that it is so near completion, it will be an interesting, and, one may venture to hope, a useful task to pause for a moment and observe how thoroughgoing the alteration has been.

A series of more diametric and dramatic contrasts than those presented by a review of the field of foreign and colonial affairs in 1884 and in the present year it would be difficult to imagine. In 1884 Gladstonism had reached high-water mark. Our Colonies were sulky, angry, offended, and distrustful: foreign nations were scoffing

and scornful. We had thrown away all the results of our last campaign in Afghanistan; and the unfortunate Ilbert Bill seemed to indicate that the disciples of the "Perish India" school had obtained the upper hand in the councils of the Empire. We were perpetually packing our trunks to retire from Egypt. We had compelled the Khedive to abandon the Soudan. We had retroceded the Transvaal; and, by a triumph of diplomatic bungling, we had driven Prince Bismarck into that career of colonial activity which Germany has subsequently pursued so much to our irritation and annoyance, if not to our positive disadvantage. It is not quite twenty years since the Agent-General of a great self-governing colony, at the close of an interview with the Colonial Secretary, casually remarked that it was probably the last time he would have the honour of addressing his lordship in an official capacity. A polite expression of regret and curiosity as to the reason elicited the startling statement that the Colony he represented had grown so disgusted with the weak, vacillating, shilly-shallying of the British Government over Pacific questions generally, and that of the Recidivistes of New Caledonia in particular, that it seriously contemplated cutting itself adrift from Great Britain and embarking upon the path of independence.

What a change we witness to-day! The question how to bind the Colonies closer to the Mother Country is the pressing political problem of the hour. One solution, proposed by England's most popular statesman, is shaking the party of the majority to its foundations, and creating a convulsion which will mark an era in our history.

We have not reversed the evacuation of Kandahar. But we have gone as far as we could in the direction of Lord Beaconsfield's scientific frontier; while Lord Curzon is imparting a newer and wider significance to that once "liberally" abused phrase. We are still in the delta of the Nile; so firmly fixed there, in fact, that the French have ceased to make a grievance of our presence; and we have done and are doing in the land of the Pharaohs a work which is deservedly ranked among the wonders of the world. We have re-conquered the Soudan; and, thanks to a reckless outlay of men and money, and a ruthless sacrifice of reputations, we have repaired the mistake of Majuba. The task of undoing Mr. Gladstone's handiwork has been terribly costly in every respect. But, entirely apart from the intrinsic value of the results directly achieved, it may fairly be argued that we have reaped one incidental advantage from it which alone is worth all the money that has been spent. In the course of the work we have discovered for ourselves, and have revealed

to an amazed mankind, that, in the heroic loyalty of India and the self-sacrificing affection of her children beyond the seas, England possesses a military asset and a reserve of strength, offensive and defensive, such as is enjoyed by no other nation under the sun.

In every respect save one, Gladstonism has vanished from the field of our foreign policy. It is difficult to believe that a disappearance so speedy and so wholesale can have been due to anything but the resistless operation of a natural law of historical development. The simile is threadbare; but, when Mr. Gladstone sought to set bounds to the progress of the British Empire, he unconsciously undertook a task resembling a famous trial of strength with the Atlantic Ocean. The billows were more than a match for the mop, and the laws which regulate the growth of nations have proved mightier than Mr. Gladstone's overpowering personality and commanding intellect.

The surviving remnant of Gladstonism is a very conspicuous one. If we may reason from analogy its doom is sealed, and, ultimately, it will share the fate of its fellows. But, undoubtedly, it will die hard. Mr. Gladstone hypnotised England in reference to "the Unspeakable Turk," and she still remains under the spell. A generation has grown up with whom the iniquity of the Turk has become a fixed tradition, though there are signs of a weakening of the strength with which this dogma is held. Unquestionably, the Turk is a barbarian. When enraged he becomes a wild beast. In times gone by he has been a devastating savage, who has inflicted irreparable injury upon every department of civilisation and intellectual life. There are those who maintain that he will never improve: his religion forbids him to be aught save what he is. It may be remarked, in passing, that our Mahommedan fellow-subjects in India evince no inherent inability to rise as high in the scale of civilisation as the adherents of any other creed. That, however, is not the point. The question for Englishmen to ask themselves is,—does the Turk fall so far below the standard of Exeter Hall good-young-manity, does he constitute such an incessant, such an unconscionable shock to Sunday-school sentimentality, as to render it incumbent upon us, as a Christian nation, no matter at what sacrifice of material interests, to ostracise him, to hold sternly aloof from the contamination of his company, and to treat him as the moral leper of the universe, the pariah of the peoples? Do the immediate neighbours of the Ottoman inhabit edifices of such solid and substantial structure as to warrant them in pelting him with missiles? Scratch the Russian, says the old proverb, and you find the Tartar. Assuredly,

the Tartar revealed himself in gory glory at Blagovestchensk and Kishineff. The Power which permitted the hideous holocausts of those two places can scarcely claim to move upon a lofty plane of morality. No one can deny that the Turk has acted like a ravening wolf in Bulgaria, Armenia, and Macedonia. But at intervals during the last ten years has not humanity been horrified by appalling stories of revolting cruelties committed in the Belgian possessions on the Congo? The Turk, born though he be with a double dose of original sin, assuredly does not enjoy a monopoly of depravity. When it comes to minor misdoings, it would be no light matter to find a Christian nation of any standing with whom he need hesitate to place himself side by side. His treatment of his Christian subjects is habitually harsh, unjust, and oppressive. But Russia's methods with the Armenian Church, and with the Finlanders, the Jews, and the Poles, are scarcely those which would be recommended from the pulpit in a civilised land. A year or two ago considerable stir was caused in Europe by revelations of cruelties practised upon Polish children in Germany. In the middle of the last century it was a favourite observation with the friends of freedom that Austrian rule in Italy was the negation of God. France has a record in Algeria of which, perhaps, the less said the better. Spanish government in Cuba was not such as would be adopted by anyone desirous of acting in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. Italian reputation for kindness to animals and respect for the sanctity of human life does not rank high; and the burning alive of negroes at the stake is a not infrequent occurrence in the Southern portion of the United States of America. Of course, two blacks do not make a white. Nevertheless, it is common decency for the pot to moderate its eloquence when discussing the appearance of the kettle.

Civilised or savage, the Turk has been part and parcel of the European economy for five hundred years, and may remain so for another term of equal length. His presence may be bad. But the evil is one of long standing; and his absence would not make matters any better? A savage he may be; but he is a savage who, nowadays, if left to himself, does none of his neighbours any harm. The objection to him is purely sentimental, not statesmanlike. In no sense of the word can it be pretended that he constitutes a direct, positive, political peril, against which it is incumbent to take precautions. Such danger as arises from him is indirect and negative. He does not use the magnificent potentialities which the possession of Constantinople puts within his power; but he does

not misuse them. An eyesore he may be, a menace he is not. It is not his presence but his absence which threatens to set the world by the ears. The Near Eastern question is not: What shall be done with the Turk? but, What shall be done without him? The Powers of Europe will not quarrel while the Ottoman remains where he is. It is when he is gone, or packing up to go, that the long-dreaded world-wide conflagration will ensue. Who is to succeed him? That is the question which will set the European heather ablaze. Unquestionably, the ideal solution would be that a series of autonomous Christian states should be carved out of the dominions of the Ottoman, as has already been done to a large extent, and that Constantinople should be handed back to the Greeks, to whom it rightfully belongs. Equally indisputable is it that it would be a waste of time and words to discuss such a settlement, inasmuch as Russia would never, save under pressure of irresistible compulsion, consent to it. When Constantinople is taken from the Turk, Russia means that no one shall have it but herself.

Constantinople has been the mistress of the world, and may be so again. In the hands of a Power which had the means and the will to utilise to the utmost the advantages which its possession confers, Constantinople might easily become, if not the mistress of the world, at all events the Queen of the East and the dominant Power in Europe; in other words, the arbitress of the destinies of one hemisphere. If Russia were that Power, such a result would be inevitable from the mere state of the case. A single glance at the map will suffice to demonstrate this. Once at Constantinople, the Asiatic possessions of the Turk would speedily be hers in reality, if not in name. She would have an unbroken stretch of territory extending from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Himalayas, and the Altai Mountains. Within this immense area she would find means of supplying almost every imaginable want, and would be absolutely independent of the rest of the world, while Europe would be virtually at her mercy. She would be the paramount Power in the Mediterranean; and the Mediterranean is, always has been, and always will be, a great natural highway of the world, a main road to the East. Its utility has been immeasurably intensified by the construction of the Suez Canal; and, though its value may to some extent be lessened by the opening of the Panama route, as the East increases in importance the Mediterranean will become more and more indispensable. The possession of Constantinople by Russia would give her undisputed control of the great inland ocean. In the Black Sea she could, un-

known to the rest of the world, build and train navy upon navy, and, launching them forth through the gates of the Dardanelles, sweep the waters of the Mediterranean at her pleasure. France and Italy might hold their own close to their shores, and we might do the same at Gibraltar and Malta. But, unless we spent untold millions in creating an impregnable fortified naval base in Egypt, the Eastern outlet of the Mediterranean would be in Russia's hands, and she would enjoy the advantage of fighting in proximity to her base of supplies, refuge, and repairs. In effect, European intercourse with the East would take place solely at her will and pleasure.

That this is no fancy picture conjured up by an excited Russo-phobe imagination is evidenced by a conversation between the Odessa correspondent of the *Standard* and a Russian staff officer lately returned from the Far East. It might be within the span of another generation, declared this authority, or even more remote, but the time would assuredly, sooner or later, arrive when Russia's maritime strength would be on the same plane with, or closely second to, that of England, when her huge army would be the greatest fighting force in the world, when her position on every frontier would be impregnably consolidated, when all the Slav States and peoples of South-Eastern Europe would be ranged under the protective *ægis* of the great Russian motherland, and when, finally, the Western Powers would not be seeking this or that Dual or Triple Alliance among themselves, but would be combining their strength in order to balance the colossal and overwhelming might of Russia, East and West. Russia was a young and robust nation, with an immense and magnificent future before her. She was steadily working out her splendid destiny, a destiny which must, of necessity, overshadow the Western Continent and the Near East.

If this is Russia's destiny, presumably it will have to be fulfilled. But, considering what its realisation would mean for the remainder of Europe, is it wise for the Western Powers to do anything to hasten the advent of the day which will witness their reduction to the condition of trembling opponents or obedient cyphers of the Muscovite? Russia at Constantinople would be tantamount to the achievement of the grandiose aims which her people cherish. The Tsar at the Golden Horn would mean Russia supreme, and Europe a nullity. The Ottoman and the Muscovite are the only alternatives at St. Sophia. Obviously, therefore, the best way to keep the Russian out is to help the Turk to stay in. It was a keen perception of this fact, and not a mere sordid desire to push goods made in Germany which doubtless lay at the bottom of the policy of friendliness towards

Turkey initiated by the Emperor William some years ago. He vividly realises the extreme peril which would accrue to Germany were Western civilisation, in an hysterical spasm of unctuous rectitude, to turn the Turk, bag and baggage, out of Europe.

A great deal of our policy, domestic and foreign, as well as much of our merchandise, is made in Germany. Might we not, with manifest advantage to ourselves, as well as to Europe, take yet another leaf out of the Kaiser's book, and abandon a line of policy which has for its solitary recommendation the doubtful quality of sentimentality? The world's greatest statesmen, those who have built up empires, not pulled them to pieces, have ever maintained that sentimentality has no place in politics. Would it not be more manly to cease to parade, at the expense of the Ottoman, because of Bulgaria, Armenia, and Macedonia, an ultra-righteous indignation, which we deem it prudent to moderate or dissemble in the case of the Muscovite at Blagovestchensk and Kishineff, and of the Teuton in Pe-chi-li? Are we not damaging national interests for the sake of a little self-righteous glorification? Our position in the Mediterranean is none too secure. Already Spanish guns command Gibraltar. The suspicion is very prevalent that we have abandoned Morocco to France. When the process of "pacific penetration" of the dominions of Abdul Aziz has been completed, between Spain on the one hand and the French colony of Morocco on the other, the importance of Gibraltar will materially diminish. A firm friend at the Eastern outlet of the Mediterranean may be of the utmost value to us, saving us a large expenditure in men and money. Such a friend we have ready to hand. One of the elementary facts of European politics is that the Sultan would do almost anything to obtain a renewal of the old friendly relations with England, the loss of which he is perpetually bewailing.

An admirable opportunity offers itself for re-establishing our former friendly footing at the Porte. It is everywhere understood that the Macedonian troubles will break out again with the spring. War between Turkey and Bulgaria is regarded as inevitable; and no one is sanguine enough to suppose that hostilities will be restricted to those two Powers. The war must spread; and, once it begins to extend, no one can say where it will stop. The Austro-Russian reform scheme is said to have been drawn up by Count Lamsdorff with the deliberate intention that it should fail, and blindly accepted without examination by Count Goluchowski. What foundation there may be for the story is a secret of the Chancelleries; but it is the fact that competent authorities, who have analysed the project, pronounce

it impracticable, unworkable, mischievous, and aver that its general tendency is strongly to corroborate the suspicion that Russia has secretly engineered the entire Macedonian rising from the outset. There is also a remarkable consensus of authoritative opinion that, if any real good is to be done in Macedonia, England will have to do it. England is the only Power whom the Sultan trusts; the only one who has sufficient influence with him, did she choose to exert it, to induce him to introduce reforms into his dominions in the spirit as well as in the letter. The former is the vital element, for, as the experienced Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News* told us exactly twelve months ago, it is not much that requires to be done. Given an able-bodied, fearless, and impartial policeman and an honest tax-gatherer, all else that is needful will follow in due course. A word from the Sultan, if it was understood to be sincere, would go farther than a whole waste-paper basketful of the most elaborate schemes which the united intellects of the combined Continental Chancelleries could concoct. Shall we not make the experiment of trying to persuade him to speak that word? If we approached him in the spirit, not of the scolding pedagogue, as we too often do, but of the friendly man of the world, and offered him our open countenance and support in return for the introduction of passable government into his dominions, it is highly probable that he would strike the bargain on the spot. Think what the advantages would be, quite apart from our own interests. The objection to the Turk is purely sentimental, save in the case of Russia, where it is selfish. If the Turk could be persuaded to treat his Christian populations properly, the standing argument against his presence in Europe would disappear, and, with it, would vanish that running sore, the Near Eastern question. At the very least, by improving the administration of Macedonia, we should obviate a return of the disturbances of last spring and summer, and, most probably, avert a European war. In reply to those who aver that to expect good government from the Turk is absurd, inasmuch as the Ottoman can never be aught but what he is, one may cite the testimony of so pronounced a Turcophobe as the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. When that gentleman visited Jerusalem and beheld the spectacle of the Turk, with stolid impartiality, restraining angry Christians of warring sects from cutting each other's throats and tearing out one another's eyes around the Holy Sepulchre, he was fain to admit that there are occasions when the Moslem does not suffer by comparison with the Giaour.

It may be objected that for us openly to cultivate the Turk's friendship, even though it be in the hope of procuring an amelioration

of the lot of our fellow Christians, would give offence to certain Powers. But who are they ? According to the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, Austria would welcome our return to active participation in the affairs of the Near East on almost any terms. Italy would have no cause to demur. Germany, in the speech from the throne within the last few months, has re-affirmed her attitude of aloofness in regard to Balkan questions. France professes to be as keenly interested in Macedonian reforms as ourselves, besides which, it is no secret that she is deeply hurt at the contemptuous way in which Russia shoulders aside her traditional aims, aspirations, and ambitions in the Near East. There remains, therefore, only Russia ; and Russian opposition, open or disguised, is no new feature in our foreign affairs.

CHARLES P. PLANT.

WOMEN, MEN, THE STATE, AND THE SUFFRAGE.

THE question of Women's Suffrage would be more popularly understood, if it were viewed under wider aspects, and treated through more general terms, in regard to the development of the individual, and the evolution of an ideal State. It is only through the raising of *individuals* that the State can attain to its best possibilities. Therefore, first let us consider the individual, and, for the present, the feminine individual. Our question resolves itself into an inquiry into the meaning of *justice* and the import of *freedom*. That the larger half of humanity should, at this late date in the Christian era, in these British Isles, be systematically excluded from participation in either of these blessings, shows that there is something fundamentally wrong. A historical review proves that this need not have been so; there has been a lack, on all sides, of the logical application of principles to practice. Hence the *British Constitution has not been true to its own ideals!* In the great Historical Charter, which condensed the statutes and confirmed the liberties and customs of the people 700 years ago, the prime clause may be read: "To none will we sell, to none will we delay, to none will we deny, the right of justice." The late Laureate spoke of the liberties of men as widening down from precedent to precedent. But the liberties of women have, unfortunately, on the contrary, been *narrowed* down from precedent to precedent. *Every Reformation and every Reform Bill has been to their political disadvantage.* This seems a bold statement, but it can be proved. Among our British pagan ancestors, Cæsar and Tacitus assured us, there was no distinction of sex in places of command and government. The counsel of women determined questions of peace and war. They led armies to the field, or controlled their

States in peace. Among our early Saxon ancestors, pagan or Christian, the position of women was little limited. Inheritance was equal as between sons and daughters, as between husbands and wives. Women sat in the Witenagemot, or assembly of wise men, and signed the charters and agreements granted by the king.

Our Norman ancestors (while the action of the feudal system was detrimental to women), though they preferred any son to every daughter in inheritance, allowed a daughter to succeed in preference to any other male relative; and, when she did succeed, she inherited to the full all the rights and privileges of the family, even to the most distinguished public offices, such as High Chamberlain of the country, High Sheriff of the County, and Champion to the King. Beyond her rights she had a privilege, one never to be forgotten in discussing this question, the privilege of *exercising by proxy the offices she could not perform*.

The national advantage of the Reformation under Henry VIII. I do not deny, but its effect upon the fortunes of women has been rarely realised. The extinction of the monasteries did no harm to men as a sex. Conforming priests became Protestant clergy; monks became professors, tutors, physicians, or statesmen, and their abbots could become bishops and retain their seats in the Upper House. But to women it was, and it has remained, an irreparable loss. The convents had been the shelter of superfluous women, the schools for upper class girls, the hospitals, and boards of self-constituted guardians of the poor. No attempt was ever made to replace schools for the girls, as was done for the boys; nothing was then done to replace the nursing and hospitality of which the travellers and the poor were deprived. On the other hand, the great abbesses of these convents possessed the same temporal rights as the great abbots. Their courts decided even to life and death, the fortunes of their tenants and dependents. They had a right, as peeresses, to sit in the House of Lords, or send their proxies there. They gave the dignity of the possibility of high office to their sex. An entire class was extinguished by Henry's iconoclastic zeal, and no parallel opportunities of other careers were opened to nuns as there were to the monks.

Henry also destroyed the semi-religious guilds, founded for good-fellowship during life and prayers at death, in which men and women stood upon an absolutely equal footing. The moral standard necessary for membership was the same for both sexes. The good works done, such as keeping the bridges and highways, founding and visiting hospitals, were performed as well by the women as by the men. Since then men have had societies, clubs, and public dinners of their

own, but nothing ever replaced to women, at least until late in the nineteenth century, the good fellowship of these fine old guilds. Men have since then done voluntary work in local superintendence, but it was not until women were elected to the vestry and board of guardians that they were replaced in anything like a similar position. The extinction of these guilds was not only therefore a direct injury to the whole sex, but it became the means of causing a further indirect injury. There is no doubt that the lack of the camaraderie of these old semi-religious guilds gradually led the way to the exclusion of women from the trade guilds and the company dinners.

Among our pre-Tudor citizen forefathers, women could be members of the close trade guilds, and could be freemen therein, and the old City books tell us, "There is no essoin in the duties of watch and ward when the freeman is a woman." Here too, however, she had the privilege of exercising her duties by proxy.

Many of these had been open to women on same terms as to men, through apprenticeship or patrimony, all allowing the widow of a freeman to carry on her husband's business as a freewoman. In the churchwardens' accounts of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, we may find sixteenth century women supplying the bricks, lime, and mortar; doing the plumber's work, glazing work, metal work, and it was a woman who recast the third bell. The books of the Haberdashers' Company show about three women "freemen" to every ten men, and many other guilds were as open to persons of either sex, who fulfilled the necessary conditions. But the City fathers *reformed* municipal practice, and ruled women out of place among freemen. The so-called reformation of the laws of inheritance at the beginning of the seventeenth century was entirely to the disadvantage of women. When we realise how absolutely privilege was dependent at that time upon property, we can better understand its far-reaching effects. More and more national and civic rights, through the force of public opinion, became limited to males, under charters which, without exception, were written in terms signifying the common gender, until the great Reform Bill of 1832, when, for the first time in the history of the British Islands, the word "male" was interpolated before "persons" in the charters for the new boroughs then created. The Reformation of the Law of Dower in 1834, swept away the immemorial right of widows to a definite share in their husband's property, and in 1835, the reform in municipal government led to the exclusion of women from municipal freedom, in spite of the reports of the commissioners as to precedent in the matter.

Lord Brougham's Bill "for shortening the language of Bills in

the House of Commons," passed in 1851, provided that "the word man should always include woman, except where otherwise expressly stated." The word "man" had been an ambiguous term in English, sometimes standing for "homo," or man and woman, and sometimes for "vir," or man and not woman. The practice of modern law had come to read "man" as including "woman" whenever a responsibility was incurred or a penalty had to be inflicted, and as excluding "woman" when any privilege had to be acquired, or any advantage gained. This Bill made the meaning apparently clear, yet in the great Reform Bill of 1867, drafted so as to put the representation of the people upon homogeneous lines, when the word "man" was employed without express exclusion of woman, it was decided in Parliament, or rather in its court of reference among the judges of the Queen's Bench in 1868, in the great case of "*Chorlton versus Lings*," that, in spite of the ruling of Lord Brougham's Bill, in spite of the logic of John Stuart Mill, the illuminating facts of Chisholm Anstey, and of Sydney Smith's pamphlet, "*The Enfranchisement of Women the Law of the Land*"; in spite of all this, their lordships ruled that women could not have this justice, *because they never had had it*.

Though, shortly afterwards, women were restored to municipal freedom, and were empowered to elect and be elected on school boards, boards of guardians, and vestries, later municipal reforms have flung them out of the school boards and the vestries (where they had been doing such good work for their country), and the next reform will exclude them from poor law boards, where they are even more needed. How has it been possible that women should have suffered such oppressive injustice? Because their will has never been consulted in the making of laws that coerce their actions, because under the flag of freedom, in this *land of the free*, no woman has been free, at least in these our times, save the woman who so lately honoured the throne by filling it so nobly.

How has this come about?

Because men have secured for themselves the prime condition of either justice or freedom, the right of representation in the legislative assembly of the land, and in short-sighted selfishness have excluded women from a share in the blessings that may be brought about thereby. Therefore men secure justice and freedom as *rights*. The faint shadow of either, which goes by the name, when applied to women, should be recognised as what it is, neither justice nor freedom at all, but grace or accident, something meted out to them under temporary conditions, liable at any time to be withdrawn on any frivolous pretext. Any privilege granted to women is not even of

the nature of a schoolboy's prize for good behaviour or success in effort. It does not come to them by merit, and is not secured to them by success. If it were so, how could it have been possible to have excluded them from vestries, or have refused them any longer a share in the superintendence of the education of their own sex? On the contrary, no matter how noble or how great, no matter how public-spirited or how self-sacrificing she may be, a woman is treated by British Parliament and by British law, as something lower than the lowest criminal. Because, since 1884, at least, nearly all the inhabitants of this country have a voice in determining the men who shall make the laws they must obey, except minors, aliens, paupers, lunatics, criminals, and *women*!

The minors may attain majority, aliens may become naturalised, paupers acquire property, lunatics regain their reason, or, even in a lucid interval, may exercise their vote; criminals, when they have served their time, may become once more free British electors! But women, placed all in one vast class, are for ever excluded from justice and freedom. Any law may be passed against them, any coercion practised. What hope for the all-round development of individuals of either sex, when all must be either victims of repression, or agents of oppression? How humiliating to the woman, how degrading to the man, and how disastrous to the nation. It is only because the great majority of men are so much better than the laws teach them to be, that life or society is possible. But to many of that majority Hood might sing the Song of the Shirt:—

More evil is wrought by want of thought,
Than even by want of heart.

It never strikes them that the *great assembly of the representatives of the people* must be unworthy of its name, and unfit for its work, when the larger half of the people is not represented there at all!

What is the *work* of Parliament? The original cause of its creation was the desire of the old kings to raise money. All who were liable to contribute to the subsidy, *without distinction of sex*, were invited to send up their representatives to consult together and determine what aid they would give the king. Contribution to the subsidies then was the prime condition of the right to elect a representative, and it has remained so constitutionally ever since. It is a Parliamentary dictum that taxation and representation always go together, and that the franchise is never lost by non-user. The opponents of the enfranchisement of women are tossed from one horn of the dilemma to the other—either it is unconstitutional to

tax women, or it is unconstitutional to deny them their vote. They cannot get away from it, so they ignore logic in treating the question altogether.

Is it nothing to women to know how the money wrested from them is being spent? Is the pension list nothing to them? Is it nothing to them the decision of peace or war? They have to contribute not only their loved ones to the fight, but their quota of war taxes. The last war was a peculiarly galling one to women, not only because of mismanagement that might have been avoided, but from the fact that it was ostensibly declared in order to secure that enfranchisement to the Uitlander in a foreign country which has been persistently denied them in their own.

The old assembly of the representatives of the people soon found that the best time to secure "redress of grievanecs" from the king was when he wanted money. Many a right has been extorted from unwilling but impecunious monarchs. It is true still, though under other relations. Women, having no representatives, rarely have their grievances redressed. It is futile to expect that the grandmotherly legislation instituted by kind-hearted men, in the belief that it is what women ought to want, can ever reach any real grievance, for they have no means of knowing what women really do want. Besides taxation, Parliament has to work out legislation. It has long been recognised that whoever has nothing to do with the laws except to obey them, is a slave to the wishes and the whims of others. In this position are *all* women.

Yet, if we think of it, there are *no* questions in which some women have not some interest; there are *many* in which they have quite as much interest as men have, as all those concerning fiscal reform, adulteration of food, abatement of manufacturers' smoke and other nuisances; there are *some* which more particularly concern her because of her circumstances, as the housing of the poor, sanitation, notification of diseases, infant education Acts; while some others specially concern her as a woman, such as the limitations of inheritance of property, the laws of marriage and divorce, the custody of infant children, the Acts for public morality, and the Acts of interference with the freedom of labour of women. Yet in *none* of these questions are the wishes, the needs, or the conscience of women consulted. There is no escape from the penalty for women, though they are denied the privilege. They are forced to obey whatever law the representatives of the masculine minority choose to determine. They share and share alike in every responsibility they have had no choice in incurring, they suffer alike from the errors of legislators they have had no voice

in electing ; they endure evils manifold that would never have been, were they not denied the constitutional right of every British subject who fulfils certain conditions. I have said that this state of affairs is degrading to men. They are proud of singing " Britons never never shall be slaves," and they smile when they remember the twenty millions of British money that freed the slaves in Jamaica. But how can a man be truly free who is born of a slave-mother, and leaves behind him slave-daughters ? The effect of the anomaly is to warp his moral nature. He cannot see straight or walk straight, he cannot think clearly. His liberty is only license when it is built on the oppression of others, whether consciously or unconsciously. He can never be free until he leaves woman free to walk erect by his side. He can never grow to the full stature of perfect manhood until he gives up the effort to secure and hold her fetters. His Maker, in creation, as well as revelation, has clearly stated " It is not good for man to be alone ! " Not good in his heart, his soul ; not good in peace or war ; not good in parish or borough, not good in the State, not good in the world ; *impossible* in the sphere of justice, *impossible* in the sphere of generosity. How can a man reconcile it to his manhood, that he seeks the *protection* of the franchise for himself, and denies it to his weaker partner ; that he seeks for privileges that he would absorb to himself. Seeing therefore that the present condition of affairs is impoverishing to the development of individuals, we can only expect that the State as a whole is impoverished in due proportion, or rather in a larger proportion, through the working out of that curious law by which we find that the work of collective men is always inferior to the sum of the moral standard of work of the same number of men as individuals. Conscience, in a crowd, becomes hampered, sheltered, dulled, and suffers from inertia. What reasonable being who looks down into the roots of things, but finds an enormous congeries of wrongs and evils that might be righted ; and a very small army of men attempting spasmodically to right them. They have neither the time, the power, nor the understanding to do *all* that is necessary to be done. The country waits and groans. There is a vast supply of unused energy lying waiting for its betterment, that has never been allowed to act. Can anyone say that the whole country has not been grievously wronged thereby ? We have no right to expect an improvement in the condition of the people, until women are allowed to take their natural place. It is because the nation, which is made of men and women, pretends that it is made only of men, that it flounders so helplessly in its Serbonian bog of difficulties. It is just because of the difference between man and woman that the

country requires her existence to be recognised, her special powers to be utilised. Ay, even her similar powers. Because man, who is made male and female, has also duality in his individuality. He has two eyes, two ears, two hands, two feet, and two lobes of the brain to control them, and he does not get along so well with one of these organs as with two. The nation that tries to get along without its women, is like an individual who wilfully shuts one eye, closes one ear, ties up one hand, and tries to get along as best he can hop on one foot. The one lobe of his brain becomes atrophied, his members paralysed. The work of the world is waiting to be done, and men cannot do it alone, the country, or the people in it, want a mother-heart, as well as a fatherhood. It wants the experience of women in the home turned to account in the bettering of the State ; it wants their power of sympathy to go forth and weld the high and the low, their finer soul-sense to raise the normal tone of the laws ; it wants the expression of the woman's voice in the chorus of humanity, before "the voice of the people" can become the true "Voice of God." What delays all this ? The future is veiled in details, but to me it seems clear in principle. Only in doing justice between men and women, only in granting freedom to women as to other individuals, is there any hope of true national progress. Some of the leisured classes are waiting and willing to help ; some, even at present, go into the slums and learn where there are diseases, and discern where the remedy lies. But they cannot attain it until there comes the greatest *Reformation* of modern times, the Reformation by which women are given souls and existence in the English State. And the first step necessary is to make them *free*. The army of volunteer workers spend much effort and do a little good ; the ranks of working women, handicapped in all their labours, are beginning to understand why Archimedes of old used to say he could move the world if he could only get *a place to stand*. That is what women require, a place where to stand, whence they might move their world. The House of Commons is as sensitive to the claims of the represented as the mercury is to the weather. Women, not being represented there, can safely be neglected. We know that an ever-increasing number of brave men are joining the *great cause of the day*.

But until *all* are enlightened, how can we secure the Magna Charta of the people's liberties, which will declare, in express words, that the "Enfranchisement of Women is the Law of the Land ?"

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

INDUSTRIAL TROUBLES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY A CAPE RESIDENT.

ONE subject dominates our thinking here,—the commercial and industrial depression. The Chinese Labour problem is itself so interwoven with the depression that it becomes part and parcel of that subject. Of the reality of this depression, unfortunately, there can be no doubt. It forces itself on attention at every turn, and is realised by all sorts and conditions of men. It is difficult for people on your side to grasp quite what such depression means to us. The prosperity of England is many-sided, and England is a land of accumulated capital, not only filling the coffers of the millionaire, but distributed, more or less, in countless little stockings throughout the community. It is so, to a greater or less extent, in all old countries, and with you, the difference between a period of good and bad trade is one only of degree, and that a small degree in comparison with the total volume. It means, at the most, a reduction of a point or so on the dividends received by the investor, or a day knocked off the factory hand's working week. But South Africa has all its eggs in two or three baskets, and if its gold industry slackens, or its wool clip fails, the descent is from zenith to zero. We are verily a hand-to-mouth generation in this part of the world. Except amongst the old "Kaa-penaar" families of the Cape Peninsula, and a few of the farmers, there is very little money in reserve. Nine men out of ten are simply living on their current earnings, and mostly spending them as they come in. Or, if they are not spent in the usual sense, they are invested in undertakings of a speculative character. With a profound belief that directly his country gets into low water, something will turn up, like the diamond or gold discoveries, to float it again into pro-

sperity, the average South African is a veritable Micawber, taking but little thought for the morrow.

Indeed, Micawberism is almost forced upon most men through its changeful conditions, the high cost of living, and the failure of the country to produce its own food. It may be fairly taken as an axiom that, whenever a country fails to produce its own necessities of life, imports them and pays for them by the produce of two or three industries, it is at the mercy of every economical wind that blows. High wages meet the high cost of living when times are prosperous. When they cease to be so, for too many people the result is not a reduction in wages, but no wages at all. And, as a country which even now is new in its development, albeit of hoary age as a colony, and which is easily accessible to Europeans, the moment any gleam of prosperity occurs, the chance of making hay while the sun shines is discounted by the rush of immigration. So many forks are put into the aforesaid hay that none of the wielders have much opportunity of storing up enough for lean years. And another factor working against prudence with our people is the custom of taking a trip to Europe every few years. The trip to Europe swallows up all the savings that the professional man, the civil servant, the shopkeeper, or the workman has accumulated, and leaves him to begin afresh. The Australian is comparatively free from this temptation, partly because of his distance from the Mother Land, partly because his own country has more varied resources than ours.

There is no doubt about the fact; this country, as a whole, is just entering on a period of depression far worse than that which affected it in the years preceding the opening of the El Dorado at the Randt. say from about 1883 to 1888. Indeed, the strain now bids fair to be more severely felt than then, owing to the fact that rents and food prices went down then. There were not many pounds about, but the pound acquired an enhanced purchasing power. There were no great number of people in the country, and the "slump" came gradually, giving what redundant population there was, the opportunity to get away whilst they had still the wherewithal to pay their passages. Moreover, Australia was then "booming," and thousands found a haven and the means of living by transferring themselves thither. Wool was low in price, but that was not because our land had failed to do its duty, but because of increased competition for the London wool market.

Home-raised food was plentiful to an extent seldom known in this part of the world, so much so that, for the first and only time in its history, cereals were actually exported. But these features in the

situation are missing to-day. The country is over-filled with an absurdly redundant population, attracted from all parts of Europe by the glamour of the expected boom at the gold mines, and the wild desire to be first in the field. Immigrants have come from the nations of Southern and Eastern Europe, without the means of getting away, and certainly indisposed to return to their own lands even if they could. There is no promising field near at hand to which they could pass on. Australia is but just recovering from severe depression, the combined result of drought and the folly of the Labour leaders. Indeed, South Africa numbers an enormous number of Australians amongst the crowd of mixed humanity which has filled it beyond its powers of absorption. It is natural, perhaps, that this should be so. Amongst the manhood of the Empire poured in for the purpose of fighting the Boer, it was to be expected that many would remain in a land which appeared to them to be, what it undoubtedly is, a half tilled field, whilst the Imperial expenditure during and immediately after the war gave it a deceptive appearance of prosperity. The prospects of land settlements and the like, under the fostering ægis of the British flag, served to dispel any lingering doubts on the part of those who were here, and attracted thousands of their fellows.

How deceptive these hopes have proved, we all now see. Old colonists saw it all along. The net result is that we have an enormously increased population, almost all concentrated in the larger towns. When you have enumerated Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban, you have pretty well exhausted the list of places which have had any considerable increase of population. The land throughout South Africa has probably fewer people on it than before the war. Thus far, we have lived on the unexpended proceeds of the largesse, scattered with such a lavish hand in the way of payment for service and material during the war, and on the building boom that ensued. It must be remembered that the first thought of the South African, when he has any money, is to put it into land speculation. But the banks checked the building boom (very wisely) at its wildest point, and the proceeds of the Imperial expenditure are now pretty well dissipated. A country over-populated with a population always comparatively non-productive, and producing far less than it ever did before, must, sooner or later, overdraw on its resources. People can only live on buying and selling between themselves as long as their available spare cash lasts. In a short time that cash must wing its way to the producer, who in this case is over the sea, in Argentina, in Australia, in England, in Switzerland, in Denmark. It is no exaggeration to say that on the

tables of the South African to-day there is very little that has been produced in the sub-continent. The average citizen sits down to breakfast on eggs that have come from the Canary Islands or Madeira, bacon from Canada or America, bread from South Australia, butter from the same country or Denmark, and milk from Switzerland. He dines on meat from the Antipodes or Argentina, potatoes from the Canaries, tinned fruits from California, and cheese from England or Denmark. Probably the only aliment of home consumption he assimilates during the day is a scanty allowance of vegetables. If he keeps fowls in his garden, he may add his own eggs to his country's credit, but, even in that case, the grain with which he feeds them is almost certain to be imported. A very competent authority, the late Mr. Crosby, M.L.A. for Albany, a farmer of immense experience, told the House that even before the war the Cape Colony was producing less agricultural produce than it had done twenty years before, and his opinion is supported by the Government statistics. Since he spoke the country has been desolated by war, and most of the farmers of both nationalities have been fighting instead of farming, whilst even those who did remain on the land have been tempted by the high war time prices to sell off even their breeding stock. And when we add to this the fact that a drought unprecedented for nearly a quarter of a century has swept over the land, we can understand how it is that the producing power of the country has sunk almost to nothing.

The Orange River, usually the one perennial big stream of South Africa, can now, even low down in its course, be crossed dryshod. The whole north-western area of the Cape Colony, always liable to droughts, has had no rain to speak of for three solid years. Bechuana-land and the western parts of the new colonies are almost in as bad a plight, whilst the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, and the colony of Natal, have grievously suffered from the same cause, though in less degree. In the district of Carnarvon, a special commissioner, recently sent up to organise relief for the starving people, reports that there are not five hundred sheep left in the whole district. And it is a huge area, roughly speaking 100 miles square, entirely devoted to pastoral farming. Government rations are now being doled out there and in surrounding districts to once prosperous farmers. It can therefore readily be understood that food has not gone down in price with the deficiency of money. It cannot do so when supplies are practically all obtained from abroad. Rents have diminished slightly in Cape Town, and in some other larger towns, but not sufficiently to afford perceptible easing of the pressure. So that the town dweller finds his

income reduced whilst his expenses remain much as before. The natural result is a rapidly increasing army of men whose only shelter is under the canopy of heaven on the slopes of Table Mountain, and whose food, when they get any, comes from mendicancy or theft. A trades union official, in an excellent position to know, tells me that fully 25 per cent. of the skilled workmen in Cape Town are at present unemployed. Much the same story comes from the other Cape Colony towns. Durban has had its army of unemployed, a rapidly increasing army, for months. Being the nearest colonial port to Johannesburg, and a small place, it felt the congestion earlier than Cape Town. Johannesburg is in dire misery. Genteel poverty prevails everywhere in the Golden City, and poverty that is not genteel is keeping body and soul together by burglary and highway robbery. Relief organisations have been started there, weeks ago, despite the fact that many of the unemployed had managed to make their way to the coast towns.

The whole of the present financial year has been marked by a decline in railway revenue, the deficiency in the Cape being in November, the last month for which returns are available, just £91,000; a big slice off an estimate of £468,000. And a railway deficit is a portentous thing in a country where almost everything that the inland districts consume goes over the iron road. The Cape and Natal railway returns are an almost exact index of the state of trade in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. And the Customs returns are a still better barometer to the spending power of the Cape Colony itself, as will be readily understood from what I have said before as to the dependence of the colony on imports. Except in August, Customs revenue has shown a steady decline, the November return being, roughly speaking, 30 per cent. off the budget estimate. The August temporary increase was only due to the payment of arrears arising out of the Customs convention with other colonies. To take another reliable index of the general condition of things, the withdrawals from the Post Office Savings Bank have, according to the latest returns, exceeded the deposits for the first time for about twenty years—except under the pressure of 1899.

Only in one of two ways can this appalling state of affairs be relieved. First, by returning prosperity for the farmers, but this, even if copious rains fall immediately, can only be looked for in two or three years. The other resource is a great increase in the mining expenditure of what is, after all, the hub of South Africa, Johannesburg. All interested in the mines, and, whatever their enemies may say about the mining people, none but experts can give proper evidence

on mining matters, say that, unless the importation of Chinese labour is decided upon, not only will be there no extension of mining operations, but the low grade mines will be closed down. The Chinese question, therefore, becomes the economic question of the day, and is hotly debated accordingly all over South Africa, except, perhaps, in Natal, where the people feel that, being so largely dependent on Asiatic labour themselves, they can hardly say much on the matter. The Cape Colony, under Bond guidance, has been agitating violently against the Chinaman, a course which seems to the calm political observer to savour of impertinence, as the question at stake is a purely Transvaal question.

Meanwhile, the promoters of the Chinese importation idea are loud in expressing their willingness to submit to the most stringent legislation to prevent the Chinaman ever becoming anything else than an unskilled mine labourer, and to ensure his repatriation whenever his contract is completed. The anti-Chinese reply is that mine owners are all powerful and never keep their word, which line of argument, if adopted universally, might embarrass most political arrangements. Unless the contrary is clearly proved, one generally assumes that people mean something like what they say, or we determine to make them mean it. Personally, it seems to me that there is no more difficulty in bringing cargoes of Chinese to the Randt under indentures expiring only on their return to China, keeping them in compounds, and taking them back to their own country, than there is in moving an equivalent number of troops from one part of the world to another. If the mine owners desire to slacken the restrictions later on, which I do not believe, it will be the fault of the people of the Transvaal, who will have responsible government long before the difficulty can arise. The gist of the matter appears to me, as a Cape Colonist, with not one penny of interest in any mines and with no sympathetic feeling towards mine magnates, to lie in the fact that South Africa has not, and is not likely to have for a good many years, native labour to go round among mines, railways, manufactures, farms, and stores. In the competition for what there is, the mines get the pull, because they can offer the highest wages. And for every native attracted to the Randt, a farmer goes one short, or the railway engineer who is constructing a railway to his farm does so, the net result being the same in any case, a crippling of the agricultural production of the country. This is the main reason for the absurd position of an essentially rural country, with enormous capabilities, not growing its own food, and therefore it seems to me a matter of supreme indifference to the Cape and Natal colonist whence the Trans-

vaal mine owner gets his labour, so long as he does not get it from the natives in, and adjacent to, the Cape Colony and Natal. I speak with the experience of twenty-five years' colonial life, most of it in close contact with the Kaffirs, when I say that there will be for the next twenty years ample employment on farms, public works, and the like, for every Kaffir willing to work in the Cape Colony.

When I use the word farms I include the lands of the natives themselves. I do not think people either in England or the western parts of the Cape Colony understand the extent to which the Kaffir is developing as a peasant farmer, both on the actual native reserves, and on lands rented by him from white farmers. It is a very tangible development, and certain to increase like a snowball in future. Whole tracts of country in the eastern parts of the Cape Colony have been peacefully reconquered by the Kaffirs by the prosaic process of paying rent, a fact which proves that the Kaffir can get more out of the agricultural lands than a white man, for otherwise the latter would outbid him in rent-paying, or it would pay the owner better to cultivate the farm himself. But the owner does nothing of the kind. He wanders off into a town and draws his rents. Now, I humbly submit that the Kaffir peasant farmer is doing more good to the country than the Kaffir mine labourer, because he is bringing it nearer to the point of producing its own food. And the Kaffir is, I believe, the only South African who is likely to make a success of *petite culture*. The Dutchman will not take to it at all. The English-speaking South African looks upon it with contempt, and the imported immigrant, coddle him however much you will, drifts off into the towns directly the coddling process is stopped. And, apart altogether from the value of the Kaffir worker as a peasant farmer, he is badly wanted on the larger farms. There is hardly a farmer in the country who is not crying out for labour, very few who will not tell you, with perfect truth, that they could produce tenfold as much if they only had more hands, and this is why South Africa has to import its own food. Now, once draw back the Kaffir labour supply on to the farms and the labour difficulty disappears. A time will come when by the rapid natural increase of the Bantu race, its members will overflow the limits of farm labour, and plenty will be to spare for the mines. Then comes in the advantage of having worked the mines in the meantime by a class of labour not domiciled in the country, and which you can get rid off as soon as your local supply becomes sufficient.

The Cape Colony agitation has merely been a political trick on the part of the Bond. The astute organisation, as usual, has outgeneralled Dr. Jameson and the Progressives. At one stroke it secures

the support of the Labour party and the coloured and native peoples, and also deals a blow at the British element, because so long as there is an insufficient supply of unskilled labour on the mines, so long will the number of skilled Britishers, to say nothing about trading Britishers, be kept at a minimum. Nothing would suit the Bond better than to see a wholesale importation of low class white Continental labour, which could not be subjected to any restrictive legislation, and would soon usurp the place of the Britisher as a skilled labourer, besides becoming a handy tool of the anti-British party. But do not suppose that the Bond is really whole-hearted in its opposition to Chinese labour. It wants labour badly on Bond farms, and, if the verdict goes against it, and dams the Kaffir back on the labour market, it feels it will score industrially at any rate, and politically too, in another way, that of being able to paint Lord Milner and Mr. Lyttelton as mercenary creatures who, at the bidding of the mine magnates, have forced the hated Celestial on an unwilling community.

THE GREAT STRATFORD SUPERSTITION.

FOR all who have really studied the deeply interesting mystery concerning the origin of the plays commonly called Shakespeare's, the popular impression that they were written by the young man born at Stratford—who ultimately became a third-rate London actor—is one of the most ludicrous hallucinations that have ever been widely spread throughout the cultivated world. The serious study of the question, however, has hitherto been confined to a comparatively small circle by reason of the persistent determination of most literary newspapers to suppress all discussion of the subject, as far as possible, and to ignore the elaborate and important books continually issuing from the press in support of the belief that, at all events, the more important of the Shakespearian plays may be assigned to the authorship of Francis Bacon. New books on the subject, however exhaustive in character and dignified by painstaking research, encounter a conspiracy of silence on the part of the reviewers. Some literary reputations are pledged to the maintenance of the old-fashioned belief, and the multitudes who have no suspicion concerning the weakness of the foundations on which that belief rests, are as far as possible warned off inquiry by ferocious abuse of those who would rob the greatest English poet of his glory! The position so taken up is illogical to the outermost limits of absurdity. No one proposes to diminish by one gleam of light the halo which surrounds the greatest English poet, and whatever robbery is committed in connection with the matter must be laid to the charge of those who persist in perpetuating a mediæval mistake which imposed this halo on the wrong head.

The bibliography of the Bacon controversy is so extensive that a *Catalogue Raisonné* of the books on the subject by W. H. Wyman,

which merely carries the record down to 1884, enumerates 255 separate books and pamphlets, many of them works of considerable magnitude, in more volumes than one. Since then a score of important books on the subject, representing an ever increasing body of evidence destructive, to the last shred, of the belief that the Stratford actor had any appreciable share in the production of the plays to which his name has become attached in later years, might easily be enumerated. But as I may be addressing readers who are quite unfamiliar with the outline even of this evidence, it may be as well to begin by sketching this in a comprehensive fashion, indicating later on the paths of inquiry along which fuller detail may be obtained, and coming finally to the supremely important discoveries of quite recent years relating to the deeply interesting cipher story, plainly shown to run through some of the earlier editions of the so-called Shakespearian plays, the importance of which can hardly be overrated either from the point of view of the literary student or the historian.

The first conclusion that emerges from the study of the facts is that, whoever wrote the plays, they certainly were not written by the young man born at Stratford in 1564. Stratford was at that time a straggling town of about 1,500 inhabitants, sunk in the depths of a primitive barbarism that in our day can hardly be realised in imagination. Shakespeare was the son of a tradesman who could not write his name: indeed, only six out of nineteen aldermen of the little town could accomplish this feat. There is no evidence whatever to show that the boy was ever sent to school. If he did go there for a year or two, it is probable, by the admission of a biographer who believes in the Shakespearian authorship, that he never saw more than three books before he came to London; the Horn book, a Latin Accidence, and probably the Bible. At fourteen he was apprenticed to his father as a butcher, at eighteen he married, had children, and at some period between the time when he was twenty-one and twenty-three, ran away to London, deserting his family, to avoid the penal consequences of a poaching enterprise in which he had been engaged. At this date, perhaps a little before, perhaps one or two years later, plays afterwards credited to Shakespeare began to appear. The notion of assigning their authorship to a young man of his antecedents represents one of the most imbecile conclusions that has ever drifted into popular acceptance. "Love's Labour Lost," "The Comedy of Errors," and "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" were produced in London in 1587, when young Shakespeare had either just arrived in London, and was holding horses at the doors of the theatre (according to the admission of his orthodox biographer, Halliwell Phillips) or had been there not

more than one or two years. Struggling with the embarrassments of their theory Shakespearians sometimes contend that Shakespeare must have acquired at the Stratford Grammar School the exhaustive familiarity with classical literature which the author of these plays certainly possessed. In view of the admissions made concerning the primitive nature of that establishment, and the fact that Shakespeare was, at all events, withdrawn from it, if he ever went there, at the age of fourteen, the advocates of the Shakespearian theory do indeed make confession of their helplessness when they promulgate this view. But some of them are beguiled into even more grotesque absurdities. There is some evidence to show that "Venus and Adonis" was the first work of its author. In that case, Shakespeare must have written it even before leaving Stratford, and before acquiring his stock-in-trade of classical knowledge by association with the great scholars of London, and this suggestion is one that has actually been gravely advanced. The theory that he ever imbibed classical knowledge in London, rests mainly on the indication which is afforded by the dedication of "Venus and Adonis" to Lord Southampton. Evidently Lord Southampton was a personal friend of the author who wrote that poem. The notion of supposing that in that age, when aristocratic distinctions were far more haughtily maintained than in our time, a "first-class Earl" would have been the intimate friend of a young vagabond hanging on to the outskirts of such a disreputable occupation as that of the actor in the middle of the sixteenth century, is no less absurd than the other conceptions on which the Stratford superstition reposes.

Nor is this ludicrous merely in view of the facts connected with Shakespeare's early life. In his middle age, when he had acquired abundant means as a theatrical manager—under circumstances only intelligible really by virtue of the Baconian hypothesis—he retired to Stratford, where he lived as illiterate a life as that of his father, without thinking it even worth while to teach his favourite daughter to read. All that we know concerning this later period of his life has to do with petty little law-suits he instituted as a maltster and money-lender, and the supposition that the greatest poet of the age could have so spent the leisure evening of his life, is almost too silly to be resented as an insult to genius.

This is a mere skeleton of the case, showing that Shakespeare did not write the plays. In the literature of the controversy it is surrounded with detail at every important turning point. But ignoring this for the moment, it may be more convenient to set up the skeleton of the case showing that the plays, or some of them, at all events, were actually written by Francis Bacon. On the face of things, we

have here no improbabilities to contend with. Bacon's education, acquirements, and tastes were precisely those harmonious with the idea of such authorship. His views of life correspond with those indicated by the character of the plays, which throughout regard events from the point of view of the aristocrat, not from that of a man sprung from the people. They are filled with phases of withering contempt for the swinish multitude, of even exaggerated deference for the claims of rank. In the order of their production, the plays of the series reflected the incidents of Bacon's life. The earliest have French backgrounds. Bacon had been residing as a youth in Paris with the English ambassador. His brother, Anthony, was in Italy, whence he wrote Francis voluminous letters: the plays with Italian backgrounds harmonise with the period of this correspondence. In serious trouble at one time with a Jew money-lender, Francis was just rescued in time by the return from Italy of his brother Anthony: soon afterwards "The Merchant of Venice" appeared. When James I. came to the throne Bacon went to Scotland to pay court to him: soon afterwards "Macbeth" appeared. Later on, Lady Anne Bacon's declining years were clouded by the loss of reason: madness then engaged the thoughts of the author of "King Lear."

Bacon kept a commonplace book, in which he set down happy phrases as they occurred to him, proverbs in many foreign languages encountered in the course of his reading, new words which he invented from Latin derivations. In the fifty foolscap sheets of this MS. still in existence, there are 1,700 entries. All these entries are used up in the Shakespeare plays, some being used several times. The MS. was called by Bacon his "Promus." It has been published under that name in a carefully annotated edition by Mrs. Henry Pott, showing the passages in the plays where the various phrases occur. The overwhelming force of this argument can never be resisted by an impartial mind that appreciates it. Shakespearians attempt disingenuously to meet it—when they venture on more than mere abuse of their antagonists—by picking out a few of the least significant entries and suggesting that their correspondence with the similar passages in the plays may be accidental. There are hundreds of cases in each of which the chances against accidental coincidence would be as millions to one.

Bacon refers to himself as a "concealed poet," and as seeking the good of mankind "in a despised weed"—"weed" being the word he always used for "disguise."

The plays for the most part appeared during the earlier mature life of Bacon, before he obtained important legal office. He was asked by friends why he did not devote more time to pushing his way at the

bar, and answers vaguely in one extant letter that he is employing himself on more productive work. When he was made Solicitor-General, and eventually Lord Chancellor, the flow of the plays stopped. After his "disgrace" the stream recommenced. Could the man who incurred that disgrace for the reasons commonly assigned have possessed the nobility of soul that the plays indicate? There is no more shameful slander afloat in history than that which has stigmatised Bacon as a corrupt judge and the "meanest of mankind." (See Hepworth's Dixon's "Personal History of Lord Bacon.") He was the victim of a foul conspiracy, and in reality of a moral dignity equal of his intellectual stature.

Parallel passages in Bacon's avowed writings, and in the plays, indicating the same mind at work in both cases, are set forth by the hundred in books devoted to this branch of the subject.

References in the plays to places in the country with which Bacon's life are associated are very numerous. There are no such references, or scarcely any, that can be twisted into connection with places associated with the life of Shakespeare.

Why did Bacon conceal his dramatic authorship?

People who do not take the trouble to get into tune with the state of feeling about literary work in the Elizabethan period find it surprising that a man who could write the Shakespeare plays should forego the fame of having done so. The reserve Bacon exercised needs no explanation for those who realise the mental atmosphere of the time. To write for the public stage would have been almost disgraceful for a man of high rank in Bacon's time. The status of a street acrobat in this age is higher than that of the actor at the close of the sixteenth century, and the dramatic author who worked for the public stage was not very much better. Bacon did write some masques for private theatricals, but Lady Anne Bacon, his mother by adoption, whom he loved warmly, was always remonstrating with him for his ignoble penchant in this direction. To have been known as a worker for the public stage, sharing its profits, as Bacon's narrow circumstances rendered it necessary for him to share them, would have been the ruin of his hopes of legal preferment. It was not enough for him merely to keep back his name when his plays were acted or published. This was all he did at first, but as they became celebrated, he seems to have feared lest they might attract curiosity, so he guarded his incognito more effectually by assigning the authorship to real men who were ready to serve as his "weeds." No doubt their comrades often knew that the pretence was hollow, and Greene actually sneers at Shakespeare, in a bitter pamphlet, for strutting in borrowed feathers.

But there were no newspapers in those days to discuss the personalities of authorship, and in the higher ranks of life such matters would be loftily disregarded for the most part. By the time Bacon's work had invested dramatic literature with an entirely new character, and when later writers began to find the Shakespeare plays worth notice, the generation had passed away that might have sought out the alleged author. He was by that time, at all events, if not dead, buried in a remote part of the country, malting his barley and squeezing his debtors, and was not present to puzzle his critics with the spectacle of a great author unable to hold a pen or spell his name twice alike.

Only a few words need be spent on an argument which strangely recommends itself to some minds as conflicting with the recognition of Bacon's authorship. It is urged that his style is wholly unpoetical and unlike that of the plays. To begin with, the opinion that his style is unpoetical was not shared either by Shelley or by Lord Macaulay, who, without any reference to the current controversy, left on record their opinions that Bacon's avowed writings indicated great wealth of poetic imagination. But independently of this, every journalist knows that his style will vary according to the mental atmosphere of the work on which he is engaged. He tunes his violin, so to speak, for the orchestra in which he is playing, and his style as he writes a light article for a magazine or invades the graver realms of literature, will undergo changes as complete as those which attended the transfer of Bacon's energies from one branch of literature to another.

But these vague speculations are quite insignificant compared to the solid testimony of facts concerning the authorship of the plays. One of the many recent books of serious importance dealing with the latest phases of the controversy, is the posthumous treatise entitled "A Judicial Summing-Up," which constituted the last piece of work accomplished by Lord Penzance after his retirement from the Bench. This irresistibly forcible presentation of the Baconian case has been almost entirely ignored by current reviews, in spite of its authorship. Much of the matter it contains is familiar to all readers of recent books on the subject by Edwin Reed, Dr. Theobald, Mr. G. C. Bompas, Ignatius Donnelly, and many others that might be named. But Lord Penzance has presented some arguments which arise from the contents of the folio edition of Shakespeare's plays, published in 1623, in a peculiarly forcible way. Everyone who knows anything whatever about Shakespearian literature will be aware of the fact that the folio in question, published seven years after Shakespeare's death, contains a considerable number of plays that had never been heard of before that publication. Of the thirty-six plays it contains, some writers

maintain that eleven had never previously been heard of, but at all events, even Halliwell Phillips enumerates six plays of which he says, "we hear indisputably for the first time in the folio of 1623." These six plays are, "The Taming of the Shrew," "Timon of Athens," "Julius Cæsar," "Coriolanus," "All's Well that Ends Well," and "Henry VIII." Lord Penzance counts ten plays out of the thirty-six which had certainly never been printed or published before the issue of the folio, and a larger number are assigned to the same category by other writers. Now, the way to make money out of plays in those days was to act them, and considering the success which had attended the production of the plays actually brought out during his lifetime under the auspices of William Shakespeare, it is inconceivable that he would have allowed, certainly six, or possibly ten, or possibly more, to lie unproductively in secret hiding places, inconceivable that if he knew that he possessed such property, worth the rest of that dealt with in his will many times over, he should have made no reference to it in that significant document.

But Lord Penzance's examination of the internal evidence conveyed by the folio does not stop here. The only ground that can be advanced by Shakespearians for the belief that Shakespeare was the author of the plays now assigned to him, is found in the fact that on their publication his name was given as that of the author. But the custom of Elizabethan publishers appear to have been entirely destitute of principle in regard to the use of authors' names. Lord Penzance shows that during Shakespeare's lifetime forty-two plays were credited to him by publishers who thought fit to embellish their title pages with a name that had passed into favour. Of these forty-two, the folio supposed to be compiled by personal friends of the then deceased Shakespeare contains only twenty-six. The rest were cast aside as of spurious origin. But the folio contains thirty-six plays; the remaining ten belong to the category already referred to, and had never been heard of during Shakespeare's lifetime. Thus, from any point of view, the value of the evidence afforded by contemporary title pages must be swept aside as entirely worthless.

Lord Penzance extracts another significant argument in the course of his "Judicial Summing-Up," from the internal evidence of the folio. Its editors or those who for reasons pretended to be its editors, described themselves as having collected or gathered the plays of their deceased friend from different places, a work which demanded both care and pains, emphasising this claim by reminding the reader that Shakespeare had been dead for seven years. "It is, therefore, somewhat surprising," says Lord Penzance, "to learn from the very next

sentence of the address, that they had the papers from Shakespeare himself. This is how it runs :—speaking of Shakespeare himself, they say, “ His mind and hand went together, and what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce, as received from him, a blot in his papers.” So the papers, instead of having been collected with care and pains from various quarters in which they had been dispersed for seven years “ had been received from him ” in the shape of original manuscript.

A commonplace observation with reference to the edition of the plays in the folio, shows that whoever edited the folio conceived himself at liberty to make extensive alterations in the text of the plays. Considerable passages appearing in former versions are omitted, considerable passages are added, and no one who is exempt from the curious fatuity to which the maintenance of the Stratford superstition must be assigned, can fail to see that the folio of 1623 was prepared for the press and edited under the direction of the original author. It may be that folio contains some work that was not his, it may be that it omits some dramatic writings which were really his, treated at that period as unworthy to be included in the final edition ; but as regards all the really important plays of the first folio, the internal evidence shows that they were then revised by the only person who could arrogate to himself the right of making important alterations, the original author.

In view of the extent to which the abundant writings of those who have long realised the truth about the Shakespearian plays have been “ burked ” by the orthodox reviewers, it may be well to glance briefly at Mr. Wyman’s biography of the subject. We actually have to go back to the year 1848 in search of the first essay which challenges the Stratford superstition. This was the work of a certain Colonel Hart, lawyer and journalist of New York. A few years later, in 1852, an article appears in *Chambers’s Journal* entitled “ Who Wrote Shakespeare ? ” It fails to answer the question, but advances some of the many reasons which show that the plays cannot have been written by William Shakespeare of Stratford. Then we come to Miss Delia Bacon’s writings. She was the first student of the subject who definitely connects Francis Bacon with the authorship, and a year or two later Mr. W. H. Smith publishes in London his well-known treatise (well known, that is to say, to all students of the subject), entitled simply “ Bacon and Shakespeare,” a book which has the credit of having converted Lord Palmerston to the Baconian belief. Nathaniel Holmes publishes a substantial volume in New York in 1866 which boldly undertakes the double demonstration that William Shakespeare

did not, and Francis Bacon did, write the plays and poems. Holmes was a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and previously Professor of Law at Harvard. So on we may track the progress of the so-called "controversy," along a path more and more thickly strewn, as time goes on, with important contributions to the Baconian view of the subject. One may doubt the applicability of the word "controversy" in this connection by reason of the absolute non-existence of any serious reasoning in defence of the Shakespearian position in the miscellaneous writings combating the Baconian view which have also strewn the path above referred to. Of contemptuous abuse directed against those who hold the Baconian view, newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals of various dates afford us abundant example. But there are no answers in existence which meet such reasoning as that, for example, which has been quoted from Lord Penzance's book, which might be quoted in enormously greater volume from the profoundly erudite work on the subject by that very much underrated author, Ignatius Donnelly. He has been underrated simply because his colossal work on this subject, "The Great Cryptogram," rendered it necessary for all exponents of the orthodox Shakespearian faith to belittle his literary reputation as far as they were able. But disregarding the claims of his alleged cipher discovery, the first volume of his great book contains such an elaborate and overwhelming mass of evidence exhibiting both the absurdity of the Stratford superstition and the identification of Francis Bacon with the more important plays, that it may still take rank as the most important book of general reference on the subject that has yet been produced.

The profoundly interesting revelations of the cypher story, and its illuminating significance when applied to the history of the time, will form the subject of another article.

A. P. SINNETT.

MODERN MEXICO.

THE mere name of Mexico used to conjure up visions of a picturesque existence peopled by vaqueros on unbroken horses and punctuated at frequent intervals by the pistol and knife. But, although these attractions are still to be met with in parts remote from the capital, in the city itself they have long been vanished delights. There, the streets were illuminated by electricity and intersected by tram lines years before those innovations became common in London, while the principal shops bear comparison with those of Paris or New York.

The more enterprising shop assistants learn their business in England, with the result that the British tourist, having acquired with much pains the Spanish for bootlaces or top hats, is apt to find that his has been wasted labour, and he would be more readily understood if he delivered himself in his native tongue. That the polite young Mexican, who takes his order does so between the whiffs of an ever-lighted cigarette, is the only foreign part of the transaction.

But outside, in the long main street, which begins just beyond the flowered oasis of the Alameda and ends in the great tree-shaded square of the cathedral, where the temple of Quetzacoatl once stood, huge plate glass windows filled with the latest fashion in millinery or precious stones, contrast oddly with the semi-tropical blooms growing in profusion upon the flat roofs of the buildings.

In the same incongruous way, pretty women dressed in the latest European mode, may any fine morning rub shoulders with friends still wearing the plain black gown and graceful mantilla which was once the universal apparel of the daughters of Spain. A babel of tongues, French, German, Spanish, and English, is to be heard on all sides—for Mexico is a cosmopolitan town—with here and there a word or two in Otomie, as the small, white-clad Indians hurry past, fetching and carrying as their fate has driven them, since Cortes came and Montezuma fell.

For the most part they work hard and fare scantily, these descendants of an ancient race; but it must also be added that they steal when the chance offers, and that the truth is not in them. During a five years' residence in the country, the writer "lost" a miscellaneous assortment of property, whose disappearance usually

synchronised with the employment of an Indian about the house. From a regimental sword to a sable cloak, nothing came amiss, so long as it could be easily picked up. The only consolation of the bereaved owner used to lie in the reflection of how very little use some of the stolen articles could be to the thief.

Such robbery as takes place, however, is mostly confined to petty theft ; burglary is a rare crime, the police force being thoroughly well organised, and, above all, well armed. As for the Mexican bandit—he is nowadays rather akin to the Mexican earthquake, of which we were wont to read a good deal in our three-weeks old English newspapers, but frequently failed to recognise on the spot. Since President Diaz, in the troubled times when he first came to power, had the country scoured for these gentlemen, and, as each group was brought in offered them the choice of being enlisted or shot, highway robbery has ceased to be a paying profession. Its former adherents are said to have taken quite kindly to soldiering—they certainly looked the part remarkably well.

But the Mexican Army is not to be regarded as a reformatory ; it is, on the contrary, a very well drilled body of men who know their business thoroughly, and have had a good deal of experience in guerilla warfare against the few tribes of wild Indians still remaining. Accustomed as they are to rough and mountainous country, their marching powers are extraordinary. As they require less food and that of a simpler nature than is needed by the European soldier, the question of commissariat gives rise to little difficulty. On a handful of black beans and half a dozen tortillas, the Mexican Tommy Atkins is always prepared to take the field ; should fortune, in a fit of extravagant generosity, also throw a few chiles in his way, he is grateful ; but he can do without.

The men are sometimes put to odd uses, though they are so accustomed to act (metaphorically) as maids of all work to their country that they do not complain when strange duties fall to their share. A place—it could hardly be called a shop—used to be known to residents as the Hole in the Wall ; partly, perhaps, because its doors much resembled such an orifice, and partly on account of the house being so difficult to find. Here, an elderly and astute Mexican presided over what he was pleased to term a collection of “antiquadades.” Faintly coloured old brocades hung over broken kitchen chairs, Birmingham jewellery outshone gems in ancient settings, exquisitely carved Spanish fans were huddled together in a cheap glass vase, and very frequently much the same price would be demanded for the one article as for the other.

Calling at this emporium one idle afternoon, the writer was surprised to find the door opened by a soldier, with a very business-like gun, and to observe that the courtyard inside was occupied by a squad of uniformed figures.

"Crime? Oh! no," was the reply to a perturbed question. "It is only that there is a case of small-pox upstairs, and we are quartered here until the patient recovers—or dies. In order that the disease may not be spread by the coming and going of visitors, the señora will understand." Glancing at the armoury of piled weapons inside, the disappointed purchaser thought that, however unusual, this was at least an effective form of quarantine. The idea was up to date, though the method of carrying it out may have been a trifle mediæval.

As a matter of fact the whole everyday, practical life of modern Mexico seems always oddly at variance with its history of feather-clad Aztec warriors and its legends of buried treasure. Men may be found who believe that these are more than mere legends; certain it is that the vast hoard which Guatemoc is said to have hidden from the Spanish enemies of his line has never yet been found, though many efforts have been made, and once, at least, success has appeared to be within reach. But always something has chanced to prevent the seekers from even making sure whether that which they sought had material existence, or whether it was but a golden dream. It has seemed as if the curse pronounced by Guatemoc on any white man venturing to disturb his secret hiding-place, may yet hold force, and that no alien hand will ever touch that storehouse of kings.

The chief figure in Mexican life of to-day is that of President Diaz, the great soldier and administrator, who, in a couple of decades, has raised his country from bankruptcy to affluence, from a condition bordering on anarchy to that of a settled, law-abiding state. In the first years of what it is difficult to refrain from calling his reign, the rule of Diaz was undoubtedly a military despotism. A despotism it has always remained, but so honest, wise, and just a tyranny that few European countries, and certainly no South American Republic, has been better governed. By degrees, as the years rolled past and the general prosperity grew, real opposition ceased to exist, and the man who had brought it all about was re-elected at the end of each term of office, without demur even from his political adversaries.

General Diaz is no longer young, and would doubtless be glad to make over his sceptre to one of the officials surrounding him, whom he has trained in his own methods, but he has become almost a deity to his people, and there is little chance of their permitting him to abdicate on any ground except that of actual infirmity. He is a

handsome, soldierly man, with the quick, direct glance of the born leader and the high cheek-bones of the Indian race from which he is said to have sprung. He has all his life worked extremely hard, rising regularly at six a.m., and allowing himself none of the self-indulgent habits which are wont to make insidious encroachments on the most energetic character, in a climate where it is always afternoon. His chief recreation is sport, of a nature little less arduous than his daily labours—he seems unable to rest mind or body until both are tired out.

The first wife of the President died before he came into power, leaving him with two children. His second wife, La Señora Romero Rubio de Diaz, descended from an old Spanish family settled in Mexico, is that most fascinating type of beauty, a blonde Spaniard. With her regular features, fair hair, her sweet dignity of manner, yet evident desire to put the stranger at his ease, in some dim fashion she suggests to the English observer the gracious personality of our own beloved Queen Alexandra. Her devotion to her illustrious husband is boundless; indeed, but for her ever-present care the General would probably have worked himself to death long ago. She wards off unnecessary audiences, is unwearying in her watchfulness of Diaz's health, and in the evening, when the routine of Government is over, she reads aloud from some light work of fiction. Señora Diaz once confessed to having attempted English novels on these occasions, but she found that the President was unable to follow the unfamiliar sentences without more concentration of mind than was good for him, in his brief moments of repose. She herself speaks English fluently, but while her husband professes not to be able to do so, it is inadvisable to say in his presence anything not intended for his ear. The union has been a childless one. The daughter of General Diaz by his first wife married a rich young Mexican, while his son, as good a shot as his father, went into the army at a very early age.

Society in the capital of Mexico is decidedly formal, hospitality being limited to a few big dinners and dances in the course of the year. It is indeed rare for the Mexicans to entertain foreigners at all, except for business reasons. When this is necessary, the host usually invites his guests to luncheon at a restaurant, where tables are set out in the gardens; for in that perfect climate it is almost always possible to sit out of doors in the middle of the day. If, however, a foreigner has the good fortune to become on sufficiently intimate terms with a Mexican household to be asked to share the family meal, he will certainly not go hungry away. Course after

course of substantial food, fish, steaks, cutlets, chickens, turkey, follow each other in endless succession. It would be considered a discourtesy on the part of the visitor if he refused to partake of each dish, so the man who accepts such an invitation had need be sure of his digestion.

One of the most adamant laws of society is that no woman shall walk, ride, or drive with any man not a near relation. Opinion may be growing a little more elastic, but Mexicans used to express horror of the conduct of Englishwomen who took their morning ride in the Paseo accompanied by a groom, and who did not hesitate to speak to any male friend whom they might chance to encounter. A lady, accompanied by her husband, once called at the office of a professional man who was also an intimate friend. On leaving, they were followed downstairs by their host, whose carriage stood at the door. "Look here," said the husband, "I have some other business to do, but I don't want to leave my wife to walk alone. If you are going out now, could not you drive her home? It would not take you five minutes."

The Mexican agreed, rather hesitatingly, as it seemed, and, having ordered the hood of his toria victo be drawn forward, he seated himself as far back in one corner as he could conveniently manage.

"Why are you huddling up in that way, Señor Martinez?" asked the Englishwoman as they drove along. "You look as if you were hiding."

"I am," grimly replied the Mexican. "If anyone sees us driving together, both our characters will be gone for ever." Whether, when she grasped the parlous condition of her reputation, the lady sat back too, is not recorded.

Even a lover must take the whole world into his confidence, by commencing his wooing on one side of a barred window while the lady listens on the other side. Not for him are tennis parties and picnics, or any form of meeting which would admit of ordinary intercourse with his innamorata. His initial advances must take place in the public street, where, if the window be sufficiently low, he may perhaps be able to exchange a word with the dark-eyed señorita of his choice; but where he will more often content himself by standing at gaze, like the moon at Ajalon, or curvetting up and down on his gaily caparisoned horse, to show what a fine fellow he is. One such aspirant to a lady's favour, giving his mount too strong a taste of the spur at a critical moment, found himself seated in the gutter, just as the divinity looked forth to admire his horsemanship. Only civil marriages are legal, though the religious ceremony almost invariably

follows. Occasionally, in the lower ranks, the bride will only consent to go through the latter form, for the matter-of-fact reason that if her husband should turn out badly, she can the more easily rid herself of him.

The Mexicans are an intensely musical people. Scarcely a village but owns its bandstand, round which the inhabitants group themselves during the warm evenings, while they appraise critically the airs played by the performers. At Vera Cruz, on the coast, where the heat by day is stifling, the whole life of the town centres in the square where the musicians take up their stand after sunset. Pretty, white-robed girls, linking arms in threes and fours, talking, laughing, scarce able to keep their feet from dancing in time to the gay tunes, stroll about under the eyes of their watchful parents who are seated near enjoying the cool breeze. Neighbours gossip with each other, friends renew their intimacy in this pleasant, informal intercourse. If one family desires to show hospitality to another, it is sufficient to invite them to partake of ices or coffee there and then—a manner of entertainment, which, though considerably less costly than the London dinner party, is apparently productive of at least as much enjoyment.

There are large foreign colonies in the city of Mexico, Americans and Germans predominating, while, since there has been established a five-day train service from the United States, tourists have arrived in battalions, bringing trade and money in their wake. A large proportion of the shops are owned by Frenchmen and Germans, who appear to thrive. It is the class above these, the class which goes out with a little money and a great deal of hope of finding an easy way to fortune, which usually comes to grief. Mexico, like South Africa, is the grave of reputations. It used to be said in the English Colony, that, after a year's absence, it was never safe to inquire for a former friend. The heart-breaking delay in putting through any negotiation, owing to the constitutional dilatoriness that goes with Spanish blood, the eternal "mañana" which meets the stranger on every side, the high altitude which induces a constant thirst to which many men fall victims, may each have something to do with the numerous failures. But, however it chances, most of those who have lived there will agree that, as a general rule, it is only the capitalist with a character as well balanced as his bank book who succeeds.

Yet in spite of every drawback Mexico remains a country of a singular fascination.

THE STRAITS OF GIBRALTAR AND THE SULTANATE OF MOROCCO.

SHOULD Morocco cease to exist as an independent government, how is order to be maintained on the Barbary coast opposite to Gibraltar?

The free access to the Mediterranean is of such vital importance to all nations that it is scarcely likely that the establishment, on the African littoral, of the same Power which already holds Gibraltar would be tolerated, whilst, on the other hand, the occupation of Tangier by France would gravely imperil the strategic security of Gibraltar itself; yet to France, with her Algerian possessions, Morocco represents the exact equivalent of what Afghanistan is to the English occupation in India—a territory which, if not immediately required, is yet one which cannot be allowed to pass under the control of a rival Power.

Apart from the question relating to Tangier and the adjoining littoral, England's interest in Morocco is apparently limited to commercial considerations, whilst the pretensions of Spain, the other Power most directly concerned, may be classed as historical rather than political, owing to the absence, in the present, of that expansive force which once rendered Spain the greatest amongst all colonising Powers.

The interests of Germany and those of other European countries may be considered, like those of England, as pertaining to the commercial order, unless, indeed, some general partition of Moorish territory, or of spheres of influence, should ultimately be agreed upon at a council of the nations; otherwise, if only the policy of the "Open Door" can be efficiently secured, it would seem, just now, that there is a general disposition to recognise France's claim to a predominant interest in Morocco.

In the meantime, whilst these questions are being discussed in the various Chancelleries, Morocco itself is betraying every sign of rapidly

approaching political dissolution. The Sultan is unable to collect taxes, his currency is hopelessly depreciated, his treasury is empty, and his troops will not fight for him.

Although none of the Powers interested in the future of this north-western corner of the African Continent, with its splendid if still unexplored possibilities, are anxious to see this bankrupt stock brought to the hammer at this particular juncture, yet the time is but too evidently at hand when some decision must be taken if the general anarchy, which has hitherto assumed a passive rather than an active form, is to be checked whilst there is still some semblance of an organised government left to deal with the situation.

Hence France, the highest bidder, may be described as already feeling unwillingly in her pockets for the requisite coin to effect that "Pacific Penetration" of which we have lately so often heard.

As this latter form of indirect occupation is dependent upon a formal engagement on the part of France to respect the principle of the "Open Door"—that is, neither to impose, herself, nor allow the Moorish authorities to impose, discriminating duties upon either exports or imports at any of the Morocco ports—it is well to discuss, whilst the secret negotiations which should have been public are still pending, certain precautions, failing which, even the best intentioned promises of France may prove absolutely illusive; since, unfortunately, nothing would be easier than to entirely destroy the effect of any equality of trade conditions, established at Tangier or at other Moorish ports, by simply tapping the commerce of the interior, which now finds its way to these ports, and deflecting to Oran the general course of Moorish trade by continuing the line of Algerian railway, which is already being laid to the frontier station of Marnia, thence on to Fez, and, ultimately, to Morocco city. Under such circumstances, French merchants, while paying indeed the same duties at Tangier and the various ports of the Sultanate as the merchants of other nationality, would still enjoy at Oran and elsewhere throughout the French Algerian possessions the advantages of that discriminating tariff which has already eliminated all international trade from the Algerian ports to which the bulk of Moorish goods or produce would henceforth inevitably be carried, unless other lines of railway be built at an early date from Fez to Tangier and from Morocco city to Mogador, and thence along the Atlantic coast so as to ultimately establish communication with the various ports between Mogador and Tangier.

It should, moreover, be clearly stipulated, for the greater security of all non-French trade with Morocco, that the concessions for these

Moorish lines should be accorded to English or at least to neutral companies, otherwise it is much to be feared that merchants may no longer find the Morocco trade worth their attention.

Yet even when these points are secured the chief difficulty still remains unsolved. For who is to maintain order throughout the neutral strip which, according to these secret negotiations, it is proposed to create in order to allay the very natural anxiety of England to retain Tangier and the other coast towns from which she draws supplies for Gibraltar as friendly or at least as neutral ports.

This proposed neutral strip, it must be remembered, is itself inhabited, like the rest of the Sultanates by tribes of Berbers and Arabs, frequently at war with each other, but who have hitherto been held in hand, often with the greatest difficulty, by the authority of the local governors or by the Sultan himself.

Among various suggestions advanced of late to meet this difficulty, is one specially favoured by certain organs of the London press, and more particularly by the *Spectator*, to the effect that to Spain should be confided this grave responsibility.

But is Spain herself sufficiently neutral, or even sufficiently strong, to resist the pressure which might be exerted at some critical moment by some future French Government not animated by the same benevolent sentiment towards England as the French Cabinet now in power is supposed, popularly, to entertain?

It must not be forgotten that Spain, like France, is also a Mediterranean Power of Latin race. She has, moreover, long felt that the possession of Gibraltar by England is not merely a national misfortune, but that it is from a patriotic point of view an absolute disgrace and a most bitter humiliation. This, be it noted, is a deep-rooted popular sentiment, and one which it is not even in the power of the Spanish Government itself to remove. At this very moment, in fact, one of the most important political factions in Spain is urgently advocating an alliance with France, nominally merely defensive, it is true, but one which might easily become, at no distant day, virulently aggressive also, as have been other Hispano-Franco alliances in the past, and like them directed against England with the hope of wresting Gibraltar from Great Britain.

Does Spain, therefore, seem quite the assured friend to whom England should entrust a responsibility which might in the case of an anti-English coalition carry with it an element of certain danger, not only to the commercial interests of British subjects, but also affecting the security of Gibraltar itself?

It has, again, been suggested that some one of the minor Euro-

pean Powers should undertake the task of defending the interests centred in this ticklish strip of Moorish territory which is to be thus neutralised by international decree.

Such a defence, however, implies a garrison both to resist any aggression either by the subtle process of protocols or other diplomatic procedure, or those rougher and more sudden aggressions of hostile border tribes so likely to occur, or even the armed rebellion of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the neutralised district itself, for these inhabitants are still the same fanatical people who have already more than once of late threatened the security of the coast towns, and who, in spite of the Sultan's forces, sent to the rescue of Tetuan, have maintained the armed investment of this important Moorish town, situated a few miles to the east of Ceuta, almost directly opposite to Gibraltar, a siege which has intercepted communication by land for, now, more than eight months.

Does it not seem as though such obligations might prove rather a "large order" for the resources of one of the minor Powers, since the outlay, at the outset, would be heavy, and the revenue which could be levied would be, at first, almost nil?

Does it not, therefore, appear as though these possible complications would demand the strong hand not of a minor but rather of a major Power: a Power, above all, upon whom England could rely not to join in any hostile coalition?

If there be, on the Continent of Europe, any such Power, the writer of these suggestions must confess that he does not quite know where it is to be found.

Possibly, however, such an associate co-janitor might be discovered beyond the seas, willing, for a consideration, say the possession of a coaling station at the mouth of the Mediterranean, to undertake the task of acting as a special constable charged with assisting in maintaining order at or near the Straits of Gibraltar.

Certainly, if the Power which has, recently, so quietly yet effectively asserted its rights to the "Open Door" at Mukden, simultaneously with Japan, if such a Power would undertake to maintain order, and also to see that merchants of any nationality should enjoy, throughout Morocco, equal trade advantages, then, indeed, this thorny problem might be solved with due regard to England's security. A Power in whose veins beats the pulse of youth, the owner already of many a good frigate but the items of whose squadrons, to-day, are but as drops to the ocean of to-morrow's intentions. A Power which, if not quite Anglo-Saxon "up to the hilt," has, at least, a fair habit of English-spoken thought that does not dwindle nor diminish

with the passing years, but rather seems to grow and strengthen, despite the varied brands of speech with which the Yankee school-master has to deal, running through the entire European diapason from old Dutch and Scandinavian down to raw Sclavonian dialects.

Should this Power, of the Stars and Stripes, set its broad foot across that trade door, which it is to the interest of every country to keep open in Morocco, the danger arising from any sudden breeze might be avoided so that none of us would be exposed to this "Open Door" being unexpectedly "slammed to" in our face!

Certainly such a solution of the difficulties involved in the Morocco problem might prove quite as applicable and a good deal more effective than any which Monsieur Delcassé or Lord Lansdowne are likely to devise, though it may be at once conceded that neither of these distinguished diplomatists are at all likely to suggest the intervention of "Uncle Sam"! Possibly, therefore, that homely personage may never even be invited to the international gathering where the "minstrels" assembled for the "concert," strictly limited to Europeans, can be conceived as already rattling the Morocco "bones" preparatory to the preliminary "breakdown" or "cake-walk," to be followed by the final effort of poor old Mr. "Statu Quo" to occupy, for the last time, the Moorish diplomatic stage!

ION PERDICARIS.

Tangier, February 12, 1904.

IF WE BUT KNEW.

WHENCE are we, whither do we go, and why ?
Is what the whole world's asking, hear its cry !

If we but knew.

How we would mould our lives, and make
A better struggle, for the prize at stake,

If we but knew.

If we were sure that life, so hard to some,
Was as the night-time to the rising sun :

If we but knew,

That e'en our greatest grief, our deepest pain,
Was as a passing storm, a burst of rain,

If we but knew.

Then on life's going, and when we lay,
Holding, with withered strength, fell death at bay ;

If we but knew,

That what we feared as death, was but a birth
Into a gladder world than this our earth ;

If we but knew,

If we were certain, death was not the end,
And we should meet again our love, our friend ;

If we but knew,

Then could we face our troubles with a smile,
And know them but as shadows, for a while,

If we but knew.

THE OCCULTIST'S REPLY.

YE ask me, whence ye are, and whither go :
Why some of ye have joy, and others, woe.

Ye say : ye could live better, did ye know

The cause of things.

That which ye ask : to that I will reply
As I am given ; though mark this ! I cry,
Ye will not understand, until ye try
To "know thyself."

First : Whence are ye ? Now, is it that ye ask
Whence is the "I" ? Or, meanest thou the mask
Ye see and wear ? If that, 'tis no hard task,
'Tis from the Earth,

And will to it return, "Earth unto earth."
But, if ye seek the Self, that which is worth
The pains of living, and all know from birth
As, I am I.

That, cometh from THE SELF—there is but ONE—
And will to "THAT" return, though ages run
Between the rising and the setting sun
Of this Self's day.

MERCURY.

THE ATTITUDE OF AUSTRALIA.

BY AN AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTOR.

A VERY interesting silly season correspondence has been proceeding in the *Argus* on the question, "Do Snakes swallow their young?" i.e., when threatened. This fact, as a mere fact, will not interest English readers, but the title of the discussion suggests the point of view from which certain Australians regard Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. They are not a small section, and it may happen that when we come to real business they may settle the matter, and not favourably to Mr. Chamberlain. They think England wants to swallow her young, and mistrust the gentleman who makes the proposal. This may come as a surprise to the supporters of Mr. Chamberlain who may have been induced to believe that our Prime Minister's invitation to him to come to Australia indicated that we were unanimous and enthusiastic on preferentialism. But the fact is that Mr. Deakin is uncertain of his own position. If he were convinced that Australia was favourable he would not want Mr. Chamberlain to come to Australia; he would have packed his bag long ago and started off to give Mr. Chamberlain a hand. So far, indeed, we have had nothing but talk on this moving topic. None of the leaders of thought have ventured to even suggest practical measures; they are prepared for the present time to express cordial approval of any proposal for bringing the different parts of the Empire into closer union, but they too clearly realise the difficulties to make any definite proposition. They talk generalities and await events in England.

Let us see, therefore, if it be possible in a brief space to convey a correct idea of Australia's true attitude towards the Chamberlain policy. The protectionists, who are in a minority, are for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain at the present time the ruling party.

They will remain so for many years. Their leaders and journals applaud Mr. Chamberlain very heartily. They see in his proposals an instalment of protection and are glad. But they owe their existence as a party to the desire that importations of British manufactures should either cease or be reduced to the smallest possible quantity. The fiscal fight which began forty years ago in Victoria, was begun by the protectionists, who wished to exclude British goods—the produce of cheap labour. Up to the last revision of the tariff there has been no change in their attitude or wish. Well, what can they offer Mr. Chamberlain? They offer him generous support on sentimental grounds, but will not reduce their tariff. It would be a case of the snake swallowing its young. Their way of showing preference to Great Britain is to keep duties at their present level for Inter-Imperial imports, and to raise them against the foreigner. I write as a free trader, but I am sure that no protectionist would quarrel with my definition of their position. Next, as to the free traders. Secretly, they are opposed to Mr. Chamberlain because his policy is protective, and they would avow their hostility were it not that they are afraid of alienating an immense section of the undemonstrative but determined people who are Britishers first and free traders or protectionists second. It would not suit the free traders to allow the protectionists to appeal to the spirit of patriotism as against them. Therefore, the free traders declare that they too are prepared to meet Mr. Chamberlain whenever he is ready with his scheme, and they will keep the tariff as it is against the foreigner and lower the wall against the British. That about sums up the case so far as the two great parties are concerned. But there is a third!

The Labour Party is indifferent, and may at any moment become actively hostile. It is strong; it may become a tremendous power, and it would be necessary merely to audibly express the suspicion which the leaders now merely mutter below their breath to arouse fierce antagonism to the preferential scheme. The Labour Party has but one ideal, the introduction of socialism in perfection. If it could be persuaded that by supporting preferentialism it could get nearer its goal it would give its support. But to give British or any other interests preferential treatment in any form would be tantamount to surrendering the most important point in its programme. “Australia for the Australians.” When it came to making a choice the issue would really not remain very long in doubt. For the most part the members and adherents of the Labour Party are native born, most of them removed by two generations from the parent English stock. They are insular, ignorant, and arrogant, and in discussing questions of policy as regards Imperial Trade would

certainly yield nothing on sentimental grounds. On the contrary, they would be inclined to the other extreme, since they stupidly connect all proposals emanating from England with English officialdom, which they regard with the deepest contempt. In the early days all our public officers were Englishmen, and the conflicts between people and rulers are not forgotten. The labour men will be very reluctant to enter into any bond with Great Britain, even though the outlook may be good for Australia. I have said that they are strong, but it is necessary to qualify that statement to some extent. They are not strong in numbers as compared with the rest of the community, but they are strongest in organisation and in enthusiasm. Theirs is a crusade with the Millennium as the objective, and the fervour with which they fight is astonishing. Though numerically weakest they have made themselves the arbiters for the time being of the destinies of Australia. They are the force to be reckoned with in calculating the chances of Chamberlainism in Australia, and, judging by present indications, the prospect that support will come from them is not good. Rather should they be set down as likely to be hostile.

Australia is on the point of exchanging its Governor-General. Lord Tennyson standing on the wharf at Adelaide with his baggage packed for England welcomes Lord Northcote on his way out to take up the duties of his office. The event suggests the question, "How do our kinsmen in England regard the position and functions of a governor of a self-governing state?" Do they suppose, for instance, that he bears a commission to govern? That mistake might naturally be made. It is all a matter of nomenclature. The official really has a wrong title. He is no more Governor-General of Australia than the Lord Mayor of Liverpool is controller of the municipal affairs of Sheffield. He comes here (and is cordially welcome in that capacity) to represent the King, to be the living embodiment of Empire in the eyes of Australians, but a toothless old lady in a destitute home (workhouse, you would call it in England) has under the woman suffrage law actually more power than he. His Excellency, so far as political authority is concerned, is a dummy. He cannot be anything else, and one cannot but feel sorry for an able man who is raised to a position of apparent Lordship but denied the opportunity of exercising his talents.

The politician takes great care that he shall not so much as look over the high fence with which he is surrounded. A few years ago Mr. Reed, leader of the Opposition in the Commonwealth House of Representatives, took serious exception to some remarks of Lord Hopetoun, our first Governor-General, which seemed to be an interference with administration, and Sir George Clarke, Governor of

Victoria, one of the greatest authorities living on questions of defence, was not permitted to deliver a lecture on naval warfare and tactics (which was absolutely non-political) without having to undergo criticism in the Senate. The fact is that the King, in commissioning a governor-general or governor, hands him at the same time a golden muzzle. As a matter of fact, though we pay the salary, the Governor-General in his purely official capacity does more work for the Colonial Office than he does for us. It is his duty to keep the Secretary for State fully informed on all matters relating to Australia, and to advise him on questions affecting the relationship of Great Britain to this country. Here, in his purely official capacity he presides at meetings of the Executive Council, and signs documents on the advice of his ministers. Occasionally, and very rarely, he has to commission a politician to form a ministry; but, as the gentleman in question has previously been designated by Parliament for the office, that is only a formal act. Yet withal it will be a bad day for Australia and the Empire when we cease to obtain our Governor-General, or State Governors, from home. With all the limitations, they are the representatives of the Throne, the personification of Empire, and the people as a whole regard them in that light. It is a pity, therefore, that the title of the office does not better fit the position. Lord Northcote is not a Governor-General because he does not govern; and while he is so described, certain cheap politicians here seem to be able to make capital out of the cry against accepting governors from England. Were he described as "Viceroy" or "High Commissioner," the title would be more apt.

Sydney, January 17.

PASSING EVENTS.

A CORRESPONDENT puts a very pertinent question with reference to the article which appeared in the first number of this review, on "Reincarnation." If, he says, communities of friends reincarnate together so that truly prized friendships are never lost, how is that condition of things reconcilable with the statement that "the actual times of reincarnation, after 1,500 to 2,000 years, depend on the individual advancement of the person concerned in his previous earth life"? The embarrassment turns entirely upon the substitution of the word "actual" for the word "average" employed in the original paper. The great multitudes of humanity belonging to the modern races of the civilised world jog on through the ages under the influence of what may be called the general drift of evolution. Their attachments probably have to do with personalities not very unlike their own, and whole generations will return to incarnation, according to the accepted view of those who have made this subject a special study, at approximately the same periods, while the ties of even relatively tepid attachments will operate to determine the exact period of re-birth in each case when the efflux of time has indicated it approximately. In other cases, however, where powerful forces having to do with really deep love or close karmic affinities come into operation, it may be that an Ego will be thrown back to physical life within even a very brief period of years since his last departure for higher planes. The wheels within wheels, the laws within laws, which have to be studied in connection with scientific occultism are apt to be indeed bewildering to the student who first grapples with these problems.

Another example of this confusion arises from a question put by the correspondent above referred to: how can the glibly repeated sentiment "what a man sows he shall reap," be reconciled with justice

when his sowings depend so entirely on his environment, "which enmeshes him from his birth and over which he has no more control than over the colour of his hair"? The answer firstly resides in the fact that he *has had* control over the circumstances of his birth, which are the direct outcome of his own action in former lives. If these seem conducive to evil-doing, that may be because the tendency to do such evil in former lives asserted itself even in face of conditions that were less conducive. The man is forcing himself deeper and deeper into that kind of evil, until the sufferings to which it gives rise provoke so deep a distaste for it in the permanent Ego that this at last triumphs even over the temptations of circumstance. That triumph in turn becomes an enormously powerful karmic force, raising the Ego in the next ensuing birth above the unfavourable conditions of environment referred to. But this explanation, though perfectly applicable to cases in which the unfavourable environment has been itself a karmic penalty, does not really apply to the great masses of people belonging to the lower classes who are sadly surrounded by evil conditions. These can only be regarded as younger members of the human family, slowly emerging, perhaps, from savage conditions, and responsible only in a very limited degree to the moral law. The reaping, it must be remembered, from any given act is enormously different according to the extent to which the person responsible for the act is, or is not, spiritually developed in a manner which invests him with responsibility.

The principal difficulty in discussing all these refinements of super-physical science has to do with the manner in which most people regard them as purely speculative by reason of the fact that they have not, as it were, matriculated in the study of the higher mysteries, by getting familiar with the commonplace experiences of ultra-physical life. For the student of these mysteries there is something ludicrous (and even more grievous) in the fact that great numbers of otherwise highly educated people remain blankly ignorant of accomplished results in connection with occult research that are as definitely established as any observation of science. The broad conclusion, for example, that by various means, some of them straightforward and simple, some of them crooked and inconvenient, communications are received by the people on this plane of life from conscious entities belonging to another, is no less certainly established than the circulation of the blood. The experience of multitudes with reference to this state of things is spread over a literature that would fill a library by itself, and the silly tone of incredulity concerning it which commonplace writers in the newspapers still consider it their business to keep up, must surely in most cases be accounted for by stupidity rather than by

ignorance, although partial stupidity in many cases may be mingled with fear of incurring ridicule in regions where more complete stupidity prevails. For the rest, fear retards the progress of the highest science, and is of two kinds; one belonging to the purely contemptible sort just referred to, the other arising from that inexplicable terror of the unseen which induces many otherwise intelligent people to hold aloof from any inquiry bearing on the phenomena of the super-physical world. Putting the matter paradoxically, the people who are afraid of ghosts are those who disbelieve in their existence. Those large numbers for whom, by reason of possessing faculties of a finer order than are widely diffused though the world at present, "ghosts," to use a ridiculous and unscientific expression, are as common as cats, regard the notion of being frightened of them as ridiculously unintelligible. But after all, fear and stupidity, although standing formidably in the way of the world's progress in knowledge, are insignificant as impediments in the way of that progress compared with the ignorance of the facts which so generally prevails.

AN object-lesson, justifying the views put forward last month in this Review with reference to "The Two Party System," was furnished by proceedings in the House of Commons on the 5th of last month. The revelation then made concerning the offer put before Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman by Mr. Chamberlain a few months before the outbreak of the Boer War, illustrates the moral degradation which public men may undergo through the operation of the Two Party system. The explanation has almost relieved the Government of the reproach so often levelled against them, that the early disasters of the war were due to their neglect of necessary preparations. The period, it will be remembered, was one in which all political speakers ranged on the side of the Opposition conceived that they were best damaging the interests of the Government by representing Mr. Chamberlain as a firebrand in South Africa, by professing sympathy with the governments of the Dutch States and pretending that the country generally disapproved of the Government policy. It has clearly been proved since how much Opposition speeches along these lines intended to mislead the Boers into the belief that if they maintained a determined and truculent attitude, the Conservative Government would be overthrown and their own cause triumph through the help of the Liberal Opposition.

In presence of this crisis, Mr. Chamberlain, with the sanction of Lord Salisbury, then the Prime Minister, went to Sir Henry Camp-

bell-Bannerman with a proposal manifestly dictated by the simplest patriotic motives. He proposed that the further progress of the negotiations with the Transvaal Government should be lifted out of the entanglements of Party politics, undertaking that nothing should be done by Government without full consultation with the leaders of the Opposition, that, in point of fact, the Two Party system should be abolished with reference to the further treatment of the South African problem. He further explained that the Government conceived it desirable, in the first instance, to complete the warlike efficiency of the garrison then in South Africa, amounting to about 12,000 men, and to send out further reinforcements to the extent of about 10,000 more. If the Liberal leaders concurred in regarding this as a step which ought to be taken, it could be arranged without inflaming popular resentment on the part of the Dutch States, whereas if these military measures were carried out amidst a storm of hostile criticism from the Opposition leaders, the Boers would be entirely misled as to the real sentiments of the English people.

Sir Henry, after some consultation with his colleagues—in reference to which it is still uncertain as to who must share with him the deep discredit of his refusal—declined the proposals of the Government, and continued to treat the great national crisis as a mere opportunity for working Party interests. It is impossible at this moment to determine exactly how far this refusal was responsible for the early disasters of the war, the terrible loss of life then incurred, and the frightful aggravation of its whole cost, but it is impossible to doubt that if the patriotic offer of the Government had been accepted, the course of events that followed would have been very unlike that actually worked out. From the ignoble point of view commonly taken up in this country at present in reference to political entanglements, Government, it may be urged, would have gained more by this arrangement than the Opposition. Except in so far as the Opposition might have gained national respect which to this extent they have now forfeited, the argument may seem just, but it is more than possible that if the proposed agreement had been loyally carried out by all parties concerned, such an unusual development might actually have paved the way for the all-important and stupendous reforms recommended in these pages last month, recommendations so curiously justified by the confessions that have just come out.

WITH reference to another point incidentally raised in the article on the Two Party System a curious development has ensued. In that paper

allusion was made to the somewhat exaggerated feeling of respect entertained by the unthinking masses of the British people for that idol of their long-standing devotion, the British judge. One might search any newspaper file for a year without finding a trace of a disposition to criticise this highly orthodox and conventional sentiment, but suddenly in the beginning of last month a letter appeared in the *Times*—merely signed “A Barrister,” but presented with the suggestive embellishment of leaded type—in which it is urged that a protest ought to be raised against the manner in which some of our judges are getting into the habit of discharging their functions. The argument of the letter is that more and more judges are “arrogating to themselves the right of interference both in civil and criminal cases.” In a recent trial of importance, it is urged, the presiding judge “was strongly biassed in his attitude towards the defendant, and with his continual interruptions and statements of his own views of the evidence must have greatly affected the minds of the jury.” In summing up, the writer argues, the judge should fairly draw attention to the various points, pro and con, in the evidence, without giving a personal opinion as to their significance. Judges are also warned that their jocularity is sometimes ill-timed, undignified and uncalled for, although this is a very insignificant point compared with the idea emphasised at the conclusion of the letter as one of which the judges need to be reminded, that it is better six guilty persons should escape than that one innocent person should suffer wrong.

Of course all this has a direct bearing upon the case of Whittaker Wright, in reference to which also very interesting explanations were given in the House of Commons on the first night of the Session by the Attorney-General. He did not directly find fault either with the judge who authorised the late prosecution or with the one who presided at the trial, but his justification, for his own previous decisions distinctly traversed the idea that the conviction of Whittaker Wright was a vindication of outraged justice. It might have been immoral on his part to attempt a corner in “Lake Views.” He might have been misrepresenting facts in the much-talked-of balance-sheet, but still no criminal act was involved in making “a corner,” and the deceptions of the balance-sheets were designed to save the shareholders from disaster, while it was still possible that a turn of fortune’s wheel might redeem the losses that were thus disguised. One cannot expect an Attorney-General to dot all his i’s, but it is difficult to suppose that the author of the explanation just noticed can be amongst those who regard the issue of the late trial as in harmony with the principles of justice. The barrister in the *Times* hints that some judges

may show too much sympathy with gamblers and stock jobbers seeking revenge for having lost their profit. From any point of view it must remain difficult to observers who are not carried away by the mere storm-current of popular excitement to understand how a judge could under the circumstances have imposed a maximum period of penal servitude on a prisoner simply convicted of proceedings which other distinguished legal authorities fail to regard as even criminal in their character.

THESE reflections lead to another very interesting view of the clumsiness and stupidity by which much that is done in this country in the name of justice is grievously saturated. The criminal law is supposed to press with equal force upon offenders of every degree. The notion of having one law for the rich and another for the poor would be repugnant to all lovers of fair play. But the real fact of matter to which most people are entirely blind under the influence of established conventions is simply this, that the criminal law as it stands is grotesquely unequal in its operation, pressing on those who are roughly called the rich with a thousand times the force that it exerts on those who more generally recruit the criminal classes. Penal servitude, the merest thought of which would be absolute torture to people of luxurious or refined antecedents, is hardly a severe ordeal for many habitual criminals who confront it lightly. Only the other day, in one of the police courts, a prisoner condemned to "three months' hard," indignantly protested against the brevity of the sentence! What was the good of giving him so little as that; he would be out again directly and would have to do something more in the law-breaking way to secure a further period of restful retirement! In the case of Whittaker Wright, on the other hand, death was preferable to the endurance of the hideous torment to which he had been condemned. Few, if any, of the papers commenting on the whole transaction seem to have appreciated its moral. Not that even appreciation of this leads directly to definite conclusions as to the nature of the remedy which ought to be applied to the grotesque inequalities of our penal system. Supposing the law to be that under certain circumstances offenders, "irrespective of sex or age," should be compelled to carry to the top of St. Paul's a sack of coals weighing two cwt., such an enactment would be exactly as wise as the Statute Book of Great Britain. The offending navvy would not be seriously troubled by the task which the lady shop-lifter would be unable to survive.

MUCH interest has been felt by people, in the habit of really believing that there is a life hereafter, in the question where Mr. Whittaker Wright is at the present moment. Belief in the life hereafter, to quite an astounding extent considering the general religious character of the British people, is for most of the millions who go regularly to church, it would seem, a matter of lip service rather than of the understanding. But still there are millions amongst us following unconventional paths of exploration, who not merely believe, but know with varying degrees of individual certainty, that consciousness is merely translated to another plane of nature, by the change called death, its activities being in no way impaired by the transactions which take place at the funeral. For all such persons it is a matter of certainty that Whittaker Wright, like anybody else who has "passed on," is undergoing experiences of a perfectly definite character in a new vehicle of consciousness, quite as sensitive in many ways as that which he dispensed with by means of potassium cyanide. The investigations carried on for many years by occult students gifted with the necessary faculties, have shown us that the condition of any human being immediately after "passing on" is very seriously affected by the consequences of his act if he has hurried the passage by the process commonly called suicide. A protracted essay would be required in order to illuminate the complicated varieties of effect that may ensue from such hurrying, but in any case, it is a defiance of natural law which is much more regular in its operation than that which has to do with the capricious currents of feeling animating judges and juries. Putting the matter in its broad and simple aspects, the regions of existence entered immediately after death are of very varying degrees of attractiveness, and in those that may be thought of as the lowest and least attractive, the person who takes his own life is painfully entangled by the operation of laws which are by no means beyond our comprehension, but are nevertheless intricate by reason of adapting themselves to all possible varieties of circumstance. It is obvious that the act of suicide may be surrounded by conditions which at one end of the scale render it a hideous crime productive of misery to others left behind and resorted to under the dictates of what may truly be regarded as selfishness and cowardice, while at the other end of the scale it may even touch the confines of noble and heroic self-sacrifice. So varied are the consequences to the soul escaping from incarnation, that such a suicide as that engaging popular attention for the moment, stands midway between these two extremes. Considered from one point of view one can imagine Whittaker Wright as conceiving himself to be enter-

ing a sublime protest against the hideous injustice of which he was the victim. Again, he may not unnaturally have supposed that he would rather be dead than enter on the life of a convict prison. Nor is it certain that under the circumstances that the discomforts of the destiny into which he has hurled himself must be greater than those from which he escaped.

But the point that will be missed by most thinkers on the subject, imperfectly provided with super-physical knowledge, has to do with another consideration. Even granting that the sentence imposed in the case before us was altogether undeserved, it is inconceivable, in view of what we know concerning the higher laws regulating human destiny, that any man should incur so frightful a fate as an unjust sentence of penal servitude without having been burdened by guilt of some corresponding character incurred in a previous life. At the present stage of human evolution, people for the most part remember nothing and, therefore, believe nothing, concerning their former lives. They have not yet reached the stage of moral evolution at which it would truly profit them to remember. The aggravated moral responsibilities of such remembrance would intensify the consequences of further offences against natural law, and on the whole the masses of our current humanity are mercifully, rather than harshly, dealt with, in being denied what some of the more advanced among us think would be the moral advantage of being able to survey the whole back history of our progress through the ages. But causes once set in motion give rise to their effects. In any life culpable conduct may seem to be quite unattended by painful consequences, but in some shape or another these are bound to follow at a later date. The manner in which such consequences when they are painful operate to serve the purposes of an ultimate spiritual evolution, is too complicated for treatment in connection with the present line of thought. But, at all events, the general glance here attempted at the immediate consequences of suicide will suggest that while for the present, perhaps, the person on whom public attention has been fixed may really have escaped from suffering entirely unjust as far as the court which condemned him was concerned, he has, after all, done no more than postpone the evil day, and in some future existence will inevitably find himself working out the consequences of those forgotten acts in a remote past which brought him into the predicament from which, for the moment, he has violently torn himself free.

BROAD VIEWS.

VOL. I.

APRIL, 1904.

No. 4.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF ENGLAND.

I.

WE CATHOLICS.

BY ONE OF THEM.

FIFTY years have elapsed since the establishment of the Hierarchy in England by Pius IX. This half century is only a short time if compared with the twenty centuries of the existence of the Church since the time of Christ. Nevertheless it is a fortieth part of the whole existence of Christianity. We may ask whether a fortieth part is a large or a small part. And evidently the answer will depend upon the amount of progress made in the time. Half a man's lifetime is spent in sleep, if you count in the long sleeps of childhood and of old age as well as the daily seven or eight hours that suffice during the best years of life. We do not call that half much, because it is not too much; it is necessary that there should be so much sleep in order that the waking hours may be fruitful. The waking hours are those we count, and especially those in which important work is done. In estimating whether a period should be called short or long, it does not matter whether what is accomplished in it is done by the individual or the community whose period is under consideration, or by some other person or community. Many of Wellington's waking hours might have been sacrificed for the sake of those few during which he won the battle of Waterloo, and many days of the life of Queen Elizabeth might have been sacrificed for that one on which the Armada was defeated. These few words of introduction are, I think, sufficient to show in what way I intend to estimate the importance of these fifty years.

There are the two points of view: first, we have to consider what others have done in that time, and then we have to consider

what the Hierarchy has done. We all remember how Newman described the establishment of the Hierarchy as a Second Spring. He was full of hope at the time that he preached that most famous of his sermons. He evidently looked forward to a period of growth and progress. Now if we compare this new beginning in this country with a somewhat similar period in the very beginning of Christianity we cannot fail to be struck by the contrast. I mean if we compare what happened in the world then with what is happening now. Everything was then deteriorating in the world, consequently, the world was less able to withstand the new power that was arising with Christianity. When I say deteriorating, I mean that the spirit of conquest died out through the decision of Augustus that the boundaries of the Empire were not to be any further extended. The energy that had been spent for so many hundreds of years in one direction could not be turned towards new objects, it began to die out as soon as it was condemned to inactivity. Augustus attempted to revive agriculture, that is, to turn swords into ploughshares, but he was not successful, the swords turned only to rust. He and his successors had to feed the Roman people. The cry, *Panem et Circenses*, proves that the love of work was gone. Intellectual and moral deterioration set in at the same time as part of the same movement; literature dwindled after the time of Augustus, and the morals of his successors will not bear comparison with the stern republican virtues. Luxury, idleness, cruelty and vice increased year by year, while despotism waxed stronger. Life and property became insecure; *delatores* attacked reputations, and spread distrust; friendship became almost impossible through the feeling that no one was to be relied upon. These causes gave the Empire up as a prey to all those who wished to attack it. The philosophies of Greece, the superstition of the East, the armies of the barbarians, all found it helpless to resist them. Christianity was among the attacking forces, and eventually it overcame its allies as well as the common enemy. It conquered the philosophies, the superstitions, and the barbarians as well as the Romans themselves. But humanly speaking this could not have happened, had deterioration not first set in. For there seems to be a law by which an old life must die before a new one can supervene.

But can we say that anything of this kind is going on in the world and especially in England now? During the last fifty years or so have there been any signs of deterioration? On the contrary, everything points to energy and progress. If this is so, England can hardly be looked upon as a helpless prey to any external influence. She will be strong to resist us as long as she is strong to resist other

influences. Her vigour and activity are from within, and they render her less susceptible to pressure of any kind from without. In this light these fifty years are a long and important period. They are a period during which Anglicanism has withstood our utmost efforts without any difficulty; without our succeeding in making any of that progress to which Newman looked forward when he preached the Second Spring.

Now let us turn to the other point of view, and see what has been accomplished by the Hierarchy in this period. In the beginning there were twelve episcopal sees, now there are sixteen, which is an increase of a third; there were in the beginning about a thousand priests, now there are more than three thousand; our churches and chapels amounted to less than a thousand, and now we have more than fifteen hundred of them. Materially, therefore, there is an increase, and financially of course also, for these additional priests must be able to live, and these additional churches must have cost money. But is there not something strange in the proportions of these three increases? The bishops increase by a third, say 30 per cent., the churches and chapels by, say, 50 per cent., and the priests increase by 200 per cent. One cannot help wondering why the priests have become multiplied four times as quickly as the churches and chapels. Does it not look as if we had concentrated our efforts on the means rather than on the end? Is it not strange that no statistics are to be had of the Catholic population or of its increase? What should we think of a farmer who counted his shepherds and not his sheep? Can we suppose that our Lord counts the priests and not the people? It seems clear that a serious neglect shows itself here.

When we celebrated the golden jubilee of the Hierarchy, most people expected some statement on the part of the bishops of what had been accomplished in those fifty years. It was a natural expectation. But no such statement appeared. We were ordered to sing a *Te Deum*, and that was all! Does not this look like shirking a duty? Can we believe that if they had had a good account to give of their stewardship they would not have given it? This is worse than shirking a duty, it is a confession of failure.

Some few years ago there was a great discussion on "Leakage," and the common opinion seemed to be that we were losing as many, or nearly as many, persons as we gained. Some held that we increased absolutely as proved by the multiplication of churches and chapels, but that in proportion to the natural increase of the population we were losing ground; one bishop held that both absolutely and relatively we were decreasing, though he gave no figures that could be

tested ; no one maintained that we were increasing both absolutely and relatively.

At the meeting of the Catholic Conference, held in Liverpool last year, it was publicly stated more than once in the presence of several of the bishops that seventy-five per cent. of the children leaving Roman Catholic schools were utterly lost to the Faith, and that the remaining twenty-five per cent. were only held to it by the slenderest threads. Not one of the bishops or priests contradicted or even disputed this fact. Is not this a confession of terrible failure ? For how shall we convert England at this rate ? If fifty years ago we were one-tenth of the population, and if now we are one fifteenth, can we say that we are progressing ? Vigilant and earnest priests and laymen have called attention to these questions, yet nothing is done, no investigation is made, or if there has been any investigation, the result of it has not been made known. Perhaps it is with souls as the new Archbishop has said that it is with money ; that no account has to be rendered except to God and to the Holy See ! Or it may be that we choose to live in a fool's paradise, and shut our eyes to disagreeable truths. Well, perhaps a fool's paradise is better than none for the individual, but for the religious community as for the State such a condition is not only folly but suicidal folly.

The baptisms of each year in every church and chapel would enable us to form a rough, but sufficiently exact, idea of our numbers, but neither bishops, nor priests, nor editors will secure this simple record for us.

In the absence of statistics, what can we fall back upon to form an opinion except the views expressed by men who are in a position to judge. There are two men whose opinions will be taken as authoritative both inside and outside the church—viz., Manning and Newman. The former was Archbishop of Westminster for twenty-seven years, and he left a statement to be published after his death saying, as a greater than he said long ago, that formerly "candlesticks were of wood and priests of gold," but in his time "candlesticks were of gold and priests of wood." One need not agree with this view, or if one agrees with it at all one need not take it too literally ; still one must take it as the deliberately formed opinion of a man who had ruled as Archbishop for twenty-seven years. And one must ask : Who was responsible during those twenty-seven years for the education and formation of the clergy ? We all know that Manning himself was the responsible person, and this not merely officially because he was Archbishop, but because he took a most active part in the administration of the institutions in which the training of young men

for the priesthood takes place. He changed the whole system that had prevailed for years and years before his time in the principal college of the diocese; he founded the seminary at Hammersmith (at once closed by his successor) in the teeth of almost all those who had experience in ecclesiastical education; he was the founder also of Bayswater College, just shut up, and of that contemptible failure, Kensington University, and he was most resolute in preventing Catholics from attending the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and indeed the chief obstacle. Newman was so sure of carrying out his views that he had, as is well known, secured ground at Oxford for the building of the new Catholic College. More than this, he had given instructions to a Catholic architect to prepare plans. It happened that at this very time Manning was visiting the architect's family, who were connections of his, and the above facts were mentioned to him. Manning jumped from his chair, and with evident passion, to the astonishment of his hearers, shouted out, "There shall never be a Catholic college at Oxford!" A short time afterwards the architect received this telegram from Newman: "Stay your hand, there is a hitch." There was a hitch, and the victory was with Manning, and he was left untrammelled for thirty years, with what results he himself confesses. Could he not in that long period perceive the effect that his system of education was producing on his clergy? When one reads his sneer, one would think that he was condemning someone else's system. He was only stating the result of his own deliberate work. It seems incredible, but it is true. And yet perhaps it is only just to say that his educational policy was not his own. It was dictated to him from Rome. In his old age, when he was no longer a *persona grata* in Rome, and when it was too late for him to attempt educational reforms, he wrote down those bitter words. Could his enemies have said anything worse of him than that he deliberately manufactured wooden priests? Could our enemies say anything worse against our method of government?

Yet what Newman said was still worse, and he also said it posthumously. What will the world think of us when it sees that we do not allow men like Newman and Manning to speak their thoughts otherwise than posthumously? He wrote a letter to Lord Brayne on the neglect by Catholics of University Education, and years afterwards Lord Brayne read it to Leo XIII. and the *Tablet* published it in 1903. In this letter occurs the following terrible passage: "This, alas! is only one out of the various manifestations of what may be called Nihilism in the Catholic body and its rulers. They forbid, but they do not direct or create. I should fill many sheets of paper

if I continued the exposure of this fact. The Holy Father must be made to understand the state of things with us." So then Newman's opinion is that we are do-nothings; we forbid, but we do not direct or create. It is remarkable that Newman and Manning were antagonistic in life on educational questions, yet their posthumous messages to posterity do not disagree; the one says that priests are wooden, the other says that bishops are *faineants*. But Newman is clear of blame, because he was always in favour of action and progress in education, whereas Manning, against his own better knowledge, put a drag on Catholic education. Manning could not truly say that Newman was a wooden priest, but Newman could truly say that as regards educational progress Manning was a *faineant* bishop. No sooner was Manning dead than some 200 noblemen and gentlemen petitioned to be allowed by Rome to send their sons to the universities. These 200 had been kept in check by Manning against his own better knowledge for twenty-seven years. The petition supported by Newman's letter was granted. But there is reason to believe that among the authorities the same Nihilism still prevails. Ten years have elapsed since then, but we have not yet heard of any important successes gained by Catholics at the universities. We have not seen anything done during these ten years to make the education of the clergy less wooden. Professors and presidents in our seminaries are often little better than boys: they are underpaid, they have no independence; the students are scattered in a number of small colleges, they pass no public examinations; no prizes or rewards are put before them, no inducements are offered to them to continue their studies after ordination; those who are thought fit for higher studies are sent to France or to Spain or to Portugal or to Italy to waste their time on medieval subtleties, instead of being taught here in England to face the religious difficulties of our time. Manning left a sneer against his people as well as against his priests; he said that his people were "sheep." Those 200 noblemen and gentlemen whom he prevented for twenty-seven years from educating their sons at the universities were, in his opinion, *sheep*. Surely sneers of this kind are sufficient to rouse us. Surely the Catholics of England will remember the proverb which says that people always have the rulers they deserve to have.

After this inevitably long preamble, the proposal that I wish to offer is that in Cardinal Newman's words: "The Holy Father must be made to understand the state of things with us." We must represent to him that we are being governed against our own Catholic public opinion. Bishops appointed by Rome, as Cardinal Manning was, as Bishop Bourne has just been, govern us according to ideas

dictated by Rome without any knowledge of the state of things here. They govern us, as is evident in Manning's case, against their own better knowledge, and then they die sneering at the ignorance and uselessness of priests and people. We must ask the Holy Father to give us some means of forming and of expressing an enlightened Catholic public opinion on questions of the day. We must make him understand that Catholics are being driven in considerable numbers to write in the daily and other non-Catholic newspapers, through not being allowed any freedom of expression in Catholic newspapers. There is no paper published by Catholics that dares to tell the truth. There is not one that would have the courage to publish this studiously moderate article. The *Tablet* is the mere record of officialdom. It records with exultant care the conversion of the rare parson to the Catholic Faith; it never mentions our losses, nor does it ever admit that everything is not in the most satisfactory state with us.

The only other Catholic weekly paper that one hears of is the *Catholic Times*. It is up to date in many ways, but it dares not give expression to real Catholic opinion. We must show the Pope that Englishmen look upon us with contempt when they see that our bishops have power to suppress our newspapers, not for heretical opinions, but for criticising the educational policy of the bishops or their method of spending public money or other matters of a kind that the Church has everywhere, except in England, left open to discussion. English Catholics have no wish to hold or to defend unsound or heretical opinions or doctrines, but they object to bishops maintaining that the Catholic Press may not criticise the official actions of bishops or discuss how money subscribed by Catholics for Catholic purposes is spent. Within recent years these claims have been made, and more than one Catholic newspaper has been suppressed without any shadow of an accusation of error in doctrine. Especially must we make the Holy Father understand how disastrous it is for religion to have Nihilist or *faineant* bishops, and that the British Government should be allowed some voice in episcopal appointments. The Government is trustworthy. It has so often been praised by popes for its justice and generosity to Catholics that it can be relied upon not to attempt to injure the Church by nominating unworthy prelates. A concordat giving some rights to the British Government would at the same time give some influence to the public opinion of English Catholics, because the Government is always open to this influence, and can be called to account for every one of its actions. It is acknowledged that the best men are chosen for bishoprics in the Church of England as a rule.

Cardinal Newman's testimony is to the effect that under the present system by which our bishops are appointed in Rome the best men are by no means chosen.

Our bishops are supposed to be chosen by the Chapter of each diocese. As a fact the names submitted are passed by in four cases out of five, and our poor canons are placed in a more ridiculous plight than those of the English Church with the *Congé d'élire*.

Out of evil, however, some good may come. The Roman Catholic Church in England has really suffered from the prominence of its figure-heads. The public eye has been arrested by Wiseman, Manning, and even Vaughan, so that our weakness numerical and intellectual has been overlooked. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that, as was said the other day in the *Westminster Gazette*, the archbishopric has been steadily on the down-grade since its first establishment.

The one fact that for thirty years and more education of every kind, from elementary to university, has been clogged and retarded by the bishops against the repeated and earnestly expressed wishes of the laity, is surely sufficient to show that some change is necessary. It is surely worse than ridiculous that our ecclesiastical superiors should time after time lay it down that educational questions were questions for the bishops to decide, and that then they should during some thirty years do absolutely nothing for the progress or advancement of education—that they should “forbid but not direct or create.”

Let the Holy Father consider with what different feelings Newman looked upon the prospects of the Catholic Church in England at the time of the establishment of the Hierarchy and at the time when he penned that letter to Lord Braye. And can we doubt that the opinion of so great a Churchman, and so great an Englishman, will outweigh in the Pope's mind the opinions of those in the Curia who wish to govern England without ever having seen it, and, like Cardinal Gotti, without knowing anything about it?

It is always a grievous error to despise and to under-estimate your opponents. We must make the Holy Father understand that this error has been committed by our ecclesiastical superiors with regard to England. They have thought that England was an easy prey, that we had only to appear and that our learning would put to shame the learning of the Church of England clergy. They have thought that third or fourth-rate men on our side and third or fourth-rate methods would be equal to the best men and the best methods of our opponents. We see clearly now, after wasting more than half a century, that England cannot be converted as easily as

we thought. We must make the Holy Father understand that England is not a country where time can be wasted. Other people are busy while we are idle. Nor is it a country where public money should be ill spent, nor can public opinion be safely disregarded here ; nor will any but the best men and the most intelligent men and the most upright men be suitable here as bishops.

The clergy of the Church of England are, as a rule, holders of university degrees ; our clergy are looked down upon through not having this advantage. The bishops of the Church of England are appointed through having distinguished themselves by scholarly or ecclesiastical work, whereas even our late Cardinal Archbishop was not equal to more than writing penny devotional books. Finally, we have debts in almost every diocese, and the suspicion is gaining ground that money is being wasted.

None of these things can be put right in a day ; money ill spent takes a long time to replace ; learning and university degrees cannot be acquired in a day ; the loss of public confidence, esteem, and respect cannot be made good without years of strenuous and upright effort. But the longer we delay the more difficult reform will be. Plotting and scheming will not convert England. All enlightened Catholics in England share the feelings of despair that Newman expressed in his letter to Lord Braye.

What, then, is to be done ? It is easy to criticise and to destroy ; it is difficult to construct, but still something must be done, and the following crude suggestions are thrown out, for those placed in power—by the Pope and themselves—to work out. The honours are theirs, the labour must be theirs.

(1) Let Canon Law be restored to us, and fixity of tenure be given to all our rectors.

(2) Let these rectors have, as in Ireland, the real power of electing our bishops subject to a veto from the Government and to the final ratification by the Holy See.

(3) Close all the petty colleges and seminaries at home and abroad for the education of priests, and establish on secure foundations two colleges, one in each of our Universities at Oxford and Cambridge, taking care that these are efficiently endowed, with a well-paid staff of the best men, and with a fair number of attractive fellowships. Make every priest take his degree in one of these universities. A modern Council of Trent would approve.

(4) Close the countless boarding-schools and have two large schools, one in the North and another in the South on the lines of our great public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby.

(5) Stop the building of costly cathedrals and churches, which minister indeed to vanity, but which are never half filled and are a cause of endless expense.

(6) Establish good elementary and, where advisable, continuation schools in every mission.

(7) Start good secondary schools in every large town.

(8) Stop the establishment of small monasteries and nunneries which are spreading all over the land ; they are a drain on our resources and of no practical use.

(9) Let the Catholic Press be absolutely free. Bishops, priests, and people will work the better in the fierce but purifying light of public opinion.

Work on these lines for two generations, and then we may hold our own at least if we do not make way.

England was lost to the Faith once by the action or inaction of our rulers ; it must be the prayer of every good Catholic, as it is of the writer, that the new Pope may take enlightened steps to save the present remnant.

ONE OF THEM.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF ENGLAND.

II.

THE CHANCES OF A CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

Not very long ago, in the course of a conversation with a Roman Catholic writer on the fortunes of his Church, I was urged to study its life chiefly in "Catholic" countries, if I would appreciate its real power and promise. I suggested Spain; but he hastily substituted France. However, a few weeks later, a French writer observed to me that his countrymen admitted the decay of Catholic influence in their own land, but were consoled by the prospect of its growth abroad, especially in England. The situation inevitably recalled the famous counsel to use large maps. It is possible that very many estimates of the future, if not the present, of Catholicism would be considerably modified if that advice were adopted. The writer of the article, "We Catholics," might have been spared the sanguine expectation which leads him to review the fortunes of his Church with such despondency, if he had kept an eye on the ebb and flow of its influence on other shores.

That there is ground enough for his despondency as far as English Catholicism is concerned, I will proceed at once to explain. He regrets the absence of statistics, but is independent and courageous enough to interpret aright the inactivity of his bishops in this direction. When Vaughan was transferred to Westminster from Salford (where he had never published a census) he at once designed to astonish London with an enumeration of the Catholics of the arch-diocese. The results were never published. They were whispered from priest to priest with an injunction to beware of the reporter. From memory I gave them in my "Twelve Years in a Monastery"—nominal Catholic

population of the arch-diocese (with a general population of several millions), about 200,000, but of these more than one-third never entered a church. This was a terrible sequel to the long and loud boast of conversions, for the Irish, French, and Italian population alone amounts to far more than 200,000. The enumeration of London churchgoers recently published by the *Daily News*, fully confirmed the figures. But it is possible to give figures for the whole country which entirely justify this candid Catholic writer's Pessimism.

Let me point out, before starting, the solution of one of the puzzles which the writer puts to himself. Why, he asks, have the clergy increased by 200 per cent., while the laity have only increased by 30 per cent. He suggests one very real factor, namely, the increase of wealth. This enables bishops to maintain priests on missions where there is a mere handful of Catholics. But he strangely overlooks the multiplication of the religious orders. There are now huge communities (like that of the Jesuits at St. Beuno's), to which no Catholic population whatever corresponds. Most of the houses of the religious bodies are overstocked as far as parochial purposes are concerned, even where they do have parishes. This alone accounts for nearly one-third of the clergy. The increase of nunneries and teaching institutions involves a similar increase of clergy without people. It is hardly difficult to understand the situation in this respect.

However, let us see what the Catholic population of England and Wales ought to be to-day, and what it really is. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 100,000 Roman Catholics in England, including French *émigrés*, Lancashire stalwarts, &c. If the descendants of that population had been retained by the Catholic Church, they should, on the normal ratio of the increase of population, now number some 350,000; and to these must be added subsequent immigrants from France, Italy, and Catholic Germany. But all these considerations are dwarfed by one which, it is curious to find, is almost generally neglected. More than six million people, mostly Catholics, emigrated from Ireland after the famine of 1841, and before the end of the century. In fact, Ireland should have to-day a population of nearly 17,000,000 people; whereas it has less than four millions and a half. The missing 12,000,000 are scattered over the English-speaking world. When people talk of a Catholic revival in England and the States, as Mr. H. G. Wells does in his "Anticipations," they are singularly insensible of this dispersion. England received a large share of these Catholic emigrants. At the census of 1881 there were already 781,119 people in England who had been born in Ireland; and of these fully 80 per cent. were Catholics. The immigration had been

greatest between 1841 and 1851, so that to these must be added a new generation born in England ; and the immigration has not ceased to this day. Further, it is well known that the Irish frequently marry non-Catholics, and the Church exacts that *all* the children shall be Catholics. A million immigrants should have two million descendants to-day. Add the earlier population (or their descendants) and you have a theoretical Catholic population of at least two millions and a quarter, *without counting a single convert*. Of these some Catholic writers claim that they have made "tens of thousands per year." It is, perhaps, fair to say that, if they had kept all their converts since 1840, their descendants would now number at least another quarter of a million. In other words, if there had been no leakage the Catholic population of England and Wales would, on the normal ratio of the increase of population, now number at least 2,500,000.

Let us see to what it does actually amount. This Catholic writer is not wholly exact when he says the authorities give no statistics to the world. In the Catholic *Directory* they give the round number of 1,500,000 for England and Wales. That is a confession of a terrible leakage ! But officials are not found to be scrupulously correct in their statistics when they are not compelled to give the data on which their computation is made, and in point of fact it can easily be proved that the actual Catholic population falls short of the official estimate by, at least, a quarter of a million. "One of Them" very shrewdly hesitates to accept the number of the clergy as an index to the population, but that number can be made to yield an instructive result. If he will take the Catholic *Directory*, and deduct the number of invalided and non-parochial (monastic) clergy, he will find that there are about 2,200 priests on active parochial duty in England and Wales. To estimate their people at 1,500,000 is to give them an average charge of nearly 700 souls. He will surely recognise how exorbitant that is. Hundreds of them serve congregations of a considerably smaller size (down to less than 100), and the larger congregations have 4, 5, or even 6 priests serving them. It looks as if even "the number of shepherds" brings the flock down to less than 1,250,000. On the other hand, the number of churches yields no clear result. Many of the new buildings are tiny conventicles, and in the large towns the outward movement of the population has left many of the more central churches almost deserted.

The statistics of the Catholic schools lead us to the same conclusion. The only figure I have at hand is for 1898, when 246,128 children were being educated in Catholic schools. Catholic priests sternly insist that their children shall be sent to their own schools, and the number

of them in private schools or under governesses is relatively small. Against the few who are thus missed may be counted the fairly large number of non-Catholic children who find the Catholic school more convenient in many districts. Now, it is a recognised rule amongst the clergy that your total congregation should be five times the number of your school-children. The figure would, therefore, yield the same conclusion of about 1,250,000 as the total Catholic population. In many Catholic parishes the total congregation is not even double the number of school-children, so that the calculation errs, if anything, on the side of generosity.

But there is another statistical method which yields a *maximum* computation of the Catholic population of a very solid character. A Catholic is forbidden under pain of mortal sin to marry elsewhere than in a Catholic church. The non-Catholic partner has always to yield on this point. Hence the number of marriages celebrated in Catholic churches, taken as a proportion of the total number of marriages celebrated, must be held to be a maximum indication of their strength. The Registrar-General does not give a separate return of Catholic marriages, but I have found the figures for 1897 and 1898—the one in the “Statesman’s Year Book” for 1901 and the other in the ecclesiastical column of the *Daily News* (where it passed unchallenged). In 1897 the Catholic marriages were 4·1 per cent. of the total number. As the population of England and Wales was in that year a little over 31,000,000, we again get a result of less than a million and a quarter. For 1898 the proportion was slightly less—10,164 marriages out of 255,379. Thus, the most reliable and most generous computation forbids us to estimate the Catholic population of England and Wales at more than 1,250,000; and that is about half what the Catholic church should have amongst us to-day.

“One of Them” will now quite understand why the authorities of his Church shrink from handling statistics. I have collected and presented these authoritative figures on various occasions, and as far as I know, my deductions are unchallenged. It is difficult to see how they can be challenged without impugning the laws of arithmetic. In itself, of course, the question whether there are a million and a quarter or a million and a half Catholics amongst us matters little. But in face of the tremendous immigration, and for the purpose of forecasting the future, it is of high importance. Happily, “One of Them” is in a mood to acquiesce. He knows there has been leakage, and that comparatively little progress has been made. Newman’s beautiful sermon must, as he says, give the Catholic reader a pang to-day. The spring has not advanced, nor suffered even to peep

forth the dazzling raiment of the summer, which Newman anticipated. He, accordingly, turns upon his Church and its officials with refreshing independence, but a discreet anonymity, and seeks to determine the causes of the stagnancy. That Catholicism is not to be the Church of the future unless it mends its ways in England he seems to recognise. But he also seems to cherish a hope that, when certain improvements have been made in its procedure, it may yet have a great future before it. When so many secular prophets forecast that Rome will be one of the last ecclesiastical forces in the field, it is very natural for a Catholic to entertain high hope. But before going on to subject his further views to the same cold and rational scrutiny, one may usefully call his attention to the fact that England does not stand alone in its lack of progress towards his ideal.

One need not invite him to consider the fortunes of other great branches of the Church in England, whose losses have clearly been so little gain to him. It is more pertinent to direct attention to the fortunes of Catholicism in other lands. In the United States and Australia there is the same apparent growth of Catholicism as the confiding Frenchman notices in England. Statistically treated, especially as regards Irish and other Catholic immigrants, the apparent gain turns out to be a real retrogression, as in England. Possibly "One of Them" would find the same episcopal defects in the States and Australia, but he will soon find that his theory must be stretched until its thinness becomes too obvious. Take France, for example. The success of M. Combes reveals a curious change in the mind of the country. Taine gave it on Catholic authority in 1894, that only 100,000 out of 2,000,000 Parisians made their *Paques*—the vital test of Catholicism; and four out of five of these were women. M. Guyau has lately had a census taken, I am told, that confirms this. Even in the provinces, Taine said (in "*Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*") only one woman in four and one man in twelve complied with this essential obligation of the Church. It is also known that the priests are now leaving the Church at the rate of about 200 per year. Protestant missionaries seem to have good ground for their statement that to-day not more than nine out of the thirty-nine millions of France belong in any proper sense to the Catholic Church. A distinguished prelate, Mgr. Turinaz, has lately written that "the faith of Christian France is disappearing day by day."

In Belgium the state of things is not very much better, as I observed when I lived there as a priest. In Germany the Social Democracy on the one hand and cultured Rationalism on the other are eating into the Catholic provinces. In Austria the "los von Rom"

movement is sweeping tens of thousands into Protestantism. In Italy, as in Germany, Socialism and Liberalism are premeating the different strata of Catholic society. And even in Spain, so ignorant, so priest-ridden, the same two forces are sapping the Church. At the forthcoming Rationalist congress at Rome, Spain will have as its chief delegate the ex-Premier, Señor Silvela ; and at a recent congress more than a thousand Spanish centres of free-thought were represented. The sale of indulgences continued into the full light of the twentieth century (with the consent of the Vatican), the long indifference to education and national progress, and the degeneration of religion into an empty formalism are bringing at length the inevitable storm of resentment upon the Spanish clergy. The last armoured fortress of Catholicism is visibly weakening.

The Catholic will, therefore, do well to survey the life of his whole Church when he is tempted to assign local causes for decay. Everywhere, in the old world and the new, the great historic fabric is crumbling. Every fresh inquiry and every great political event reveal its increasing decay. The census of churchgoers recently taken in London, in Paris, and in New York ; the official census taken last year in Australia ; the extraordinary success of the Social Democrats in Germany ; the phenomenal persistence of an anti-clerical government in France—all these things point to a general ebb in the fortunes of Catholicism. There is no ground whatever for the anticipation of a Catholic revival, unless in this particular, Mr. Wells deserts his scientific method of forecast, and relies on frail *a priori* speculations. The decay of Catholicism is a world-movement, and it demands world causes to explain it. Those causes must, in my opinion, be sought in the essential characteristics of the life and thought of our time, not in defects of tactic and government, though these are certainly real and important factors. The prolonged conservatism of Rome in the face of a moving world—take, as salient examples out of a multitude, the official attitude on the Biblical question and on the labour question,—has left the barque of Peter almost stranded on the beach. The Vatican forgets that while conservatism in rite and costume may appeal to the æsthetic and the archæological feelings, conservatism in doctrine is without appeal ; it is a denial of that advance in mind and conscience on which humanity chiefly prides itself. When “One of Them” says that “English Catholics have no wish to hold on to or defend unsound heretical opinions or doctrines,” he seems to forget this ; but I know well how different the real situation is. If he will read Mgr. Turinaz on “*Les Périls de la Foi*,” he will learn how loudly the French clergy are clamouring for doctrinal

revision; and in England "*Voces Catholicæ*" (a Catholic priest), in the *Contemporary* speaks for a large body.

Further, the constitution of the Catholic Church belongs to an age that has passed for ever. When "One of Them" claims freedom for the Catholic press, the closing of seminaries, the democratic election of bishops, and the discontinuance of building cathedrals, he shows how keenly, though imperfectly, he realises this. The atmosphere of our age is deadly to autocratic power. There is in it no longer, as there was in the Middle Ages, a congenial element on which it may be nourished. It must strike deep and powerful roots in the soil if it is to live. And this is just what it cannot do. Its roots are in a sacred literature which is being revolutionised in the mind of the people. Rome had serious reason for resisting so long the evolutionary view of the Bible. It destroys the supernatural ground of the doctrine of autocracy. The past was human, like the present, but it was less informed and less critical. That is what scholars are saying in all Churches to-day. At the beginning of the critical period we have passed through there seemed to be a practical advantage in the notion of an infallible teacher. Thousands went over to Rome on that sole ground. But from the day the Infallibility of the Pope was solemnly defined, all through the heavy seas of the second half of the nineteenth century, not a single infallible syllable has been granted to the world; nothing but the opinions of Leo XIII., and now the opinions of one who is even less informed on the great thought-movements of our time, as his first encyclical painfully evinced. Infallibility is a myth; and the collective scholarship of the Church of Rome, even granting that it dare express its opinions candidly in the halls of the Holy Office, would be a feather weight against the scholarship of the world.

Then there are the tactics of those in authority, which "One of Them" characterises so well as to spare me the painful task. But where does he see ground for hope? Is Archbishop Bourne more promising than Vaughan, who was less than Manning, who was less than Wiseman? Is Pius X. shrewder and more politic and more independent and better informed in modern thought than Leo XIII.? His Church has a hierarchy of mediocrities; yet it would take a hierarchy of geniuses to impose the Roman system on the world to-day. On-lookers from the days of Macaulay have thought that system would endure because it had a specific character in "authority." But the spirit of the age and the whole weight of modern scholarship are unfavourable to that feature. It will not take another generation for the Catholic body itself to see that this "authority" was "a lath painted to look like iron." The paint is blistering, and dropping off.

The constitution of the Church must change, must be democratised. its Pope must become a president, its bishops be elected by priests and people once more. It must cease to talk of its *magisterium*, and its *ministerium* must become one of moral culture and social inspiration. Not until this revolution has taken place will "One of Them" see those changes which he chiefly desires, and which are, in fact, most vital: the creation of a free, broad-minded Catholic press, the substitution of a general for a technical education of the clergy, the democratic election of bishops, the fixity of tenure for rectors, and the discouragement of the building of otiose conventual establishments and costly cathedrals. He is evidently not a priest, or he would have added the abolition of celibacy (which terribly restricts the growth of the better clergy) and of the last pretence at asceticism, a fuller adoption of the vernacular tongue in the liturgy, and the abandonment of the remaining restrictions on clerical life.

Catholic reformers must think more deeply and survey a broader horizon. The Church of Rome in England once held that she would attract the nation when the mists of calumny and perversion were dissipated; she is now fully understood, and encounters little hostility, yet wins less than she loses. She has certain great advantages, and thousands look on with admiration of her stately ritual, and her calendar of saints, and her wonderful history; but few of them join her. She would do well to live no longer in "a fool's paradise," as this Catholic writer says. Lack of discrimination in her conservatism, narrow old-world views, unwillingness to stoop to the humanitarian interests of our age, too great a concern for wealth, insistence on an undermined authority—these things are bringing her to the ground. That she will reform in time is certain. But she will need decades of hard unseen work amongst her people, with a total abandonment of her larger ambitions, to brace up her shattered constitution. And she will never recover the lost territory. She will go on sacrificing feature after feature to the insatiable demands of a changing age until she will humbly take her stand by the other churches and religions of the world as a sharer in the moral and spiritual culture of humanity.

J. McCABE.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF ENGLAND.

III.

THE RE-MAKING OF THE CHURCH.

BY A CHURCH OF ENGLAND RECTOR.

WE must trust to some future Government for the removal of various mountains that block the onward progress of the human race. Will its reconstructive activities affect the Church, endowed and upheld by the strong authority of precedent? The millions of Queen Anne's Bounty, and the other revenues of the Church might be a tempting reservoir of gold, into which to dip for national pensions. But we must remember that "Who overcomes by force, hath overcome but half his foe," therefore, the object of this article will be to appeal to the "sweet reasonableness" of the best minded churchmen on behalf of a change which would make for the greatest good of the greatest number.

With regard first of all to the grievances and miseries of existing parsons, no parliament will ever mend them; they can only be ended by revolutionary change. How few young men, when they apprentice themselves to the Church at the age of twenty-three have any idea of the noose into which they have put their necks! But when the years have gone on and the mystic spell of theological books, and the atmosphere of the theological colleges has worn off, the minister begins to take more personal notice of the familiar words and phrases of his church system. A shock passes over his moral sense, his eyes dare not look at his congregation as one day he has to "read himself in" to some new position and he feels the XXXIX Articles, which he has not thought

about since he had to learn them by heart at the age of twenty-three, rise up and hit him in the face with the stultifying doctrine that "Works done before justification are not pleasant to God but we doubt not have the nature of sin." Actions that is to say, however good, of a man who does not profess himself a Christian have the nature of sin! As he reads such a doctrine and many another dismal echo of the dark ages of 400 years ago, no doubt he hears the mocking ring of devils' laughter sounding in his ears. But he must not question now: it is the voice of the church: to be original is to be disloyal. In his clerical life the same sort of mental challenge meets him at every turn, and there is no escape. To utter the base coin of heresy would be courting the wrath of the archdeacon, of his lordship at the palace, and would wreck any scanty chance of promotion he may have. He gets callous, flings his energies into all sorts of work, fascinates himself by a maze of ritualism and imposing ceremonial, boils down the people's thoughts into pulp for his own regulation sermons, and finally becomes a mere machine or puppet mechanically worked by the System, like the rest. Henceforth for him there is the System, and nothing but the System, and he is ready to fly at the throat of anyone who would impugn the material and spiritual supremacy of the System. He dreads the skeleton of his own mental cupboard and so diverts his own and others' attention by his defiant defence of the System. Who shall say how many thousands of educated human minds in the parsonages of this country have thus committed suicide from sheer necessity, because they have found themselves noosed in a system which the law has established and ancient hereditaments have financed? The very aim and object of the churches' code is to stop and staunch the stream of religious thought and to checkmate the private interpretation of God's Will. Thought, the God-given faculty, is wrong: the term "free" thinker is synonymous with evil liver. Thus the church insists upon a routine settled by rules and rubrics, upon an infallible code of traditional beliefs and upon constantly reiterated offices lest priest or people should begin to seek God for themselves. Can we deny then that the national church as it stands to-day is a bar to the mental progress of the onward marching race? Disestablishment would set millions of minds free from the bondage of a rigid spiritual servitude.

If the church is to be disendowed, how are the clergy to live? The answer is, there need be no clergy, if the ministry be secularised. If once the principle were recognised that it requires only

the inward gift and not the outward consecration to constitute a minister of God, there would be no lack of educated men all the country over who would rejoice to give their services free on Sunday. A captain on board ship reads the prayers, and the German Emperor delivers the sermon, and no one protests. Why not extend the principle? The halo and sanctity which appertain to the ministry in the minds of church people, implies that the offices of bishops, priests and deacons are a divine institution, based upon the facts of history. But the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is as simple a fiction as the divine right of kings. It was not till the fifth century that the bishops claimed to be the successors of the apostles. If people only knew history and could see how the priestly office has grown by quite natural causes into its present supernatural significance, instead of conceding the claims and assumptions of the clerics as they now do, they would ridicule them out of existence. That learned and able divine, the late Professor Hatch, in his Bampton lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in 1880, entitled "The Organisation of the early Christian Church," was unkind enough to lay bare the humble origin of the proud modern priesthood and all that is involved with it. Professor Hatch unfortunately died, and the church has discreetly kept his tell-tale book out of sight. But the fact remains, there is no such thing as a priest, *i.e.*, a person with a special divine warrant for exercising certain spiritual acts, and therefore we shall come to see in time that there is no need of clergy as a separate class with a distinct profession. The primitive clerics were nothing but laymen, earning their living as other men, as merchants, bankers, shepherds and the like, but elected by an executive committee of elders from among themselves to administer the funds for charitable purposes which their community had subscribed. The chief administrator or head almoner was called "bishop," and his delegates or relieving officers were styled "deacons." They were all laymen together. There were no sacerdotal functions of any description appertaining to any of them. The religious part of their business, preaching, anointing with water those who wished to join their confraternity, and breaking of the bread in commemoration of their Lord's act was not assigned to any one particular member more than another. Gradually the men held in most esteem came to take the leading parts, but it was not till the VIIIth century that the ministers had any distinctive dress to mark off their leading functions.

Again, it is a long cry from the "bishop" who adopted the dress of a Roman magistrate to "milord" with lawn sleeves and

gaitered legs of the XXth century drawing from £5,000 to £15,000 a year in payment for the spiritual gifts he confers upon the community. We might imagine a confraternity of Early Christians addressing the modern hierarchy: "Paul, the tent maker we know, and the bishops or chairmen of our distribution committees we know, but who are ye? Whence did ye learn the splendid secret of transmitting the gifts of heaven to your fellow-men by the laying of your hands upon their heads? Strange that no such power was ever delegated to our bishops by the Lord and that there was never a man amongst us thought worthy of being the intermediary between God and man! Your priests too, they touch the bread, ye say, and it becomes a mystery, a miracle, a divine incarnation, and they pray over the water and it works a magical change in the sinner! If our elders had possessed such power, the superstitious heathen would have informed against us and we should have been massacred to a man, and if any member of our confraternity had presumed to usurp such powers for himself, we should have named him a blasphemer and an imposter."

Let us consider for a moment the episcopal function of a modern bishop. If you look down the list of a bishop's engagements as published in any diocesan magazine, you will find them fall practically under four headings, viz., ordaining and instituting ministers, confirming boys and girls, consecrating windows and bells, and blocking Bills in the House of Lords. The rest of his routine work could be just as well done by a lawyer's clerk. Here then are four chief episcopal functions which cannot be discharged under the rate of £5,000 a year apiece! Unless the first three are divinely ordered they are but empty forms, but it appears that for the first four or five centuries bishops had no peculiar spiritual functions! Superstition having once crept in has proved itself such fascinating food, that to-day in all countries it is a luxury for which men are willing to pay profusely. The greatest triumph of disendowment would be the death-knell of superstition, and religion once forced from its overshadowing influence would be found to be a practical principal of everyday life. In a word religion would mean righteousness, a righteousness founded upon the Gospel. Are the clergy then a necessary factor in modern religious life? Granted that they are not a divine institution and granted that their functions could be and undoubtedly would be undertaken by enlightened laymen, then it is but waste to maintain paid and ordained guardians of eternal truth. It is just because there is

money in their calling that people often suspect their sincerity, and so the truth suffers.

Those who appreciate the omnipresence of the cause of God would have no fear as to the result of even such a revolutionary change as is here proposed. Timid theologians will cry "no parson, no religion," but the first results of the abolition of a paid ministry would be a general religious revival as the outcome of popular responsibility for religion, which would at once be felt. It is just this want of responsibility which is the cause of the present apathy about religion. Everything is provided and paid for, why should ordinary people stir themselves about it? Secondly, there would spring out of what might seem to be the chaos of the revolution, a peace and goodwill among men, a drawing together of the various Christian persuasions into a unity which has been so long sought for in vain. For generations they have been at bay, but the bones of contention would be removed and the lion and the leopard might lie down together. Especially would this unity be promoted by the parish churches becoming the property of the nation so that all denominations could worship under the same roof, by arrangement of times for their several services. In fact, the parish churches would become the sole temples of worship in each place, not of one denomination only, but of all. The plan works well enough in some military depots where the chapel is used by all denominations alike. Thus the meeting-houses of all the free churches could become secular buildings and be used as parish halls, libraries and recreation rooms, provided Nonconformists fell in with the general scheme of national welfare.

But it will be said that the abolition of the parson would mean the stoppage of the work of all benevolent agencies connected with the parish churches? If the daily routine of a parson's life amongst the people required a man of any special calling or training to fulfil it, the poor would suffer from the loss of their clergy, but we know that unpaid laymen are to-day in some parts of the country carrying on clubs and classes and visiting the poor with as much success as the most experienced clergymen. Take *e.g.*, the work in connection with the adult school movement. Moreover it would be far better for the moral fibre of the nation if the responsibility for the care of their fellow men were felt to belong to the whole community instead of being relegated to the shoulders of one class of men. How conveniently the ordinary man argues "Am I my brother's keeper? It's the parson's business to look after him, I don't mind tossing him half-a-guinea for the

parish charities, but I consider that covers my obligation in the matter." Active philanthropy is, of course, no more business of the parson than of any other man, nor ought it to be so. To abolish the parson would merely shift the onus of his parochial responsibilities on to the public shoulders, and you may trust the people to look after the people if once they know that the matter is in their own hands. The charity monies have already been taken out of the charge of the parson by Act of Parliament, and their administration has given the people a new responsibility to which they have not failed to rise. Is there any reason to suppose that the community would fail in its duty if every branch of benevolent activity were felt to be a matter of public concern?

Many good people may be horrified at the idea of touching the system of the Church. But in reality there is no Church—neither Church of Rome, Church of England, nor any other, Christ says, "they shall become one flock (not fold) one Shepherd." This notion of a flock implies one universal, all-embracing inclusive religion which all shall eventually follow, and excludes all idea of a "church" or separate organised system. In Matthew xvi. 17, Christ establishes the principle upon which His church or religion is based. "Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona for *flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee but my Father which is in heaven.* And I say unto thee that thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church."

It is not then what flesh and blood reveal to a man that gives him religion, it is not what he gets from other people, their words, or thoughts, or writings: the agency of man in the matter of religion is ruled out of court, to accept human authority, be it personal or traditional does not make a church. This cuts away the ground of authority from all churches based solely on tradition. What gained for Peter Christ's great approval was the fact that he had got the truth straight from the heavenly Father into his own individual soul, nor had he learnt it from anything outside, it came from inside by direct revelation from above. This establishes the great principle that a man who honestly searches for truth must gaze within his whole soul for the answer, and that which he sees there revealed is the Truth, and the very fact that the revelation comes to him is the pledge that he is a member of Christ's church. As a real artist is no copyist but creates his pictures from his own inward vision, so it is with religious faith, a man steadfastly

gazing into his own soul must look till he sees the Truth, and his religion will be not what he thinks he ought to see, but what he really sees, his will then be not the God of a "printed Book," but the God of his own deepest thought. The church of Christ will then consist of all those human souls who have found out God for themselves. God is to be found in a human soul, not in any church, on no other principle can religion be universal, and for all. And our reason tells us that this must be the case, for if any simple society could claim to have the one true System and be the one true church, and thereby arrogate to itself special privileges and pretensions, then heaven is limited, God is limited, goodness is partial, happiness is another word for favouritism, eternal life is the peculiar property of some one small society settled in this corner of God's universe called Earth.

It can be no sacrilege then to seek to re-make the church upon the broadest lines of the most recent human experience, for, as Bishop Westcott once said, "as long as experience is incomplete there can be no finality in the definition of doctrine." To sum up the argument, if a man's own conclusion upon any matter satisfies his thought and fully falls in with his sense of justice, generosity, honesty, in a word, with his highest idea of God, then he may be sure he has found the Truth; he needs no church to tell him; no flesh and blood to reveal anything to him; nay, he has seen it in his own soul, the heavenly Father has revealed it to him. The church then which is the embodiment of other people's experience is only of use to men who will not think for themselves, who will not find out and see for themselves from their own inward experience. To them the church can give the Truth second-hand and in mediary fashion, but for Truth to be vital, personal, and satisfactory, it must be fetched out of the soul itself, and those who seek, find.

THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF ENGLAND.

IV.

MODERN GNOSTICISM.

DURING the great intellectual activity of the nineteenth century—which the twentieth seems disposed in many ways to correct and revise—the most important development connected with religious thinking may perhaps be regarded as that defined by the term “agnosticism.” Many advanced representatives of modern culture openly avowed the impossibility of any longer accepting the crude conceptions relating to the origin of the world and the destinies of mankind that had satisfied the simple minds of an earlier generation. It is amusing from our present standpoint to look back at the excitement engendered by such feeble nibbling at orthodoxy as the once famous “Essays and Reviews” embodied, while all the controversies which revolved round the name of Bishop Colenso have assumed an almost ludicrous aspect in the sight of successors who find themselves hardly even called upon by the authorities of the church to take every statement in the book of Genesis at the foot of the letter. But the Agnostics of the nineteenth century were mistaking their own position when they supposed themselves, as many undoubtedly did, to be contributing to the construction of a purely materialistic theory of human life and consciousness. The conception that all forms of consciousness were ultimate products of the marvellous potentialities residing in matter was explicitly declared, or, at all events, plainly suggested, as his belief by one of the most brilliant representatives of nineteenth century agnosticism, Professor Tyndall. Some highly intellectual thinkers developed a system of philosophy, under the agnostic impulse, disguised as the “Religion of Humanity,”

embodying a definite disbelief in the existence of any individually surviving souls. As between agnosticism and the teaching of the churches there was no possibility of a *modus vivendi*. Not even as a bogey with which to terrorise the masses could the Agnostic endure the ecclesiastical system, tainted as it was with cruelty in the past and rendered contemptible in modern times when its powers of oppression were broken, by the demonstrable folly of its utterances, and the enfeebling effect that such teaching could not but have on the development of national character.

By virtue of that curious capacity so commonly observable in the modern cultivated mind, great numbers of English people were content to maintain their external allegiance to the forms of Christian worship, while frankly adopting in their week-day views of Nature, the suggestions of agnostic science, absolutely incompatible as these were with the theory on which professions of belief in church reposed. The clergy collectively may have felt that they exercised no longer that penetrating influence which they once possessed when their congregations stood in genuine terror of the future possibilities which their creeds defined; but what they lost—as faith ceased to be a vital force—they gained by the increasing devotion of the upper classes generally to the feeling that associated external respect for the church with the idea of social respectability.

Supposing no great change to have ensued in connection with the attitude of the cultivated classes towards religion, a condition of things so honeycombed with insincerity as that which was brought on under the influence of agnosticism, could not but in the end have led to a recognisable catastrophe. If science had persevered in its efforts to explain all mental phenomena by reference to the attributes of matter, it would surely have come to pass, as scientific culture widened, that the worn-down fabric of the churches would sooner or later have collapsed. Even as a method of terrorising the masses it would have been impossible for the exponents of future punishment to have maintained their authority in face of a conviction—which the masses would gradually have realised—that people of superior education were laughing all the while at the whole pretence. But religion, at all events, and possibly even some of the churches, may be rescued from the destiny just contemplated by the influence of ideas which for the time being ecclesiastics of all denominations regard with even greater anxiety than that which was excited on their part by the growth of agnosticism. Within a comparatively recent period multitudes of people in all civilised countries have arrived at the conviction that at all events they *know* that human beings survive the change

described as death, and continue in existence under conditions differing indeed very widely from those foreshadowed by ecclesiastical teaching, but nevertheless rich in opportunities connected as well with intellectual activity as with enjoyment. Although by no means, in the estimation of the present writer, the most important of the contributions that have been made during the last half-century to human knowledge concerning the unseen aspects of the world and the laws governing human evolution, the achievement in the direction described of modern Spiritualism is absurdly under-rated, not merely by the public at large but by ministers of religion as a body, who totally fail to see that it has really come to the rescue of religious ideas menaced by the influence of purely materialistic science, with something resembling extinction.

Where no special prejudices are involved, facts to which millions are prepared to bear testimony are generally accepted as such by the world at large, but in the case of Spiritualism, agnostics and ecclesiastics were for very different reasons equally reluctant to accept the testimony offered, the ecclesiastic from a general impression that the fabric with which he was associated was too rickety to allow of any renovation, the Agnostic from the point of view of an indignant conceit which was offended by the direct refutation with which the experiences of Spiritualism threatened his cherished infidelity. But meanwhile, in spite of the degrading fringe of imposture with which all spiritualistic inquiry was surrounded, and in spite of the silly diatribes directed by Browning and others against the impostors whom they carelessly confused with the real discoverers in the background, Spiritualism became a living reality for vast multitudes all over the civilised world who could not be driven by abuse which was manifestly associated with ignorance of the facts from their certain knowledge that they held communication with departed friends. A much later and more advanced school of Gnostic inquirers became in their turn antagonistic to Spiritualism for reasons entirely unlike those which governed the scientists and ecclesiastics of the nineteenth century. By means of research along different lines they arrived at more definite knowledge concerning the destinies of the human soul beyond this life than Spiritualism alone in their estimation had been able to supply. Partly for this and partly for other reasons their inclination was to disparage the spiritualistic method of inquiry; but from any point of view that method, however incomplete, has accomplished results which are hardly exaggerated if described as embodying the rescue of religion. Nothing resembling religion would be compatible with a firm and real conviction, if that could be established, that the physical

death of a human being involved the absolute extinction of his consciousness from that time forth. However out of date for us are Middle Age caricatures of Heaven and Hell, the hope of some kind of after happiness, the fear of some kind of after suffering, must absolutely be the foundation of any sentiment resembling religious fervour. The absence of such hope can only lead to profound disgust with the whole scheme of things as manifested by this life alone, with moral indignation at the iniquity of the power, supposing any power to exist, which has deliberately engendered that vast scheme of injustice. Thus, if agnosticism had really continued to triumph along the lines of its ephemeral success amongst the intellectual classes of England during the last fifty years, some such conditions of society as those which attended the horrors of the French Revolution would inevitably have crept over the civilised nations of the world. People of our kind could not have gone on for ever blindly content with the idea that in matters of faith all exercise of reason could be suspended. For generations to which even the simplest phenomena of physics were unfathomable mysteries, blind faith was a possible condition of mind. It would not have been a possible condition for generations whose intelligence had penetrated deeply into the workings of nature on the physical plane.

But even more widely than amongst its active devotees, the discoveries of Spiritualism have disintegrated the outer crust of disbelief even amongst those who for various reasons held themselves aloof from practical investigation along those lines. There may still be people silly enough to suppose that the whole vast fabric of knowledge derived from the communications of those who have passed on, is the outcome of fraudulent quacks grown in the soil of ignorant credulity. But that foolish minority is rapidly declining in magnitude. Even people who dislike the conclusions it suggests are half avowedly impressed by the fact that testimony is borne in favour of spiritualistic experience not merely by multitudes whose units would not, perhaps, command great confidence, but by considerable numbers of people representing the highest distinction in various departments of intellectual culture. And so the way is prepared for the still more advanced experience of those who represent what may be called modern Gnosticism. For considerable numbers of people all about the world, a fairly complete comprehension of the laws governing human evolution, a fairly complete retrospect of its earlier phases, and a confident forecast concerning its ulterior progress is an intellectual possession already acquired. One society alone, especially concerned with investigations of this nature, numbers more than 700 branches

scattered over the five continents. It would lie outside the purpose of the present paper to go into detail concerning the research as carried on by students of varying capacity. These may sometimes lead to impressions which later knowledge will revise. But meanwhile they have provided philosophical thinkers and those whose religious ardour has not been quenched by the dry dust of orthodoxy, with vivid expectations of future attainment, which inspire them with an enthusiasm carrying us back almost to the ages of faith. For those who share in all this knowledge, its ultimate acceptance by the cultivated classes of the future is a matter of practical certainty. Those who earliest discern the truth in any department of inquiry are familiar with the fact that scornful ridicule and denials are necessarily their portion. To take the simplest illustration, the heliocentric discovery met with the same reception at the hands of orthodoxy when first presented to mankind that the discoverers of Spiritualism and the teachers of modern Gnosticism are familiar with at the present day. But such pioneers of thought as Galileo and Giordano Bruno must have felt absolutely assured that in the long run the Copernican theory would be generally accepted. So it is in our time with the advanced students of modern occultism. They do not yet know everything connected with human evolution. Their horizon widens as the altitude of their observatory increases, and they recognise that widening horizon as bounding infinitudes of ignorance as well as enclosing vast areas that can be observed. But as the multitudes with narrower horizons on the lower levels ascend gradually to theirs, so with equal certainty will the knowledge they already enjoy become common property. And how will this affect the huge body of conventionalities with which the religions handed down to us from the past have become encrusted ?

In the first place the notion entertained by various ecclesiastical bodies at the present time to the effect that if they assert themselves with enthusiasm and scrape together sufficient funds for the purpose they will convert the people, for example, to their own particular view of things, is ludicrous in the sight of the modern Gnostic to an extent which words cannot exaggerate, its ultra-comical manifestation representing the idea that somehow in the revolutions of fortune's wheel the Roman Catholic authority, shaken off these realms by the resolution of Queen Elizabeth, may even in these latter days accomplish the task which Philip II. attempted to achieve, wrecking his power in the effort.

One consequence of Gnostic discovery has, it is true, been to show that in various ways the creeds and theological eccentricities

of the Roman Church are rather more in harmony, or, rather, are less widely dissociated from, deep truths of nature than the corresponding conceptions in favour with the Protestant churches. One very interesting department of Gnostic research, indeed, relates directly to the origin of the Christian creeds, and volumes of extreme interest on this subject have been contributed to the ever-growing literature of theosophical research. Only a little modification will sometimes bring back within the original meaning some of the most grotesque utterances of modern ecclesiastical creeds. Take, for instance, those entertaining passages in the Athanasian Creed which many simple-minded clergymen even shrink from reading on account of their superficial blasphemy. Those are to be eternally damned who do not believe in certain sentiments concerning the Trinity, which, as they stand in the book, are paradoxical and unmeaning. Many good people who shudder at the Athanasian Creed would be surprised to learn how easily even this passage can be reconciled with the loftiest truth. The paradoxical assertions relate to mysteries which no few words could express. But those mysteries concerning the actual nature of the Godhead must come within the advanced comprehension of human beings at a very much later stage of their evolution than that which has yet been reached before they can enter on the loftiest inheritance of spiritual dignity which is possible for all members of the great human family in the course of their protracted journey through the ages. Now the phrase "eternal" in Eastern writings has never the rigid significance it has acquired with us. "Eternities" are often spoken of in the plural, and they merely represent vast stretches of time according to the order of magnitude under consideration, and in this case relate to the whole life history of the human family to which we now belong, counted in more millions of years than it is worth while to deal with in the present explanation. Now even if within this vast period of time the laggards of this evolutionary system fail to accomplish for themselves that spiritual evolution above referred to, it will be in the nature of things impossible for them to attain the most sublime destinies available for the race. They will in a certain sense fail to accomplish the purpose of their present existence, and during the "eternity" in question—that is for the period of evolution concerned—they will miss its loftiest rewards. They will have to begin again on a new career of progress and fresh opportunities of achievement will lie before them, but they have lost the chances of the current period, and that is the "damnation" referred to in the language of the creed.

Now this little explanation will help to suggest the Gnostic idea

concerning the possibilities of future ecclesiastical achievement. The notion of supposing that in the crude form in which the churches up to the present time have been content to present their teaching, they will ever convert the future masses of intelligent mankind, is so transparently absurd as to be amusing in its vanity—and especially when the Church which proposes to convert England, for example, to the attitude of mind which would provide submission to its authority, shows in more ways than one how completely it has forgotten what was once its spiritual function in the pursuit of its worldly interests. It is unnecessary to diverge into a survey of the crimes in the past with which its exercise of worldly power has been associated. It is a matter of speculation how far such crimes would probably be repeated if the powers it once enjoyed were trusted again to its hands. But as a religious system—if one may regard it in that light, for some people are better disposed to think of it as a limited company carrying on business for the benefit of its promoters—one which rests upon the idea that people have got to believe what they are told, rather than what they can be led by advancing research to discover, is so grotesquely out of tune with the whole spirit of modern civilisation, that it is difficult to understand how any of its exponents can seriously believe in its ultimate future.

The Protestant churches of various kinds are much less deeply dyed with worldliness than the Roman Catholic, but are hardly more advanced in spiritual intelligence, hardly less afraid of the shock which independent scientific research may bring to bear upon the theories which control their tenure of office. But in truth the Gnostic is rather less afraid on their account than they are for themselves. He sees enough to know that the undraped truths of spiritual science can never be apprehended by the masses of any people. He sees enough to know that nothing can be more disastrous to the destinies of a community than complete divorce from the religious sentiment. The external church, for periods beyond the range of practical forecast, remains a necessity for the multitude, as it has proved for multitudes in the past, a safe anchorage for their hopes and aspirations. The rough overthrow of ecclesiastical systems is the last purpose which the modern Gnostic desires to bring about. The illumination of those who shall conduct its outward forms with the real knowledge now coming within the range of attainment, is the first step to achieve, the step which indeed can hardly be arrived at for many generations to come. But at some future time it may safely be left to those who shall conduct the services of the churches, whether subsidised by the State or left to the healthier freedom of independent support,

to modify the creeds they represent in harmony with the intelligence they themselves will have developed. The process will require no violent revolution. Whether or not it will be associated in this country with that external change described as the disestablishment of the church, is a detail of no interest to others than those whose pockets that process might affect. In one way or another the extrication of the clergy from the deserts of orthodoxy in which at present they raise more or less vigorous dust-storms, is bound to come off within no very distant future, and is bound to bring them into sympathetic relations with that great impulse which for the present is, for the most part, so entirely misapprehended,—the progress of modern Gnosticism.

AN OCCULT STUDENT.

A RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

IV.

MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

AFTER the dismemberment of the Roman Empire in the West, the aspect of the Continent of Europe was not unlike that of an island devastated by volcanic eruptions. For a long time before the land and sea settle down into new formations and altered conditions, the boiling of the waters and the upheaval of the soil continue intermittently, until a benign and fruitful era sets in gradually.

The Middle Ages were times of irruptions from afar, and of internal convulsions; of ever-recurring conflicts, and of unceasing wars between invader and defender, between overlord and vassal, between Guelph and Ghibelline, between the Papacy and the Empire, between Romanism and Protestantism. The states which sprang up out of the ruins of Roman Imperialism were only loose confederations of local military commands, feudal fiefs, in a perpetual state of internecine warfare, actuated by jealousies, hatreds, and ambitions, bent upon plunder, and urged on by rapacity. Castle was against castle, village against village, province against province. Such was the normal state of feudalism; there existed no central power to curb the predatory instincts of petty counts and barons who warred and pillaged at will. The one force which then prevailed was what the Germans graphically designate as *Faustrecht*—the right of the fist. Only exhaustion disposed these men toward compromise.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ "Le baron féodal, lorsqu'il se croyait offensé, ou que son droit était violé, en appelait, avait tout, aux armes; et ce n'est que rarement, quand la guerre traînant en longueur commençait à lui être très nuisible par ses pénibles conséquences, qu'il se décidait à recourir à des personnes tierces, en leur conférant de pleins pouvoirs à l'effet de régler la question ayant donné sujet au conflit armé, auquel il désirait mettre un terme. On voit clairement par les motifs généralement indiqués dans les compromis du moyen-âge, ainsi que par les considérations présentées par des personnes tierces, en assumant l'office d'arbitre, que le recours à l'arbitrage, à cette époque n'était qu'une réaction contre la guerre. (Chabro Wassilevsky, "Le tribunal arbitral international," in the "Journal de Droit Civil et Criminel," 1881, p. 1.)

In this state of things the only redeeming element was the spirit of chivalry, traditional and innate in the Germanic races of the North, which soon became predominant, and among which there lingered some vague notions of Roman discipline and administration. To this valuable legacy a new power was soon added. Christianity, in spite of the bitter struggles which all religious revolutions inevitably engender, taught love and charity even towards one's enemies, and its advent was proclaimed in the words of the Master: "Peace be with you—blessed are the peacemakers." It was first preached to the world in Greek, and it was moulded into a dogmatic whole by the Greek Fathers, men imbued with the precepts of Greek philosophy. It was presented as a *Διαθήκη*, which in the Septuagint and the Gospels is synonymous with *Συνθήκη*, i.e., an *alliance*,⁶⁷ bringing peace and goodwill to all men. Christ was the *Mediator*; and the Apostles declared themselves to be *Ambassadors*, bringing that message.⁶⁸ The Councils, later, in formulating the creed, named it *Σύμβολον*, which signifies in Greek, not only a symbol, but, as we have seen (ch. iii.) also a *convention*.⁶⁹ And the whole essence of conciliation and of amicable solution of differences between the faithful is eloquently expounded by St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (vi. 1-9).

But the prevalence of the new dispensation was—especially in the West, where almost every vestige of civilisation had been wiped out—slow, and fraught with difficulties and strifes.⁷⁰ Those who undertake the perilous mission of propagating truth and light are invariably faced by the strenuous opposition of gross prejudices, evil instincts, and "vested interests." It needed heroic efforts to secure at first even so much as the abolition of the old custom of reducing to life-long slavery those captured in war.⁷¹ Yet the Greek Fathers of the

⁶⁷ Hebr. viii. 6-9: "covenant," according to the English version. Cf. Schleusner, "Lexicon Vet. et Novi Testamenti," s.v. *Διαθήκη*, and Suidas. *μεσίτης ὁ εἰρηνοποιός*.

⁶⁸ "For which I am an ambassador," Ephes. vi. 20. St. John Chrysostom eloquently expounds this thought of ambassadorship: "What manner of man ought he to be who is the ambassador of a whole city (why do I say of a city?), or rather of all the world?" &c. (De Sacerd. vi. 4, 518.) Cf. Schleusner, s.v. *Ἀπόστολος*.

⁶⁹ Schleusner, s.v. *Σύμβολον*.

⁷⁰ I. Barbeyrac, "Traité de la morale des Pères de l'Eglise." Amsterdam, 1728.

⁷¹ Wallon, "Hist. de l'Esclavage dans l'antiquité"; 3^e pt. temps chrétiens. E. Biot, "De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en Occident." The oft-quoted passage in Aristotle (Ethica Nicom. viii. 13) has sometimes been imperfectly appreciated, if not entirely misconceived. The unemotional and strictly logical manner in which Aristotle examines the question overshadows, in the minds of some, the underlying lofty thought which forms the very essence of the Christian teaching: "The slave is an animated implement, and the implement an inanimate slave. Therefore, there is no affection for him, as a slave; but, as a man, there is. For there appears to exist in every man a sense of justice towards all those who are able to take part in law and covenant; and, as men, they become objects of affection." See, in regard to this, A. Vider, "Historia philosophiz juris apud veteres," Ludg. Bat 1832, p. 314.

Church renewed and extended the doctrine of a universal city propounded by the Stoics.⁷³ And it was the fearless eloquence of Chrysostom at Antioch, and the unflinching courage of bishops like Ambrose and Flavian, which brought conviction to the imperial mind that there exists a code of laws even more supreme than the power of absolutism.⁷⁴ No less admirable is the career of Epiphanius, the Greek bishop of Pavia (438-495), whose whole life was devoted to ensuring peace, and giving liberty to captives. By his saintly example and his fervid eloquence he reconciled the Emperor Anthemius with his son-in-law Ricimer; he brought about the peace concluded in 474 between the Emperor Glycerius and Euric, King of the Visigoths; and, on the storming of Pavia by Odoacer, he saved the women and children from captivity. His influence over Odoacer he transferred to Theodoric, who sent the good and fearless bishop to Lyons, to obtain from Gundobald, the King of the Burgundians, the release of six thousand captives. As Gibbon (c. xxxix. n. 73) pithily remarks, "such deeds are the best of miracles."

It is also to the efforts of the Christian Church that two remarkable institutions of the Middle Ages are due. The *Pax Ecclesie*, which was first established by the Council of Charroux, in Poitou (989), was confirmed and extended, under the name of "Truce of God" (*treva* or *treuga Dei*), at the Synod of Tuluges, in Roussillon, on May 16, 1027. It limited the right of carrying on perpetual warfare by those who took the oath; they engaged to abstain from all violence and the shedding of blood from Wednesday, after sunset, to Monday, before sunrise, and on certain other festivals. All women, pilgrims, monks, clerks, and merchants, were specially protected. At the Council held at Rheims by Calixtus II. in 1119, and at the Lateran Councils of 1139 and 1179, the scope of the Truce of God was enlarged, and the *Right of Asylum* was sanctioned. Churches and ecclesiastical foundations were declared inviolable, while the plough, the ox, the horse, and even the olive trees of the peasant were placed under the ægis of the Church, and penalties were decreed. From France, where the movement originated, it spread to Germany, Italy, Spain, and England. But its prevalence waned, as the power of kingly authority increased, in the thirteenth century.⁷⁴ It is a remarkable

⁷³ P. Janet, "Hist. de la philosophie morale et politique dans l'antiquité et dans les temps modernes," Paris, 1858. 2 vols.

⁷⁴ Villemain, "Eloquence chrétienne au iv. siècle" (1846, pp. 164-174); P. Albert, "Saint Jean Chrysostome considéré comme orateur populaire." Paris, 1858.

⁷⁵ E. Semichon, "La Paix et la Trêve de Dieu" (Paris, 1869). In 1182 a French carpenter, Durant by name, founded a Confraternity of Peace, which soon brought together a large number of men of every social status, the feudal aristocracy alone abstaining from the movement, since it was their violence it condemned. Other similar corporations were founded about that time.

coincidence that both the observance of truce at fixed intervals and the inviolability of certain places of asylum, are but the revival of ancient Greek institutions. Even in the most troubled times a truce was observed all over Greece during the Olympic games and other Panhellenic festivals; and nothing was held more sacred than the right of asylum.

The power, however, which in the West arrogated to itself supreme and superhuman authority, while heralding peace and blessing the peacemakers, was itself the ripe cause of bloody and devastating wars; especially so, in its struggles for supremacy over a rival, also claiming to hold its authority from God—the so-called Holy Roman Empire. Both the “Vicar of Christ,” whose temporal power was avowedly the gift of the sovereigns of this world, and the Emperor, whose “universal sovereignty,” symbolised by the orb surmounted by a cross, the jurists of Bologna attempted to frame into a kind of dogma—both claimed to have inherited from Rome the hegemony of the world, and they both bid for supremacy by exploiting the superstitions of men, the jealousies of princes, and the enmities of nations. Thus they gradually arrogated to themselves the right of settling the differences that arose among the princes of Europe, and they carried out the function of arbiters in accordance with the spirit and the traditions of ancient Rome. But the pretensions of both were finally wrecked on the shoals which their violation of right had created—resentment on the part of independent princes⁷⁵ and enlightened reformers against foreign interference and spiritual domination.

The supremacy of the Empire was bound to disappear even more rapidly than that of the Church,⁷⁶ which held sway over a more exploitable foible of men—their spiritual fears. Indeed, if wisely and justly exercised, the arbitral jurisdiction of the Papacy might well have survived, with benefit to the world at large.⁷⁷ But the magnitude

⁷⁵ The Emperor had the right to judge between his vassals. Thus the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, when appealed to by Edward III. of England, recognised him at Coblenz in 1338 as legitimate King of France, instead of Philippe de Valois. When, however, Charles IV. was invited to Paris by Charles V. of France, in 1378 in order to decide as to his difference with England, every effort was made to frustrate all that which might have appeared to sanction imperial jurisdiction over foreign princes.

⁷⁶ La suzeraineté laïque des empereurs sur la chrétienté, fut encore moins reconnue que la suzeraineté ecclésiastique des Papes. Ils ne réussirent pas même à empêcher en Allemagne et en Italie les seigneurs, petits et grands, de troubler la paix intérieure par des luttes incessantes. (Bluntschli, “Droit Intern. Codifié,” Introd. p. 17.)

⁷⁷ “By the constitution of this dominion (of the Church of Rome), whoever was the possessor of the Papal Chair, was, in some measure, the director of the affairs of Europe. He was the supposed mediator between Heaven and the world; he decided upon right and wrong; he was the great casuist in all difficulties; and

of the powers which the Papacy at one time wielded, and the vastness of the ambitions which it always cherished, rendered arbitration, in the true sense of the word, impossible. The Popes placed no bounds to their arrogance and arbitrariness. They used excommunication as a means of compelling obedience to manifestly unjust decisions. They presumed to declare invalid treaties concluded between other Powers, or laws and regulations made for their internal administration. They decreed the deposition of kings and emperors, and released their subjects from their oath of allegiance. A spiritual power, overshadowed and disfigured by temporal pretensions so monstrous, was not calculated to last or to impose for any length of time.⁷⁶ On the contrary, it was when their temporal power waned that the decisions of the Popes became more compatible with justice, and, therefore, more acceptable. Moreover, they decided the cases submitted to them, not conformably with international law and usage, but in accordance with the law of the Church—and its interests. It is evident that such decisions cannot be considered as arbitral.⁷⁹

Let us therefore begin by seeking elsewhere instances more suited to our present inquiry. The Byzantine historians make more than once mention of arbitration. Cantacuzenus (Hist. i. 45) gives the text of letters addressed (1327 A.D.) by Andronicus the Younger to his grandfather, Andronicus II., offering to submit their disputes to a judge—to Andronicus himself, if he would but act as a judge. Procopius ("De Bell. Gothico," iii. 34) relates how the Gepidæ, a Gothic tribe, having sent an embassy to the Emperor Justinian (about the middle of the sixth century) sought his support against the Lombards, to whom they had proposed to settle their differences judicially. Agathias (i. 2), who speaks with admiration of the institutions of the Franks, says that they never stained their fatherland with the blood

among sovereign princes, who obeyed no other tribunal, he might fairly be called the 'Custos morum.' Could it have proceeded without abuse, or was it the lot of mortality to admit of such perfection of wisdom and virtue in one man, the institution would have been admirable! A common tribunal was thus supplied where it most was wanted. Appeals lay to it from all corners of Europe; the weak could be upheld; the strong could be repressed; the most divine of all institutions, justice, had free room to display itself. . . . Such wisdom and purity, however, are hardly compatible, and certainly not very intimate, with our nature, and the good which the Popes have done has been far overbalanced by their power of doing mischief." (Robert Ward, "An Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nation," ii. pp. 37-41.)

⁷⁶ Gregory VII. declared Henry IV. to have been deposed. But the German bishops assembled at Worms and retorted by deposing the Pope. Innocent IV. also declared that Frederic II. was deposed in virtue of the decision of the Council of Lyons. There are several other such instances in the 16th century, when, however, the power of the papacy was on the decline, and its decrees carried no weight.

⁷⁹ Consult on this subject an article in the "Revue de Droit International," 1878, p. 501, by Ernest Nys, "Le Droit International et la Papauté."

of civil strifes ; but that, if their princes engaged in feuds, they ranged themselves on either side, armed as for battle, and bid them settle their differences before a judge, or else enter into single combat ; for it was not right, nor in accordance with their ancient customs that, for personal quarrels, the commonweal should suffer. And then the opposing forces, laying down their arms, mixed in friendly converse. It was no doubt in continuance of this ancient custom that Canute, King of Denmark, and Magnus I., of Norway (1036 A.D.) agreed to refer to arbitration their rival claims to the two kingdoms. And again Eric V. of Denmark and Eric II. of Norway allowed Magnus I. of Sweden (1275) to decide as to their disputes.

These cases are certainly not traceable to the influence of the Papacy or the Empire. One of the earliest instances of Papal arbitration—if the following transactions deserve that name—are the discreditable occurrences between King John of England and Pope Innocent III.—the most truculent and most aggressive of the bishops of Rome, who arrogated to himself universal dominion. After excommunicating the Emperor Otho, and endeavouring to transfer Germany to Frederic of Sicily, he turned his attention to this country. King John, having rejected the Pope's decision on the election of Stephen Langton to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, was first interdicted (1208) and then excommunicated (1209) by the Pope. Two years later he issued a bull, absolving the English people from allegiance to their King, whom he deposed, and ordered Philip II. of France to invade England and enforce this decree. John thereupon made an abject submission to Pandolph, the legate of the Pope, and passed a charter resigning England and Ireland to Innocent, and consenting to hold his kingdom as a fief tributary to Popedom (1213). John, having been compelled later (1215) to sign the Magna Charta, laid before the Pope's tribunal his griefs against the barons. Thereupon Innocent, who now considered himself feudal lord of England, issued another bull, abrogating the charter, which, having been obtained without his sanction, he deemed derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see, and he suspended Langton.⁸⁰

In 1298 Boniface VIII. mediated between Philippe-le-Bel and Edward I., effecting a peace between them. In 1319 John XII. settled the dispute between Philippe-le-Long and Flanders. Another difference between the Emperor Maximilian and the Doge of Venice was referred to Leo X. (about 1510). But the most memorable Papal act of arbitration is that of the infamous Alexander VI. (Borgia),

⁸⁰ It is not surprising that among the more enlightened Italians of those and later times the Pope was known as "Il Gran Turco dei Christiani." Cf. M. Sutcliffe ; *De Turcopapismo*. Londini, 1604, 8°.

who, by his famous bull, *Inter cætera*, of May 4, 1493, divided the new world between Spain and Portugal, thus disposing of the differences which had arisen since the discoveries of Columbus, on the one hand, and of the navigations of Vasco da Gama, on the other. A distant echo of that decision was heard in 1899, when the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, anent the Guiana frontier, was being arbitrated upon in Paris. The Venezuelans adduced Borgia's bull as evidence bearing upon the discoveries and possessions of Spain, and insisted that, at the time of the issue of the bull, the Papacy was recognised as a competent international authority. Far more adroit as a diplomatic move was Prince Bismarck's revival of Papal arbitration in respect to the claims of Germany on the Caroline Islands, the ownership of which Pope Leo XIII. had little difficulty in awarding to Spain. Those claims were *a priori* untenable and hopeless; but it was a characteristic combination of the sense of humour and of the business instincts of the great German Chancellor to electrify for a moment those pretensions which the immortal German Reformer had, four and a half centuries earlier, demolished for good.

Before proceeding further, we must record here another case of arbitration, as it is claimed by Papal authorities, or, more strictly speaking, of mediation; which case has escaped the attention of professional writers on the subject, but which has recently been again treated at length by the Jesuit author of a very interesting book.⁸¹ Ivan the Terrible, being hard pressed by the victorious King of Poland, Bathory, sent, in 1581, a certain Istoma Chévriguin (known in western records by a mere phonetic modification of the name, as Thomas Severingen) as envoy to the Pope, professedly in order to arrange for a coalition between Russia and some of the Western Powers against the Turks, but really in the hope of arresting the advance of Bathory and obtaining a respite. Ivan therefore invited the Pope to decide between him and Bathory, as a step preliminary to further arrangements. The Papacy, always nursing longingly the hope of obtaining some measure of recognition of its supremacy by any branch of the Greek Church, sent to Russia Antonio Possevino, a learned Jesuit, who, to his other accomplishments, joined rare diplomatic skill. Possevino, who left a most interesting and still valuable account of the state of Russia,⁸² was instrumental in negotiating the peace of January 15, 1582; but the diplomatic advantage remained with

⁸¹ Le P. Pierling: "La Russie et le Saint-Siège: Études diplomatiques" (ii. Arbitrage Pontifical). Paris, 1897.

⁸² Ant. Possevini *Moscovia, ubi ipsius legatio in Moscoviam ex parte papæ Gregorii XIII., et pax ipso mediatore inter Moscoviam et Poloniam inita anno 1582 recensentur.* Antwerp, 1587. (Also, Vilnæ 1586, and Colon. 1587, and an Italian transl. Mantova, 1596, and additional documents elsewhere.)

the astute Moscovite, who neither recognised the Pope nor attacked the Turk.

There is a solitary case recorded of a Pope submitting to arbitration. Innocent IV. accepted, in 1244, the arbitrament of the Parliament of Paris—in which city he was then sojourning—in his quarrel with the Emperor Frederic II.

It is by less powerful princes that we find, during these ages, arbitration more equitably exercised. They were less grasping; and their awards, being more in accordance with justice, became more readily sought and accepted by litigants. In this respect France holds a most honourable place. Henry III. of England and his barons agreed, in 1264, to submit their differences to the arbitrament of Saint Louis of France. At a congress held at Amiens, the King and his Consort Eleanor being present, the pleadings of each side were heard with scrupulous attention, and a celebrated award, perhaps the most elaborate of those times, was given, restituting to the King the fortresses held by the barons, and securing to the people their rights, as defined by the Charter. But the twenty-four barons, making a pretext of the latter clause, repudiated the award. In 1268 Louis was again called upon to settle the long-standing conflict between the Counts of Luxembourg and Bar. Philippe de Valois arranged, in 1338, a peace between the King of Bohemia, the German Princes, and the Duke of Brabant acting as "*juge traiteur et aimable compositeur*." In 1444 Charles VII. decided in the dispute between the Duke René d'Anjou and Antoine Comte de Vaudemont, that the former should receive the Duchy of Lorraine and the latter the county of Vaudemont, but as a fief from René. Louis XI. arbitrated twice: in 1463 between the King of Castil and the King of Aragon; and in 1475 between Duke Sigismund of Austria and the Swiss Republic. In the same year he himself submitted his differences with Edward IV. of England to an assembly of bishops, who were to decide as "*arbitri seu amicales compositores*."

An arrangement, not unlike some of the wiser and more equitable agreements of the present day, was the one concluded on the formation of the Hanseatic League in 1241. The differences arising between the confederate towns were to be settled by arbiters chosen by them; and this choice was vested, from 1418 onward, in the city of Lubeck.

Such are the instances of arbitration recorded during this rather depressing period of the world's history.

V.

MODERN TIMES.

GROWTH OF OPINION IN SUPPORT OF ARBITRATION.

The transition from the gloom of the ages not inaptly called dark to the enlightenment of the times that followed is signalled in history by a great intellectual revolution known as the Renaissance—the achievement of that noble band of learned Greeks, who, fleeing before the devastating hordes of Mussulman invaders, sowed broadcast over Western Europe the vivifying seed of Greek philosophy, they having remained through those ages its sole custodians and interpreters.⁸³ Never in the world's history has a period of like uplifting of mind and soul been known. It emancipated the world from the depressing and demearing tutelage of the monk; it engendered the Reformation; it founded the humanism of modern civilisation. Its influence is now felt in every department of life; and to it may be traced the efforts and the projects made since then to systematise into a consistent whole international law. The immediate predecessors of Hugo Grotius—Oldendorp, Winkler, Hemming, Alberico Gentilis, and others⁸⁴—were all versed in Greek, and from Greek sources, both ancient and Byzantine, derived their views and the systems they propounded. And the same influence is visible running like a bright vein of gold through all the later attempts in the same direction. Let us then, before recording the practical results obtained, consider the gradual development of the moral sense, whereby those results were rendered possible.

The epoch-making work of Grotius (*"De Jure Belli et Pacis,"* 1625), in language temperate but firm and convincing, not only advocates arbitration, but insists on the advisability of compelling nations to submit their disputes to congresses held by Christian Powers, which should be empowered to enforce obedience—"imo et rationes ineantur cogendi partes, ut æquis legibus pacem accipiant."⁸⁵

⁸³ "The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the Muses: yet we may tremble at the thought that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the wind before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation. . . . The subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that would unlock the treasures of antiquity, of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy." (Gibbon, ch. lxvi.).

⁸⁴ Nicolas Hemming was professor of Greek at Copenhagen. His *"Apodictica methodus de lege naturæ,"* 1562, as well as the *"Isagoge juris naturalis gentium et civilis,"* 1530, of Johan Oldendorp, professor at Cologne, and the *"Principia juris,"* 1615, of Benedict Winkler, professor at Leipzig, have been re-edited and commented upon by Kaltenborn: *"Die Vorläufer des Hugo Grotius auf dem Gebiete des Jus naturæ et gentium,"* Leipzig, 1848.

⁸⁵ Lib. ii. c. 33, sec. 8, § 4.

The memory of the great and good King Henri IV., still cherished by the French people, is popularly associated with his fatherly wish that the meanest of his lieges should be able to enjoy a *poule au pot*. But few are aware that he was the first sovereign in modern times to conceive a scheme of a permanent court of arbitration. In 1603 the King's powerful minister, Duc de Sully, drew up at his dictation the project of a General Council, representing the fifteen states into which Europe was to be recast, and which were to refer all future differences to that Council, constituted after the model of the Greek Amphictyony, and composed of seventy delegates. The federated states were to have an army of 270,000 foot and 50,000 horse, whose principal object would have been to drive the Turks out of Europe. The project was communicated to some of the European sovereigns, and both Queen Elizabeth and James I. are said to have lent a favourable ear. But it was not formally accepted when the great king, soldier, and statesman of France fell by the dagger of Ravalliac. Without the war for which Henri was then preparing, his project would most likely never have been sanctioned; partly because it aimed rather at the power and the prerogatives which the Imperial House of Austria still arrogated to itself, and partly because the undefined condition of the Law of Nations—even more vague than it is at the present day—did not offer an adequate basis for the discussion of such a scheme. The full text of the proposal then made is not known to exist; but its substance is given with sufficient clearness in Sully's *Memoirs* (liv. xxx.), in which it is referred to as *le grand dessein du Roi*.

The same theme was treated at length by Leibnitz, in his "*Codex juris gentium diplomaticus*" (1693); and it is at the root of the famous "*Projet de Paix Perpétuelle*" (Utrecht, 1713) of the Abbé de Saint Pierre (1658-1743). Although his perspicacity was not great, and his political views were mostly utopian, the Abbé was a man of great learning and high moral character. The enthusiasm, however, and the pertinacity with which he advocated his plan exposed him first to ridicule, and then to persecution.⁸⁶ His career offers one of the rare instances of expulsion from the Academy, due to his courageous

⁸⁶ The political writings of the Abbé de Saint Pierre exerted considerable influence on Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who has commented upon them, and who has adopted them to some extent in his own writings. He admits, in a way, the impracticable character of the scheme, but he justifies the ideas of the Abbé: "Il s'imaginait bonnement qu'il ne fallait qu'assembler un congrès, y proposer ses articles, qu'on les allait signer, et que tout serait fait. . . . Si, malgré tout cela, le projet demeure sans exécution, ce n'est pas qu'il soit chimérique, c'est que les hommes sont insensés et que c'est une sorte de folie d'être sage au milieu des fous. Peut-on espérer soumettre à un tribunal supérieur des hommes qui osent se vanter de ne tenir leur pouvoir que de leur épée et qui ne font mention de Dieu même que parce qu'il est au ciel?" (*Œuvres compl.* iii. p. 393 sq.)

denunciation of the ruinous policy of Louis XIV. Indeed, it was the state of exhaustion to which France had been reduced by the wars ending in the peace of Utrecht (April 11, 1713), which prompted him to revive the project of Henri IV.

In like manner the destructive wars of the French Republic against the coalition induced the German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, to publish, in 1796, an *Essay on Perpetual Peace*, in which he proposed the abolition of armies and national debts, and the federation of all states, under republican institutions, thus rendering possible the amicable solution of international differences.⁸⁷ Before Kant, Jeremy Bentham had planned, in 1789, the constitution of a general diet, or congress, in which each state should be represented by two delegates, and which should enforce its decisions by putting under the ban any recalcitrant state. Standing armies were to be reduced, and all colonies emancipated, permanent peace being thus ensured. Not dissimilar were the measures advocated, at an earlier age, by William Penn. And in the year 1780 Franklin wrote: "We make daily great improvement in natural, there is one I wish to see in moral, philosophy: the discovery of a plan which will induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats." Finally, we may here record the words of an eminent Scottish jurist, Sir James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair: "Kings and states ought not to be both judges and parties, when others can be had; but, before they enter into war, they ought to demand satisfaction . . . and not decline arbitration when an independent judge can be had."

We shall find, as we proceed in this inquiry, that it was the Anglo-Saxon race which brought within the compass of practical politics the principles which had thus far remained in the stage of theoretical discussion. The "Holy Alliance," which was formed when Europe, long prostrate and exhausted by the wars of twenty years, was at first hailed as the harbinger of a new era of peace, so much so that Saint Simon was moved to write his "*Réorganisation de la Société Européenne*." The allied sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria declared that the aim of the treaty of September 26, 1815, was to regulate their domestic and foreign policy according to the precepts of Christianity, and that justice and peace would now prevail. Peace indeed was generally maintained for more than thirty years.

⁸⁷ He wrote enthusiastically of the meeting of several European Sovereigns, which, some years earlier, had taken place at The Hague: "By these means there will be established in Europe a federal State, all the members of which will submit their differences to the arbitrament of such a conference, as to a sovereign judge."

But the "Traité d'Alliance Perpétuelle" of November 20, the resolutions taken at Troppau, Leybach, and Verona, the stern suppression of every liberal tendency, proved that justice had been relegated to the region of pious hopes.

The Society of Friends in New York were the first to demand, in 1816, the adoption of arbitration in international disputes. And the same year a Peace Society was established in England, with *The Herald of Peace* as its organ. Switzerland followed in 1830, at a time when Europe was again threatened with a general war. The Comte de Sellou, one of the most eminent, though least noticed, philanthropists taking as his device, "l'inviolabilité de la vie humaine," founded La Société de Paix de Genève. And in 1841 La Société de la Morale Chrétienne, of Paris, established a Peace Committee. The American Peace Association, which had meanwhile come into existence, petitioned, in 1835, the Senate of Massachusetts in favour of "a Standing Court of Nations"; and, after memorialising with the same object the legislatures of Vermont and Maine, brought the matter before the United States Senate (December, 1837), the Foreign Affairs Committee of which body, however, pronounced the project not yet ripe for consideration. The renewal of that step, two years later, had no better success; but in 1851 the Senate's Committee adopted a favourable resolution; and in 1853, on the proposal of Mr. Underwood, the President of the United States was urged to insert in future treaties a special clause, providing for arbitration in cases of disagreement arising out of such treaties. Another body, the New York Peace Society, sought, in 1838, to establish a Board of International Arbitration; and this project was further elaborated by James Mill in 1842.

The declarations made in America found an echo in the British Parliament. True to his device, "Free trade, good will, peace among nations," Richard Cobden was the first to advocate in the House of Commons the adoption of arbitration. On June 12, 1849, he moved for an address to the Crown praying that the Foreign Secretary be instructed to include an arbitration clause in future treaties; and he urged that any country, not fulfilling such an obligation once contracted, could only wage war "with the brand of infamy stamped upon its banners." Lord Palmerston, however, opposed and defeated the motion by 176 to 79 votes.

Though opposed in Parliament, Cobden's proposal was destined, by its very importance and intrinsic merit, to become a factor in the policy of the country. His negotiation of the commercial treaty with France resulted in so rapid a growth of prosperity, that it made mani-

fest to all in which direction lie the reciprocal advantages of nations in their relations with each other. This gradually maturing conviction was strongly manifested for the first time at the Congress of Paris. Article 7 of the treaty of 1856 had already provided for mediation between the signatory Powers, when the delegates of the Society of the Friends of Peace, Mr. Henry Richard and Mr. Joseph Sturge, prevailed upon the Earl of Clarendon to propose the adoption of the following resolution :—

“The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the desire that the States, between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly Power.” But while adopting this resolution, the 23rd Protocol recorded the following reservation :—“Each Government will be the only judge of the requirements of its honour and interests ; and it is not intended in any way to circumscribe their authority, but only to furnish to them an occasion of abstaining from recourse to arms, whenever difficulties may possibly be removed by other means.”

Even so hedged, the resolution of April 16 marks yet another stage in the slow and laborious, but steady onward progress. It was a signal achievement for that time. Mr. Gladstone, in referring to it, declared in the House of Commons that it facilitated arbitration and favoured the progress of humanity ; and Lord Derby spoke of it as “a principle which, to the glory of the Paris Conference, would be observed in all future treaties.” An engagement to mediate does not, of course, possess the obligatory character of an agreement to arbitrate. But it is an initial step towards it. It was not effectual in staving off the Danish war of 1864, nor the struggle for predominance in Germany, two years later. But England’s mediation between France and Germany in 1867 was successful in averting the danger which arose out of the Luxembourg question.

On the other hand, the Paris Conference of January 9, 1869, called together to mediate between Greece and Turkey in respect to the Cretan insurrection, is held by two great authorities on International Law—Professor Bluntschli and Mr. Rollin-Jacquemyns—to have applied the provisions of the Paris Protocol in a manner contrary to its spirit, and unfair in substance ; inasmuch as the Conference acted on that occasion, not as a mediator, but as an arbitrary judge, and admitted in its deliberations Turkey, one of the parties in the litigation, while it excluded Greece.

More enlightened and more equitable were the efforts of the Powers in 1880, when the Concert of Europe, acting as a Council of Arbitration,

in regard to the execution of the provisions of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Berlin, prevailed upon Turkey to cede to Greece Thessaly and a small strip of Epirus. Speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet of that year, Mr. Gladstone said :—" In the case of Greece we have witnessed that which, I think, must fill every mind with satisfaction, namely, a large adjustment of territory, which has been accomplished, I might almost say, without any angry word, but certainly without the shedding of one drop of human blood."

Thus the united action of the great Powers, the Concert of Europe, whenever it was actuated by no ulterior motives, has promoted, indirectly though it be, the principle of arbitration. This tendency may be discerned in the acts even of a body as imbued with reactionary notions as was the Congress of Vienna of 1815. On that occasion the principle of arbitration, by reference to a commission, was applied to matters which possessed no immediate political import. Four such commissions were then appointed for the settlement of (a) the Rhine dues; (b) the succession to the Duchy of Bouillon; (c) the custom dues dispute between the Swiss cantons of Uri and Tessin; and (d) a certain portion of the public debt of the Netherlands.

In like manner, but in a larger spirit, and with a wider scope, the Congress of Paris constituted in 1856 the International Commission of the Mouths of the Danube. This body, composed of the consuls of Austria, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, has its seat at Galatz, exercises absolute control over the lower reach of the great river, disposes of a special police force and of a small flotilla, flying its own distinctive flag, collects its own revenues, raises loans, executes great engineering works, and has subsisted for some fifty years—about the only survival of the decisions of that Congress. It offers the best illustration of the possibilities of the united action of the Powers for the solution and management of troublesome questions.

The opening of the Suez Canal was conducive to the creation in Egypt of a similar organisation. The International Courts in that country, due mainly to the enlightened policy of Nubar Pacha, have proved an unqualified success. Called upon to adjudicate between the subjects of some twenty different nationalities, these courts may be said to have offered an encouraging precedent for the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration. In a restricted sense their function is parallel to that of the Supreme Court of the United States, that great institution, the like of which is to be met with in no other country, and which John Stuart Mill justly considered

as international, since it adjudicates on questions arising between the states of the Union.⁸⁸

But enough has here been said of the moral agencies which have contributed to make arbitration a recognised principle in modern politics. The next and concluding article will deal with its practical application.

⁸⁸ "The usual remedies between nations, war and diplomacy, being precluded by the federal union, it is necessary that a judicial remedy should supply their place. The Supreme Court of the Federation dispenses international law, and is the first great example of what is now one of the most prominent wants of civilised society, a real International Tribunal." (J. S. Mill, "On Representative Government," ch. xvii., 3rd edition, 1865, p. 314.—It should not be forgotten, however, that the Supreme Court proved powerless to avert the Confederate War.)

THE USES OF DEMOCRACY.

IF we attempt to interpret the history of the world on the assumption that it has been guided by some Providential design tending towards the improvement of the human race, the purpose underlying some of the more deplorable episodes of the entangled story will often remain very obscure. We cannot, for example, see much gained by the experiences the European section of the great human family went through during the dismal horrors of the Middle Ages. Why was it found necessary to lead mankind through all the miseries incidental to perpetual warfare, domestic oppression, and ecclesiastical intolerance? But, on the other hand, there are some large phenomena of human life—very unintelligible if regarded singly—which do assume a new significance, and become reasonably related to the whole scheme of human evolution when we examine them by the light of that illuminating principle which, so to speak, binds up the scattered pages of the world's history into one coherent volume—the system of reincarnation. Indeed, from the point of view of people who believe in the theory of reincarnation, or, to put the idea in another way, who have arrived at the knowledge of the fact that human evolution is carried on by means of that device, there are very few questions connected with the current problems of human life that can intelligently be considered, without reference to the all-pervading principle. The significance of the great law is entirely missed by those who regard it merely from the point of view of individual experience. The collateral bearings escape attention, if we merely endeavour to determine as an isolated problem the question whether any given member of the human family might be best provided for, as regards his ulterior experience, by a return to this earth life after the present span thereof is over, or by progress through conditions

of spiritual existence that may vaguely be thought about as more attractive. Even those, indeed, who idly accept the idea that at the expiration of this life each soul floats off into illimitable after-worlds, the conditions of which are designed according to the imagination of the thinker; even these representatives of an early orthodoxy would, in looking at human affairs in the mass, assume that the actual welfare and progress of the incarnate human family, must be guided along some continuous road representing the intentions of Providence. The advancing civilisation of the world as such would be held, even by such thinkers, to foreshadow improved conditions at a later date, and the singular hardship which the conventional theory would attach to the fate of those who only visit the world during its comfortless youth, as compared with the superior destiny of those who pass through it when it has attained relative perfection, is quietly ignored, like so many other of the embarrassments that ensue from primitive conceptions of natural law. On the other hand, for those who understand the working of the great principle of reincarnation, the individual progress of each entity is intimately blended with the gradual advancement of the whole human family, along the paths of higher civilisation; and, as far as that point is concerned, each entity is fairly dealt with by sharing in the pleasurable as well as in the painful periods of the world's varying destinies. The painful periods may have their educational effect as regards the generations of human entities concerned with them, besides giving rise—in the immediate concatenation of events on the physical plane, as the generations succeed one another—to improved conceptions relating to sociological and even to political institutions, which history may plainly trace as the natural growth of antecedent trouble.

Most of the political problems which engage civilised attention are more or less entangled, when we analyse them thoroughly, with one or other of two conflicting sentiments. The sharpest line of demarcation between these two sentiments may perhaps be found in the familiar phases, "government for the people," and "government by the people." Any other way of defining this antagonism of thought is apt to bring in various side issues. If we talk about the idea of royalty as opposed to the idea of democracy, we are dealing with phrases that are uncertain in their significance. Royalty is exhibited to the world sometimes as little more than a social influence, sometimes at the other end of the scale, as the main-spring of the State. So also democracy itself may be tempered by aristocratic tradition or rage with the ferocity of the Parisian Commune.

But in all its different aspects, the theory of democracy must always embody the idea of government, mainly inspired by the impulses springing from the masses to be governed, while the other scheme of things in one way or another embodies a more or less successful attempt to reproduce in human affairs the theory of control by superior wisdom. Of course, the theory opposed to the bundle of ideas represented by the term "royalty," turns round the denial that in human life any such superior wisdom is procurable. Many even of those who are zealously attached to the principle of government by the people would still be prepared to admit that, if the absolutely wise and virtuous despot could be found, administration by his instrumentality would necessarily be better than any that could be worked out by means of the popular vote. But humanity will not provide us with such a race of despots, however defective may be the administration which is the product of the popular vote! In practice we must always accept the best compromise procurable in a world in which no single individuals nor any single class can be regarded as morally exalted enough to be entrusted with supreme authority. So the final outcome of thinking along these lines has for the Western world in general engendered the belief that the system of government *by* the people is to be preferred as the least objectionable among various alternatives, and democracy is regarded, if not as a faultless institution, at all events, as that which guarantees the best results to be obtained from any institutions which human ingenuity has yet devised. The conventional view of the whole subject is that in early stages of the world's civilisation other schemes were tried. Royalty for a long time had its day. Springing in the first instance from pre-eminence of fighting strength, it gradually came to be invested, under the influence of early superstition, with a divine sanction. But the Lord's Anointed in so many cases developed so many contemptible weaknesses, and exhibited generally such dismal unworthiness to be the channel of divine inspiration, that by degrees the later generations succeeded in shaking off the burden bequeathed to them by primitive superstition. The democratic "right divine" became in turn an article of devout faith. Latterly, indeed, there has been some reaction against this once all-powerful current of feeling, but the reaction has been due, not to any clear perception of underlying principles, but simply to resentment at the clumsy inefficiency of democratic methods, as worked out in practice by countries where Parliamentary institutions are supreme. Nor would it be possible to take a more scientific view of the whole problem at stake, unless

we regard the different phases through which human civilisation passes as designed, not merely to lead by degrees to improved sociological conditions, but pre-eminently to subserve during the process, the spiritual growth of the innumerable entities constituting the masses of the world's population.

Unhappily the world at large has lost touch so completely with the earlier conditions of human civilisation that most of us have quite forgotten the object-lessons of the past. As that boundless "memory of nature," to which reference has recently been made in this Review, surrenders to qualified inquiry those earlier pages that have so long been hidden from modern sight, we are introduced to civilisations long ante-dating any literary record, but rich, nevertheless, in lessons which it was perhaps hardly worth while for the generations of the last few centuries to grapple with. In truth, those who understand even what little some of us already understand concerning the comprehensive design of human evolution, can see good reason why, during the last dozen or two of centuries, the veil should have been drawn over the history of the earlier world. The subject is too vast to be handled parenthetically, merely in explanation of the subject now under discussion, so it will be enough for the moment to affirm what it would be well worth while on another occasion to elaborate more fully, that there was a period in the early history of mankind when its great communities were actually governed by monarchs endowed with a loftier wisdom and enlightenment than that which belonged to the masses over whom they ruled. The vague tradition of Egyptian antiquity, which indicated the existence of a race of "divine kings" as once presiding over the destinies of the nations inhabiting the Nile valley, were far better founded than modern ignorance—in alliance with modern conceit—has allowed conventional students of Egyptian archæology to believe. And in other regions of the world where vast geographical changes have obliterated great continents, formerly inhabited by races that attained advanced civilisation—long before the first glimmerings of our own, faintly dawned on the horizon—were also the scene of a sublime kind of monarchical government. The complete exposition of all the knowledge that has been acquired by occult investigation concerning these regions and periods would, in itself, be a very elaborate task that must be reserved for some other opportunity. For the moment, the point to emphasise is this, that in the whole scheme of human evolution the earlier races of mankind were, as a matter of fact, governed by sovereigns representing a higher degree of moral enlightenment than

that generally reached by the masses of their subjects. And the consequence was that government under these conditions gave rise to a tranquil and happy condition of society to which the experience of the later world, the history of which is covered by literary record, affords no parallel.

There were nations of the early world that lived for centuries, and even millenniums, under conditions which gave no room for any of the painful problems of modern sociology. The sufferings incidental to modern poverty and vice had not even been invented. The idea of political discontent had no more come within the horizon of human thought than such feelings would be discernible now in a well-ordered nursery. But happy and tranquil as the lives of those who passed through incarnation at this time were privileged to be, we can see quite plainly that such experiences were little more than restful periods in the whole progress of their evolution. A calm and untroubled existence, embarrassed by no responsibilities, undisturbed by resentment against authority regarded with as much affection as obedience, left each ego at the close of such an experience in pretty much the same condition as at the commencement of its little voyage over that summer sea. No doubt evolutionary progress of some kind must have been accomplished, or these halcyon resting-places along the great road of life could not have been provided for by the providential design. But whatever their purpose may have been, they left much to be accomplished in the matter of individual progress that could only be realised under conditions of stress and difficulty. And so, by degrees, nature provided for the development of a discontentment, even with conditions of political happiness, that gradually brought about the beginning of democratic activity. Stormier voyages than those over the summer sea just spoken of had to be undertaken by a gradually maturing humanity, in order that sterner virtues than that of a contented infancy might be developed. And thus, looking at the whole subject in the most comprehensive fashion, we may fairly regard the development of democratic institutions as designed within the providential scheme, to cultivate individual strength under the pressure of individual responsibility, and thus to inaugurate a condition of things through which it was absolutely necessary that the human family should pass.

But the all-important difference between the view of democracy suggested by this survey and commonplace views of government by the people turns on the sentiment with which we regard the process thus engendered. The enthusiasts for popular

government proceed constantly on the theory that their attachment to this method is due to a belief in its absolute merit as an administrative system. They regard all schemes under which authority is centralised, as identical, more or less, with cruelty and oppression, and they conceive that the only method by means of which fair treatment is to be secured for the masses of the people is that which invests the popular vote with supremacy in the administrative machine. Nor is it otherwise than reasonable to admit that much of the experience of monarchical government during the last few centuries tends to support this idea. Indeed, observation of human affairs from a very lofty standpoint, embracing the whole series of race developments, from the remote and forgotten antiquity above referred to up to the present time, suggests the belief that in order to bring about the democratic phase—a necessary factor in the whole design—the credit of the monarchical system was deliberately allowed to decline under the influence of later monarchs deplorably unlike the divine kings of old. One can almost, in this way, discern the purpose in evolution fulfilled by stupid, incompetent, or vicious monarchs during the great change which has landed the advanced Western races of our time in the midst of democratic institutions. There has always been much in the traditions of royalty which has fascinated human sentiment. It was not an easy thing to wean the nations from their attachment to that system. But such monarchs as the later kings of France, the Stuarts and early Georges of our own period, not to carry the investigation further, have certainly been conspicuously successful in fulfilling the purpose of Providence—as this argument assumes it to have been—the purpose of compelling the humanity of our own period to acquire the attributes of self-reliance and strength.

If the results obtained from the point of view of the mere administrative critic do seem in some cases an improvement on immediate antecedent conditions, that in no way established the principle that government by popular vote has become in its turn a divine institution. The necessity of a democratic period in connection with the whole scheme of human evolution may equally well be established, however utterly we may disbelieve in the theoretical perfection of popular government. Indeed, it seems hardly possible to invent any theory along the lines of which that kind of government affords scope for perfection. Without going into the details of Parliamentary imperfection as we see it at the present day, without touching any of those questions which arise from the spectacle of party spirit engaged in its ignoble strife, it must surely be allowed that the multiplication of stupidity does not engender wisdom. In so far as the

masses of any population must represent its less advanced intelligence, a government controlled by those masses cannot, at all events, by virtue of such control, be conceived as embodying the highest ideals of statecraft. In most democracies, indeed, the mischief that might be expected to arise from the predominance of those least qualified to dominate, are modified by the all but blind and unconscious tendency of the masses to put their trust in representatives, at all events, belonging to a class superior to their own. From the stupid turmoil of every contested election, or from almost all, some representative emerges who in his further political activities detaches himself, as far as possible, from the crude conceptions of public affairs with which he identified himself on the hustings. And in England at all events, democracy, pushed even to the extreme limits it has now reached, is tempered to quite an extraordinary degree by the general attachment of the people to aristocratic institutions, and, of course, it has been tempered still further by the maintenance of traditions handed down from the earlier monarchical period. But without stopping to go minutely into illustrative examples, no one who has watched the course of democratic government in the ultra-democratic colonies of Great Britain beyond the sea, or even—with all respect be it said—in the States of the American Union, can be blind to the fact that administrative results are continually developed in such countries of a kind that are neither beneficial to the people as a whole nor creditable to the agents concerned in their development.

This does not matter from the point of view of those who regard democratic progress as designed to be an educational process for the benefit of the individuals concerned, rather than a method of bringing about consequences desirable for the community concerned. To put the matter plainly, the democratic phase of human life is a necessary evil. Providence, to use a term which the most advanced comprehension of human affairs brings back forcibly within the scheme of our thinking, does not care so much about the immediate material welfare of any given generation, as about the effect on each individual unit of that generation which may be brought about by the experiences through which it passes. Socialism in some of its aspects may be an attractive method of providing for the immediate wants of a community. Socialism in the sense of sacrificing the individual to the community is absolutely foreign to the design of Providence, in so far as the loftiest views we can form of that design enable us to judge. Vast as the number of egos constituting the human family may be,—a number from the ordinary point of view inconceivably greater than the

incarnate population of the world at any given moment,—the interest, so to speak, of each individual, the permanent spiritual interest, that is to say, is that which engages what may roughly be thought of as the intention of Providence. Whether at any given moment the individual himself, or the crowds considered collectively, are enjoying a good time on the physical plane, or passing through a period of stress and suffering is, so to speak, a question with which the government of the world as a whole is concerned but little. A good time may have its value as affording rest and recuperation, though more often, perhaps, it is employed in sowing the seeds of later embarrassments; and on the other hand, the period of stress and suffering may be distressing enough while it lasts. But all these varied experiences have one general tendency—the development and evolution of those characteristics in the ego which prepare the way for more exalted conditions of being hereafter. For however protracted the educational process may be, through however variegated a series of lives the human individual may pass in the course of his mighty journey, there is a hereafter awaiting even the most protracted series of reincarnations, the preparation for which is their purpose throughout all their multifarious experiences.

But anything resembling an exhaustive consideration of that idea would lie quite outside the main purpose of these observations. The practical question which arises for those who can once realise the justice of this interpretation of democratic phenomena has to do with the uncertainty they may feel as to whether democracy has yet in any sense fulfilled its purpose, or whether it is still only entering on the career it is destined to pursue. Few of us are yet in a position to form any opinion which would tend to clear up that uncertainty. But meanwhile we may observe that few great natural processes are accomplished by one single effort. The tide comes in not as one great rush of the main wave, but in multitudinous minor waves, each of which has its recession as well as its advance. So it is quite possible that in teaching the innumerable members of the human family to fend for themselves, nature may not expect that lesson to be learned, so to speak, at one sitting. It may quite probably prove in the long run that the democratic tide, before the comprehensive ebb begins, will advance and recede at its edges with many delusive appearances of alternate victory and defeat. There is much going on in the world at present which seems to indicate a reaction of feeling against democratic methods, a restoration of sympathy with the idea that political authority may usefully be focussed in personalities invested by an altogether peculiar rank with claims on the loyalty and submission of others. Perhaps it will be found as time goes on, and as a few centuries

may be devoted, out of the myriad available for human education, to the cultivation of other qualities than those which democracy subserves, that the marked and extraordinary improvement in what may be called the *personnel* of royalty, looking over the whole European world, has not been going on without a definite, if even a temporary purpose. That much relief might be experienced by some communities at present given over to democratic influence, if for a time that should fall rather into abeyance, is a conclusion which, at all events, is in harmony with a feeling one can readily discern as a growing tendency with the people of this country, a tendency not yet perhaps powerful enough to enforce any sweeping changes, but certainly one which has operated in many cases to modify the political sentiment under which the great political changes of the last few centuries in Great Britain have been brought about. But the purpose of this paper is not to attempt prophecy, but simply to diagnose the situation which is ill-understood by those who fail to contemplate it in the light of the knowledge which is now available for those who seek it, with reference to the early history of mankind. Within limits, the free play of human will and intention may affect the current of human affairs to some extent at any given moment, but events on the largest scale and covering vast areas of time and space may always be assigned to the comprehensive purposes of Nature. In that way it is certain that the growth of popular government has been distinctly within the Providential design, but only those who are entirely incapable of even dimly grasping that design as a whole, conclude from this that our young world of the twentieth century A.D. has come in touch yet with an administrative principle which represents any finality of wisdom.

A. P. SINNETT.

DOUBTS CONCERNING THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

"HONOUR thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The civilised world is aware that the above quotation forms one of the ten commandments given by God to Moses, or so recorded by the unknown author of the Pentateuch. In our childhood we were taught that Moses was the author of the five books, but the unlearning of many early lessons has constituted the hardest part of later education. With reference to the injunction quoted above, we may begin by excluding the inducement held out by the old Jewish commandment as no longer possessing attraction for cultured people of to-day. Extreme old age is not looked on now as greatly desirable. The prize will allure few competitors of any worth in the race of life. Nor will the exordium addressed by the Patriarch to his turbulent Jewish flock, in their exodus out of Egypt, the land then alive with psychic and psychological development, carry much weight for the living man and woman of to-day, who look upon the Old Testament as an interesting, though often obscene, fragment of antiquity.

No kindredship has been less seriously criticised than the relationship of parent to child. Perhaps no earthly bond cries louder for reconstruction and elucidation. Humanity, in its innate indolence, takes everything it possibly can for granted, until a tumultuous dislocation produces an awakening so thorough that the case in point can no longer be laid by in cotton-wool amongst the lumber of childhood's accumulation. Nothing in our present-day life is so surely taken on trust, so idly left alone, as the duties of a son to a father, of a daughter to a mother. The old command has maintained the weight of its spirit hand, even though the letters graven on the

tablets of stone may long since have been erased. When a hint is given that perhaps the filial and paternal relationships are not exactly ideal—that a reconstruction thereof might be desirable—the twentieth century mind is conscious of a shock of the kind which may prove the precursor to a better understanding. Have we been simply careless in letting the existing theory stand firm? or is it heresy to impugn, sinful to repudiate it?

“The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children, even unto the third and fourth generation.” We are not going to ignore this cheerful reminder, which has at all times and seasons, from infancy to adolescence, from prime of life to decadence, been prudently insinuated into any vaulting scheme of betterment, which, haply, at one time or another, animated us to loftier flights, sublimer aspirations; but, at the same time, I doubt (supposing we agree to be absolutely truthful) whether it helps us to any clearer views of the primary question. Why are parents enclosed in so deep and quick-set a hedge of sacredness? The unwritten law, rooted in the human breast, that the faults of parents should be unseen by their progeny, that to the sins of the fathers the children must be blind, surely requires some explanation.

When this voluntary obscuration is not faithfully carried out, it is an understood thing, in our present condition, that the next best substitute for blindness is absolute condonation. We have a very common saying which is employed with much effect to crush any filial revolt: “Remember he is your father! Remember she is your mother!” The words explain and emphasise themselves as to the supposititious weight they are intended to convey. They are launched at us as undoubtedly final, as they generally are in practice, not always so, though raising in some breasts for the first time the question why or wherefore? As we now accept the words, the fact of parentage concedes to the aggressor an immunity from condemnation, which would be laughed to scorn under any other circumstances of existence. Why it is not so derided under the conditions I have cited above is the object of our present inquiry.

What is the fundamental groundwork of that peculiar and curiously sacred tie betwixt parent and child? Searching about in all latitudes and longitudes of the cerebral globe the answer can only be brought down to one simple, concrete fact, your parents gave you birth. Universally supposed to be conclusive, such a retort brings no real elucidation of the problem. In the years succeeding infancy, parents may possibly endow us with wealth. If they be of good means, it is probable that they afford us an education. If of humble means,

the School Board sees to that *in loco parentis*, but the aftermath of years is not included in this one great achievement—our parents gave us birth. On that count it is assumed a man or woman must base gratitude or ingratitude as the case may be. That we should calmly have accepted this inadequate explanation as to why parents should be regarded in a superhuman light by their offspring, shows how sentimental really is the world we live in. As to whether this gift of birth may be worth the having, whether the favour our parents have conferred upon us is one to our liking or not, is a question never propounded. That in a pre-natal state we certainly were not asked, possibly were not in a position to answer either yea or nay, to an offer of this present of birth, willy-nilly, thrust upon us, is clear to all.

The human mind finds itself most comfortably accommodated in grooves. To attract it out of the tram lines of convention and obsolete thought is exceedingly difficult. Occasionally an accident occurs, and the mind, thrown out of its normal course, is suddenly free to wander in fresh pastures, but only until the line is put straight again. Then it slips in as before, and is quite ready to resume its circumscribed journey for the next thousand years or so. But there are some mental dislocations so violent as to force it into a new sphere of action. A man finds himself so outrageously treated by his father that all the bland sophistries of the past are powerless to longer bind him. A girl finds herself so bullied and harassed by her mother that she begins for the first time seriously to question the maternal right to make her life unendurably miserable. The first dim public awakening to the fact that there is something the matter in this connection is shown in the formation of the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children." The fact is so far conceded that parents have not the right to ill-treat their young physically. In a few instances this society has departed from its principal hunting-ground, the slums, and has invaded the homes of the gently born, but the worldly advantage of birth in these cases has generally shielded the culprits. In a vague way it is also being recognised that parents have no moral right to bring into the world a family whom they are powerless to provide for, or even rear in any degree of comfort. The happy-go-lucky breeding of the past, the fallacious hope of the raven, the *un-happiness* of the quiver full, is gradually giving place to forethought, and it is doubtful if even the facile pen of Zola in "*Fécondité*" produces any fruits, beyond a smile at so elaborately arranged a deception.

The bad feeling existing between mothers and their daughters is nowhere more observable than in the upper class. The revolt there

has assumed considerable proportions, and is to be attributed to a variety of causes. The absurd affectation of youth displayed by the modern woman of fashion, who has several daughters "out," the lack of money which consigns the girl, at the death of the sire, and the accession of the son, from a palace to a suburban cottage; jealousy and rivalry, all go to swell the mass of seething discontent. The middle classes are sullenly acquiescent in maternal authority. It is only when we descend to the labouring masses that we still find a full submission to the old order, obedience to authority, and a recognition of the duty of supporting the parent in old age or infirmity. To find a good mother is a very much harder task than the generality of people suppose. To educate in "drawing-room accomplishments" and then deck out for the marriage mart is, as a rule, considered the limit to which maternal duty need go. Mothers, as a mass, are negligent of their most obvious responsibilities, and utterly unfitted for their commonest duties. Every daughter, no matter what class she be born in, ought to be taught all household duties to make her capable of household command. To understand cooking is as necessary for the duchess as the kitchen maid. The former must not be put at a disadvantage by the latter. A duchess ought to understand the ingredients of the menu submitted for her approval. That she rarely does so the majority of chefs know too well, and, needless to say, they do not waste their *chef d'œuvres* on the ducal table.

Now that philanthropy has become the fashionable cult of the age, when from Royal Princesses downwards the aim is to stimulate domestic accomplishments in the homes of the working classes, many a well-born lady has to lament the lack of knowledge which should have been hers in childhood, and which in later life she has been compelled to learn from the commencement.

The boys get away to trade or profession, the girls are left at home to await their fate, matrimony or spinsterhood. From this latter pair of alternatives much of our daughters' unhappiness arises. Marriage is too generally looked upon as woman's sole profession. Every girl should be taught an industry of some sort, according with the bent of her inclinations, which will render her independent of matrimony. The horrible cruelty of keeping the girls penniless and expending all available cash on the boys is barbaric. The mother's habit of looking out for a husband to keep her daughter is merely a detestable degradation. What right, it may surely be asked, have parents of the upper classes to produce children they cannot, or will not, finance?—girls who live at home eating their hearts out, and precluded by the false pride of their parents from participating in

the healthy work of the world. Can they be blamed for the sullen resentment, the energetic revolt which is spreading so rapidly throughout society?

Let us now turn back to the bed-rock of the whole system. Obedience and respect are the two obligations which all the world expects a child to render its parents. Just as a woman before the altar is required to swear she will honour and obey a man she knows nothing whatsoever about, and whom she may discover to be a scoundrel before a week has elapsed, so is the child expected to take on trust and faith a pair of persons who, as a rule, are incapable of controlling themselves, far less their offspring. The arrangement may work very well through childhood, but the trouble begins when intelligence dawns. When the son is grown up, and sees clearly the shortcomings of his sire, this is distinctly disagreeable to the parent. Should he express disapprobation it is violently resented as undutiful. Should he give vent to the belief that, in many ways, his education has been neglected, he is upbraided with ingratitude. Yet, after all, is he ungrateful? To begin with, he was not asked the question "to be or not to be." Had he been consulted he would probably have replied, "out upon your human life with all its worries." Presumably the fact of his birth was agreeable to the parents, or it would not have taken place.

Either the offspring have the right to expect everything from their parents, or nothing. If the former position be the correct one, fair treatment, a prior claim on all finances, control over all doubtful proceedings on the part of the parents, must be theirs to claim as a legitimate equity. If the latter be the true condition, then the parents have absolutely no right whatever to claim either obedience or respect.

This question will have to be settled one way or another. The friction is getting worse. May there not be men at the present moment labouring under the sense of injustice? The sire has grown old, and is incapable of making a just will. Perhaps he has been "got hold of." He may possibly have taken offence at some trifling indiscretion of his son, and (forgetting his own) design to cut him off with the proverbial shilling. He has reared his boy without profession, to be dependent on his resources. At the age of forty many a man finds himself dependent on the whim of a father in his dotage, and compelled to sink his self-respect in a pitiful pandering to senility.

I believe it will be conceded that the majority of right-minded men and women would be indifferent to the alienation of their patrimony, provided there was a law in force not only compelling parents

to educate their children of both sexes in financial independence, but according them the liberty and freedom to make use of their talents when developed. Idleness and lack of participation in the *va et vient* of the world is a prolific breeder of discontent. One knows of many fathers who say, "my son has no need to work, he will be amply provided for at my death." This does not always turn out to be the case; but, either way, waiting for old shoes creates a bad precedent. Possibly the mother may be life-rented in the whole estate, a dozen things may occur to postpone independence, till it be too late to be enjoyed. It is not exactly a pleasant position to be dependent on a father, but to be dependent on a mother is infinitely worse. One may speculate with uncertainty as to the many slips there may be between the paternal cup and the filial lip. Where the scales of justice are balanced by the mother it is a fair axiom to say the matter is decided. She will certainly do but one thing—the wrong one. In finance women are infinitely less to be trusted than men. They do not understand money, indeed, it is not to be expected that they should, as they so rarely have the handling of any. They are subject to deeper and more enduring prejudices, their more limited experience of the world causes their judgment to be harsher, their conclusions hastier, their views narrower. An elderly widower is often entrapped into matrimony, but as a rule the desire for a nurse is stronger than the craving for sentiment. An elderly widow generally proves herself to be the most vulnerable and inflammable being alive. A man may sometimes argue his father out of an imprudent second venture, but to argue his mother out of a similar folly is, as a rule, a task beyond his persuasions.

One of the strongest characteristics of old age, and one which begins to assert itself soon after fifty, is the incapacity of the subject to see the humorous side of life. It may be counted a general rule that after sixty no man, no woman, realises the moment when they become ridiculous. After a certain age the sense of humour in the sexes seem to dwindle strangely, where they themselves are concerned. The dignity which would add several cubits to their stature went out with the Charleses. The manners made in Germany lack grace exceedingly. How many women are there, now faded into the sere and yellow leaf of spinsterhood, who do not owe the ruin of their lives to indifferent motherhood, often to that crime from which all parents believe themselves to be exempt, but which is really their besetting sin, selfishness. It is a common habit to retain one daughter at home as universal drudge, when all the rest are married. A daughter to sick nurse, to house keep, to act as bolster between parents and

household, through all the little petty frictions of daily life. A veritable white slave, without pay or thanks. Chained down in the effete bonds of obedience and subserviency which claim her body and soul. Equally familiar is the unhappy marriage, accepted as the alternative to remaining at home. After the second season the mother becomes anxious, the father fractious, and no pains are taken to hide those feelings from the wretched girl. Penniless, and unable, by reason of her faulty education, to fight her own battle of life, she begins, in despair, to lay herself out to attract the first man who comes along, with means enough to support her. Had she been told from the beginning that even a hundred a year would be hers for life, how different would have been her fate. It is a well-known fact that girls with an income which can just barely support life, very rarely marry for money, preferring to keep their independence till love is possible. The ever-increasing number of batchelor girls who club up with a chum on a couple of hundred a year is a proof of this. The daughter of a peer has the same nature as the daughter of a milliner, she equally desires to please herself, to rule her own life, but the former is hedged about with a much closer wall of conventional habit, and is rarely permitted to become a free agent until her unhappiness is consummated by a loveless union. This intense longing for freedom of action, for an uncoerced existence, is at the root of the revolt spreading widely through the highest social levels of the land.

No one will seek to deny that there are still many examples of warm devotion between parent and child, but they are in the minority. That the mother instinct is strong in the female breast cannot be refuted, but it is oftener than not the love of the girl for her doll. The child is the plaything, rather than the serious responsibility, and she is selfishly kept as such, to her severe detriment and after suffering. Where the child is attractive and pretty she too often figures as an addition to her mother's vanity. Her education is neglected, and she is shown about in carriage and drawing-room by maternal conceit: "Observe what I can produce in the way of beautiful children."

What we need is a true knowledge of how we really stand. If we have no moral or legal right to expect anything from those who gave us birth, we must be at once absolved from all the old, sentimental twaddle concerning respect, obedience, and gratitude—set free to carve out our futures as seemeth best unto ourselves. If we are held to have a claim on our parentage, that claim must be backed by law, or it is hopeless to enforce it. By the time a youth is able to see clearly, and act for himself, his sire is often past the age

when strict justice and fair dealing can be depended on. No man can be trusted to make a just will after the age of fifty-five, certainly no woman after the age of forty-five. Apparently there are few parents to be found who are capable of remembering what they themselves have suffered at the hands of their progenitors.

Every medal has two sides, and the *role* of the parent is hard to play. It is no simple task to pose under all circumstances, at all times and seasons, for many years on end, as superhuman; nevertheless, that is the light in which the father and mother are supposed to shine in the eyes of their children. The discovery that a mother is only human, and therefore liable to error is often a severe shock to her offspring. The cleverest mummer must have his day off. When we ring down the curtain for a few hours, we carry to our "secret orchards" the words and gestures of the play we have taken part in, but we know it has been only acting. There must come a time to every parent when the soul, wrenched from its scabbard, stands naked and ashamed before the child, disclosing a state of things neither better nor worse than average humanity. We often see, plainly, as we grow in years, our parents committing actions which we know to be wrong, yet we may not say so. We endure innumerable petty tyrannies without a murmur. We bear lecturings, scoldings, and upbraidings from beings whom we innately know to be no wiser or better than ourselves, and all this simply because of that inestimable boon of birth. Too often the position becomes merely grotesque. The children grow into the habit of humouring their parents, and therefore hold them in no respect whatsoever.

To many who have turned their attention to the questions we have been considering, the doctrines of Re-incarnation and Karma have supplied the only rational answer to the problem. When this solution is accepted a great mass of obscurity and apparent injustice is removed. The parent becomes merely the vehicle for the re-incarnating ego. The eternal justice of Karma guiding the pilgrim soul to the environment which will give free effect to the sowing and reaping of the former life's misdeeds and virtues. When this solution is accepted the son may turn to his parents with both love and respect, be they worthy of either, but he reserves to himself the right of judgment in directing his own life. His soul is his own to render up into no bondage save that of his Maker. He expects no more from father and mother than he holds they have the right to demand from him, the respect and forbearance of one citizen for another. Their means are their own to bestow upon whom they please, their goings and comings no business of his, but in according this right to his parents he

holds himself equally free as their child. His life's work, his marriage, his views and actions are his own to be entered into without consulting those from whom his physical body originated. Body and soul he is a free agent, owing obligations and subserviency to none, save his God. To the holders of this great doctrine (and they are now many) the affinity which occasionally does exist between some parents and children is due entirely to their having been closely related in the bonds of affection in some former life. The love tie is not severed at (so-called) death, but endures through many ages. The oft-repeated remark "I and my father have absolutely nothing in common. I and my mother do not agree upon any one point," is simply the result of their being comparatively new acquaintances, with no former links to draw or to bind.

There comes a time when the soul claims the right to work out its own salvation. Eternity is realised as one thing, and human relationships another. The soul owes one duty to the true Author of its being and another to the man and woman who were instrumental in its physical manifestation on this plane of life. To be bound to the chariot wheels of a passing generation is not the method of true progress or mental advancement.

VIOLET TWEEDALE.

IMMEMORIAL CYPRUS.

THE Island of Cyprus, while one of the most beautiful, is probably also the most neglected of our dependencies ; in fact, few people seem to be quite sure where it is, or to whom it belongs. On a casual mention of its name the chances are even that someone will say, " Oh yes ; the place where the currants come from "—meaning Corfu, or will ask whether Prince George does not reign there now—meaning Crete.

That there should be some vagueness as to ownership is hardly remarkable, when it is remembered that from a thousand years B.C. until we took her over from Turkey in 1878, there have been few countries which have not, at some period of her history, ruled Cyprus. She has passed through the hands of Phœnicians, Greeks, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, English (Richard I.), Knights Templars, the Counts de Lusignan, Venetians, Turks, and is now again, after the lapse of more than seven centuries, a British possession.

The majority of the islanders are Christians, who belong to the Orthodox Church and speak a bastard Greek. They call themselves Greeks, and are given to waving the flag of that country over a good deal of mild sedition, but as Greece has had no connection with Cyprus since long before the Christian era, the claim must be regarded as unfounded. Considering the number and variety of their conquerors, it would be difficult to say to what race they do belong.

The remainder of the people are Turkish Mahommedans, who, strange to say, are more grateful for their release from the government of the Porte than their Christian fellow subjects. Thoroughly loyal to their present rulers. they form a contented, law-abiding part of the community, at strange variance with the character of the Turk as it is generally described in the daily papers. While their religion compels them to be cleanly and sober, their tastes lead them to be

industrious and domesticated. The Turkish peasant never has more than one wife, to whom he is an indulgent husband, while to his children he is a most devoted father. Put a Turk of this class side by side with the British labourer, who too frequently drinks away his wages and then goes home to beat his wife, and each man would probably feel absolutely certain of his own superiority over the other. Certainly the mind of the Britisher would admit of no doubt upon the subject. Yet it would be a comparison which might give rise to some speculation on the part of the beholder.

As a general thing, Christian and Mahommedan Cypriotes do not foregather, each having their separate villages, or quarters of a town, but they serve, irrespective of race, in the admirable police force, which was organised and is officered by Englishmen. The men look very picturesque in the red fez worn by all alike, and, theirs being a semi-military body, they take great pride in their drill and accoutrements. These police, some good roads, the usual British even-handed administration of justice, and, recently, a certain amount of badly needed irrigation, together with a new harbour, practically sum up all the benefits which our rule has bestowed upon the place, which has altered but little since we became responsible for its welfare.

As a matter of fact, it is to be doubted whether country or inhabitants have changed very greatly since the days when St. Paul was scourged at a pillar still shown to the credulous, or since St. Barnabas was buried with a manuscript copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew on his breast.

Modern innovations, such as gas or railroads, have passed Cyprus by, and she still arranges her transport by means of camels or mules, and lights her streets with oil lamps.

It is interesting to note the curious jumble of Christian and pagan relics scattered all over the island. The scene of St. Paul's suffering is not many miles distant from the Temple of Venus, which, built to commemorate the rising of that goddess from the sea at Paphos, has long lain level with the ground. Many of its great stones, part of the tessellated pavement and the deep bath, yet remain on a site sufficiently beautiful and romantic even for the abode of a Goddess of Love. Again, at Famagusta are to be found the ruins of many churches, while at Curium lie fragments of the Temple of Apollo, together with broken statues and remnants of ancient pottery. Wild thyme and asphodel grow impartially over Christian and pagan emblems alike, though as to the churches destroyed by Mahommedan fanaticism, others have arisen to take their place, while of the old joyous worship of the temples no trace is left.

With an admirable climate, an industrious population, and a soil which brings forth lavishly almost every variety of agricultural produce, Cyprus is yet an extremely poor country. She is taxed to the limit of her resources in order that she may pay the annual Turkish tribute, with which, had our diplomacy been equal to that of the Porte, she would never have been saddled. The yearly sum that in 1878 we agreed to make over to Turkey (in addition to consenting to close the Cyprus salt mines that they might not compete with the Turkish monopoly) was £93,800, and of this amount we charge £60,000 upon the island. Since the bargain was one wherein she had no voice, since the benefit is ours and the evil hers, since we are rich while she is poor, this would seem to be but a bad example of that fair dealing upon which we pride ourselves as a nation.

All things considered, although it is matter for regret, it can scarcely arouse surprise that the Cypriotes sing the Greek National Anthem, not the British, mount the Greek flag and not the Union Jack. At the same time, perhaps too great a laxity is displayed by the authorities, for the writer has been present at an entertainment in the island where, during the rendering of "God save the King," numbers of the audience deliberately sat down, while they rose to a man for the Greek hymn. And this when British officials were present. Such demonstrations, however, are confined to the smaller towns, and do not take place openly in Nikosia, the seat of government. But an under-current of agitation to promote union with Greece is fairly general among the Christian population, who forget that if England were to resign her claim to the island, Turkey would reassert hers, while Greece has never had one. Although the agitators do their utmost to awake and foster dislike of English rule among the villagers, their success is problematical, for the Cypriote peasant is not wont to trouble himself greatly about politics, having his mind fully occupied with the task of making the day's earnings suffice for the day's needs.

One source of contentment the natives enjoy, namely, the extraordinary cheapness of living. One shilling there goes about as far as two in England, while many things that to us seem luxuries are within reach of the poorest. Almost every variety of fruit and vegetable grows wild, or with very little cultivation, and is correspondingly inexpensive. Grapes, for instance, abundant during nine months of the year, average a halfpenny per lb. Turkeys cost 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. and fowls 1s., the excellent wine of the country about fivepence per quart, and so on through the whole range of indigenous provisions. House rent also is low, and servants' wages, though comparatively high, are less than with us. Most of the English

residents employ men cooks, as female labour is inclined to drift to the fields, or to the lower walks of domestic service. Also, a native woman would consider her character gone for ever were she to visit the market alone, and few households are organised on a scale which allows of a chaperon for the cook. With the one exception that she does not wear a yashmak, the Christian is almost as closely guarded as the Turkish woman. She seldom ventures outside her house unattended by either a relative or a servant; she has little voice in the matter of her own marriage, which is largely a question of sale and barter between the parents of the contracting parties; and she is expected to order herself lowly and reverently towards her betters—i.e. her male relations. A native ball is, for this reason, a curious sight to a foreigner. Each man solemnly escorts his partner back to her chaperone immediately a dance is over, so that in the intervals all the women sit on one side of the room and all the men on the other. Refreshments are handed round on trays, so that the excuse of an ice or a glass of claret-cup cannot be offered for any delay in returning to the black row of dowagers. It is all extremely correct, but one imagines that it might be correspondingly dull.

Almost the only English people in Cyprus are those in Government employment, with their families, and what society there is resembles official society all the world over. Plenty of hospitality and a good deal of golf and polo, but naturally, in a small circle, where everybody is intimately acquainted with everyone else, more interest is taken in Mr. Jones' promotion or Mrs. Robinson's flirtation than in matters of more importance to the world at large. Unfortunately there are no good hotels. Did such exist, the island might return to prosperity by the easy road of becoming a popular winter resort. A place which is only nine days' journey from England, which possesses a better climate than that of Egypt, with a far lower scale of expense, and can offer such attractions as shooting, fishing, and riding, has but to be known in order to become attractive to many who would prefer to winter in a quiet, rather than in a fashionable spot. But, while there is so little accommodation for them, tourists avoid Cyprus, and one of our fairest possessions is left alone to bewail her neglected state.

C. L. JEBB.

THE STRATFORD POET.

THE Editor has courteously allowed a reply to his article, "The Great Stratford Superstition," by one who has studied all the works of Bacon and Shakespeare, and most of the writings concerning the Baconian Heresy, and has answered the chief of them. The first recorded student of Shakespeare was a woman, Mrs. Anne Merrick, who, on January 21, 1638, wrote from the country to a friend in London, that she could not come to town that year, but must content herself "with the *study* of Shakespeare and the History of Women" (State Papers, Dom. Ser., Charles I. 409 (167).) In these two interests, thus early and specially combined, I follow the lady's lead.

One short magazine article cannot possibly deal with the subject exhaustively, therefore I only attempt to make a general protest against the Editor's paper, and to illustrate a few of its weaknesses.

"Possession is nine-tenths of the law"; from which proverb it would seem that the arguments for Bacon's authorship would require to be ten times as strong as Shakespeare's, before they can have a reasonable chance of ousting the present possessor from his dramatic name and fame. On the contrary, there is no real *argument* for putting Bacon out of the great sphere which he designed for himself, into one designed by his admirers, but utterly incongruous to his nature and powers. All his own contemporaries, all his immediate successors, and all their descendants for 250 years, attributed the plays to their author, Shakespeare. Guess-work began about the middle of the nineteenth century, and like a snowball rolling, gradually increased by external accretion, but not by vital energy. I do not deny that there are some apparent difficulties and some strange coincidences, or Baconianism, as a cult, could not have been possible. But these difficulties depend upon our temporary ignorance, these

coincidences may be explained in another way from that the Baconians insist on.

Francis Bacon was a genius, and a well-trained one. He early saw the deficiencies of the science and philosophy of his day. His devotees to-day do not follow his prime advice for conducting investigations enunciated in his great *Novum Organum*, "to search after negatives" to any hypothesis they may start. On the contrary, they greedily accept everything, however unfounded, that tells in the favour of their new theory, and ignore whatever contradicts their points. No amount of repetition will make a hazy and unfounded tradition into a fact, and inferences from unsound premises give no worthy conclusion. I can only bring forward a few of my facts here, and still fewer of my inferences.

Echoing the cry of old, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" the Baconians commence by crying, "Can any good come out of Stratford and Warwickshire?" and to give weight to the cry, strive to belittle the place.

It may be remembered that a fine German writer, Jean Paul Richter, insisted that a "poet should always have himself born in a small city." There are many reasons that made the "small city" of Stratford, eminently suitable for the birthplace of a poet. It was at the very heart of England, the centre of the converging influences of descent and of legend from British and Saxon and Danish ancestors. The great Roman roads crossed not far off, and Stratford, with her substantial bridge, was on the line of traffic. Stratford was a thriving town, "*emporium non inelegans*," says Camden. Its gentle, undulating scenery lay just on the borders of a great forest,

"Where nightingales in Arden sit and sing" (*Drayton*).

It had had an aristocratic semi-religious guild from ancient times, centre of the county families, an old college, now also passed away, and a noble church, still existing. Bacon, a great scholar, in 1549 speaks of Warwickshire as the most intellectual of all the English counties, and Stratford, in Shakespeare's time at least, had a town-council intelligent enough to know the value of a good schoolmaster, and to seek to secure him in the practical way by offering double the amount of salary enjoyed by the head-master of Eton and others. The books used in the grammar schools of the day can be found in the writings of Mulcaster and Brinsley, and by reference to the Stationers' Registers. The status of the schoolmaster determined the character of the study and of the books. Those who say that Stratford was then a "bookless neighbourhood" speak without book. It is easy for

a particular instance to destroy so universal an affirmative. There was, at least, one suit at law because a man had not returned a book he had borrowed; and from my own knowledge of their names, I can state that one curate alone had 120 books of the best selections in philosophy, divinity, history, literature, and legend.

After decrying Stratford, the Baconians attempt to defame young Stratford Shakespeare. Fortunately, when he was young, his father was one of the most important men in the place, and as the grammar-school was free to all the sons of burgesses, it is more than reasonable to suppose that he had his full opportunities given him. Of course, he may have neglected them, which is an occasional way with a genius. There is *no* authority for the statement that Shakespeare was apprenticed to a butcher. Even if he had been so, that circumstance would not have quenched a native genius that rebelled against it. Wolsey was the son of a butcher, so was Akenside. There *is* authority for his early marriage, imprudent because his father was in pecuniary difficulties at the time, but just the kind of marriage one would have expected from his poetic, impulsive tendencies. His relations to life, property, and literature were more like those of Sir Walter Scott than any other man. When he found himself in difficulties, he bravely set himself to the task of attempting to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the family, and set off to London. The Baconians firmly believe that he had to fly to escape the consequences of his poaching affair, but has it never struck them how humorous it is to think that Bacon showed spite at Sir Thomas Lucy, for the whipping that Shakespeare received. Bacon in reality was a very good friend of the Lucy family. I exposed the whole falsity of this tradition two years ago in the *Fortnightly*, in an article entitled "Justice Shallow *not* a Satire on Sir Thomas Lucy."

When young Shakespeare went to London, there is proof that he renewed his acquaintanceship with his Stratford friend Richard Field, the apprentice, son-in-law, and successor of Vautrollier, the great printer, who had two printing presses, and was allowed to keep six foreign journeymen. For some years, at least, it is evident that he took time to read Field's books. Webster, his contemporary dramatist, calls him "*industrious* Shakespeare." I say it is evident, because with the exception of a few books referred to, such as Wilson's "Art of Rhetoric," "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," "Seneca," "Plautus," "Holinshed's History of England," and others, this one firm alone printed all the books that were *necessary* for the poet's culture, and all that he refers to directly.

The limitation in authorities is a strong argument against Bacon's

authorship, as well as the plentiful crop of unscholarly blunders to be found in the plays.

Besides Field's library, another opportunity of education and culture was found for the poet in the romantic and faithful friendship of the young Earl of Southampton, a law-student and patron of literature. How can Baconians gravely assert that Bacon *could* have written these two dedications of 1593 and 1594 to Shakespeare's poems? How could he speak of the one poem as the "first heir of his invention," when he already had written much and designed more? How could he say to Southampton in print, "What I have done is yours, what I have to do is yours," while he was at that time a sworn follower of the Earl of Essex? Shakespeare had no position in society or literature sufficient to induce Bacon to use his name as a mantle, by the time that Shakespeare's two poems were brought out by Shakespeare's friend, Dick Field. The sonnets resemble the poems too much in phrases, feelings, and situations to doubt that the author is the same, and all the three are claimed by Shakespeare in print.

Now, can the Baconians explain how they can believe that Bacon, who at the age of thirty-one had already planned "The Greatest Birth of Time," and, filled with the sublime self-conceit of conscious power, had written to Lord Burghley in that year that he "had taken all knowledge to be his province," should have addressed the half-trained young lad, Southampton (among many other similar phrases), in the modest lines:—

Thine eyes that taught the dumb on high to sing,
And heavy ignorance aloft to fly,
Have added feathers to the learned's wing,
And given grace a double majesty.
Yet be most proud of that which I compile,
Whose influence is thine and born of thee,
In other's works thou dost but mend the style,
And arts with thy sweet graces graced be—
But thou art all my art, and dost advance
As high as learning my rude ignorance.

Bacon simply could not have written these lines at least.

And it must be remembered that whoever was able to write the sonnets and the poems, might become able in time to write the fuller and richer plays.

There remain witnesses abundant that Shakespeare's London career was a personal success. Greene's envy, no less than Chettle's praise, point to it, W. Clarke, Thomas Edwards, the authors of the *Parnassus Plays*, John Weever, John Davies, and Thomas Thorpe; that he was a good actor, John Marston, the dramatist, affirms, by

asking whether he or Burbage acted best ; John Davies also couples their names together as players having

Wit, courage, good shape, good parts and all good.

and says of Shakespeare that he was a fit " companion for a king."

Thou hast no rayling but a raygning witt,
And honesty thou sow'st which they do reape.

The praises of his " works " are emphasised by Professor Meres and many others ; and the testimony of his love and appreciation of " his fellows " is unstinted. It must never be forgotten that perhaps the most undoubted praise was that which an admirer fixed upon his tombstone, a shelter to which surely Bacon cannot enter.

I must also protest against the assumption that Shakespeare " returned to Stratford to lead an illiterate life." He returned there to live in the best house of the town, bearing arms (then a much greater distinction than now), as *all* his friends and relatives did, to associate on intimate terms with the Combes, Collins, Walkers, Shaws, Nashes, and probably all the county families, as tradition says, especially that of Sir William Somerville, of Edreston. He returned there, and continued to write his plays in the bosom of his family, with one son-in-law, the most distinguished physician of his time, the possessor of a good library, and his other prospective son-in-law, cultured up to the level, at least, of affixing a suggestive French proverb to his accounts, the year that he was Chamberlain.

It is not a fact that he did not teach his favourite daughter to read and write. It is probably because she responded more rapidly to culture than her sister did that she became his favourite, as his will proves. She is recorded to have been " witty above her sex," and like her father. Her signature can still be seen.

I now come to a stock statement of the Baconians that might seem to a careless student founded on fact, that he spent his time as a maltster and moneylender. They never have taken the trouble to find out (as I have) the number of contemporary Warwickshire Shakespeares. There was a second John in Stratford-on-Avon, and a third in a neighbouring village. There were several of the name of William in the immediate neighbourhood. There was even one at Hatton, who had a daughter *Susanna* in 1596 ; there was another who was a malt-dealer and a moneylender. His transactions commence during the poet's life, but, alas for the Baconian argument, *they continue for ten years after the poet's death.* The receipts can still be seen at Warwick Castle. Of course, " selling malt " or not,

is quite irrelevant to the question in hand. There is only one point, however, that may be noted in connection with it. In all the plays there is no allusion to the processes of malt-making, beside the one proverb, or to the technique of brewing or wine-making, as there is, for instance, of printing. Shakespeare only treats the finished article, as sold in the taverns, or drunk in the halls. He only notes philosophically the effect that stimulants have on the hearts, brains, and characters of men. This question never troubles Bacon, but he knows all about the manufacture, the keeping, storing, curing of ale, wine, mead, and metheglin.

A similar powerful contrast may be seen regarding the differing treatments of the horse and the chase. The poems and plays are full of reference to the delights of the chase, and the sympathy subsisting between a rider and his noble steed. The whole works of Bacon supply only three prosy references to the existence of "the horse."

The great stronghold of the Baconians is "The Promus." But the notes there are not *proved* to be original. Some of them can be shown to be borrowed echoes of what the writer heard and read. Bacon was a great borrower, as Shakespeare also undoubtedly is. Only a poet is not expected to acknowledge "sources" in his dramas; which a prose writer, in leisurely detail, is expected to do. (Robert Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" did so.) Only last month I came across one of Chamberlain's letters, which records a witty saying of the Duchess of Richmond. The writer adds it might have got into Bacon's Apophthegms, which he had just published, not much to his credit. Whole passages and facts are borrowed by Bacon without acknowledgment from the ancients, trusting to the general ignorance of his readers. The very cipher he claimed as his own was published by Jean Baptist Porta in 1568, and by Blaise de Vigenère in 1587.

I do not attempt to deal with the absurd notion that any real poet could weight the wings of his muse with a cipher. Dr. Nicholson of Leamington gave the *reductio ad absurdum* to Mr. Donnelly's, and other writers have let in light upon later attempts at cipher mysteries.

The author of "The Great Stratford Superstition" says there are no improbabilities in supposing Bacon to have written the plays. What? Bacon write "Romeo and Juliet"? He did not know what love was! In his Essay on Love he calmly asserts that the stage had been more beholden to love than the life of man. In his life without love, the "marriages" he sought, and the one he secured, were all mercantile transactions. He did not deserve to be happy in matrimony. Bacon write the humours of the fat knight? Bacon was

full of wisdom and abounded in wit, but of humour he was absolutely destitute.

Unfortunately, once only have we a story of Bacon crossing Shakespeare's path, a crucial illustration of the impossibility of his having written one play at least. "The Comedy of Errors" was based on the *Menoechmi* of Plautus, a translation of which was registered in the books of the Stationers' Company on June 10, 1594. Books at that time were nearly always handed about in MS. before printing, seeking patrons. Very probably this one was shown to the Earl of Southampton, or Shakespeare may have seen it in MS. It was more than six months after the registration of the *Menoechmi* that the "Comedy of Errors" appeared under peculiar circumstances, which I have treated fully elsewhere. It was acted as a new play by Shakespeare's company, amid the uproars in Gray's Inn Hall, December 26, 1594, when the Prince of Purpoole's plans came to grief. The Benchers felt it an intolerable disgrace, and appointed Bacon to write a proper play to retrieve the lost honour of Gray's Inn. He wrote them the "Masque of the Councillors," which pleased his fellows, and the company that they had re-invited to make amends for the "Night of Errors." This masque may yet be read, and is exactly the measure of the dramatic capability of Francis Bacon. It is quite a mistake to imagine that a good play would have discredited him. On the contrary, the having written the first English blank verse tragedy was, even at the time, considered the highest distinction of a more aristocratic man than Bacon, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, a diplomatist too.

Bacon's allusion to himself as "a concealed poet" can be clearly understood by those who study his works. He would have called the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More a concealed poem, as he did call his own "New Atlantis." (See *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Book II., Poesy, chap. 13.)

On the other hand, he distinctly states, "I profess not to be a poet, but I prepared a sonnet directly tending to draw on her Majesty's reconciliation to my Lord of Essex, *which I showed to a great person, who commended it!*" Spedding, Bacon's most able editor and biographer, says of the poor versions of certain psalms put into English metre, "These were the *only* verses certainly of Bacon's making that have come down to us, and, probably, with one or two slight exceptions, the only verses he ever wrote."

With Bacon and with Spedding I agree.

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

“MENS SANA.”

INSANITY, as everyone will acknowledge, is one of the most terrible diseases to which humanity is subject. It is confined to no country or climate, to no period of life or class of society; it causes greater and more widespread sorrow and suffering than almost any other disease; it is continually on the increase, and the number of curable cases is very, very small, in comparison with the great host of the incurable. Yet, in spite of these undoubted facts, it appears to me that there is no disease concerning which people in general are so ignorant, so indifferent, and have so many false ideas.

Several years spent in the care of the insane, in the study of individual cases, and their family histories, and of the best works that have been written on the subject, have led me irresistibly to the following conclusions:—

(1) That nearly all insanity is, *in the first instance*, the result of some form of self-indulgence, of some want of self-restraint, or of the gradual centring of all the thoughts and emotions on self alone, and therefore,

(2) That nearly all insanity is, *in the first instance*, preventable.

(3) That each one of us can help to prevent it, and therefore

(4) That each one of us has a responsibility in this matter which we dare not ignore.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to prove these four propositions.

The real nature and original causes of insanity are, I venture to think, but little understood, save by the medical profession, and the more educated and intelligent among the nurses of the insane. Those who have insane relations or friends of their own are usually the most ignorant of all.

Perhaps the most misleading of the false ideas even now current

amongst educated people, respecting the nature of insanity, is this, that insanity is a disease of the mind, *as opposed to the body*.

No doubt, insanity signifies mental unsoundness ; but where is the seat of our mental powers and operations ? In the brain. And what is the brain, if not a part, and a most important part, of the body ?

Insanity, as we see it, is the outcome of a diseased brain ; it is, therefore, as truly a disease of the body as consumption or smallpox, of which there is no more unmistakable proof than the fact that insanity is largely affected by such bodily conditions as want of nourishment and want of sleep.

There are even yet some who look upon insanity as a mysterious visitation of Providence, or a visible punishment for sin. After all, they are not far wrong. Insanity is both a visitation of Providence and a punishment for sin, in this sense, that it is a direct result of the violation of those laws of nature which are proofs of providence and a standard of righteousness.

It is not so many years since epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and scarlet fever were looked upon as the just "visitations of Providence," and it was considered blasphemous to try and avert them by draining cesspools and removing dust-heaps. What an immense and salutary change has been effected in public opinion, in this respect ! Nowadays the ordinary laws of hygiene and sanitation are understood by all well-educated persons, and this knowledge is slowly but surely permeating downwards through all classes of society. We all know now, that if every member of the community kept his person and his dwelling clean and wholesome, such diseases as smallpox and scarlet fever would be stamped out altogether.

It is equally necessary, equally important, that we should also know this, that if every member of the community kept his brain, his mind, in a pure and wholesome condition, insanity and idiocy, with their attendant evils and miseries, would be so enormously diminished as to have no further terrors for us.

Each one of us has a brain which is as liable to disease as the other organs of our body, neither more nor less ; each one of us has a physical and moral influence over the brains of a certain number of our fellow creatures. Each one of us can try to keep his brain pure and healthy, and to help those with whom he has any influence to keep their brains also pure and healthy. It is therefore the duty of each one of us—your duty and my duty—to learn what constitutes a healthy brain, and also what causes an unhealthy brain ; so that we may understand what our responsibility is, and how we are to meet it.

By insanity we understand the loss of that control which our reason and our judgment exercise over our ideas and our emotions. This loss may be partial, as in monomania, or complete, as in acute mania ; it may be temporary, as in a fit of anger, or an attack of fever, when it is called passion or delirium ; and it may last for months or years, or become permanent, when it is called insanity. In the latter case, this loss always indicates disease or injury of some portion of the brain.

This disease, or injury, may be caused by an accident, such as sunstroke, or a severe blow on the head ; but in the great majority of cases it is caused by self-indulgence, or by self-absorption. That is why insanity is pre-eminently a disease in which prevention is better than cure ; in which, indeed, prevention is often possible where cure is not.

When I speak of self-indulgence, I do not mean only the excessive use of alcohol, or other sensual excesses, although these are well-known causes of a great deal of insanity. There are other forms of self-indulgence, more subtle in their working, less easily recognised, equally potent to lead to insanity, and therefore even more dangerous, perhaps, than those that are more apparent.

All persons who are sane, or who are esteemed sane, practise, by tacit agreement, an outward propriety of behaviour, which common usage and the claims of society impose upon them. Habit, education, and an inherited sense of decency and modesty, combine to make them exercise that outward self-restraint without which all social intercourse would become impossible.

With many persons, this outward self-restraint is accompanied by a reasonable and habitual control exercised over the inward thoughts, impulses, and emotions. With many more, however, it is accompanied by no such thing. They restrain the *outward expression* of thoughts and feelings of which they are ashamed, but not the thoughts and feelings themselves. Those are allowed unchecked course through the brain ; and in these unchecked thoughts and emotions are to be found some of the insidious beginnings of insanity. We are all aware, if we have any knowledge of ourselves, that our minds have a bias in some particular direction, or directions. Our thoughts, when at leisure, have a tendency to run in certain grooves ; we are especially liable to certain emotions, for instance, nervous anxiety, jealous suspicion, religious enthusiasm. It is in this bias, this predominant tendency, whatever it may be, that our danger lies. The more we exercise a reasonable control over our *predominant* ideas and emotions, the more nearly we approach to a perfectly sound

condition of brain ; the more we indulge them, the greater the risk we run of one day having an unsound brain.

We know that if any particular set of muscles, or any one organ of our body is too continuously and severely exercised, it will become injured and diseased from overstrain. On the other hand, any part that is always neglected and disused, grows smaller and weaker, and may become, in time, altogether useless. In like manner, if we persistently overwork any one of our intellectual powers, or any one of our emotions (and, believe me, it is quite possible to overwork our emotions) that part of our brain which is continually stimulated and excited becomes exhausted, and at last diseased, from overstrain ; while any power or capacity that we neglect to cultivate, whether it be our reason, our memory, or our sympathy with others, becomes weak and useless for want of exercise.

If it be asked, how can we overwork our emotions ? I reply, by the extravagant and unreasonable expenditure of emotion on the most trifling occasions ; and by the continual indulgence of pleasing and stimulating emotions in day dreams and imaginings which can have no foundation in the real facts of life. These two are frequent conditions of incipient insanity, in the form which is called hysteria.

Thoughts and emotions, like other natural forces, follow the line of least resistance. Where the little stream can flow unchecked, it will dig for itself a channel so wide and deep, that at last no man can stay the rush of its waters ; but in doing this, it will continually wear away the earth and rocks in its course. So also, that unchecked current of thought or emotion, always in one groove, always on one subject, must of necessity wear for itself a channel at the expense of the substance of your brain. For your brain—which is the embodiment of your mind—is a substance, not an impalpable entity ; like other organic substances, it will stand wear and tear, but not too much of it. It is calculated to last a lifetime, but only if you will take reasonable care of it.

A brain weakened by the habitual indulgence of those trains of thought and emotion which are easiest and most stimulating, is unfitted to bear a sudden shock or a severe strain ; even the ordinary strain of everyday life may, in the long run, prove too much for it. Many a person is practically insane, long before it is apparent even to those who live with him ; because he retains the life-long habit of outward self-restraint, long after he has lost the power of inward self-restraint. This outward barrier, however, is weak indeed, without any inward support, and a sudden shock to the nerves, or a severe strain upon them, will probably break it down. His insanity then

becomes apparent in his words and actions, and it is put down, of course, to the shock or the strain. Its real cause, however, is to be found in the years of self-indulgence that have gone before ; had they been, instead, years of self-control, and the patient exercise of reason, the brain would have been strengthened for the time of trial and stress, and would not have given way under it.

The greater part of insanity is the result of self-indulgence and self-absorption. A self-absorbed and narrow-minded person is much more likely to become insane than a person who cultivates wide sympathies, and whose thoughts are occupied with the needs of others and with active work for the service of mankind. The chief preventives of insanity are self-forgetfulness, and self-control ; not merely outward decorum, and propriety of behaviour, but true, inward self-restraint, constantly exercised by reason and judgment over impulse and emotion.

Many persons are by nature self-centred. If the extreme danger of this tendency is not impressed upon them in youth, they never realise it, and as years go on, they gradually lose all interest in everything that does not immediately affect themselves. A large portion of their brain-power thus remaining inactive, dies of inanition, while the miserable portion that does all the work becomes hopelessly diseased. A person who can only use one piece of his brain is quite as much an invalid as he who can only walk with one leg.

There is, of course, a certain amount of insanity which is induced, or apparently so, by overwork in a good cause, or by the entire suppression of grief and anxiety in order to spare the feelings of others—a suppression which often results in disastrous effects on the nervous system. This is evidently the very opposite of self-indulgence or self-absorption, and presents to us one of the most painful problems of those that daily perplex us—the problem of evil coming out of good. In regard to this class of cases, I can only say here, that numerous as they may be individually, they are in a very small minority compared with those arising from different forms of selfishness ; and also that in these, as in all others, there is usually an inherited pre-disposition.

It will be said that most of the insanity now existing arises from a pre-disposition inherited from former generations, and that this generation, therefore, cannot be held responsible for it.

There can be no doubt that a pre-disposition to insanity may be inherited ; but this fact does not lessen, it rather increases our responsibility.

Why should there be, as undoubtedly there is, such a frightful

amount of inherited insanity amongst us? And why should it spread and increase year by year, instead of decreasing, as it surely ought to do, in a community which is advancing in civilisation?

In answer to these questions, which affect so large a proportion of the community that they may justly be said to affect us all, it appears to me that there are three principal causes for the spread of inherited insanity amongst us.

(1) That those who inherit this pre-disposition, do not know how to counteract its effects in themselves, and to avoid transmitting it beyond their own generation.

(2) The intermarriage of cousins.

(3) The utterly reckless and sinful marriages of those whose parents are insane, or who have even themselves had attacks of insanity.

Let us suppose that I am aware there is insanity in my family, and that I have reason to fear that it may show itself, either in myself or in some of my near relatives. Can I do anything to avert the calamity?

Persevering self-restraint will, under all circumstances, prove, if not a preventive, at least a safeguard; but my own experience is, that in such cases, the course that is generally pursued is the very opposite of that which would tend to promote mental health.

When it is known that there is insanity in a family, and any member of it is observed to be weak-minded, hysterical, morbid, or extraordinarily passionate, his inherited pre-disposition is made an excuse for these aberrations; and rightly so, for, of course, a person who is born with an unhealthy brain has much more to contend against than he who is born with a healthy, normal brain, and it would be unfair to expect as much self-restraint from the former as from the latter. While making all reasonable allowances, however, we must not forget that, as such a one will have greater difficulty in acquiring self-restraint and wholesome habits of thought, for that very reason he requires in early life more careful discipline, and in manhood more firmness and consistency of conduct in those who live with him.

Is this the treatment that such persons usually receive from those who are responsible for their bringing up? I think not.

If a child, whose parents or near relations are insane, is observed to be unnaturally excitable and sensitive, or extraordinarily sudden and violent in anger, or is subject to fits of any kind, he is, as a rule, completely spoilt. It is supposed, quite wrongly, that it is both cruel and dangerous to thwart him, and that discipline will only

aggravate his incipient disease. Consequently, he is indulged, yielded to, pitied and petted, so that he never has a chance of acquiring the stability of brain which is lacking to him. His violent fits of passion, or hours of sullen depression, are never treated as faults, only as misfortunes ; and, knowing that they are so treated, it naturally follows that he never makes the effort (which he could make) to overcome them.

Such a child requires firmer (not harsher) discipline than a healthy-minded child, because, the less restraint there is from within, the more there needs to be from without ; the inward being eventually the result of the outward. This is, however, the last thing that the guardians of children with insane tendencies can be made to understand. Their fixed idea is, that these children must always be humoured, must never be thwarted, that life must be made as smooth and easy for them as possible ; and when, year by year, the bursts of passion grow more frequent and more violent, the fits of gloom deeper and more persistent, they put it all down to the inherited taint, not seeing that it is the inevitable result of their own foolish and ignorant method of training.

Meanwhile, the weak, undisciplined child grows up—how can it be otherwise ?—into a weak, undisciplined man. He has to go out into the world ; like another, he has to fight the battle of life. Will the world make allowances for him, humour his peculiarities, indulge his wayward fancies ? He has now to encounter the “whips and scorns of time,” for which his nature fitted him but little, and his training has totally unfitted him. Unaccustomed to discipline, to opposition, or to deprivation, he has now to endure the discipline of real life, the opposition of circumstances, the deprivations of time, with what result ?

I think it would surprise most people to know how many spoilt children, simply because they are spoilt, become insane when they grow up, and have to encounter the ordinary trials and disappointments of life. Many of them annually swell the numbers of the unfortunate victims who crowd our lunatic asylums ; and yet, but for the culpable ignorance of their guardians and teachers, they might have had a happier fate.

Now if this child had been wisely and firmly controlled, and taught to look upon his irrational tendencies as faults, capable of correction ; still more, if he had been made to understand, as he grew older, that he would need to wrestle with himself, and to train himself, more than others who were more fortunately constituted ; would he not, at least, have had a much better chance of overcoming

the inevitable difficulties of life, and of not breaking down beneath its burdens and disappointments ?

It is certain that a very large number of apparently hopeless cases of insanity could be traced to the influence of unfavourable conditions which never ought to have existed ; of these conditions, the lack of sensible training and control in early youth is, perhaps, the most common. It is true that the training of these morbidly disposed natures requires a continual watchfulness, an unwearied patience, an unusual amount of tact and wisdom ; but the indolence, or the unwise tenderness, that shrinks from the task, and the indifference that neglects it, will one day have a heavy reckoning to pay.

Let us suppose, however, that the child has been firmly and sensibly trained, there is yet much work left for himself to do. A morbid disposition is a torment to its possessor under the most favourable circumstances. Yet if he is aware of his weakness, and of his danger, there is no reason why he should succumb to it. As before said, everyone may train himself in wholesome habits of mind, by finding out, and resolutely keeping in check, the predominant tendencies of his thoughts and emotions.

A too vivid imagination, prone to lead us into useless day dreams, may be corrected by an acquired habit of looking steadily at the hard facts of life as they really are ; a jealous and suspicious temper, always ready to find some double meaning in the words and actions of others, may be held in check by habits of kindly service, attention to the little wants of our neighbours, and sympathy with their minor trials ; fits of apparently causeless depression, lasting sometimes for days and even weeks, may be counteracted by steady perseverance in some occupation, however distasteful, which will benefit someone else, and by seeking the society of cheerful persons, and especially of children.

If we know that we have an inheritance of insanity, we must never make this knowledge an excuse, either for despondency, or for the indulgence of morbid tendencies ; but rather let it be to us an incentive to more strenuous and unceasing efforts after reasonable self-restraint. For we have also this to consider, that, although we cannot help inheriting insane tendencies, *we can help transmitting them*. Our own life may be the harder for it, but we can make the lives of those who come after us easier and happier, by our conflicts now. And if we know what it is to live in daily strife with inherited tendencies such as these, we shall be often able to hold out a helping hand to those who have a similar experience, and whose circumstances, perhaps, may be even less favourable than our own.

There is yet another view of this subject of insane pre-disposition, which we have to consider. If we allow that the greater part of the insanity of this generation comes to it by inheritance, we have yet to ask ourselves, whence, and how far, does this inheritance come? Inherited insanity must begin somewhere, for we do not inherit it, presumably, from Adam, or from the ancestral ape. Some generations back—it may be a good many, but still, somewhere, *and with some individual*—this morbid tendency began; and it began, almost certainly, as the result of some form of self-indulgence on the part of that individual, some lack of self-restraint, some absorption in self.

For insanity, it cannot be too often repeated, is in very many cases the natural result of self-indulgence. That self-indulgence may take the form of sensual excesses, of unwise marriages, or, as before said, it may be simply the constant indulgence of the predominant tendency of our minds, the daily and hourly yielding to certain trains of thought or emotion, merely because they are pleasant, require no mental effort, and satisfy our craving for some kind of mental stimulus and excitement.

It follows, then, that insanity may begin with this generation as easily as with a former one, and with one individual as well as with another; it may begin with you, it may begin with me; for everyone who thus prostitutes the powers of his brain, weakens not only his own brain, but the brains of those who draw their life from him, and the degenerating influence, once started, spreads beyond the power of anyone to trace it. No one can say where it will stop, who will escape it, how many will fall victims to it; “the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, to the third and fourth”—nay, to the thirteenth and fourteenth—“generations.”

The evil consequences arising from the intermarriage of cousins may be still a matter of dispute, though they seem to have been disastrously proved, over and over again. In those cases where people assert that no evil results have followed such intermarriage, it is probable, either that they do not see them in their own lifetime, or that there are circumstances of which they are ignorant. Of course, as long as it is legal, cousins will marry, and cheerfully take the risk, which, after all, is incurred not by themselves, but by their innocent offspring. I think there can be little doubt, however, that the health of every civilised community would be beneficially affected, if the marriage of first and second cousins were forbidden by law.

The marriage of persons who have insanity in their families must always remain a matter of private judgment. The reign of self-control cannot be ushered in by Act of Parliament; but it is

sincerely to be wished that a higher moral standard in this respect prevailed amongst us. It may be argued, that persons with a tendency to insanity, by inter-marrying with those of sound brain, may do something, in this way, towards eliminating the taint; and, within certain limits, this is undoubtedly the case. The intermixture of pure and healthy blood with that which, from any cause, has deteriorated, will probably be productive of good results; but how often we see marriages that take place between members of two equally unhealthy families, the one, perhaps, tainted with insanity, the other consumptive. The consequences of such unions can only be disastrous, and a number of such unions must be dangerous to the health of the community.

It would seem hardly necessary to deprecate the marriage of those who have themselves been insane, were it not a fact that such persons often do marry, concealing, of course, the nature of their complaint. In these cases it is generally the parents or other relatives who are most to blame; and they cannot be blamed too severely, in view of the misery and suffering entailed on the other partner of the union, and on their hapless offspring. Anyone who has studied the histories of insane persons, and seen anything of the heartrending suffering which is brought upon a number of innocent victims by these reckless marriages, cannot help feeling strongly the inexcusable wickedness of this particular form of self-indulgence.

Any improvement in this direction can only be made by raising the moral tone of the whole community; such matters could be safely left to private judgment, if private judgment were always guided by the highest possible standard of social morality. For the benefit of society, public opinion might well impose two unwritten laws, the breaking of which should be regarded as a grave social offence; namely, that persons, either of whose parents are insane, should not marry, neither should those who have had at any period of their lives an attack of mania, even if they should have, apparently, entirely recovered.

Our individual responsibility with regard to the increase of insanity is then, surely, sufficiently evident. There is no one of us who can say that this matter does not concern him, because no one can say that there is absolutely no risk of his ever becoming insane, any more than he can say that there is absolutely no risk of his ever catching smallpox, or going into a consumption. Nor can any one of us say that he has no influence, no duty, in helping to preserve the mental soundness of those amongst whom he lives and works.

Moreover, as already said, insanity must begin somewhere, and

with someone. It may begin in this generation, and with any one of the individuals of this generation ; and where it begins, we know it will not stop. Is there any danger that you or I will transmit such an awful inheritance to our children, and our children's children ? Do we take such right and reasonable care of our brain as we do of our body, keeping it clean and pure, avoiding, when possible, the contact with unwholesome influences, and restraining it from excess in those indulgences which are most agreeable and stimulating to it ? If not, do we ever realise that we may be preparing misery and suffering of the very worst kind, for those who shall come after us, for those, perhaps, whom we ourselves have called into existence ?

There is, believe me, an enormous amount of *preventible* misery and suffering in the world, arising from this one cause alone, the thoughtless and needless transmission of insane tendencies ; and for this preventible evil, you, and I, and every one of us are accountable.

This is a hard saying ; but it points to a fact which we ought to face honestly and courageously. That we have the remedy, to a great extent, in our own hands, that we can minimise the risk by the exercise of common sense and reasonable self-restraint, admits, I think, of no doubt whatever. And if this is once allowed, then it is plain that by shirking this responsibility we are neglecting a very important social duty ; our private indifference, or our moral weakness, is assisting the growth of a very serious social malady, of which the effects are not confined to us, or to our children, but may be continued to more generations, and greater numbers of human beings, than we, on our little island of time, are able to reckon.

ANNA HOWARTH.

PASSING EVENTS.

ONE cannot fairly assume that the Parliamentary tacticians who designed the farcical proceedings of March 15 were inspired with the wish to vindicate the ideas embodied in our recent article on the "Two-Party System," but, assuredly, their proceedings go far to justify the principles maintained in that paper. By one of the ingenious devices that sometimes make it possible to snatch a vote in a thin House, when one party happens to be inadequately represented, a group of Irish members contrived to put the Government in a minority, and succeeded in accomplishing this joke by the help of about 100 members of the regular Opposition who ought to have known better. What purpose can even the most inveterate representative of the party system imagine that he serves by carrying out a nonsensical trick of this description? It may create a transitory feeling of annoyance on the part of tricksters identified with the opposite party, but it cannot have any possible bearing on the progress of serious events. Such proceedings simply tend to lower the respect which ought to be entertained for the Legislative Assembly of the nation, and to encourage the stronger party for the time being, in the more effective exercise of equally discreditable tactics designed to circumvent the Opposition.

THE division above referred to was a piece of puerile horseplay on a level, as regards its dignity, with the prank of school-boys who contrive to chalk the master's coat. That which took place on March 16 in favour of Sir C. McLaren's motion in favour of Female Franchise had, unhappily, not much more significance. Having thus solemnly declared, by a majority secured apparently by the indifference of those opposed to it, that the Parliamentary disabilities of women

ought to be removed, the House as a whole will, no doubt, placidly ignore its expressed convictions and employ its time on business more directly relating to matters which really engage its interest and bear on the great question who shall sit on the Treasury bench. For the rest, the debate was of the usual character, the speeches in favour of the motion consisting of commonplaces which are worn thread-bare by repetition, while the other side is represented by jokes about "minding the baby," and the blandishments that would be exercised on masculine members if the ladies in the gallery descended to the green benches, all of which are on an intellectual level with grins through a horse-collar at a country fair. Mr. Labouchere, of course, did much of the grinning, and, pretending to think that the female vote would give rise to a condition of things in which the Radical husband and the Conservative wife would be found standing against each other for the same constituency; pretended also to rest his opposition on the ground that women were too good for political life. Friends of their enfranchisement will not be inclined to entertain that view. As justly remarked by George Eliot's moralist, "they were made to match the men," and probably to introduce them to Parliament, while the existing traditions of Parliamentary life prevail, would involve them also in the contemptible faction fighting now going on. The poison that has got into the blood of the Parliamentary system will not be eradicated by the injection of the female vote, nor even by the logical consequences that ought to follow from it,—that invasion of the green benches of which Mr. Labouchere stands so much in dread. Nor will those who most profoundly believe in the great social amelioration likely to come on by degrees, when the enfranchisement of women in the world generally is more complete than at present, be among those most eager to see them exercising a function which the lessons of current politics are leading us more and more to regard with indifference. It is probable that a very large number of the men who would be most desirous of securing the Parliamentary franchise for women will be often careless as regards its exercise in their own case. But, while we are working with the institutions that have grown up amongst us during the last few generations, the admission of the female vote is a necessary step in the direction of affirming certain great principles associated with much deeper laws of human evolution than any directly concerned with the political life of the woman.

In the middle of last year an amusing correspondence arose in *The Times* from a bold declaration by Lord Kelvin that he thought

there was something more in animals and plants than a fortuitous concourse of atoms. He felt himself constrained to recognise the idea of a creative power. From the point of view of people in the habit of supposing that most Europeans of advanced culture and civilisation are attached in a general way to the Christian religion, it must have been instructive to find that this very cautious admission on the part of Lord Kelvin gave rise to a burst of indignant criticism on the part of many other scientific magnates. Sir W. T. Thiselton Dyer, protesting as it were against this terrible concession to superstition, declared that Lord Kelvin had wiped out with one stroke of the pen the whole position won for us by Darwin. Many well-known scientific men took part in the correspondence, Professor Ray Lankester for one, and the general effect of it was to show that scientific men were quite willing to refrain from any discourteous language addressed to religion if their polite reticence were not interpreted to signify any actual belief in so fantastic a conception as that of a vital principle distinct from matter. Quite lately this ultra-materialistic view of nature has been endorsed with daring precision by the distinguished chief of the Pasteur Institute, Monsieur Elie Metchnikoff, in a book presented to English readers in a translation lately published. M. Metchnikoff frankly repudiates the idea that human consciousness is anything more than a function of matter, declaring that no atom of evidence supports the idea that the soul survives after death, while as for cravings that may be felt by sentimental enthusiasts for a future life, these should be treated as a variety of disease which competent physicians will ultimately be enabled to combat by appropriate sub-cutaneous injection.

These declarations are of extreme interest as letting the light in on the suppressed thinking of a great many people in the present day who represent the highest mental culture along some lines, and a curiously hypocritical regard for conventions and respectability in all that concerns their external behaviour. The whole subject is one that invites protracted treatment, and these few remarks merely point towards the avenues of thought thus opened up in many directions. But meanwhile two inquiries will flash upon the minds of M. Metchnikoff's readers with great force. If he is right in thinking that his views are widely shared in the scientific world, on what principle can any representatives of that world keep up what for them must be a conscious imposture,—an outward conformity with church-going and all that hangs to it? And, again, how is it conceivable that men abreast of the civilisation in the midst of which they live can be so continuously ignorant, as M. Metchnikoff shows

himself, of the overwhelming flood of evidence, establishing the reality of ultra-physical phenomena, including communications (after the largest deduction is made of the possibility of mistake) from people whose bodies have been consigned to the grave, but whose consciousness is manifestly surviving in full activity under new conditions? To a very large extent, the neglect by most current newspapers and periodicals of all subjects connected with psychic inquiry and experience is to blame for this extraordinary condition of things.

MANY correspondents criticising the details of the Reincarnation doctrine, since that was first set forth at some length in the pages of this Review, afford evidence, at all events, of the extent to which the idea interests our readers, even if it does not show that they apprehend it correctly in all its details. One,—rather impressed with the idea that physical evolution is dependent on physical conditions, food, bodily health, and so on,—thinks that no matter how an ego may advance in one life, when he comes to reincarnate, he must make the best of the jerry-built materials that his parents may be able to supply. “The spirit involves by means of physical faculties, otherwise why reincarnate at all, and physical faculties depend largely upon material conditions conducing towards good development.” The embarrassment here suggested seems to arise from a forgetfulness of the principle that the ego is guided into incarnation in a family where the physical conditions will correspond with his development. That some such families will always be findable for egos even in advance of their contemporaries is due to the manner in which a general upward drift is always an operative influence,—a progressive force constituting what we broadly think of as the advance of civilisation. If people would refrain from dwelling upon the body of natural law summed-up by the word “heredity,” without also recollecting the word “assimilation” as indicating the way in which an ego drops into its appropriate environment, the misapprehensions connected with the study of reincarnation would be dissipated to a very large extent.

AN important step has lately been taken in the direction of establishing the genuine character of the much-talked-of Bi-literal cipher believed by Baconian students to run through certain early editions of the Shakespeare plays. This cipher is more legible in some books than in others. The first edition of Bacon's Henry VII. exhibits it rather more plainly, according to the testimony of those who have

studied the question, than the all-important folio of 1623. And it is a fact that some of the Baconian students, tracing out the cipher in Henry VII. quite independently of the leading expert in this research, Mrs. Gallup, found their reading, when ultimately completed, to be identical with hers. But further articles on the subject in later issues of this Review will deal more fully with this and other remarkable evidences in support of the cipher story; meanwhile, the fact to be regarded is that the patient and industrious Mrs. Gallup has now prepared an elaborate key to the cipher as it exists in Henry VII. in the shape of a type-written copy of the italic portions of that book with every letter marked to show its significance as one of the factors in the Bi-literal communication. This extremely important document is in the hands of the Bacon Society, and has already been examined by persons who declare that with its help the actuality of the original cipher can be distinctly verified.

In presence of final proof that the cipher exists the arguments of those who believe in the Stratford authorship, to the effect that the ciphers must be all nonsense, will scarcely be able to maintain their ground. It would seem that the mere literary argument has simply divided those who pay attention to this subject, into two schools. It will never bring about a universal recognition of either the Bacon or the anti-Bacon belief. But the cipher argument stands on rather a different footing. It has been resented by many Baconians as bitterly as by old-fashioned Shakespearians; but, if its actuality is established, the literary argument, which rests on probabilities, however great, is swept aside as of insignificant importance. The literary world will no doubt soon be hearing a great deal more concerning the demonstration of her case, as some cipher students regard it, which Mrs. Gallup has now provided.

AN interesting view that will be new entirely to all geologists of the ordinary type, although it is familiar to modern students of occultism, is put forward in the pages of "Nature" by Dr. Charles Fox in reference to the interior Constitution of the Earth. Hitherto varied conceptions have been formed of this difficult subject. Earlier notions which represented the earth as a mass of molten matter surrounded by a relatively thin shell of solid rock, gave way long ago, when mathematics began to deal with the question of the earth's rigidity. In spite of the fact that heated conditions undeniably exist at no great depth below the surface, physicists came to the conclusion that the whole mass must approximately be solid and not less rigid than so much cold metal. But Professor Milne has

done a great deal lately in studying earth tremors and pulsatory movements which cannot readily be explained on any commonplace hypothesis by which the earth is regarded as a mass of homogeneous rock whether hot or cold. Now Dr. Fox comes to the front with the conception based on the evidence afforded by these tremors and movements to the effect in his own words that there must be "layers of fluid sandwiched in between layers of solid." In other words, — condensing a letter too long to quote,—he regards the earth as consisting of concentric shells or hollow spheres with interstitial spaces between them filled with liquid matter at a very high temperature.

This is precisely the view of the earth's structure embodied in Theosophic writings published within the last year or two, and professing to rest on information conveyed to the writer by certain representatives of a much more advanced knowledge concerning nature than is possessed as yet in the world at large. Of course no physical methods of investigation can deal with a problem of this kind. The condition of the earth's interior can only be reached by investigators who can function in consciousness on other planes and investigate natural mysteries by means of exalted faculties but inadequately described by our familiar term "clairvoyance." But still it is held by all occult students that persons exist who have powers of this sort, and therefore that the interior structure of the earth is accessible to their observation. That which they have told us concerning it is to the effect that not merely does it consist of this elaborate series of concentric spheres, but that each is a region teeming with life and consciousness of its own kind, however absolutely this may be unlike that kind with which we are familiar at the surface. It is not necessary here to go at length into the whole theory, but for all who appreciate the manner in which Nature makes use of all regions of activity within the scope of our observation for some purpose or other connected with the development of life, the view of the earth's constitution suggested by occult science is far more plausible than that which treats the great globe whose surface we occupy as a clumsy mass of inorganic material.

BROAD VIEWS.

VOL. I.

MAY, 1904.

No. 5.

INSPIRATION IN POLITICS.

MANY truths concerning Nature and the manner in which unseen influences affect the physical world have been obscured from modern observation by the intellectual habits of the Nineteenth Century. In a vague and general way it has been held decorous, even by people who cling to the external forms of religion with no higher motive than a desire to conform to respectability, to assume that Providence presides over human affairs, and even from time to time may contribute in some invisible way to their guidance. While the idea rested on no more scientific view of the subject, Providential interference, however courteously regarded on general principles, was treated as a joke when definite examples might be in question. Tyndall wittily represented the attitude of mind into which current thought in his time was drifting when he endeavoured to frame a definition of such interventions in human affairs as have sometimes been called "Special Providences." These he found to represent something between an abnormal occurrence and a miracle, in fact, a special Providence was only a special Providence as long as we do not absolutely *know* that it was a special Providence. If this became certain, it ceased to be special Providence, and became a miracle. So between the banter of the scientific world and the ignorance of theologians, the part played in human affairs by superior unseen influences came to be regarded, within the recollection of most of us now of mature age, as a species of primitive foolishness from which advancing civilisation would certainly disentangle itself more and more completely.

A very important change of opinion in reference to all problems of this character has been coming over the world since the general recognition in one way or another amongst many people of intelligence, that definite knowledge concerning higher planes of nature than that on which physical life is carried on is accessible to human research. Ignorant as large masses of the otherwise cultivated world may still be in reference to the great and important truth, the fact that positive knowledge is obtainable with reference to activities going on in superphysical realms of existence, is just as certain for more advanced multitudes as the fact that there are fountains in Trafalgar Square, and without complicating these introductory paragraphs of the present paper with superfluous illustration, it is enough to say that gradually we are becoming enabled to put a scientific complexion upon the whole subject of Providential intervention, which in itself embodies a great region of spiritual discovery of the very highest interest. The truth of the matter as known to occult students is that the age of miracles, if special Providences are to be regarded as miracles, is no more a bygone age than the age of sunshine. The earth is still bathed in the glow which warmed the vegetation of the Carboniferous period, and intervention in human affairs, guided by the superior intelligence of beings on a spiritual plane, is just as active in the 20th century as it can ever have been in the second, or at any earlier date when the fancy of the Churches may have found freer play than at present.

Belief in the intervention of higher influences has only been discredited indeed, by the clumsy habit of mind which has disguised from our imagination the vast hierarchy of spiritual powers intervening between incarnate humanity and the supreme unknowable power which embraces the consciousness of the universe. To a limited extent alone will even the most advanced students of occultism be enabled to apprehend this hierarchy, but the fact that from levels of consciousness only a little exalted in comparison with the whole series, influences are exerted for the guidance of human activities, is a conclusion that the occult student is enabled to reach with entire confidence. And this conclusion is the keynote of the speculation with which this essay will be concerned. Ignoring for the present the manner in which the course of

individual lives even, may be affected by unseen agencies on high, it will be enough to confine our attention to those cases in which control is brought to bear on great national interests, and to the manner in which this is done through the instrumentality of incarnate human beings in a position, or capable of being guided into a position, of influence amongst their contemporaries. Inspiration is more or less carelessly conceded to great philosophers and poets, but it is much less readily recognised, where it is nevertheless frequently operative, in the great political crises of the world's history. Perhaps, indeed, even in crises which the familiarity of contemporary observers with their details would seem to keep within the limits of the commonplace, inspiration may be more active than, at the first glance, even spiritually minded observers would be inclined to suppose, but at all events, there are some crises in the past where we can distinctly recognise the working of intelligence from a higher plane, and others in which, if we are observant of the circumstances, we can recognise that agency even when less glaringly manifest.

The one historical episode which stands out conspicuously amongst all others as most conclusively demonstrating the fact that higher spiritual influences *may* be brought to bear upon political events at national crises, is to be found in the history of Joan of Arc. Stupid historians of the last century led us in our childhood to imagine that Joan of Arc was a wild enthusiast, the victim herself of hallucinations of a kind which inflamed the superstitious credulity of the period, and that when she got upon a war horse and waved a flag she somehow infected the troops under her leadership with a corresponding enthusiasm, and contributed in this way to bring about their victory. By degrees a much more occult conception of Joan's real character and mission has been evolved from the study of the fairly abundant records concerning her preserved in the official archives of France. These have lately been translated and published in a volume familiar to all persons interested in the subject,* and the story embodied in the official documents now for the first time translated into English, has been so frequently discussed of late that it seems hardly worth while to go over it in

* Jeanne D'Arc, edited by T. Douglas Murray.

detail. Enough to remind the reader that the depositions now published include those which were taken in the first instance during Joan's original trial before the infamous Bishop of Beauvais and the other ecclesiastical brutes who planned her martyrdom, and also the later series which constitute the record of the subsequent trial twenty-four years after her death, the issue of which was a solemn declaration that the original condemnation and sentence had been wicked and unjust. We need not here go over the details of the first trial, of Joan's long imprisonment, cruel usage, and ultimate martyrdom, the point to be made has to do with the relatively unimpassioned depositions taken during the later investigation.

These show, beyond all possibility of doubt, that during her earlier girl life at Domremy, Joan was a simple little peasant saint endowed with psychic faculties which enabled her to be easily approached by beings belonging to another plane of nature. We see her reluctantly, if submissively, accepting the task imposed upon her; protected with curious success through many dangers in the beginning; enabled by the manifestation of abnormal faculties to impress the Dauphin with the reality of her divine influences; and then at last we obtain a series of documents embodying the report of great French generals of high rank who fought under her command, and thus we are enabled to realise Joan as much more than an enthusiast, as a general officer of extraordinary genius, skilful as well in the organisation of her plans as in the final delivery of battle. "In all she did," says the Duc D'Alencon, for instance, one of the French generals serving under her command, "except in affairs of war, she was a very simple young girl, but for warlike things, bearing the lance, assembling an army, ordering military operations, directing artillery, she was most skilful. Everyone wondered that she could act with such wisdom and foresight as a captain who had fought for twenty or thirty years; it was above all in making use of artillery that she was so wonderful." Dozens of similar quotations might be made from the book under notice, and as many more would show that Joan was gifted with prophetic insight in connection with impending events of her campaigns, besides being inspired in the way described in reference to their direction and control. But for the

moment it is not on Joan's career, as a story for its own sake, that the attention of the reader need be concentrated. The value of the story from the point of view of studies in what may be called political inspiration, arises from the fact that it is such a glaring illustration of this that no one of common intelligence can follow its details without coming to recognise that such inspiration is at all events possible. Joan, the milkmaid of Domremy, could no more have accomplished the achievements, which have made her name famous in history, out of her own head, than with her own single little right arm she could have swept the English armies from the walls of Orleans. But that she was the channel of an influence from some great power and intelligence in the background is no less certain than the fact, that when a fountain is throwing its glittering stream into the air, there is a reservoir of water somewhere in the background conducting to that result, besides the nozzle of the little pipe protruding above the ground. And thus arriving at the knowledge that superior spiritual influences are in emergencies brought to bear upon great crises in national life, let us set out to investigate one of these great crises in the national life of our own country with the view of forming an opinion as to whether in that case also, though with less obvious manifestation of its nature, the influence of a high spiritual intelligence may not be traced in the progress of political events.

In the French emergency of the 15th century, some critics may be inclined to suggest that whatever Divine Inspirers guided Joan of Arc to set Charles VII. on the French throne, they made a deplorable choice of a protégé. But Charles VII. after all was only a passing circumstance. The question at stake may have been whether the nationality of France should be set on a pathway leading to ultimate realisation, or broken up past redemption into a confused mass of provinces governed to a large extent by alien sovereigns. And when we come to the great crisis through which our own country passed in the century that immediately followed, we may recognise that here again the very existence of a nation, so far as the retrospect enables us to judge, was actually at stake. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was uncertain whether England would survive as an independent unit in the European family. The great majority of those diplomatists who

were looking on at the situation when Elizabeth came to the throne were distinctly of opinion that the disappearance of England as an independently governed sovereignty was merely a question of time, and that the young queen would assuredly be either the submissive wife of a Roman Catholic prince or a prisoner in her own Tower within a year or two. And whether we regard the history of England during the second half of the 16th century for its own sake simply as a thrilling narrative of national adventure, or as a study bearing on the problems of political inspiration, there can hardly be any other period of 50 years selected which is more profoundly entitled to our earnest attention. As a link between two phases of civilisation, the reign of Queen Elizabeth is only comparable in importance to the reign of Queen Victoria, but the course of national evolution in the period that has just passed was so unlike that over which the great sovereign of the 16th century presided that the two episodes have scarcely any features in common. They are only alike in the significant circumstance that in both cases the crown was worn by a woman. In both cases also the women who wore the crown exhibited a dazzling personal superiority to the masculine monarchs who preceded them, but their superiority was associated with characters so unlike each other that the contrast is bewildering in presence of the fact that both were justly the objects of a feeling resembling worship on the part of their subjects. For us of the later period to get our minds in tune with the loyalty of the Elizabethan era we have to hold many of the instincts of the later civilization in abeyance. Sublime Elizabeth swore freely in her ordinary conversation, and used terrible oaths in her fits of anger, which were frequent. She did not hesitate to inflict death and torture on those who offended her. She took no interest in religion except so far as its outward forms were associated with questions of national policy, and, as the latest revelations concerning her establish more clearly than the vague scandals attaching to her personal history before, she was quite free from the scruples which the refined habits of later civilisation have exalted to the highest rank among the virtues. And yet she was not alone *obeyed* by all statesmen, generals, and high dignitaries of the church, and the law around her, with absolute unqualified and unhesitating obedience, as also by the

semi-piratical sea captains who were building up her naval strength, and by the great nobles who were almost kings themselves in their own counties. She was widely and generally beloved by all classes of her people, except where Roman Catholic fanaticism prompted the agents of the Papacy to plot for her assassination. And without appreciating step by step and in detail the genius she displayed as absolute mistress of this realm, all her subjects, high and low, with the exception just pointed out, were possessed with a sleepless terror of the risks they ran when her supremely precious life was in this way menaced. The modern lover of parliaments and responsible government looks back upon her rule as a tyranny. The people who (did not "groan" but) rejoiced under it looked upon it as the safeguard of the nation, so that the bare fear of losing it made them cruel with the cruelty that only fear can engender. They thirsted for the blood of Mary Stuart because she was the focus of Roman Catholic conspiracies aimed against their adored despot, the Queen. But their loyalty was not due to intelligent perception of her sagacity in government. The statesmen in her service did not do justice to that, or only towards the close of her reign. They often advised one course and were constrained by her to follow another. They would be in despair, but her will defined the course they had to take, and the final result of her policy was national health and prosperity. Some of them who differed from her at the time looked back at the close of life, and declared that in such cases events had justified her view.

Here we find a parallel phenomenon in the later reign. Modern statesmen have had the candour to avow that when they have differed from the Queen—and according to modern fashion have had their way against her wishes, they have generally lived to see that they might more wisely have taken her "advice." The conditions are all reversed now, but in Elizabeth's day the ministers gave the advice and the Queen disregarded it, to the ultimate satisfaction of all parties concerned.

Historians are often complimentary to Elizabeth's statesmanship, but not so often accurately appreciative. Among the earlier writers of the modern period—(we hardly look for discriminating criticism from the very early writers like Camden)—we find Green

complimentary in a broad, vague way, but his history of Elizabeth's reign is merely a chapter in a comprehensive work written quite without the advantages that the publication of Spanish and other historical documents has conferred upon special students of the period. Sharon Turner is earnestly applausive, but not minutely appreciative. Lingard represents Catholic sentiment and is fiercely abusive of the great Queen, though even he is more concerned to prove her wicked than to impugn her abilities. Froude is, of course, the only historian who has dealt with the Elizabethan period so exhaustively that his book gives the reader material from which he can frame his own judgment, but as a critic he is unfair to the Queen by reason of a perpetual inclination to set down the triumphs of her reign to the "Protestant statesmanship" by which she was surrounded. He shows very clearly, as the incidents of the reign are gradually unwound, that the "statesmanship" around her was so much plastic material which she moulded according to her own pleasure. When she tears it to pieces and does exactly the reverse of what her Protestant statesmen recommend, Froude always denounces her headstrong folly, but in so doing he cuts the ground from under the feet of his main argument. This is to the effect that the Queen has received an undue mead of admiration from posterity for the broad reason that she found her country in a deplorable state of weakness and national degradation, was surrounded with enemies apparently much more powerful than herself, and yet left the country—at the close of her long reign—at the summit of a glorious prosperity, secure from attack and potent as an influence in the world. People have credited the *Queen* with bringing these changes about, says Froude, when really it was the Protestant statesmanship by which she was surrounded that accomplished the miracle, in spite of her often indiscreet interference.

The argument is incompatible with the evidence he himself supplies to show that all along the line her will was the only force which prevailed in the affairs of state, that the Protestant statesmanship was continually overruled, and that events owed as much to her initiative as to her control. Not only is the popular estimate that has credited her with the results of her reign fully justified by the facts; it is only by a very close examination of the

facts that the sound popular estimate can be expanded into a reverently appreciative estimate of the gratitude all succeeding generations of Englishmen owe to the memory of Queen Elizabeth, in that she saved this country from the ghastly fate to which it would have been subject under the rule of Catholic Spain, and rendered possible its growth and development into the culminating magnificence it attained during the reign of her beloved successor 300 years later. Dismal records of ignoble sovereignty fill up the interval, and the country scrambled rather than progressed with any march of uniform dignity along the Stuart and Georgian centuries, but it was secure from foreign and papal aggression—by virtue of Elizabeth's achievements, and there came a time when its civilisation blossomed into the finest flower of that growth yet seen on the earth, coincidently with the recrudescence of a sovereignty such as all men could bow down before in true loyalty and love.

But now to go back to the beginning of the Elizabethan period. Let us take the first striking illustration which suggests the idea of an intelligence superior to her own, guiding and supporting that of the young queen. Elizabeth, be it remembered, came to the throne at the age of twenty-five, having up to that period been concerned partly in the love affairs of her early girlhood, partly, if we accept some recent lights thrown upon the history of the time, with the difficult task of disguising their consequences, and partly with the ever-present difficulty of keeping her head on her shoulders in presence of the multitudinous Roman Catholic intrigues designed to strike it off. The condition of things she found prevailing in the realm then passing suddenly into her own control, was one in which a thousand dangers encompassed it on every side. But over and above all these, it was troubled by an internal complaint, the very nature of which was ill-apprehended by the political science of the period, or rather, in consequence of the absolute ignorance which then prevailed concerning the first principles of what we now call economics, was as yet not even recognised as an internal disease. The currency of the country had been debased by successive sovereigns until there was not an honest coin in circulation from one end of the realm to the other. Commerce of all kinds, trade and industry were

demoralised by the utterly untrustworthy character of the medium in which values were estimated. Any modern economist looking back at such a condition of things would, of course, perceive at a glance that the only way of restoring national prosperity was to call in the debased coinage and put the currency on a sound foundation. And it is within the familiar knowledge of all students of the period that within two years of Elizabeth's accession this course was actually pursued. With a great deal of ingenuity in the management of the details, the currency was restored to a healthy state, and in this way future foundations of prosperity were laid. But what is very imperfectly appreciated as regards its true significance by Froude himself, is nevertheless brought out plainly in his most valuable history. The very first document that ever came into existence relating to the necessity of reforming the currency is one written by Queen Elizabeth herself, in her own handwriting, within a year of her accession. The plan embodied in this paper was not exactly the plan ultimately adopted to carry out the purpose she had in view when she forced her attendant ministers to face the problem. But the reform of the currency was carried out by the Queen's direction, and was the product of her initiative. Here we have a much less romantic incident to deal with than those which attended the relief of Orleans under the direction of Joan of Arc. But as an intellectual wonder there is not much to choose between the skill of the "Maid" in making use of her artillery and that of the royal English girl setting out on her great mission for the regeneration of England by addressing herself first to the economic problem, the urgency of which she alone perceived.

And within a very brief period another problem had to be dealt with by the girl whose single will at that time swept aside all the "Protestant statesmanship" around her when her own internal impulse was decisive. Of course, she hesitated continually, and drove those who were the sport of her uncertain moments to the verge of distraction. But the question whether or not she was becoming the channel of a higher intelligence than that which even she, bright witted as she certainly was, exercised in her normal state has to be settled by reference to what she finally did, not by reference to the wavering impulses which preceded action.

And in 1560 no question was more pressing for the Government of England than the question whether serious efforts should be made to turn the French out of Scotland. With Mary Stuart, the bride of France, and Mary of Lorraine, the Regent at Edinburgh, the idea of hunting the French garrison bag and baggage out of the Firth of Forth was one that presented itself to the minds of English statesmen as no less urgently desirable than hopelessly beyond the range of attainment. Whether steps were to be taken towards that end, or whether things were to be left to slide, that was the question before the Council, and the question on which Elizabeth, as long as she hesitated, claimed the advice of her most thoughtful councillors. A long paper by Sir Nicholas Bacon is in existence which argues the hopelessness of the project. The country was destitute of all the resources which could render such an undertaking possible. The Queen had neither men nor money at her command that would justify her in attempting to intervene in Scotland. To make such an effort would be to invite the open hostility of France, and the country would be crushed between the upper and the nether millstones. Every member of the Council, with one exception, concurred in this view, and all their opinions having been taken and carefully considered, the Queen disregarded them one and all, and sent a fleet to the Forth to begin the work of turning the French out of Scotland.

Well can we see now how supremely necessary it was that this should be done, as necessary, perhaps, for the future welfare of England as it was necessary for the future welfare of the other country, that the English in the time of Joan should have been turned out of France. As for the manner in which the Queen set to work, people who can only realise the idea of inspiration from a higher level of spiritual dignity than that represented by incarnate humanity will cry out at the idea of assuming that anything so deeply contaminated as Queen Elizabeth's policy continually was with falsehood and trickery of all kinds, could be regarded as divinely inspired, but in order properly to appreciate the great problem with which we are dealing we must get rid of the notion that inspiration is only possible in the case of those who represent the saintly character. Most certainly inspiration may be associated with a saintly nature like that of the unblem-

ished milkmaid of Domremy, and where this is the case no doubt the inspiration may be infinitely more complete than in other cases, infinitely more productive, moreover, of ultimate spiritual consequences associated with the progress of the personage inspired. But political inspirations have for their purpose great national desiderata, and even where the personality, which to bring off results it is necessary to inspire, may be very little entitled to spiritual admiration on its own account; nevertheless, if it is susceptible of mental guidance it may be, for the great purposes in view, rendered the channel of such guidance accordingly. And that is all the present argument claims in reference to Elizabeth. By no means that she was saintly in her nature. But she was the person through whom, if she became accessible to influence at all, it was most easily possible to control events. Indeed, she was the only person in this realm by whom it is conceivable that events could have been controlled, because, whether she was under inspiration or not, her will was undeniably supreme. To have inspired one of her ministers, for example, leaving her to the vagaries of her own natural fancy, would have been a fruitless undertaking, nor is it necessary to assume that in all the acts of her own reign she was guided by higher intelligence. The consequences of that reign, considered with reference to the conditions by which she was embarrassed, do indeed seem to suggest that on the whole she must either have been inspired or capable, by her own intuitions, of knowing the right thing to do at any given moment. But certainly in special cases, as, for example, in her deplorable obstinacy in trying to keep possession of Havre, we seem to observe her inspirations at fault. But that little episode lay completely outside the main current of her policy. Its study would only be useful in so far as it contributes to show the docility with which she was obeyed by her servants, whether she was right or wrong, but, at all events, it has nothing to do with the three great illustrations which may be taken from the history of her reign in vindication of the general view which this essay is designed to suggest.

The fleet which was sent to the North under Winter was not ostensibly commissioned by the Queen. Reserving to herself in accordance with her usual somewhat tortuous policy a loophole of

escape from future difficulties should they arise, the Queen directed Winter to declare himself to be acting altogether on his own responsibility as a maritime adventurer if he met with defeat. A wonderful illustration of the personal devotion the Queen commanded is embodied in the fact that the gallant admiral in question accepted the task imposed upon him on these terms. He was by no means the only one of her servants from whom she exacted similar self-sacrifice or by whom it was willingly rendered.

And here we have to recognise a condition of things which would be even more reluctantly accepted by modern criticism than the theory of political inspiration. The French, be it remembered, were aware of the fact that questions were under discussion in the English Council as to whether they should be attacked in Scotland, and a French fleet was under orders to proceed northwards to reinforce the Regent. Froude writes, "A few days before Winter sailed, d'Elbœuf had started from Dieppe. Had the weather been fair he would have been in Leith before the English fleet had cleared the Thames, and would have thrown a force into Scotland which would have changed the course of history." But, as usual, the gale which was required to support the plans of Queen Elizabeth came opportunely to her aid. Fierce northerly winds blew "wilder and more wild." Winter quietly took refuge in Lowestoft until the storm had blown over. D'Elbœuf was caught at sea by the tempest; half his fleet was wrecked on the Holland flats, some vessels foundered at sea, d'Elbœuf himself was unable to get back to Dieppe, "but only two ships served from the fleet." In spite of languid belief in the control of Providence over the elements as well as over human events, which has survived the progress of Agnosticism, few of us, except those who in some measure understand the rationale of such control, are prepared to recognise it in specific cases. But the frequency with which the required gale would turn up to serve the great effort then in progress to maintain the English nationality, is highly suggestive for observers who can regard the whole problem from a lofty standpoint. The tale of Winter's activities in the Forth, where he successfully destroyed the forts of Burntisland, and the two or three French vessels lying alongside, is full of interest as a thrilling historical episode. D'Oysel, the French

general found his communications cut off, his troops without food in the one county in Scotland where he was without a friend and with no retreat open to him save by the tedious circuit over Stirling Bridge. Humour is added to the interest of the narrative when we refer to the answer Winter sent to the Queen Regent when she indignantly enquired "by whose order he was levying war in the dominions of the Queen of Scots." He represented himself as quite an innocent person engaged in conveying munitions of war to Berwick and seeking a safe anchorage in the Forth. "Knowing no other but peace between my said Sovereign and all other Princes." Then to his amazement he was shot at by the force at Bruntisland, and so "I determined with myself to give all the aid I might to the congregation and to let the French from their wicked practices as far as I might, and that hereof the Queen's Highness, my Royal Mistress, was nothing privy."

So much for the instructive little episode of 1560. Let us pass on now, for a volume instead of an article would be required if we attempted to trace every case in which there seems reason to regard the Queen's natural intelligence as fortified by loftier wisdom. Let us leap forward at once eight-and-twenty years to the supreme crisis of her reign, when the mighty forces of Spain after protracted preparation were gathered together to accomplish her final annihilation. In dealing even with the story of the Spanish Armada, it is hardly possible within a reasonable compass to follow out every important and suggestive event. But first let us recognise in the mirror of Froude's history, the direction in which we must seek for the real authority exerted at the time. Froude himself is quite unconscious of the true significance of the facts he brings to light. He continually reviles the Queen for her earlier neglect of precautions which were in the opinion of the Council supremely necessary. But this neglect he says himself was no fault of the Council. "The Council would not have left Drake to ask for what was obviously necessary. The Queen had taken upon herself the detailed management of everything. Lord Howard's letters prove that she and she alone was responsible. As if every officer she possessed were in a conspiracy to ruin her, she appears to have kept all descriptions of supplies within her own reach in London or at Chatham, permitting nothing to be

served out without an order from herself." In other parts of the story we read bitter criticisms of her hard thrift in paring down expenses and postponing preparations which those around her conceived to be of urgent importance. "One precaution only had she taken. She had placed at the head of her naval administration the fittest person in her dominions to manage it, Sir John Hawkins When the moment of trial came, Hawkins sent her ships to sea in such condition, hulls, rigging, spars and running ropes, that they had no match in the world for either speed, safety, or endurance." But at various periods before this time of final trial came she would drive some of her ministers to distraction by disestablishing a part of the fleet, or by sending vessels to cruise in the channel short-handed with strict orders not to go further. Hawkins was indignant at our uncertain dallying. There were moments when Froude thinks it would have been quite easy for the Spaniards, had they seized the chance, to have accomplished the ruin of England. "I am sorry," wrote Walsingham to Burleigh, "to see so great a danger hanging over this realm so lightly regarded and so carelessly provided for;" and again we have to note that the Queen's usual demand for total self-sacrifice on the part of her servants allowed her to leave Drake and Howard the task of finding absolutely necessary supplies for some of her fleet at Plymouth, and she was even mean enough in the long run to cavil at the extravagance they had been guilty of in connection with this gallant effort. But for the moment her private character is not the question under discussion. She, as we have seen, was responsible for everything. And everything was ready when the time of trial actually came. The English ships, we read, were ready "in royal and perfect estate, feeling the seas no more than if they had been riding at Chatham."

We all know what happened when they came in contact with the enemy, and we all know how their splendid fighting qualities were reinforced by the usual gales which in a greater degree than the broadsides of Hawkins dispersed and finally destroyed the mighty Armada. From the point view of all ordinary criticism the Queen's neglect in the beginning to set to work on her preparations when the danger seemed imminent, condemns her

administrative wisdom past redemption, but on the assumption of an influence behind her, which could see into the course of events a little more clearly than contemporary criticism, may we not feel that on the whole it was well that the real effort of preparation was delayed until the eve of the great day, so that no force employed was wasted in advance? From the point of view of even a little loftier observation, the events which were destined to delay the departure of the Armada would have been clearly within the range of foresight. The Queen's ministers may have been in momentary expectation of news from the Lizard that the great fleet was in sight, but the Queen's Inspirers, if we favour the suggestion which hints at such activity, knew quite well that the crisis was not so urgent. Anyhow, the whole Armada story, although full of intricate details and full of little incidents which by no means reflected credit on the Queen as a human being, embodies the three leading features which are all important from the point of view of the argument in hand. The Queen was absolutely responsible for all that was done at the time. For a couple of years or so she was regarded by ordinary observers as culpably apathetic. When the emergency actually arose she was ready, and the result was the salvation of this country from the direst peril it had incurred since the reign of King Alfred, and its establishment on such a basis of European prestige, that though for many years to come the Roman Catholic party, with the sanction of the Pope, engaged in countless plots for Queen Elizabeth's assassination, no further attempt was made by force of arms to overthrow the nationality she had rescued from destruction.

With this brief glance at a period of our history no less suggestive than enthralling in its interest, we may leave the reader for the moment to apply the principle involved to other and later emergencies in accordance with the bent of his own sympathies. For many of us who not alone believe in, but realise, the activity of the influences adjusting, modifying and guiding human affairs from higher planes of consciousness, the age of miracles in that sense has by no means faded into the past, but is present around us even in these latter days. It would be very embarrassing, however, to attempt the interpretation of modern political episodes

where strong feelings are enlisted on opposite sides, and the idea of anything resembling Providential intervention would be deeply resented by one side or the other. But the general law guiding all such intervention is clear, simple and intelligible. The individual units of the human family must be allowed to exercise as they choose the free will which is an essential factor in their future spiritual progress, but sometimes it may happen that the consequences of that exercise give rise to complications which threaten to embarrass the general design of which they form a part. No intervention whether by the method of mental suggestion or by other more sensational devices, will ever be allowed to impair the legitimate working of moral causes which each of us may set up in our own individual cases. But when some unfortunate convergence of human mistake threatens to bring about unfortunate results which neither the community concerned, nor even the individuals themselves have deserved, beneficent intervention is a possibility and, as some students of the higher law believe, of frequent occurrence. In the two great cases which this essay has been concerned with, nothing less was at stake than the salvation of a nation. Perhaps in some later cases, the protection of a nation from disastrous consequences of a really unnecessary war has been a purpose of sufficient magnitude to justify the introduction of an unseen spiritual factor into the political melée. But for the study of the law involved, a law like many others commonly regarded as those of nature which is really the expression of a conscious will on a lofty plane of activity, the law in question is best studied with reference to historical events lying too far back in the past to provoke the acrimony of Party feeling.

A. P. SINNETT.

A RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

VI.

ARBITRATION AS A PRINCIPLE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

ENTERING now upon an examination of those instances of arbitration, properly so called, which are recorded in modern times, previous to the Genevan award, we shall find that the advantages of settling disputes by this means were at first realized by men in authority only vaguely, and that the principle was applied but loosely and spasmodically. It was not admitted as an established usage in international relations. Gradually, however, steps were made towards reducing the vague conception as to its utility into an admitted rule—towards rendering arbitration a recognized and permanent institution. We shall also ascertain, as we proceed, three important facts: (*a*) that the successive stages in the growth of arbitration synchronize with the termination of great and exhausting wars; (*b*) that its more general acceptance runs parallel with the decline of autocratic institutions and with the spread of freedom; (*c*) that its recognition as an important principle in the law of nations, as well as the framing of the rules which now govern its practice, are due almost exclusively to the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Their political genius, their aptitude in devising and in working free institutions, enabled them to render to civilization services which are but the continuation of those benefits which the Greeks of old bestowed upon humanity.

At the very outset we find that the new lights, which the Renaissance kindled in Italy and France, modified at an early date both the venue and the value of arbitration. Since classic antiquity, it was then for the first time that questions of political importance were referred, not to potentates or popes, but to doctors of law and to representative assemblies. Although their procedure was still unsettled and without fixed rules, their decisions were evidently inspired by a sense of justice and impartiality.

The famous jurists of Bologna, Padova, and Perugia were called upon to give opinion as to the rights of the House of Farnese on the throne of Portugal, and later some other Italian jurisconsults decided on the dispute between the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy. In 1546 four advocates were employed to adjudicate between Henry VIII. of England and François I. as to a matter of 512,022 écus.

We have already seen that, at a much earlier date, the dispute between Frederic II. and Innocent IV. was referred to the Parliament of Paris, which had the reputation of being composed of men "très saints et très équitables." The confidence which these French assemblies inspired seems to have been very general. The Parliament of Grenoble stands out honourably in this sense. Under François I. it decided the contest between two Italian princes as to the territory of Milan, and in 1613 and 1614 it arbitrated on another dispute, between the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Wurtemberg, in respect to the Comté de Montbéliard. Remarkable is the choice of Jean Bégat, Councillor of the Parliament of Dijon, to decide, in 1570, the question of the frontiers of the Franche-Comté as affecting Spain and Switzerland.

From the Jay Treaty to the Treaty of Washington: 1783-1871.

A considerable time of inaction now intervenes before we enter into the most important period in the history of international arbitration. No one, of course, would consider seriously the arbitration, so called, of Napoleon between Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. of Spain in 1808. He had first wronged and reduced them both to impotence in the manner of the Romans,

whose practice he followed in travestying a great institution. Proceeding, therefore, with our inquiry we may well repeat, at this point, the words of M. Laboulaye: "Napoleon diminue, Washington grandie."

The treaty of September 3, 1783, by which Great Britain recognised the independence of the United States, left pending many questions, both of private interest and public importance—disputed frontier lines and personal claims. With the object of settling these matters a special treaty was signed on November 19, 1794, between Lord Grenville and the eminent American jurist and statesman, after whom it is known as "The Jay Treaty." It constituted a commission of two members, one representing each party, with power to elect an umpire in case of disagreement as to the St. Croix frontier. Two other commissions similarly constituted, were to decide on claims of British and American subjects, respectively, for compensation in respect to ships captured during the war, contraband of war, the restoration of slaves, &c. The disfavour with which this agreement was at first received by the press and the public in America was pronounced and persistent. It was decried as an unprecedented and dangerous arrangement; the treaty itself was attacked fiercely as a surrender to Great Britain. But moderation and good sense gradually prevailed, and the firm attitude of the United States Government allowed the arbitration to be proceeded with. The deliberations of the two commissions occupied with private claims (in all of which Mr. Pinkney, a prominent lawyer of the day, represented the United States) were not in all respects conclusive, and the indemnity due to British subjects had ultimately to be determined by direct diplomatic negotiations, a sum of £600,000 being thus paid to Great Britain.

Another question, which was then left undecided—namely, the restitution of, or compensation for, slaves captured and held on board British ships, or in territories which were to be made over to the United States at the time of the signature of the original treaty, was regulated by a fresh convention on October 20, 1818. But nothing had yet been effected by this means, when in 1820 the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, arbitrated, and by his decision of April 21, 1822, admitted the claim of the

United States on principal. The details were referred, by the convention of July 12 of that year, to a commission of two, who finally, by the agreement of November 13, 1826, fixed the sum payable by England at 1,202,960 dollars.

The other commission appointed by the Jay Treaty, in respect to the line of frontier, broke down completely, owing, it is said, to the fact that the British commissioner, Mr. MacDonald, assumed a tone unpalatable to his American colleagues. The matter was still in suspense, when the events of January, 1815, supervened. But while the battle of New Orleans was being fought by Andrew Jackson, another treaty, signed between the two powers at Ghent, on December 24, 1814, was on its way to America. It provided for two fresh commissions, in which one delegate representing each side. The first commission, to which the question of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, near the mouth of the St. Croix river, was referred, agreed on November 24, 1817, upon their award, without submitting the matter, as they were empowered to do in case of disagreement, to a friendly sovereign or state. The second commission also fixed, on June 18, 1822, the delimitation of the northern frontier of the United States; but on the issue regarding the north-eastern (Maine) and St. Laurence frontier, which was one of the debatable points of the treaty of 1783, an agreement proved impossible.

Consequently, a fresh convention was signed on September 26, 1827, referring this point to the arbitrament of the King of the Netherlands. What followed presents a peculiar and almost unique case. The arbitrator did not decide upon any definite frontier line, the then available maps being very imperfect; but he made (January 10, 1831) certain recommendations (including the necessity of fresh topographical surveys), which the Americans considered as going beyond the terms of the reference. The States of Maine and Massachusetts would not accept such a finding, and the Senate rejected it. This, then, is the only instance recorded in modern times of the repudiation of an award; for which, however, there were substantial grounds. Finally the dispute was amicably settled by virtue of a special treaty signed at Washington, on August 9, 1842, between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton.

Although the success of this first attempt at systematic arbitration on matters of considerable weight, was laboured and only partial, yet the rules then laid down, and the loyal efforts made to carry them into effect, mark an epoch in international relations. The various treaties referred to make up a new chapter of International law, and have influenced materially the mode of dealing with international disputes of this kind.

It must be admitted that the United States eagerly sought to apply the principles of the Jay Treaty in its relations with other Powers. In 1802 a commission of three members was appointed to arbitrate on the claims of the United States against Spain for depredations committed during the preceding war. The decisions of the Commission were ratified in 1810 by an agreement, which resulted in the cession of Florida (1819) as against the sum of five million dollars due by Spain for compensating American citizens. By a similar agreement with France the United States undertook, in 1813, to satisfy various claims of its own subjects against France, such compensations to be reckoned as part payment for the cession of Louisiana to the United States. Other claims, however, followed; and in 1831 France admitted the finding of a commission of arbitrators, and paid to the United States twenty-five million francs as indemnity for the illegal captures of ships, &c.

These precedents stimulated to a remarkable degree the more general adoption of arbitration. It is true that during the second and third quarters of last century only questions of a very secondary importance were referred to arbitration; but this was done with increasing frequency. Moreover, differences, the neglect or prolongation of which was apt, in former times, to lead to embittered disputes, now began to be examined in a more equitable and dispassionate spirit, as matters admitting of a solution honourable to both sides. The principal instances of this kind are the following, briefly stated in chronological order.

The operations of the French against the Trarza Moors, in 1834-35, led to the seizure of certain British merchantmen off Portendick, on the West Coast of Africa. A diplomatic correspondence, which extended over four years, and the attempt at a mixed commission, led to no result; and finally the two governments agreed to submit the matter to Frederic William IV., King

of Prussia. His award of November 9, 1843, was given against France, who had neglected to notify the blockade. On the following year a mixed commission determined the damages payable to British subjects—who had put in claims amounting to 2,183,621 francs—at 41,700 francs. This sum was readily voted by the French Chamber, the decision having been favourably received in both countries.

The treaty of peace signed at Vera Cruz (May 9, 1839) on the conclusion of the war between France and Mexico, referred to arbitration the question whether indemnity was due, on the one hand to Mexico for the seizure of Mexican ships of war after the fall of Fort Ulloa, and on the other hand to the French subjects, who had been expelled the country. On the eve of the war, Great Britain had endeavoured to mediate between the two belligerents; and the above questions having now been submitted to Queen Victoria, they were solved by the decision of August 1, 1844, in a negative sense, since "the acts of both countries were justified by the state of war existing between them."

By the terms of the treaty of April 11, 1839, the claims of United States' citizens against Mexico were referred to a mixed commission of four members, the Queen of England or the King of Prussia to name an umpire in case of disagreement. The amount of damages payable by Mexico was then fixed by the Prussian Minister at Washington, and his decision was ratified by the convention of January 13, 1843. Payment, however, had not yet been made when the war of June, 1846, broke out between the two countries. By the treaty of peace signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo (May, 1848) the United States undertook to pay—as against the territories ceded by Mexico—the sums due to the claimants by the award of 1843. This treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo is memorable as establishing for the first time in modern history—by virtue of its 21st article, which was supplemented by the subsequent treaty of Gadselin, December 30, 1853—the principle of permanent arbitration in respect to any difference, political or commercial, that might arise out of the treaty itself, or out of the other relations of the two contracting parties. Such disputes did soon arise, relating mainly to incursions of Indians into Mexican territory, and to counter claims on the part of the

United States; but their settlement was delayed, owing to civil war and to the French invasion which followed. The convention of July 4, 1868, therefore, referred these claims to a mixed commission of two delegates, with power to appeal to an umpire; and, after repeated postponements, a new convention, signed on November 27, 1872, and ratified on the following March, appointed a fresh commission. This body failing to arrive at an agreement, the matter was submitted to Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, whose award of August 16, 1874, condemned Mexico to the payment of 38,813,053·64 dollars and to the withdrawal of all counter claims.

The *Pacifico* affair, of unenviable fame—when the British fleet blockaded the Greek ports in order to exact compensation for a Jew of that name, a native of Gibraltar, and therefore a British subject, who was alleged to have suffered grievously at the hands of a mob in Athens, and who claimed £21,295—was ultimately compromised by the appointment (July 18, 1850) of a mixed commission, which found that the damages due to *Pacifico* amounted to £150 only.

During the French intervention in Spain, 1823-24, the fleets of the two countries were involved in acts of capture at sea. On the conclusion of peace a convention was signed (January 5, 1824) regulating the matters which related to such seizures. But questions arose as to the captures effected before and after the actual declaration of hostilities; and these questions remained pending till February 14, 1851, when they were referred to the arbitrament of the King of the Netherlands. His award of April 13, 1852, which allowed damages for ships captured before and after hostilities, was carried into effect by a further convention signed as late as February 15, 1862.

A very remarkable case came up for consideration in 1852. During the Anglo-American war, the crew of the United States privateer *General Armstrong*, which was lying at anchor in the port of Fayal, in the Azores, came to blows with, and fired upon, the men of some boats of the British squadron on the night of September 26, 1814. Next morning a British ship of war entered the harbour and attacked and destroyed the privateer. The United States Government thereupon claimed that the Portuguese

authorities ought to have prevented this act of war within a neutral harbour. The Portuguese replied that the American sailors first provoked the encounter, and were therefore responsible for the consequences; nevertheless they offered to refer the matter to the King of Sweden. This proposal was rejected by the United States, who withdrew their minister from Lisbon. After the election, however, of a new President, the Government of Washington agreed, by the convention of February 26, 1851, to submit the dispute to Louis Napoleon, then President of the French Republic. It was ascertained that the Governor of Fayal, who was appealed to by the American privateer *after* the commencement of hostilities, had called upon the British captain to desist; but that the fort of Fayal was not sufficiently armed to render effective the intervention which a neutral was bound to exercise in such circumstances. On these grounds the award of November 30, 1852, absolved the Portuguese Government of all responsibility, “attendu que le capitaine Americain, n’ayant pas eu recours dès le principe à l’intervention du souverain neutre, et ayant employé la voie des armes pour repousser une injuste agression dont il prétendait être l’objet, avait ainsi méconnu la neutralité du souverain étranger, et dégagé ce souverain de l’obligation où il se trouvait de lui assurer protection par toute autre voie que celle d’une intervention pacifique.” The American Government accepted the award as being in accordance with justice. What followed, however, was even more remarkable than the case itself. The owners of the privateer now demanded compensation from their own Government on the plea that, since it had espoused their cause, it admitted their right to compensation; and they actually succeeded in inducing Congress to pass a vote in that sense. The Supreme Court, however, negatived the claim as untenable, both in point of law and in point of morals. And, certainly, no Government would ever again have undertaken to press private claims against a foreign state, had such a monstrous pretention been upheld.

By 1853 a number of claims and counterclaims had once more accumulated between England and the United States, including the MacLeod case, the “Florida Bonds” dispute, and, more especially, the famous case of *The Creole*, an American ship which, on its passage from Richmond to New Orleans, was seized by the

slaves on board, who murdered the master and compelled the crew to sail her to Nassau (December, 1841). The British Governor put the ringleaders under arrest, but, considering the others as mere passengers, allowed them to land freely, against the protests of the American consul. The United States demanded their surrender, but England replied that they were free men from the moment they had set foot on British soil. All these differences were referred, first to a mixed commission, and, on its members failing to agree, to Mr. Joshua Bates, a prominent jurist of London. Acting as umpire, he decided that the English authorities had no right over slaves found on board an American ship, the officers of which ought to have been protected in the exercise of the duties which the laws of their own country imposed upon them: a decision good in law, though distasteful from a humanitarian point of view. More than thirty minor cases were then disposed of, to the entire satisfaction of both countries. The American press was unanimous in its praise of the sagacity and fairness of the arbitrators, whose performance they considered unprecedented; and the *North American Review*, in a memorable article, dwelt upon the inestimable benefits arising out of the adoption of arbitration.

The question of Neuchatel had, in 1851, assumed so threatening an aspect, that war between Prussia and Switzerland appeared inevitable. Both countries had mobilised, shots had been exchanged between the outposts, and sanguinary encounters had already occurred in the streets of the town, when the dispute was referred to the arbitrament of the Emperor of the French.

On the 29th May, 1821, Lord Cochrane, acting as Vice-Admiral in the service of Chile, then at war with Peru, seized at Sitana, on Peruvian territory, a sum of 70,400 dollars, the produce of goods landed by the American brig *Macedonian*. This was deemed a violation of the principle in international law, according to which private property, whether of an enemy or of a neutral, is not seizable on land. The United States demanded of Chile the restitution of that sum; and, after protracted negotiations, which had assumed a threatening aspect and had provoked a war-like spirit in America, it was agreed (November 10, 1858) to request the King of the Belgians to arbitrate. The award, dated

May 15, 1863, condemned Chile to the payment of such portion of the sum originally seized as belonged to American citizens (for there were others also concerned), namely, three-fifths of the total, plus interest from the date (March, 1841) of the formal demand made by the United States, to the day when arbitration was agreed upon.

In 1860 minor disputes between the United States and Costa Rica, New Granada, Ecuador, and Paraguay, severally, were settled by means of mixed commissions. In 1863 a difficulty with Peru, arising out of the cases of the American ships *Lizzie Thompson* and *Georgia*, was referred to the King of the Belgians.

During the same year King Leopold, who had now come to be considered as a sort of permanent arbitrator, was called upon to decide the somewhat embittered and threatening dispute which had arisen between Great Britain and Brazil, consequent upon the imprisonment, on June 7, 1862, of three officers of the British ship of war *La Forte*, lying in Rio de Janeiro, who had insulted, under peculiar circumstances, a Brazilian sentry. They were released as soon as the British Consul revealed their identity (for they were not in uniform when arrested); but the British Government considered the proceeding as an insult offered to the British Navy. The award found no ground of complaint against Brazil, "attendu que les agents Brésiliens n'étaient point coupables de provocation, et que les lois du pays avaient été régulièrement appliquées."

In March, 1861, Captain Thomas Melville White, a British subject, was arrested and was kept in prison till the following year, on a charge of firing at the President of Peru in June, 1860. The charge had not been established, and, consequently, there followed a demand for compensation, which the Peruvian Government resisted. It was ultimately referred to the Senate of the free city of Hamburg, whose award, dated April 12, 1864, declared the claim inadmissible.

The possession of the territories adjoining Puget Sound had been in dispute between Great Britain and the United States for a considerable time, when the question was finally referred, by the convention of June 1, 1863, to a mixed commission of two, with

power to elect an umpire in case of non-agreement. The commission agreed upon an award on September 10, 1867.

The Argentine Republic, being at war with Uruguay, notified, on February 13, 1845, that its ports would be closed from the 1st of the following March, to all ships which had touched at Monte Video, and it refused to entertain the remonstrances of the British Minister, who considered so short a notice unfair and injurious to British trade. Six British ships were thus refused admittance to the port of Buenos Ayeres. In virtue of a convention signed on August 21, 1858, the Argentine Government promised to liquidate certain claims of British subjects for losses sustained during the civil war, which had meanwhile broken out; and the provisions of that convention were confirmed by a further agreement in August of the following year. The demand, which Great Britain subsequently put in, to consider the case of the six merchantmen of 1845 as covered by the provisions of the two subsequent conventions, was resisted by the Argentine Government. The dispute, which thus arose, was referred (January 18, 1865) to the President of Chile, whose award of August 1, 1870, declared that the convention of 1865 did not relate to the events of 1845, and that the measures taken that year by the Argentine Republic were justified by the exigencies of the war which was then being waged against a third State.

General Grant, President of the United States, was chosen arbitrator (January 13, 1868) in the dispute between Great Britain and Portugal anent the ownership of Bulama, one of the Bissago islands, on the West Coast of Africa. His award (April 21, 1870) was in favour of Portugal.

Such are the cases disposed of by means of arbitration, from the time of the memorable departure made by the Jay Treaty to the date of the even more important settlement sanctioned by the Washington treaty of 1871. These cases include, as will have been remarked, almost every debatable point of International Law; and in them Great Britain and the United States hold by far the most prominent place, having been parties to almost all the instances enumerated.

VII.

THE "ALABAMA" CASE.

NEVERTHELESS, most of the foregoing cases were, generally speaking, of minor consequence: not a few of such nature as to leave but little doubt as to the only possible decision an impartial judge would have arrived at. By referring them to arbitration, both parties extricated themselves from an embarrassing situation, and saved their *amour propre*. But a case of much greater importance was now destined to invest the principle of arbitration with an imposing authority, and establish it upon firm ground. The settlement of the dispute known as the "Alabama Case," marks a new epoch in International Law, even more distinctly than the treaty of 1793; and, like it, it is the outcome of the relations and of the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is an event of great historical importance on its own merits, no less than on account of the influence it has exercised on the relations of civilised States generally.

In itself, it presents a study of absorbing interest, both for the complexity of the questions at issue, the magnitude of the claims advanced, the moral considerations involved, and the principles it established. The ability displayed in bringing to a successful issue negotiations of great delicacy, in circumstances of much difficulty and peril, was remarkable. And, considering the bitterness and the animosity that seemed, at a certain stage, to render war inevitable, it required a rare combination of firmness, moderation and skill to arrive at a solution which, leaving unscathed the prestige of both litigants, rebounded to their honour, and entitled them to the lasting gratitude of humanity.

The circumstances of the case are generally so well known that only its essential points need here be recalled to mind. On April 7, 1865, Mr. Adams, the United States Envoy in London, addressed a note to the British Government reciting a number of instances in which Confederate cruisers—the *Georgia*, *Florida*, *Shenandoah*, *Alabama*, &c.—were built and equipped in, and were allowed to sail from, British ports: breaches of neutrality to which the

attention of the authorities in England and her Colonies was repeatedly called during the Confederate war. The United States also complained of undue precipitancy in the recognition of the Southerners as belligerents, of ill-disguised unfriendliness, &c. Lord John Russell replied, on August 2, justifying the course pursued by the British authorities. A proposal for the settlement of the dispute subsequently made by Mr. Riverdy Johnson, the successor of Mr. Adams, namely, that a commission should decide the questions at issue, was accepted by Lord Stanley, and a convention to that effect was signed on January 14, 1869. But this agreement was negatived in the Senate by 54 votes to one (April 13) on the plea that its stipulations were not such as to assure to the United States the reparation that was due to them. The dispute, having thus been reopened, became embittered, and for a time the relations between the two countries were on the point of rupture, as is shown by the correspondence of Lord Clarendon and Mr. Hamilton Fish, from June to October of that year. Further negotiations fortunately ensued, with the result that in January, 1871, the British Government accepted the principle of an arrangement based on a more extended inquiry, and the treaty of Washington, of May 8, having been ratified by the American Senate, was accepted also by the British Parliament, after a protracted and somewhat heated discussion.

The treaty constituted a High Court of Arbitration composed of five members, whose decision by a majority would be binding. For the guidance of the Court, and in order to avoid the recurrence of similar difficulties, the two parties to the treaty declared their acceptance of three fundamental rules which they laid down as determining the duties of neutrals, and which they undertook jointly to submit to other maritime powers for their consideration and acceptance. These rules refer to the exercise of "due diligence" in preventing the arming or equipping of vessels to be used against a belligerent, the use of neutral ports as bases of operations, the enlistment of men, the renewal of supplies, &c. If the Court found that there had been laxity or failure in the observance of the three rules, a lump sum was to be fixed, adequate to indemnify the United States for all the losses complained of. The manner of payment and other details were minutely set

forth, and the decision of the Court was to be accepted irrevocably. Private claims of British and American subjects for losses sustained during the period ranging from April 13, 1861, to May 9, 1865, were to be referred, without appeal, to a commission of three members, two of whom were to be appointed by the Queen of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States respectively, and a third jointly.

The High Court, which assembled in the Hotel de Ville of Geneva, on December 15, 1871, was composed of Count Sclopis, President, designated by the King of Italy; M. Jacques Stämpfli, by Switzerland; Baron d'Itajuba, by the Emperor of Brazil; Mr. Charles Adams, by the United States; and Sir Alexander Cockburn, by the Queen of England. The case having been formally presented, the Court adjourned to the 15th of June next.

The United States had put in claims, (a) for direct damages caused by the Confederate cruisers; and (b) for "indirect losses," resulting from the prolongation of the war, the transference to the British flag of most of the American shipping, &c. They also renewed the charges of "veiled hostility" and "insincere neutrality." The announcement of these demands produced in England great commotion, and menaced the High Court with entire failure, the British Government having notified to General Schenck, the United States Minister in London, that it did not admit "indirect losses" as coming within the terms of the reference. When the Court reassembled, Count Sclopis announced that in the opinion of his colleagues "the indirect claims did not constitute, upon the principles of international law, applicable to such cases, a good foundation for an award or computation of damages between nations." The American commissioner then withdrew that claim, but insisted that England had not exercised, in the observance of her neutrality, "due diligence," which, he contended, must necessarily be commensurate to the circumstances of the case; and to the importance of the probable results. The Court adopted this view, and applying the three rules, awarded to the United States the sum of fifteen-and-a-half millions of dollars as compensation for the depredations committed by the cruisers which had sailed from British ports. In respect to the depredations of the *Alabama* the Court was unanimous; Sir A. Cockburn

dissented in respect to those of *Florida*; and both he and Baron d'Itajuba in respect to the *Shenandoah*. The British commissioner therefore did not sign the award, but put in a separate statement, setting forth his reasons at length, and replying in forcible terms to the attacks that had been made upon the good faith of the British Government. Great Britain however accepted most honourably the award.

At the last sitting held on September 14, 1872, with much consequence and solemnity, Count Sclopis read out the decision of the Court, and concluded by expressing "des vœux ardents pour que Dieu inspirât à tous les Gouvernements la pensée constante et efficace de maintenir ce qui est le désir immuable de tous les peuples civilisés, ce qui est dans l'ordre des intérêts moraux, ainsi que dans celui des intérêts matériels de la société, le bien de tous les biens—la paix!"

The mixed commission for the consideration of private claims was composed of the Right Hon. Russell Guerney, the Hon. James S. Fraser, and Count Corti, delegated by the King of Italy. It dealt with 478 British and 19 American claims—some of an extremely embarrassing nature—and awarded damages amounting to 1,929,819 dollars against the United States.

The important bearing of the *Alabama* arbitration upon international relations is thus expressed by the eminent Belgian jurist M. Rollin-Jacquemyns: "It is not indeed the first international arbitration; but it is the first time that an international matter of this importance has been confided in Europe to a body of private individuals and treated by them in the manner generally adopted by civilized peoples, as best calculated to safeguard civil justice."

Finally, President Garfield, in receiving the letters of recall of Sir Ed. Thornton, the British Envoy at Washington, through whom the treaty was negotiated, thanked him for "the zeal and ability with which he strove to ingraft the principle of international arbitration upon the Law of Nations, and aided in this good result, and in establishing a beneficent rule for the future conduct of all Governments."

VIII.

INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THE GENEVAN AWARD.

THE results thus obtained exercised a powerful influence upon the public mind, and stimulated the efforts of those, more especially, who had inherited the ideas and prosecuted the worthy objects of the earlier thinkers and humanitarians already alluded to. To them were soon added some of the foremost jurists and many members of the legislative assemblies of Europe and America, who formed themselves into associations for the advocacy of arbitration.

The International Arbitration and Peace Association was founded in London in 1882, and presided over by Mr. Hodgson Pratt. It has served as a model to several other such bodies which now exist in most of the Continental countries, in Holland (1872), in Denmark (1882), in Sweden (1883), in Norway (1885). France claims two such societies—*La Société Française pour l'arbitrage entre Nations*, founded in 1889, when a Peace Congress was held in Paris, and *La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté*, instituted by Charles Lemonnier, the central council of which meets annually at Geneva. The English *Workmen's Peace Association* may also be mentioned here. In 1875 it held a congress in Paris, during which French and English workingmen passed a resolution in favour of arbitration. Similar was the decision of the *Groupe des Republicains Socialists*, founded in 1887 by M. Antide Boyer. It included in its programme "la solution de tous les differends entre nations, comme entre individus, par l'arbitrage."

Two other bodies of high scientific standing call for special notice in this connection. *L'Institut du Droit International* was founded by M. Rollin-Jacquemyns and M. Moynier, of Belgium, Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, Mr. Miles and Professor Fr. Lieber, of America, and the eminent English jurist, Professor Westlake. On meeting for the first time at Ghent, September 18, 1873, it appointed a special committee on arbitration, America being represented by Mr. Dudley Field, Belgium by M. de Laveleye,

Italy by Signor Pierantoni, Germany by Herr Goldsmidt, Great Britain by Sir William Vernon Harcourt, at that time professor of international law in Cambridge. This committee has elaborated a very complete scheme of permanent international arbitration, which is published in the organ of the Society, the *Revue du Droit International*, a periodical of great scientific merit. The *Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations* was founded in London in the same year, and has also made arbitration one of its chief objects. It met for the first time in Geneva in 1874, and since 1895 it is known as *The International Law Association*.

A third association, which combines scientific research with legislative activity, was formed in 1888. *The Permanent Parliamentary Committee in favour of Arbitration and Peace*, or more shortly, *The International Parliamentary Union*, which has its centre at Berne, met for the first time in Paris (June, 1889), when the 129 English and American delegates present elected M. Jules Simon as their president. Their second meeting in London, in 1890, was presided over by Lord Herschell, and they have since met annually in different capitals.

Meanwhile, motions in the various legislatures became more frequent and more persistent. In 1873 Senator Sumner proposed a resolution urging the President of the United States to adopt arbitration in his relations with foreign powers; and on the 17th of June of the following year a resolution was carried in Congress by Mr. Woodford, calling upon the government to make provision by treaty for a system of permanent arbitration. In the British House of Commons Mr. Henry Richard was enabled to carry, by a majority of ten, and after a long debate, in July, 1873, when Mr. Gladstone was Premier, a resolution in favour of arbitration. In the House of Lords the Marquis of Bristol was obliged to withdraw a motion, which he made in July, 1887, for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration. Yet the disposition manifested by the resolutions which had already been adopted in the United States and in England brought about a sort of co-operation in the legislatures of the two countries. On October 31, 1887, a deputation, consisting of ten members of Parliament and three representatives of the Trades Union Con-

gress, presented an address to the President and Congress of the United States, signed by 234 members of the House of Commons, and expressing great satisfaction with the proposal introduced into Congress, which urged the Government of the United States to conclude with Great Britain a treaty for the adjustment of all differences by means of arbitration. President Cleveland referred this address to the Foreign Affairs Committee, and in February, 1890, Congress adopted unanimously a resolution calling upon the President to enter into negotiations with that object with foreign governments generally.

The Pan-American Conference, which was convened at Washington in October, 1888, signed an agreement to that effect in April, 1890; and in the following October the Government of the United States communicated to the European Cabinets the text of the said agreement, as well as the foregoing resolution of Congress, thus signifying its readiness to enter into negotiations. No formal negotiations ensued; but on June 16, 1893, Mr. Cremer, (whose lifelong efforts in this good cause were recognised last December by the bestowal upon him of the Nobel prize) moved in the House of Commons that the step taken by the United States should be responded to by the following resolution, which was, in fact, adopted, after a memorable speech by Mr. Gladstone:

"That this House has learned with satisfaction that the Houses of the United States Congress have authorized the President to invite from time to time, as fit occasion may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has, or may have, diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agencies, may be referred to arbitration and peaceably adjusted by such means; and that this House, cordially sympathising with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution."

These efforts of the British Parliament and of the American Congress found a ready response in almost every other European legislature. Italy was the first to follow, thanks principally to the

eloquent advocacy of Professor Pierantoni. Signor Morelli's motion in 1871 for the creation of an "Amphictyonic Tribunal," was too vague to enlist support. But the resolution introduced by Signor Mancini, on August 24, 1873, urging the Government to have recourse to arbitration in cases of dispute, and to insert an arbitration clause in future treaties, was unanimously adopted by the Italian Chamber, on November 24, with the concurrence of the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Visconti Venosta.

In Holland, a deputation in favour of arbitration having been favourably received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a formal motion, in the sense of the Italian resolution, was made in the Second Chamber of the States General by Messieurs Bredius and Van Eck. It was adopted on November 17, 1874, by 35 votes against 30. On December 5, 1878, M. Van Eck again referred to this resolution, and obtained from the Dutch Government a fresh assurance that its recommendations would be observed. A similar resolution, introduced by Messieurs M. Thonissen and A. Couvreur, was adopted unanimously by the Belgian Chamber of Deputies on January 20, and by the Senate on February 17, 1875.

The Second Chamber of the Swedish Diet, on the motion of M. Jonas Jonassen, adopted, on March 21, 1874, and by 71 to 64 votes, an address to the King praying that the policy of his government might favour the establishment of a tribunal of arbitration, either permanent or special for each case in dispute. In Denmark a motion for the establishment of an international tribunal was laid before the Folketing by three of its members in March, 1875, and was referred to a committee; but the session came to an end before it could be discussed. On March 27, 1888, however, the Folketing adopted, by 50 votes to 16, an address bearing some six thousand signatures and advocating that the three Scandinavian kingdoms should refer to arbitration such differences as might arise between them.

In the French Chamber M. Antide Boyer moved in 1886, and again in 1890, for the creation of an arbitral tribunal, but these motions were not admitted to discussion. On January 21, 1887, M. Frédéric Passy and his friends introduced a rather vaguely worded motion in favour of arbitration, which was referred to a committee and rejected by it. A more definite proposal

followed from the same source on April 21, 1888, in favour of a treaty of arbitration with the United States, and this proposal enlisted the support of a large number of Deputies.

In Spain an act authorizing the government to conclude treaties of arbitration was passed by the Senate on June 16, 1870. In Portugal there remains on record the following remarkable passage from the speech of the King in opening the Cortese: "Congresses which assemble in consequence of wars only sanction, as a rule, the advantages secured by the strongest; and the treaties which result from such Congresses rest on accomplished facts rather than on right. They create forced situations, ending in general uneasiness, and producing protests and armed demands. A congress before war, and intended to prevent war is, to my mind, a generous idea favouring progress."

Without attaching undue importance to this growth of opinion in support of the principle of arbitration, it is impossible to ignore its weight and significance. On the other hand it would be an ill service to the cause which men of large views and generous instincts have at heart, if we were to hold exaggerated expectations or to be unmindful of the fact that not all disputes are amenable to the test of arbitration. Wars are, unfortunately, still inevitable, if not absolutely necessary, where vital interests are at stake, where national aspirations are wrongfully constrained, or where great and salutary principles come into collision with reactionary tendencies. But the steady increase in the number and consequence of the cases submitted to arbitration in the thirty years which have elapsed since the Geneva award attest to the power inherent in this great institution. Some attempt will be made to consider these latter cases also, when the present rough sketch of the History of Arbitration reappears, shortly I hope, in a more complete and permanent form.

J. GENNADIUS.

THE THEORY OF PROTECTION.

IT is scarcely an exaggeration of the view of the orthodox Free Trader to say that he believes that the industrial prosperity and commercial growth of Great Britain began in 1846, and that the sole, or at any rate the preponderating cause was the abolition of the corn duties and the general reduction and rearrangement of import duties, which put the foreigner on the same level as the home producer. He believes that the applicability of these principles is as universal and as certain as the Decalogue. He believes that foreign nations are in the process of being converted to these views, only hindered by the efforts of Rings, of manufacturers, of landlords, and other similar powers of evil. He looks on Mr. Chamberlain's action in questioning the fundamental principles of the accepted British fiscal policy with the same contemptuous anger as if he were putting forward a new method of squaring the circle, and is convinced that he is either displaying invincible ignorance, or trying, as a piece of the lowest party tactics, to confuse the issue by diverting public attention from inconvenient failures, to what he knows to be a specious but ruinous fallacy. As to those who follow Mr. Chamberlain, he dismisses them lightly as either blinded by the glamour of a personality, or inspired consciously or unconsciously by motives of individual advantage.

Political fanaticism of this kind is veiled in expressions of more or less politeness, according to the temperament of the individual, but since Mr. Cobden disgusted Mr. Gladstone, as

Mr. Morley tells us, by his incessant imputation of evil motives to opponents, this has been the line of his political followers. This, of course, is not the attitude of economists, even the most orthodox, when writing as men of science. From Adam Smith and J. S. Mill downwards they have admitted and stated qualifications and exceptions to the principle which in the hands of Sidgwick and Nicholson go far to reduce it from a truth of science to a maxim of practice, rendered expedient by human frailty and human ignorance.

But politicians and journalists quote the dogmas and omit their qualifications and use them as weapons of controversy, much as the chunks of old red sandstone were applied by the members of the Society upon the Stanislow. This attitude of mind shows an insularity and an ignorance of the general current of world opinion unfortunately characteristic of British public life. Free trade, as defined by the Free Food League, may or may not be the right policy for this country, but there is no use in ignoring the fact that in almost all foreign countries, as well as in our own colonies, the tendency of opinion in recent years has been entirely in the opposite direction, and that after a period of inclination to follow the lead of England, almost every foreign country has decided against a *laissez faire* fiscal policy and in favour of the use of a tariff to support and defend national industries. No one denies that such a policy involves the danger of undue favour to Rings and other private interests, but to maintain that such interests are the cause of the adoption of that policy by every great European power is to draw a most grave indictment, not against one but against many nations; a performance which usually shows more temerity than knowledge.

Curiously enough the same people who have so low an opinion of the motives of German commercial policy are never tired of extolling the excellence of German commercial education, and of explaining all shortcomings in the position of British industry by the inferiority of British technical training. But Germans do not attribute everything to education. They consider their theory of trade quite as important an element in their success, and absolutely inconsistent with the British. The contrast of the two ideas is clearly put by Dr. Fuchs (*Handelspolitik Englands*, p. 4)

"Between the two (*i.e.*, Protection and Free Trade in the English sense) there is a fundamental difference, which is nothing less than a difference of world concept (*Weltauffassung*). Here we come upon a question of principle, a decision of which can no more be escaped by political economy (*Nationalökonomische Wissenschaft*) than by politics, and which can be expressed in two words—Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism. In this question both politics and science have decided emphatically in favour of the former. Politics have gone in front and science has followed. This constitutes a distinction in principle from pure Free Trade in the English sense. For modern historical political economy starts from the conviction that the development of human civilisation will only proceed in forms of growth which have nations or states as their structure, and must therefore destroy English free trade, for this by its reckless carrying out of the principle of the division of labour between nations involves the conclusive denial of any system of economics directed to making nations self-contained." This passage goes far to explain the different points of view of the schools of Cobden and of List. British free trade sprang from individualistic philosophy. Adam Smith, its great originator, was dominated by the ideas of Hume and Quesnay. The beneficence of nature and the advantage of leaving each individual to seek his own interests without interference, led to the theory of *laissez faire*, developed by the successors of Adam Smith to doctrines of legislative and administrative impotence. At the same time the kindred tendency to look on nations as nothing but aggregates of individuals, and the world at large as composed of persons governed only by economic motives, naturally led to the consideration of practical problems in the cosmopolitan aspect. Such a maxim, for example, as "buy in the cheapest market" was taken as an obvious rule of conduct for the individual. It was argued that if all obstacles were removed from the universal application of this rule, the greatest amount of wealth would be produced in the world as a whole. Hence it was inferred that the abolition of customs barriers would be to the advantage of every nation.

The weakness of the argument lay in the assumption that what was to the economic advantage of the world as a whole was necessarily also for the benefit of each nation as a unit.

Foreigners were not slow to point out that the Commercial greatness of England had been built up on totally different principles, but such objections carried little weight with men who while using language of universal application, were in fact thinking of and generalizing from the circumstances and needs of their own country and their own day only. Free Trade, in the sense in which the phrase was used by Mr. Cobden and Sir R. Peel was undoubtedly the right policy for England at the time those statesmen carried it out. The policy of heavy import duties on corn had been a mistake from the time they were introduced at the close of the great war. The landowners, as List fully pointed out, and as events up to 1875 proved, had more to gain by the policy of making England "the workshop of the world," which at that time had good chance of success, than by keeping up the price of corn. The industrial supremacy of England was so complete, that she was certain of all the custom that the world had money to give her. She had practically no competitors in her own manufactures, and had no fear but that if one industry failed, those concerned would quickly find equally good occupation in another. She believed her position impregnable, and therefore felt that Foreign countries in enforcing tariffs on her goods were penalizing themselves rather than damaging her.

Under these conditions there can be no doubt that the policy of freeing food and raw materials and of "fighting tariffs by free imports" when introduced by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, was a right and wise policy for the country. But hence it by no means follows that the same policy would have been wise for other nations or for our own country at a previous period. Neither does it follow that the same policy will remain right for this country if circumstances change and we lose our industrial predominance. Free Trade is certainly the policy of the strongest, just as No Trumps is the game for the happy possessor of a suitable hand. Nevertheless he would be a rash player who on sitting down to a game of Bridge should declare his unqualified adhesion to the policy of No Trumps, without waiting to see what cards might be dealt into his hand.

Until recently our industrial position was undoubtedly strong enough to enable our manufacturers to dispense with state assist-

ance against foreign competition springing from any source, but within the last generation the great industries of Germany and the United States by the help of such assistance have outstripped us beyond comparison in rate of growth, and in some cases have left us behind in actual out-put. Foreign countries more and more desire to supply their own wants, and the question of finding fresh markets to take the place of those which we are losing has long been the dominant feature in our relations with all unappropriated parts of the world. It is now become a question of practical politics whether there are not other ways in which the powers of government should be directed to defend our home markets, and to secure for our goods a fair chance in other parts of the world. Many of our manufacturers still keep up the reputation of England as being able to produce a superior article to any foreign country. Where price is a minor consideration, and quality all important, these men hold their own. They have no fear of competition for themselves, and in many cases inveigh against any one who complains of it as incompetent and out of date. Such invectives do not carry much weight. It is satisfactory to find that for the best qualities of an article we are not yet rivalled, but after all it is upon the cheaper qualities that the bulk of our industry must depend, and it is in respect of cheaper goods that our manufacturers are finding themselves attacked both in the home and foreign markets. To hear the builder of the very highest quality of ships declaiming against protection is like hearing the scratch player of a golf tournament attacking the system of handicaps as an unnecessary encouragement of laziness and bad play. It was not for such as he that handicaps were devised, and the more he makes it manifest that he does not require such adventitious aid, the more does the foreigner feel himself justified in giving a helping hand to the industries of his country even at some cost to himself.

In the history of British political ideas there are few things more striking than the absolute supremacy held by the Theory of Free Trade for more than half a century, both among economists and public men. We boast of ourselves as a practical people, and are apt to despise the theorisings of philosophers and historians. Usually our statesmen have a large distrust of generalities and are

guided by common sense to a conclusion which is sound under the circumstances of the case. It is only when they attempt to give the theoretical justification of their actions that they are to be distrusted. Their decisions are usually right, their reasons as frequently wrong.

In the same way the fault of our economists (except Adam Smith) has always been that they have written as if the facts of English life of their own day were of universal and eternal truth. They have not sufficiently checked their inferences by the examination of other countries and of former periods. With perfect good faith but with irritating effect, they have expressed in general terms conclusions wisely arrived at by English statesmen thinking only of the practical problems with which they had to deal, and have stated them as universal truths to be accepted by every nation which desired to be saved. They did not conceal the probable result of their teachings. To make England "the workshop of the world," "to convert all other nations to the gospel of Free Trade, and thus to create a world of which England was the great manufacturing centre, with all other countries for its dependent agricultural districts," were their objects and anticipations. Such aspirations, however agreeable to patriotic Englishmen, could not be expected to impress foreigners in the same manner. Countries who felt their national future involved in independent industrial existence, looked with distaste upon a propaganda of which this was to be the result. The injudicious warmth with which the doctrines of Free Trade were urged by persons thus confessedly interested led to the suggestion of insincerity on the part of its advocates, and the suspicions of double dealing and hypocrisy thus caused have embittered foreign feeling against England more than any course of action straightforwardly undertaken in her own self-interest. In no country can this be more clearly traced than in Germany. What is the attitude of the German school of economists, of which List was the protagonist, occupying as prominent a place as Adam Smith amongst ourselves? Their position is based on a wider survey of history than the English. Examining the cases of all nations which in different periods of the world's history have grown into greatness, they have found their strength based upon

their industrial policy. They have found that no nation can be strong without industry and commerce, and they have found that it has been through a wise policy of government that industry has developed itself.

Since they found that nations which have been content to be the producers and exporters of raw materials have remained weak and backward, and that it has been by the growth of manufactures within their frontiers, and by the knitting together of commercial bonds between their members, that nations have become strong, rich and united, they refused to acquiesce in the complacent British theory that Providence, with its eye upon England, had destined special parts of the world or special races to have the monopoly of industrial production. They saw that it was hopeless for a poor and weak country to compete in open market on even terms with a rich and old established rival whose policy of merciless "dumping" was avowed and notorious. They realised that interference with an open market meant increase of price to the consumer, but they declined to limit their views to the price of the moment, and declared that the true interest of the country lay, not in buying in the cheapest market, but in developing in the nation productive powers for the future.

By such principles as these, formulated more precisely in Germany, acted upon earlier and with equal thoroughness in the United States, have our great rivals been guided. They have ceased to be content with producing food and timber, cotton and wool for our markets, and receiving our cottons and hardware in return, each has developed industries greater and more rapidly increasing than our own. The actual price of goods in their markets may at times have been dearer than it would have been if supplied by us, but who will maintain that the policy of thus building up the strength of their nation was ignoble in its motives or mistaken in its methods?

As regards the question of theory, the whole object and aim of the German historical school of economists is national. It disavows, on the one hand, individualism, and on the other hand cosmopolitanism, and only studies how to increase the wealth and the strength of its own nation. The English Free Trade school would, of course, claim by its own methods to obtain the same

result. Let us compare its attitude upon the question of foreign imports with that of the German. The English theory has been free competition in the home market. The rule which has been laid down by successive British financiers has been—No preference of any sort to the home producer. Taxation to be for revenue only, and wherever any taxed import is also produced at home, a corresponding duty to be put upon the home product. This rule has been adhered to with a rigidity which has made a German historian declare that “the practical proposals of English politicians in carrying out this policy appear a caricature of the onesidedness contained in the theories of their political economists.”*

The theory of these rules is to lower the price of goods by the admission of competing articles whenever possible, and to escape all responsibility of consequences by professing a principle of strict neutrality between the home producer and his foreign rival. Looked at from the standpoint of the individual consumer, the free admission of competing foreign products justifies itself. He would not buy the foreign article unless he preferred it, and therefore he benefits by the choice. Looked at from the national point of view, the matter is not so simple, and needs further examination to which we will proceed.

We may first clear the ground by making a distinction which, though obvious, is often lost sight of. There are many imports which consist of articles which are not produced in the country, and which either cannot be produced here at all, or, at any rate, could not be produced except at extravagant cost. Gold and silver may serve as instances of the one, raw cotton and silk, wine, bananas, and tea of the other. In regard to such articles there is no question that the more a country can afford to import the better. They do not compete with home industries. They do not displace home labour. On the contrary, they cannot be obtained without home labour, and they cause employment in some shape or other in producing articles or rendering services to be given in exchange. They are labour causing and not labour displacing imports.

But there remains the other kind of imports which to a

* Held. *Soziale Geschichte Englands*, p. 34.

greater or less extent competes with our own industries, as they consist of articles which might possibly be produced at home. Much of this consists of raw materials and of food, such as wool and iron ore, corn and meat, which, though produced at home, could not economically be produced in sufficient quantity for our wants, and therefore may be regarded as a separate category in regard to which, if they are to be taxed at all, the motive will be political rather than fiscal, a question to which we shall return later. There remains the class of manufactured articles competing directly with similar articles made, or which might be made, in this country, and by their introduction preventing the growth of industries which would enrich the country or actually displacing labour which, if they had not been imported from abroad, would have been employed in manufacturing them at home.

Steel rails and forgings, or telephone fittings, may be taken as examples of such articles. Everyone agrees that the more such goods are produced at home the better. The Free Trader desires to encourage production by any and every means. He looks to education, to political influence, to consular advice to help the home producer. He only stops short at the use of the tariff. The question is whether, looking to the interests of the nation as a whole, he is economically justified in imposing on himself such a limitation.

The argument which is most often put forward to justify the Free Trade position is, that no real harm is done to England by the importation of foreign manufactured goods—say, for clearness, of steel rails from Belgium—because they must be paid for by goods, and it is just as much or more to the profit of England to make these other goods as to make the rails. Consequently, that although an individual manufacturer or trade may be damaged, the country as a whole does not suffer. This argument, though supported by high names from J. S. Mill downwards, contains an obvious fallacy.

It is perfectly true that a transaction such as the purchase of a large quantity of steel rails should be regarded as in reality an exchange of goods for goods, and not simply of money for goods. But it is forgotten that this is just as much the case whether a political frontier happens to lie between the two parties

to the transaction or not. If, for example, the London County Council purchases 10,000 tons of steel rails, it in effect pays for those rails by giving the railmakers orders upon the boot-makers, the cloth makers, the biscuit makers, the machinery makers, and all the other thousand manufacturers of England. This is equally true, whether the rail-makers in question reside in Yorkshire or in Belgium. In either case English goods are directly or indirectly given in exchange for the rails. The only difference is, that in the one case it is to English, in the other to Belgian workmen that they are given. So far as London is concerned, if foreign rails are bought there is *ex hypothesi* some gain of cheapness, say 5 per cent. upon the cost of the rails. So far as England as a whole is concerned, there is the loss of the whole price of the rails, which would have been divided in the shape of wages and profits among a large number of workmen, shareholders in mines, steel works, and railways, and many others. Against this is to be set the 5 per cent. balance of cheapness which London gains, and if, as the consequence of importing Belgian rails, English mills are left standing idle, the net result will be a loss to the country of 95 per cent. of the cost.

If the mills are not thrown idle, but have as good employment upon the same or some other kind of work, of course that must be brought into account. If the mills are and remain in full work there is no direct loss, and in intermediate cases the result will vary between these two extremes. The Free Import argument, then, when stated as a general or necessary truth, involves a gross blunder in accounting. It takes into consideration only one half of the transaction. Putting aside the undoubted benefit of cheapness, which is of comparatively small amount, say 5 per cent., other industries gain nothing that they would not have received otherwise. The industry affected loses something whose amount may be anything from zero to 100 per cent. on the price of the goods.

In following a chain of reasoning men are very apt to forget that the conclusions reached are only cogent provided the postulates from which the reasoning starts are in accordance with the facts of the case. The examination just given to the argument for the free import of competing goods shows what is the tacit

assumption made by Free Traders. The postulate, without which their whole argument collapses, is that it be granted that the labour and capital thrown out by the introduction of labour displacing imports can find equally good employment for themselves elsewhere without serious delay or loss. This was clearly seen by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and inexplicitly stated by Bagehot, the least abstract of British economists, but the fact of the assumption has been lost sight of by many subsequent writers, and still more completely ignored by politicians talking economy.

In reality, however, the importance of this qualification is continually increasing. The transferability of capital becomes less and less as the fixed plant necessary in the shape of special machinery for the production of every kind of article becomes more and more costly. The transferability of labour becomes more and more difficult as the skill of the workman is more and more specialised. Unskilled labour can be applied to a fresh industry with comparatively small waste, but the skilled workman finds himself deprived in a moment of all the capital which he possessed in the aptitudes derived from years of practice.

Doctrinaire economists talk lightly of such matters of "temporary unemployment" and "dislocations of industry." They console the sufferers by the assurance that "these symptoms are the inevitable concomitant of movement, and movement is of the very essence of modern life." They point out truly enough that similar results may be caused by the migration of industry within the country. That also has frequently proved a most serious blow to whole communities and districts. Such vicissitudes are inevitable, and like the fortunes of individuals are outside the scope of government interference. No British statesman could have been asked to defend Clydesdale against Lancashire in respect of cotton, Norfolk against the West Riding for wool, or Sussex against Cleveland for iron. But when the competition is that of a foreigner the case is different. Those affected are entitled to ask their rulers to consider before deciding to "take it lying down" whether, consistently with the interests of the whole nation, any assistance can be given to the suffering industry.

In discussions of the recent social history of the country, it is usually ignored how much of the distress which during the first

half of last century recurred so frequently and in so many districts, was due to migrations in industry of this kind. During the period between the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* and the abolition of the Corn Laws, the state of Great Britain was entirely changed. At the beginning of that time it was a stable agricultural country with small manufactures mostly carried on by families in their own houses in villages or small towns. By the end of the period men could truly boast of it as the workshop of the world, full of bran new factories and cities which had sprung up chaotically, uncontrolled by sanitary or factory legislation, and whose novelty inspired terror and dislike to an extent which it is not easy for the present generation to understand. To give one single fact, which, better than any description, shews the change, Adam Smith, writing about 1770, said, "The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase in the number of inhabitants. In Great Britain and most other European countries they are not supposed to double in less than five hundred years."* In the forty years between 1801 and 1841, the population of Great Britain increased by 70 per cent., and in the fifty years, 1801-1851, it almost doubled.†

In view of the tremendous social revolution which these figures imply, it is impossible to set down the manufacturing growth of the country to a set of measures which did not come into effect till the end of the period in question. Along with this unprecedented development, great distress undoubtedly existed, of which the memory has burned itself into the popular mind. At this time of day it is childish or worse to seek to attribute this distress to the single cause of a tariff. When recent, the argument was pressed with all the force of the adroit agitators who found great difficulty in inducing the working classes to come to the support of their movement against the Corn Laws. Now that the memory is remote, a desperate effort is being made by politicians and journalists of whom better things might have been expected, to revive, and to exploit the old bitterness in order to discredit and

* *Wealth of Nations* Book I., Chap. viii.

† The exact figures of population are : Great Britain, 1801, 11 millions ; 1841, 18·5 millions ; 1851, 20·8 millions.

prejudice proposals of a totally different nature. Between politicians posing as economists, and economists giving council as practical politicians, the argument becomes confused. It is not the economists who preach Free Trade as an infallible gospel. Even J. S. Mill admitted exceptions in a sentence which Bright declared did more harm than all the rest of his works did good. The late Prof. Sedgwick went further, and based his support of Free Trade, not on theory, but on the difficulty of securing in any actual government wisdom, strength, and singleness of aim sufficient to be trusted to administer a system of Protection. The "purity of politics" is a subject upon which professors and theorists are more solicitous than the men who are at present *ex hypothesi* incorruptible, but whose virtue it is feared would be exposed to temptation. There are plenty of occasions where the action of the House of Commons affects great pecuniary interests, and where it would be well worth the while of great corporations to secure the support of members by illicit means, if such a thing were possible. No such suspicion ever arises, and I am often struck by the weakness of the railways and similar bodies upon questions in which their interest is set against a vote-catching cry.

The admitted power of the great licensed trade illustrates my meaning. It does not depend upon the wealth of brewers or the interests of shareholders, but upon the number of votes the trade are believed to influence. Speaking as an old member of the House of Commons, I would trust the virtue of my colleagues to withstand any temptation except that of votes; there I confess we are human.

Thus there has arisen a curiously anomalous position. The politicians base the unqualified certainty of their free trade convictions upon their ignorance of the teachings of their own economists. The economists adhere to free trade in spite of hesitations, because they distrust the virtue of their own politicians.

In trying to deal with so large a subject within the limits of a single article, I have confined myself strictly to economic theory. To determine whether action theoretically justifiable is practically wise would require an investigation of facts, which it would be the function of a government, and not of an essayist, to undertake.

No statement, however, should be left incomplete by omitting allusion to the political consideration which gives the whole question its urgency. The economical needs of British industries slowly emerge. We are not going to be ruined in a moment, and once men's vision is cleared from false theories, there will be plenty of time to excogitate action for their defence. The question of our relations with our colonies is more pressing, and opportunity may be lost for ever before we perceive what is happening. Canada may get tired of giving us preference without return, and may sign the long talked of commercial treaty with the United States. In every colony the growth of domestic protected industries makes relations leading to imperial free trade ever more difficult. Here again we may take lessons from Germany. The growth of the Empire out of the Zollverein has proved that a "cash nexus" is the safest road to political unity. Austria, the natural and historic leader of German speaking peoples, despised all such "sordid bonds," and trusted to sentiment, to diplomacy, and to the remembrance of past headship. Prussia, with far-seeing patience, and at the cost of many pecuniary sacrifices, and the frequent subordination of her immediate interests, built up the system which joined the scattered and hostile German states through a customs union into that empire which had seemed the most impossible of dreams. German students of our affairs see the same need in front of ourselves. Far from resenting such ideas, as they are foolishly expected to do, they anticipated Mr. Chamberlain, and long before he publicly committed himself they foretold a change of our fiscal policy as the necessary means to hold together our Empire. Take, for example, the study of the question by Professor Fuchs.* His history of the whole free trade movement is worthy of attention as written from a detached and foreign point of view. His discussion of the problem of political and commercial Federation, though written ten years ago, covers with surprising foresight and accuracy the controversies of to-day.

To show the spirit in which an impartial German critic regards

* "Die Handelspolitik Englands und seiner Kolonien in den letzten Jahrzehnten," Leipzig, 1893, forms the fourth volume of "Die Handelspolitik der wichtigsten Kulturstaaten in den letzten Jahrzehnten."

the problem, it is worth while to give some idea of his argument. After dismissing a purely political union of the British Empire as impossible, he shows that a commercial union necessarily involves preferences on the chief colonial products, and therefore taxation of food against which (he observes as a remarkable fact) there is stronger objection than against much heavier taxation of tea, tobacco, beer, and other articles of luxury equally consumed by the masses. After sketching several forms of preferential schemes he proceeds as follows: "In such an arrangement the colonies would undoubtedly have the greater share of the purely economic advantages. The motherland would certainly have to pay a certain price for it. But, as we have seen, economic and political tendencies cannot be separated in this question, and the necessity may therefore easily present itself to the United Kingdom of purchasing the political advantages of union with the colonies at an economic price. And this is the solution of the question which obtains in the most advanced minds of the English nation. On political grounds England needs more than ever the support of her great colonial empire. This, however, with the countless centrifugal forces that are operative at the present time, can only be assured through a firmer union, and this, therefore England must endeavour at any price to attain." (p. 310.)

After discussing the question of food supply in war, he proceeds (p. 311): "But these are considerations of which little can be made before the crowd. The dislike of corn taxes and the possible increase in price of bread through them is so inrooted and so lively in the English people, that none of the political parties and no English statesman dares to go before the crowd with such a possibility."

After dismissing Lord Rosebery as a doubtful adherent of Imperial Federation and a decided opponent of commercial union, and Mr. Gladstone as opposed to both, Professor Fuchs concludes with a striking prophecy: "It will have to be shewn whether the future will bring to England a statesman possessing enough clear-sightedness, courage, energy and tact to bring to a happy solution this question, which is of such great importance for the future of England for its position as a World Power (*Weltmachtstellung*), for its commerce, and it must, however, be soon, or it will be for ever

too late." (*Es muss aber bald sein, sonst ist es daza für immer zu spät.*)—(p. 312.)

Language of this kind illustrates the fact that we need not be troubled by craven fears of offending other nations in attending to our own affairs. Foreigners resent the Pharisaic assumptions of British superiority, and the missionary efforts which appear to them based either on ignorance or hypocrisy which they construe as a deep laid plot to benefit England at their own expense, but straightforward action in pursuing whatever fiscal policy we believe required for the good of the Empire they regard as the legitimate action of business men to be dealt with in a businesslike manner.

In the great controversy, of which we have as yet seen only the opening campaign, questions supposed to be settled once for all have been reopened, and solutions which have hitherto satisfied Englishmen are being re-examined in the light of modern science and modern experience. The problem is vital to the nation and the Empire. It behoves those who grapple with it to avoid with equal sedulousness the idols of self-interest on the one hand and of timorousness and insular superstition on the other.

I. PARKER SMITH.

SOME PSYCHIC EXPERIENCES.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

THE old saying that half the world does not know how the other half lives is applicable with peculiar force to all that has to do with Psychic Experience. Owing to the silly fashion that has induced conventional writers to ignore all records of such experience, or to treat them with contempt or ridicule, multitudes of otherwise cultivated people get through the life without suspecting that a multitude of others are in constant and familiar touch with beings in another state of existence, and with aspects of the Unseen World of which the first multitude has never heard. The difference between the knowledge possessed at this date, by an ordinary Cambridge graduate, let us say, and a Briton of the Roman period in reference to the geography of the earth and the "Architecture of the Heavens," is hardly greater than that which divides the knowledge of the Cambridge graduate in question (assuming him to belong to the multitude that does *not* pay attention to psychic discovery), from that of the man who profits by all current opportunities for becoming acquainted with the conditions of being in the Unseen World around us.

Nor, however willing the representatives of the more advanced knowledge may be to share their advantages with others, is it always easy to do this in the present state of public feeling on the subject. Those whose psychic faculties are sufficiently developed and mature to put them freely into conscious touch with other planes of existence, are nearly always shy and reserved about their unusual gifts to an extent which the few who may know of and

profit by them are bound to respect. Of course, anyone who has the patience to investigate ordinary Spiritualism with intelligence, will arrive at certainty about the broad fact that communication with beings on another plane of existence is possible, but the most beautiful developments of Spiritualism are only possible in private circles rigorously guarded from unsympathetic intrusion, and the mere inquirer must be content to go through a great deal of rough preparatory work before he obtains access to any of these. Again, quite outside all activities that can be distinctly associated with Spiritualism, psychic discovery has been carried on by those who may be properly described as occult students with such success as to expand our knowledge of super-physical Nature beyond horizons themselves inconceivably wider than those with which conventional culture is concerned. Such investigations, and the conditions under which they are carried on, are especially surrounded, for reasons which those entirely outside the range of such study would not even comprehend, with reserve and the strictest privacy. When, however, any one of the few persons who, at this stage of the world's progress, are gifted with faculties that enable them to come in contact with higher sources of wisdom than those accessible to ordinary mankind can be persuaded, as a matter of duty, to put forward explicit statements of personal experience, a great service is rendered to all who are capable of appreciating the effort. Whenever it becomes possible to do this such statements will be published in the pages of this Review, and the article that follows is extremely well worthy to take the lead in such a series.

Everyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the extensive and ever growing literature of Theosophical research will be familiar with a little book called "Light on the Path." This was read in manuscript under circumstances I well remember, some twenty years ago, to a small group of occult students. That it was not, in the ordinary sense, the composition of the writer was well understood. But the writer, Mrs. Cook—the lady known to the novel reading world by her maiden name, Mabel Collins—was among those gifted with the faculties that put consciousness into relation with other realms of nature besides those cognised by the physical senses; and in other ways—besides by the production

of "Light on the Path"—she had employed these faculties in the service of the work then in progress.

And though she shares the reluctance, which all persons endowed with abnormal senses are governed by in a greater or less degree, to permit the publication of any definite narrative relating to their exercise, I have, for the sake of those whose interest in studies of a lofty character may be seriously stimulated by the perusal of such a statement, succeeded in procuring for publication in this review the clear and straightforward account now given of the way in which "Light on the Path," some earlier writings by "M. C.," and some of a later date were actually produced. I need only add that the substance of all now told for the first time in print about the earlier work has been quite familiar to me for the twenty years that have elapsed since the period above referred to, and as the present authoress was good enough at the time to give me a specimen of the handwriting, utterly unlike her own, in which the book called "The Idyll of the White Lotus" was written, I append to this paper a facsimile reproduction of this curious scrap of manuscript.

"M. C.'s" NARRATIVE.

I was living in a house in the Adelphi that looked upon the river when Cleopatra's Needle was brought into London by that ancient highway and set up on the Embankment. It was placed just beneath my windows. In the first moment I saw it I became aware of a face in it which I soon discovered was not visible to anyone else. It was an Egyptian face, full of power and will, and intensely alive. The effect was very strange, because it was just the same width as the Needle, and it gave an idea to me of an imprisoned being, too large for the space in which it was confined. I cannot attempt to offer any explanation of this, I can only state that I have never seen the Needle without seeing the face, and that I have seen it sometimes with the eyes closed and the expression of deep Egyptian calm upon it, but more often with the eyes open, looking hither and thither with an inscrutable glance.

Immediately after the arrival of the Needle I became aware of long processions of white-robed priests, who came in at the

What could this mean? / could

door of the house and up the stairs and into the room in which I was, and stood round me. This happened constantly, and I grew accustomed to the gleam of the white draperies amid the gloom which generally hangs over that part of London.

I was at work upon a novel at that time, writing incessantly. My sister-in-law was staying with me, and she was busy upon some drawing which kept her equally occupied. We generally worked at the same table, she with her drawing board at one side of it, and I at the other, writing, as has always been my habit, very rapidly, and throwing the pages aside without taking the time to dry the ink upon them. One day we were at work in this manner when I saw the procession of priests come in at the door of the room. I looked up at them for a moment and saw that they were ranging themselves all round me as usual. Then I returned to my writing, for I was working against time, and did not want to spare even a few moments to look at this wonderful array of Egyptian priests, with their composed, purposeful faces, in their most beautiful robes of glistening white. I had often described them to my sister-in-law, so I did not stay even to tell her of their presence, but went on busily writing. She looked up at me and noticed a change in my appearance; I had become rigid, or like one turned to stone as she expressed it; my eyes were fast closed, but I wrote on and on, as quickly as ever, and she watched me cast page after page aside, the ink all wet. This continued for some considerable time, and then at last I opened my eyes and dropped the pen. I was very tired, but I was absolutely unaware of the fact that I had been unconscious—or, out of the body—or whatever one may choose to call it. She said nothing, but watched me still, and saw me take up a page of my manuscript to look at and discover to my unutterable amazement that it was not, as I believed, a page of the novel I was writing, but something entirely and absolutely unknown to me. Page after page I picked up and regarded with the same amazement. I found that I held in my hand, complete, the prologue and the first chapter of the “*Idyll of the White Lotus*.” My sister-in-law is no longer in this world to tell this tale herself, but it is well known in her family, for she often talked of it. To me it was a very wonderful experience, as I had never until then known what it

was to be absolutely taken away from my body in order that my hand and pen might be used by another intelligence without my being—if I may so express it—even present. From time to time, after this, something similar took place, though I was never so absolutely absent from the scene as in the first instance; and the first seven chapters of the "Idyll" were completed. The writing was all entirely automatic; I was never aware of a single word that was written, and I read it afterwards just as I should read something written by another person. When the seventh chapter was finished, the priests ceased to come to me; I was most anxious that the manuscript should be completed, but I could not get another word written. Nor did I get another word written until an interval of seven years had elapsed. I became anxious at last, as the years went on, lest the fragment which had been given to me should be lost, for I felt sure it was part of a whole which would be given in due time. It was with the object of getting it into print and making it safe that I included it in a volume of short stories, entitled "Cobwebs," published in 1882. The fragment had been written in 1878, and by no efforts on my part could another word of it be obtained. In order to offer some kind of explanation to ordinary fiction-readers, I added the words "A Fragment found in a Pyramid" at the commencement, and "The papyrus unfortunately ends here" at the end. No doubt it is from this that the story has arisen, which I have heard stated as a fact, that the manuscript was found by me written on a papyrus. In '84-5, in the midst of much trouble and illness, when the wonderful fragment was almost forgotten by me, the work was taken up again by the mysterious power outside myself for whom I was a chosen instrument, and it was finished in the same manner that the first seven chapters were written, without my being aware of a single word until I read it afterwards as I should read the writing of another person.

This is the only instance in my own experience of a manuscript being produced in this way, my part in it being entirely automatic. The circumstances attending the writing of "Light on the Path" were quite different. It was obtained "after long grief and pain" in great measure as the result of my own effort. My sister-in-law was again staying with me and associated herself

in an attempt to obtain some definite teaching. The result of long and persevering efforts was, that I was one day taken away from my body, taken out of the place I was in, to another and very different place, where I found myself moving about in another and very different body, and using its senses with a similar difficulty to that experienced by a child in using its newly acquired senses. I was led by the hand like a child, by a powerful being who showed me what to look at and how to understand what it was. We crossed a wide floor in a vast hall and stood in front of one of the walls. I looked at it with great delight, for it was incomparably beautiful. It blazed with jewels; from the floor to the dim distant roof, every inch of this glorious wall is crusted thickly with them, and the sparkle and flash is bewilderingly beautiful. I was told to look with care and then I saw that the jewels were arranged in patterns and designs. It needed more than my own attention, it needed actual help from my guide, to enable me to see that these patterns and designs were letters formed into words and sentences. But I was enabled to see this, and told to remember very carefully as much as I could read, and to write it down the moment I returned to my body. This I did; I clearly recall the strangeness of the return to myself in the dimly lit room where my sister-in-law sat patiently waiting, (having watched while I was away), patiently waiting for the result. It consisted of a few words—a few sentences—the first sentences of “Light on the Path.” I had been taken to see them and read them for myself, on the wall where they are written, and where all can read them who enter that place, known to the readers of this book as the “Hall of Learning.” By degrees I obtained the whole of the little volume which has had so large and wide a life of its own since it was given to the world, in exactly the same manner, my impression is that much more is written on that wall than I was able to read; the rest remained to my sight a glittering sheen of jewels.

I have simply told the exact circumstances of these two psychic experiences, the results of which have stood the test of being given to the public. These results were obtained, as I have shown, in exactly opposite ways; that is to say, in the one case, I was a passive agent, overruled by a force outside myself, which was not

invoked or invited by me ; in the other, my own will enabled me to attain a different condition of consciousness, and aid was given to me from outside myself because I demanded it. It is manifest that to the psychic this method is far the most interesting ; no work done automatically can give the one who writes it down any further pleasure than that of reading the work itself as if written by another person. But to enter into other states of consciousness, and to secure for yourself information belonging to those states, is a method which of necessity brings with it the keen joy of individual development and growth.

When once a psychic has got free from the fetters of the physical body, or at least can loose them on occasion, and enter at will into other states of consciousness, information is obtained by any means that presents itself most readily at the time. A little volume, published in 1895, under the title "The Story of the Year" (which has just appeared in a most beautiful Italian edition) contains a number of fragments obtained by me at different times in different ways. The greater part of it I heard said ; it is a little difficult to explain this, but I will try to do so. It was given to me in 1893, a year in which I very constantly had the experience which I call going out of my body. I had then acquired the power of remaining in touch with it, so that I could speak and describe what I was experiencing, and repeat anything which I heard said. Much of what is given in "The Story of the Year" I heard chanted, sometimes by one voice, sometimes by many voices. A friend who was much with me then wrote down what I described or repeated ; I have the manuscript still in her handwriting, and it is evident that it would have been less fragmentary and very much fuller if she had been a shorthand writer. She told me that often at these scéances I spoke so rapidly that it was quite useless to attempt to keep pace, and that it was in fact only possible to record the chief points. It was in this same year that I was told during one of these experiences how my friend was responsible for a certain manuscript which existed in that state of consciousness, and had existed there for a long time. I was shown this manuscript and am quite familiar with its shape and colour and general appearance. I was told that it was her task and duty to bring it into this plane of being and to give it to the world ;

that for several incarnations it had been waiting for her to fulfil this task, but she had not been ready to do so. According to what is accepted by re-incarnationists as to the lapse of time between the incarnations, it must therefore have been in readiness for some centuries. I am familiar with a certain chapel which opens out of the "Hall of Learning"; I call it a chapel because there is an altar at one end of it and a large crucifix. There is a table in the centre of this chapel, and when I first saw this manuscript it lay on one corner of this table, and I saw my friend stand beside it with her hand upon the pages. She was then in the full tide of a busy life, but some part of her being was in constant charge of this manuscript on that other plane of consciousness, and remained so (for I constantly saw the manuscript and the figure). We made ceaseless efforts to obtain it, but, though I saw it always in its place I could not read a single word of it. Apparently some conditions were required which could not be secured. Much later, in 1902, this manuscript was obtained, and is now just published under the title of "The Scroll of the Disembodied Man." Many changes had taken place; my friend who had the responsibility with regard to the manuscript had passed away. Possibly this was one of the required conditions.

The manner in which the scroll was given differed from that of any of the others. It was extremely difficult to obtain, and Dr. Helen Bouchier and myself, who were the two scribes concerned in this particular piece of work, read passages alternately from the manuscript while the other wrote them down. The reading of it was the great difficulty, and a certain combination of circumstances was clearly necessary as we never succeeded in reading any part of it without them. To begin with, we had both to reach the Hall of Learning and enter it. That state always had to be attained. Five others always met us there, no one of whom was ever absent when we succeeded in reading any part of the manuscript. One was the guide who showed me how to read "Light on the Path." One was my friend who was responsible for the manuscript; and another who had been embodied and known while upon earth. Of the other two, neither of us who acted as the scribes, had had any previous knowledge whatever, yet one of these played a most important part in the reading,

being generally the one to take the manuscript from the table and actually hold it up to be read. He would often bring it right out of the chapel. The other of these two previously unknown beings was a monk who knelt always before the crucifix, and whose face neither of us have ever seen. It appeared to require a united effort of will on the part of seven beings to bring this manuscript on to the material plane.

M. C.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

AN APPRECIATION BY ONE OF HER FELLOW WORKERS.

ON my writing-table stands a portrait of Miss Cobbe, bearing her autograph, and upon this, as well as on the flyleaf of many a book which she has given me, she describes the valued present as given to a fellow-worker. Therefore I am emboldened to call myself this in writing of her, and to take upon me so much share in the glory of her devoted life as a humble lieutenant may have who has served under a great general. I first saw her in the autumn of her long day, when her strangely infectious laugh had lost some of its melodiousness and was but rarely heard. Still I am glad to be able to say that I *have* heard it, and can form some idea of its gaiety in her early years.

She was one who had tasted to the full the joy of living, who had revelled in the delights of riding, of walking, of gardening, of writing, and of public speaking. There are so many gifted writers and speakers to whom the exercise of their gifts involves effort and sometimes positive suffering, that it is worth while to record how in her case it was a joy to write or speak. She has spoken of this to me several times during some long twilight talks I have been privileged to have with her. And she has spoken, too, of how sad it seemed to her to see the joyousness of life blotted

out for so many. She considered that the Crimean war brought the first great seriousness upon her generation. Later on, the awful subject of vivisection darkened her life and that of many others. But activity was still enjoyment to her, and her power of thought was so great and its action so incessant that mental life was to her a separate and supreme pleasure. When I stayed with her once, after she had been alone for some time in the lovely seclusion of Hengwrt, she talked the whole evening of what she had been thinking out in her solitude, talked on far beyond her strength, and I well remember how at last she delivered a splendid peroration, which should have been heard by a crowded audience instead of a single listener. I felt I had more than my deserts, but what troubled me was, that the eloquence flowed forth in so rapid a stream that I had difficulty in seizing upon the thoughts as they passed. A whole scheme of philosophy was explained—the meaning of life, the object for which the universe exists, were subjects in this grand monologue; and then, when she ceased speaking, it was to discover how tired she was, and to creep upstairs to bed exhausted. But weary though the failing frame was, the mighty engine of the mind thundered on, and at night she lay and thought, and resumed her wonderful talk next day if a visitor was with her.

She was so devoted to the cause of the suffering animals, and so great a friend of all animals, that of late years she has been regarded by many as having given most of her life to working for them. But she worked for women first, and it behoves all women to remember this and to regard her memory very gratefully because of it. She was the very first person to ask for degrees to be given to women. She made this demand in a paper at the Social Science Congress in London. The newspapers were full next day of articles making fun of her and her extraordinary ideas as to the worthiness of her sex. Seventeen years afterwards she was invited to join Lady Stanley as a deputation to Lord Granville to thank him for the granting of degrees to women at London University. She had had her paper printed and kept it, and she presented it to Lord Granville. So much of what she did was successful; her work for women, for the poor, for children, all had great results; and she made a definite mark upon her time as the champion

of the oppressed, or of those who were treated unfairly. She was accustomed to carry all before her, to win the support of influential people for her good works and her reforms, and to see her schemes take shape and her dreams become fulfilled. Only when she became aware of the wrong done to animals by vivisection, and devoted herself to the endeavour to right that wrong, did she encounter the hopeless hardness of the world, its cruel indifference; only then did she discover that she could not convince men against their will. It was a strange experience and a bitter one. In a letter to me she said, "I was never called on to part from a *real* friend. But of what the world calls 'friends'—friendly and very pleasant acquaintances—I lost in 1875, when I began the work, more than half. Among the most intimate were the Huxley's, the Carpenter's, the Darwin's, Tyndal, and Spencer. All of them, except Charles Darwin, used to dine at our table many times a year. Then there came the absolute cut." From that time to the end it was one long ceaseless effort against every kind of opposition. She worked daily in spite of the weakness of ill-health and increasing age, as few can do; worked without cease in harness and in the front of the battle to the very end, that end which came suddenly, instantaneously, on the morning of April 5. It was just what she herself wished, but it came as a great shock to those who received letters from her that very morning, showing no difference nor any sign of weakness. All through this long period of her life, from 1875 to 1904, she was fighting the one apparently hopeless battle she had ever entered upon, and was increasingly aware of its extraordinary difficulties. In 1900 I asked her about an idea which had come to me in looking through those beautiful prayers she wrote and published under the title "*Alone to the Alone*." It seemed to me possible for her with her rare gift of expression to write a prayer which could be used at anti-vivisection meetings as well as at the family prayers of anti-vivisectionists. I asked her about it, and her answer, written on April 14, 1900, shows how deeply she felt the difficulty of the work. But always in her profound religious nature there was the well-spring of faith and hope; it was there in the darkest hour, and was revealed in this sad letter, as all who knew and loved her, and the many who loved her without knowing her, will rejoice to see.

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14 April, 1900.

"My Dear Friend,—I am touched to the heart by your request. I wish to God I were fit to do as you desire. But my whole soul is *convulsed* when I try to think how to speak of this horror to God who allows it! Prayer is half blasphemy—blasphemy my best prayer—the appeal to the God of my heart and conscience against the power which rules this world. I am bewildered, and with no language but a cry! Perhaps, some day, when I come near dying, the light may shine through once more.

Your loving F. P. C."

So swiftly was she taken when the time came, and so completely was she alone, that none can tell how clearly the light may have shone through for her, and illuminated the mysteriously dark paths in which her pilgrimage had led her.

In the summer of 1902, I referred, in writing to her, to the fact that those who accept the theory that suffering in the physical life is for the purification and ennoblement of the immortal soul, are compelled to admit that animals must have a claim to immortality by reason of their sufferings under vivisection; and her reply to this is very interesting. She wrote, "I should greatly like to *talk* to you of what you say about the sufferings of animals, but it is hopeless to write on the subject. My article on the 'Future of the Lower Animals' (in the *Modern Rack*) is the best I have been able to make out. I do not see that we can attribute more than the very earliest dawn of a moral life to them—but it may come to them in a higher state of existence."

Possibly this, which was a germinating thought in the brain, came into shape and was revealed in some unimaginable manner as she reached the gates to the Beyond and the light shone through.

The remark she makes about animals is of value as she was no sentimentalist, but a careful observer of their nature and possibilities; she had made close friends of certain dogs and certain horses and knew them well. She was much interested in a new young sheep-dog at one time when I was with her. The old sheep-dog had become quite blind, and a young dog was

obtained to be with him and learn his duties from him. I was walking with her one day when she stopped to show me the two dogs together. There was a stream and a little bridge over it, and she told me with the greatest interest that almost immediately after the arrival of the young dog in his new home he had been seen to take the old dog by the collar and lead him over the bridge.

This dog had more of the dawning of the moral life within him than the many human beings who pass a blind man in the streets of the cities and do not stay to help him over the crossings.

It was on that visit that I first fully realised how intense was her love of Nature, how deep her love for her garden, what a joy to her the roses were. I had seen her before in colder weather, and I have a very vivid picture of her in my memory sitting in the great window of the Hengwrt drawing-room, looking at the mountains, watching the clouds. She would sit all through the twilight like this when quite alone, she told me; and in the summer she spent long hours alone in the beautiful old garden at the side of the house, with its velvety turf and its tall rose trees, and the sense in it of a deep seclusion. There is a wicket gate which shuts off this garden from that through which visitors pass to the front door, and it is quite hidden away from the public gaze. But the telegraph boys learned to know her haunts. I have seen her come up the path from among the flowers to find two or three of them waiting at this wicket gate. The dark shadow of the evil thing against which she fought so courageously and earnestly came in this way across the brightness and beauty of her surroundings. From rejoicing in the beauty of the roses, from the beautiful thoughts with which Nature filled her deeply religious mind, she came to answer the messages from her followers who were carrying on the crusade. Her correspondence was enormous, yet everyone who worked with her knows how unfailing her response was to every appeal to her for advice or counsel. She always attended to her letters at once with as little delay as any man of business.

Some pleasures came to her near the end; she was genuinely pleased with the address presented to her on her eightieth birthday (December 4, 1902). It ran as follows:—

"On this your eightieth birthday, we, who recognise the strenuous philanthropic activity and the high moral purpose of your long life, wish to offer you this congratulatory address as an expression of sincere regard.

"You were among the first publicly to urge the right of women to University degrees, and your powerful pen has done much to advance that movement towards equality of treatment for them in educational and other matters, which is one of the distinguishing marks of our time.

"In Social amelioration, such as Ragged Schools and Work-house reform, you did the work of a pioneer. By your lucid and thoughtful works on religion and ethics you have contributed in no small degree to that broader and more humane view which has so greatly influenced modern theology in all creeds and all schools of thought."

"But it is your chief distinction that you were practically the first to explore the dark continent of our relations to our dumb fellow creatures, to let light in on their wrongs, and to base on the firm foundation of the moral law their rights and our duty towards them. They cannot thank you, but we can.

"We hope that this expression of our regard and appreciation may bring some contribution of warmth and light to the evening of a well spent life, and may strengthen your sense of a fellowship that looks beyond the grave."

The distinguished names which were signed to this address formed a magnificent list, in spite of the fact that some who did not sign would have done so had that passage referring to Miss Cobbe's anti-vivisection work been omitted. Miss Cobbe was especially pleased with a number of American signatures, headed by Grover Cleveland, the late President of the United States and William Chaplin, late Governor of Massachusetts.

Hengwrt, the beautiful house among the Welsh mountains where Miss Cobbe passed the evening of her life, belonged to her friend Miss Lloyd. The perfect friendship between these two lasted unbroken from the time they met until Miss Lloyd's death; and when she was gone Miss Cobbe felt nearer to her in the house and the garden and among the mountains where they had been together so much. From the drawing room window the little

churchyard could be seen where Miss Lloyd was buried. Now the one that was left has been laid there too.

Miss Lloyd was a sculptor of genius, and one of the most beautiful things at Hengwrt was a statuette which stood in the hall, of the two Arab horses which she and Miss Cobbe used to ride when they lived in Rome. Miss Cobbe loved to talk of those days, which remained vivid and clear in her memory; the keen joy of living was all hers then, and the darkness of the knowledge of vivisection had not come to mar it.

All honour to one who so loved all beauty and all joyousness, that she did not turn aside or close her eyes to the dreadful thing when she became aware of it (as alas! so many do), but heroically encountered the misery that comes of its daily realisation.

THE SHAKESPEARES OF FACT AND FANCY.

I trust you will allow me the courtesy you extended to Mrs. Stopes in granting her permission to reply to your article in *Broad Views*—a reply which was no reply, as she failed to deal with the arguments you brought forward in support of the Baconian case, but wandered into innumerable side issues which are quite irrelevant.

Mrs. Stopes starts with the maxim that “possession is nine-tenths of the law,” and that Shakspeare of Stratford is the man in possession. But there are cases of wrongful possession apart from possession by mere prescriptive right. For hundreds of years Homer was assigned the undisputed authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but how many—or rather how few—scholars now believe that these poems were the work of Homer?

Mrs. Stopes, while acknowledging that “apparent difficulties exist with regard to the authorship of the plays,” maintains that “these difficulties depend upon our *temporary ignorance*,” thus implying, as Mr. Sidney Lee, Mr. Andrew Lang and others do, that all who adopt the “Baconian cult” are ignoramuses. In support of her views, Mrs. Stopes brings forward what she calls “facts.”

Her first “fact” is that “Stratford was eminently suitable for the birth-place of a poet,” and then she lays the paint on thickly to show that Stratford was “a thriving town. Its gentle, undulating scenery lay just on the borders of a great forest,” the forest of Arden, probably, near Stratford, where the dramatist met

with a *lion* and a *serpent* in *As You Like It*; and we are gravely informed by Mrs. Stopes that this same "Stratford, in Shakespeare's time at least, had a town council intelligent enough to know the value of a good schoolmaster," and that "those who say that Stratford was then a 'bookless neighbourhood' speak without book," adding that "from *my own knowledge* of their names, I can state that one curate alone had 120 books." But did the curate live at Stratford? and at what date.

Mrs. Stopes's rosy picture of Stratford differs from the works of art produced by previous Shakspearean artists. Here are a few:—Richard Grant White—not a Baconian, by any means—says Stratford was "a dirty village . . . the streets foul with offal, and muck heaps, and reeking stable refuse." Halliwell-Phillipps—a Shakspearean to the back-bone—says:—"Shakespeare's home was in the vicinity of middens, fetid water-courses, and walls, and piggeries." David Garrick, in 1769, stated that Stratford was "the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking town in all Britain." But Mrs. Stopes thinks it was a most desirable place of residence.

As to the "intelligent" Town Council at Stratford, "in Shakespeare's time at least," Mrs. Stopes's statement is not exactly confirmed by the "fact," recorded in the Stratford records, that of 19 Aldermen of the town only six could write their names, as is shown by a famous document reproduced by the indefatigable Halliwell-Phillipps. The schoolmaster, although too late for the *Stratford Aldermen*, was apparently in plenty of time for the *Stratford Shakspeare*! The Aldermen couldn't write—but they taught Shakspeare what they couldn't do themselves.

Mrs. Stopes then tells us:—"The books used in grammar schools of the day can be found in the writings of Mulcaster and Brinsley, and by reference to the Stationers' Registers."

What is this record worth? Even allowing that these books were used in the Stratford Grammar School—of its curriculum there is no trace—was a study of *English* included in its course? The plays give us a vocabulary of 15,000 English words—twice as large as Milton's. Where, and how, did Shakspeare get this vocabulary? including hundreds of new words never heard of before in the English language, and hundreds used with a new

signification? Would "genius" do it—would "divine-sent inspiration" enable a butcher's apprentice to introduce even one new word into the English language? As a Baconian, it is not Shakspeare's knowledge of Latin and Greek which puzzles me—it is his marvellous knowledge of the English language.

Dr. Appleton Morgan, the President of the Shakespeare Society of New York, wrote some years ago: "There was a grammar school at Stratford; but the idea of anybody being taught English grammar in an English grammar school (let alone the English language) in those days, is *utterly inconceivable*."

According to Mrs. Stopes, "All his own contemporaries . . . attributed the plays to their author, Shakespeare." Certainly, to the man who wrote under the name of Shakespeare, not the man Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon. What value does Dr. Ingleby, in his *Centurie of Prayse*, put upon the contemporary allusions? "The iteration of the same vapid and affected compliments, couched in conventional terms, from writers of the first two periods—comparing Shakespeare's 'tongue,' 'pen,' or 'vein,' to silver, honey, sugar, or nectar, while they ignore his greater and distinguishing qualities, is expressly significant." The contemporary allusions tell one story, but the story is *not* that Shakspeare was the author. And on this point Dr. Ingleby says:—"There are but four contemporaries who directly identify the man or the actor with the writer of the plays."

In a book just published, *The Praise of Shakespeare*, we find the following "contemporary allusions":—

Meres (1596)—"The witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and *honey-tongued* Shakespeare."

Barnfield (1598)—"And Shakespeare then, whose *honey-flowing* vein."

Weever (1599)—"*Honey-tongued* Shakespeare."

What value have such allusions as these?

Mrs. Stopes maintains that "fortunately, when he was young, his father was one of the most important men in the place," and that, therefore, he obtained a proper schooling. According to Cowden Clarke, when Shakspeare was at the age of 11, 12, and 13, there was a gradual declension in John Shakspeare's circum-

stances; and in Shakspeare's 14th year, his father, as is known from the Stratford records, was permitted to pay out only 3s. 4d. a his share of a levied contribution. He also mortgaged his wife's estate at Asbyes; and as he was unable to pay poor-rates he was left untaxed. Next year the Shaksperes sold their landed property at Mottesfield for £4. Not much prosperity evidenced by these facts!

Mrs. Stopes also declares:—"There is *no* authority for the statement that Shakespeare was apprenticed to a butcher." Equally there is no authority for the statement that he was ever at school. Mr. S. Lee has it that "Probably in 1577, when he was thirteen, he was enlisted by his father in an effort to restore his decaying fortunes." And then he quotes Aubrey and Dowdall as his authorities for the belief that Shakspeare was a butcher's apprentice. Dr. Garnett improves on the Aubrey tradition that "when Shakespeare killed a calf," &c. It was quite a likely story, as "the lad would not yet be old enough to slaughter an *ox*, but would be fully up to a *calf*!"

Then we have the *dictum* of Mrs. Stopes that "His relations to life, property, and literature were more like those of Sir Walter Scott than any other man." But why stay the comparison at Shakspeare? What about the literary comparison between Bacon and Scott? The cases are entirely analogous. Scott was a poet and a lawyer. He required money to pay his debts. He took to novel-writing, but not under his own name. Why? He wrote to a friend:—"I shall *not* own *Waverley*. My chief reason is that it would prevent me the pleasure of writing again," giving as his reason that novel-writing would scarcely be considered "decorous" for a lawyer. For the same reason he refused to write a play for Elliston the actor. Bacon could have given no better reason for secrecy; yet, surely, novel-writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a more reputable occupation than play-writing in the sixteenth, despite Sackville's *Gorboduc*, which I shall refer to later on. The comparison, therefore, between the intellectual Bacon and the intellectual Scott is somewhat more striking than that of Mrs. Stopes between the intellectual Scott and the probably unintellectual Shakspeare.

Mrs. Stopes then informs us that "Bacon in reality was a

very good friend of the Lucy family. I exposed the whole falsity of this tradition two years ago in the *Fortnightly*, in an article entitled 'Justice Shallow not a Satire on Sir Thomas Lucy.' For this service Baconians are profoundly grateful to Mrs. Stopes, as it is all in favour of the Baconian authorship, showing that Bacon had some connection with the Stratford neighbourhood, and also that whatever reason Shakspeare might have had for caricaturing Sir Thomas Lucy as Shallow, Bacon had no animosity, and, therefore, naturally, did not caricature Lucy when he drew the portrait of "Shallow" in *2 Henry IV*. Yet Mr. Lee insists:—"Justice Shallow is beyond doubt a reminiscence of the owner of Charlecote." I leave Mrs. Stopes and Mr. Lee to fight this point out.

Although Mrs. Stopes will not believe in the tradition that Shakspeare was a butcher, she is certain that "for some years, at least, *it is evident* that he took time to read Field's books," and that "that this one firm alone printed all the books that were *necessary* for the poet's culture, and all that he refers to directly." For these statements Mrs. Stopes has not a particle of *evidence*. Did Field publish the originals or translations of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, Ser Giovanni's *Il Pecorone*, and Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, from which were taken the respective plots of *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Othello*? According to Karl Elze:—"Shakespeare must therefore have been a perfect master of the Italian and Latin [and French] languages."

Shakspeare used Field's library, and, according to Mrs. Stopes in her new edition of the *Sonnets*, the "dark woman" was Mrs. Field, who became the mistress of Shakspeare and Southampton, although she says apologetically: "I do *not know anything* about the moral principles of Mrs. Jacqueline Field." The "moral" Shakspeare borrowed Field's books and seduced his wife!

Mrs. Stopes next hazards the remark: "The limitation in authorities is a strong argument against Bacon's authorship, as well as the plentiful crop of unscholarly blunders to be found in the plays." I cannot tell what Mrs. Stopes means by "limitation of authorities," but with regard to the blunders, the majority of the blunders produced are no blunders, such as the attribution of a sea coast to Bohemia (which once stretched from the Baltic to

the Adriatic, and had actually two sea-coasts), the sailing of a ship from Verona to Milan (connected at the time by a canal), and the statement, both in Bacon's works and Shakespeare's plays, that Aristotle said "Moral philosophy was not a proper study for young men," Aristotle having referred to "political," not "moral" philosophy.

Mrs. Stopes then argues that the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* could not have been written by Bacon, from the reference to "the first vein of my invention," and because Bacon "had already written much." Whatever Bacon may have written, nothing of his "invention" was published till 1597, in the shape of ten short *Essays*. Those were the days of pirate publishers, who stole manuscripts of spurious plays and poems by Shakespeare and others, and published them under his name. If a publisher could accomplish this so easily, was it not possible that he could place a man's name at the end of a dedication? Fancy the author of two such published works as *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* referring to them as "my unpolished lines" and "my untutored lines." And with regard to *Venus and Adonis* I present Mrs. Stopes with a "fact" that may be new to her. In the Stationers' Register it can be seen that the person who gave his authority for the licensing of *Venus and Adonis* was John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. Under his auspices the work was published. How did Shakspeare the actor manage to secure such distinguished patronage as an archbishop's for a love poem such as this? The case is altered a bit when we know that this same archbishop had been Bacon's tutor when a student at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Is not this "fact" somewhat significant? Is it not within the range of possibility that Bacon was feeling his way in 1593-4, by placing in the mouth of his mask—Shakespeare—his first fruits, so that there could be no question as to the actor's ability to take in the public when he was credited with the authorship of the succeeding plays?

I agree with Mrs. Stopes that the man who wrote *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* wrote the plays, but she is on different ground when she says: "The sonnets resemble the poems too much in phrases, feelings, and situations to doubt that the author is the same, and all the three are claimed by Shakespeare in print."

Here Mrs. Stopes is on dangerous ground. How many, if any, of these sonnets are the "sugred sonnets" referred to by Meres? Does Mrs. Stopes maintain that all these unequal sonnets came from the same hand, can she even fit a dozen of them into the lives of Southampton and Shakspeare, and can she maintain that they were "claimed" by Shakespeare? Everybody knows they were stolen by a pirate publisher, and printed without the writer's permission, and they are no more the undisputed work of the writer whose name appears on the title-page than are four-fifths of the sonnets in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, still included as Shakespeare's in every edition of "Shakespeare's Works."

Many of the sonnets can be reconciled with the circumstances of Bacon's life, but are totally incomprehensible when read in the light of Shakspeare's known biography. This difficulty has ever faced Shakespeare commentators, and has never been overcome by one of them; they are all at sea on the subject. Mrs. Stopes believes a large number of them were addressed to "the half-trained young lad, Southampton," as she calls him, without a shadow of proof for her assertion. It is all pure surmise.

Mrs. Stopes lays great stress upon the epitaph on the Shakespeare tomb-stone. What does Halliwell-Phillipps say on this point? "It is not likely that these verses were composed either by a Stratfordian, or by any one acquainted with their destined position, for otherwise the writer could hardly have spoken of death having placed Shakespeare 'within this monument.' It is curious that there should be no allusion in them to his *personal character*."

The lines are just as valuable as those of Leonard Digges, who wrote:—

"Next nature onely helpt him, for looke thorow
This whole Booke, thou shalt find he doth not borrow,
One phrase from Greeks, nor Latines imitate,
Nor once from vulgar Languages Translate,
Nor Plagiari-like from others glean,
Nor begges he from each witty friend a Scene
To piece his Acts with, all that he doth write,
Is pure his owne, plot, language exquisite."

Was there ever a more "exquisite" perverter of the truth than

this Oxford M.A.? Shakespeare borrowed nothing, imitated nobody!

Then, according to Mrs. Stopes: "He returned there to live in the best house in the town, bearing arms (then a much greater distinction than now), as *all* his friends and relatives did, to associate on intimate terms with the Combes, Collins, Wilkins, Shaws, Nashes, and *probably all the county families*, as tradition says, especially that of Sir William Somerville of Edreston."

Shakspeare's house was not "the best house in the town." Shakspeare obtained his coat of arms by means of false statements made to the Heralds' College with regard to his family, not one of his friends and relatives bore arms, his acquaintance with "county families" and "Sir William Somerville" is pure imagination, and as for the other families named they were all interested with Shakspeare in purely business affairs. Combe and Shakspeare united to steal a piece of common land from their fellow citizens (S. Lee, pp. 270-1), Shakspeare left two Nashes money for memorial rings, and his grand-daughter married a Nash in 1626, Francis Collins was Shakspeare's solicitor, William Walker was Shakspeare's godson (occupation unknown), and goodness knows who the "Shaws" were. I can find no trace of them; unless one of them was the Ralph Shaw, wool-driver, whose goods Shakspeare's father appraised.

Mrs. Stopes continues:—"He returned there, and *continued to write plays* in the bosom of his family, with one son-in-law, the most distinguished physician of his time."

This information is marvellous. According to Shakspeare's biographers, Shakspeare retired to Stratford in 1611, and the only play written after that date was *Henry VIII.* produced in 1613, in which Shakspeare is said to have collaborated with Fletcher, "having left the draft with the players at the Globe Theatre." And as to Hall being "the most distinguished physician of his time," he had not even a medical degree, and in a book of his he advocated the curative properties of frog-spawn water, the juice of goose excrements, powdered human skulls, restoratives made from snails and earth-worms, and swallows' nests. No wonder he was described on his tomb-stone as "medicus peritissimus."

"*It is not a fact,*" says Mrs. Stopes, "that he did not teach

his *favourite* daughter to read and write. . . . She is recorded to have been 'witty above her sex,' and like her father. Her signature can still be seen." Quite correct, Mrs. Stopes, but can you say the same for his *non-favourite* daughter, Judith, whom Shakspeare practically disinherited? She could not write her name, and as to Susanna, the favourite, being "witty above her sex," it is quite on a par with the other line on her tombstone, erected by her daughter, that she was "wise to salvation."

Halliwell-Phillipps says of Mrs. Hall, Shakspeare's "favourite daughter:" "Mrs. Hall's education had not been of an enlarged character. Books and manuscripts, even when they were the productions of her own husband, were not of much interest to her. Were it otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the pertinacity with which she insisted upon the book of cases [already referred to] not being in the Doctor's handwriting. . . . It is very possible, however, that the affixion of her signature to a document was the extent of her chirographical ability."

Mrs. Stopes is therefore correct in stating that Susanna was "like her father," for this same feat appears to have been "the extent of *his* chirographical ability."

Mrs. Stopes then controverts Mr. S. Lee when she holds that Shakspeare was not a maltster or a money-lender, but that it was another William Shakespeare, just as she assigns the embarrassments of John Shakspeare, Shakspeare's father, to another John Shakspeare, a shoemaker. She says, "There was another, who was a malt-dealer and a money-lender. His transactions commence during the poet's life, but alas for the Baconian argument, they *continue* for ten years after the poet's death. The receipts can still be seen at Warwick Castle." Well, this new money-lender and malt-dealer in these accounts is not described as "of Stratford," and his first receipt is *subsequent* to the death of William Shakspeare, of Stratford, and dated 1620.

Mrs. Stopes states that: "In all the plays there is no allusion to the process of malt-making, beside the one proverb, or to the technique of brewing or wine-making, as there is, for instance, of printing. Shakespeare only treats the finished article as sold in the taverns or drunk in the halls. He only cites philosophically

the effect that stimulants have on the hearts, brains, and characters of men. This question never troubles Bacon, but he knows all about the manufacture, the keeping, storing, curing of ale, wine, mead, and metheglin."

This is most interesting. The reputed author of the plays, who sold malt, never mentions it, although, according to Mr. S. Lee, if John Shakspeare was not a maltster, he was "an ale-taster, whose duty it was to test the quality of malt liquors" (p. 5), and "corn, wool, malt . . . were among the commodities in which he dealt" (p. 4). Is it not rather curious, therefore, that, if the maltster was the author, there is nothing about malt in the plays, and that drink is only treated "philosophically?" Who was the more likely to "note philosophically" the action of drink, the philosopher Bacon or the maltster Shakspeare?

Mrs. Stopes argues: "A similar powerful contrast may be seen regarding the differing treatments of the horse and the chase. The poems and plays are full of reference to the delights of the chase, and the sympathy subsisting between a rider and his noble steed."

Some time ago a writer in the *Quarterly Review* showed that the natural history in the plays was entirely derived from *books*, not from *experience*. Was Shakspeare ever on a horse's back? Was Bacon? We know that Bacon rode on horse-back from the Courts to Gorhambury. We read in his mother's letters to Anthony:—"I am sorry your brother and you charge yourselves with superfluous horses," and "I am sorry I cannot speak with Dr. Fletcher for your horse." In *Venus and Adonis* we have the description of an ideal racehorse, which Mrs. Stopes has more than once held up to admiration. And what do we find? This grand description is borrowed bodily from Du Bartas. Here are all the phrases used in *Venus and Adonis*, and, in brackets, those in the original:—

"Round hooped (round hoof) ; short jointed (short pasterns) ; broad breast (broad breast) ; full eye (full eye) ; small head (head but of middle size) ; nostrils wide (nostril wide) ; high crest (crested neck, bowed) ; straight legs (hart-like legs), and passing strong (strong) ; thin mane (thin mane) ; thick tail (full tail) ; broad buttock (fair, fat buttocks) ; tender hide (smooth hide)."

It is time Mrs. Stopes gave over eulogising this description as Shakspeare's description of an ideal horse.

Then "Shakespeare's" much applauded catalogue of dogs in *Lear*, and the classification of dogs in *Macbeth* are borrowed from *The Returne from Parnassus*.

The only connection Shakspeare appears to have had with horses was holding them at the theatre door!

Then Mrs. Stopes will have it that the Promus entries are not *original*, but *borrowed*. According to Spedding, "The earliest entries are apparently of his own invention, and may have been suggested by his own experience and occasions." At any rate, a large number of them are *afterwards* used in Bacon's works and also in the Shakespeare plays, so that the author of the latter must have had access to Bacon's manuscript of the work. But, of course, although Bacon could be a *borrower*, it was impossible for the author of the plays to have *borrowed* anything. According to Mrs. Stopes, it was "most tolerable and not to be endured" for a prose writer not to acknowledge his "sources," but perfectly correct for a verse writer to conceal his "sources." I fail to see the difference since references, "as Seneca says," "as Plautus says," could as easily appear in a drama as in a philosophical work.

Mrs. Stopes next asks—"What? Bacon write 'Romeo and Juliet'? He did not know what love was! . . . In his life without love, the 'marriages' he sought, and the one he secured, were all mercantile transactions. He did not deserve to be happy in matrimony." Did Shakspeare? Which [were the more reputable wooing and marriage, that of the boy of eighteen, who seduced a girl eight years his senior, was compelled to marry her, and afterwards deserted her and his children, refusing to pay an account for £4 lent to her by her father's old shepherd (Lee, p. 187). Or Bacon, who, at the age of thirty-six, courted Lady Hatton, and at the age of forty-five married Alice Barnham, "a handsome maiden, and to his liking," who had a fortune of only £220 a year, to which Bacon added an additional £500 a year. Was this a "mercantile transaction," I would ask Mrs. Stopes. Yet Bacon "did not deserve to be happy in matrimony." Of course, the man of Stratford, with his moral record, thoroughly deserved it. And with this same record, he was quite

capable of describing the pure, noble characters of Rosalind, Desdemona, Portia, Beatrice, Viola, Juliët, Titania, Ophelia, Isabella, Cordelia, Cressida, Volumnia, Hermione, Perdita, Imogen, and Miranda. How closely do they all resemble—Anne Hathaway! And Bacon “did not know what love was!” Why, there are hundreds of similar references to the tender passion in Bacon’s works and in the dramas. I shall give Mrs. Stopes a few of these. I shall take Bacon’s *Conference of Pleasure*, a Masque written for Essex, and performed before the Queen about the year 1592, and *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, said to be the earliest Shakespearean play, ascribed to 1591—2.

SHAKESPEARE.

BACON.

“Love gives to every power
a double power.”

“Is not love a Hercules?”

“Love is first learned in a
woman’s eyes.”

“Love . . . with the motion
of all elements.”

“But for my love . . .
Where nothing wants
that want itself doth
seek.”

“Love gives the mind power
to exceed itself.”

“What fortune can be such
a Hercules [as love]?”

“The eye where love
beginneth.”

“Love is the motion that
animateth all things.”

“When we want nothing,
there is the reason and
the opportunity and the
spring of love.”

In this same masque Bacon, who knew nothing about love, wrote:—

“My praise shall be dedicated to the happiest state of the mind, to the noblest affection. I shall teach lovers to love, that have all this while loved by rote. I shall give them the alphabet of Love.

“Let no man fear the yoke of fortune that’s in the yoke of love. What fortune can be such a Hercules as shall be able to overcome two?

“Assuredly no person ever saw at any time the mind of another but in love. Love is the only passion that opens the heart. If not the highest, it is the sweetest affection of all others.

“When one foreseeth withal that to his many griefs cannot be added solitude, but that he shall have a partner to bear them, this quieteth the mind.

The device, full of Shakespearean references to love, was written fourteen years *before* Bacon’s marriage: his *Essay of Love*, in which he expresses different sentiments, was written six years *after* his marriage.

Then asks Mrs. Stopes: “Bacon write the humours of the fat knight? . . . of humour he was entirely destitute.” Yet Jonson

says he could not spare or pass a jest, and his *Apophthegms*, dictated from a sick bed, has been styled by the *Edinburgh Review* "the best jest-book ever given to the public," and by Macaulay "the best collection of jests in the world." Macaulay also said of his humour that "We marvel at him, as clowns on a fair-day at a juggler, and can hardly help thinking that the devil must be in him." Bacon had no humour! Even in witty repartee he was a match for the Queen, according to his contemporaries.

As there was no English translation of *Plautus* at the time, of course, according to Mrs. Stopes, Shakespere got the plot of *The Comedy of Errors* from a translation in *manuscript*. As to the production of the play at Gray's Inn, and the consequent uproar, Mrs. Stopes forgets to mention that the row was caused not by the play, but because the audience had had "foisted on them a company of base and common fellows," this description being applied to Shakspeare's company of players, showing the estimation in which they were held. A few nights afterwards a masque by Bacon, acted by the *students*, was a complete success.

As to the allegation of Bacon's theft of the cipher, what Ellis says is: "The idea of a bi-literal alphabet is employed [by Bacon], though *in a different manner by Bacon*. At this point his method *departs wholly from Bacon's*." And Bacon's cipher, according to Ellis, differs from that of Vigenère in more than one respect.

Mrs. Stopes says: "It is quite a mistake to imagine that a good play would have discredited him [Bacon]. On the contrary, the having written the first English blank verse tragedy was, even at that time, considered the highest distinction of a more aristocratic man than Bacon, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, a diplomatist too."

Is it "quite a mistake?" Halliwell-Phillipps says: "It must be borne in mind that actors occupied an inferior position in society, and that even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable."

And Ingleby writes: "Lodge (a contemporary of Shakespeare), who had never trod the stage but had written several plays, speaks of the vocation of the playmaker as sharing the odium attached to the actor. At this day we can scarcely realise

the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood."

Mrs. Stopes maintains that when Bacon refers to himself as "a concealed poet," he alludes to his authorship of the *New Atlantis*, as Bacon certainly never did in his *De Augmentis*. Spedding says:—"The allusion to concealed poets I cannot explain. But as Bacon occasionally wrote letters and devices, which were to be fathered by Essex, he may have written verses for a similar purpose, and Davies may have been in the secret." But may not the reference be to the concealed authorship of the dramas and poems?

As to Bacon's translation of the Psalms, Spedding gives them a much higher character than Mrs. Stopes. Can she find no Shakespearean poetry in Bacon's prose, which impelled Shelley to say "Bacon was a poet," and elicited praise from Macaulay, Lord Lytton and others?

Can Mrs. Stopes tell me who wrote the following verse of a translation of one of the Psalms:—

"Thy precious ear, O Lord, incline,
O hear me, I Thee pray;
For I am poor, and almost pine
With need and sad decay."

What does she think of this "poetry"? The writer was the author of *Paradise Lost*.

GEORGE STRONACH.

AUSTRALIA.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.

SYDNEY, March.

IN one sense it is good for Australia that England should be depressed, because it is when things are dull with you that we receive the largest additions to our population. The great immigration of the early fifties was witness to the truth of this remark. The constant and heavy stream of people that came hither between 1851 and 1860 made the Australia of to-day; made it British, and made it strong. But though in attractiveness this country is as powerful as ever, she does not attract. That may appear ridiculous, but it is true, and we are all very seriously concerned as to the future. Two great cities, Sydney and Melbourne, contain a third of the population of the continent, and they are gradually growing in numbers. But the wide expanse of the spacious interior is stagnant though production is increasing. The situation betokens evil, and the worst of all consequences will be broadly national in its character. We shall, from the sheer want of numbers, never attain to puissance, and without strength shall ever be the object of the cupidity of the nations in the Far East. So long as we remain part of the British Empire our comparative weakness will not matter much, because Great Britain will always protect us. But this is a pitiable position to hold. We ought to be able to feel and to show the world that here is a force to be reckoned with, British Empire or no British Empire, and we shall never be able to so feel or to show this unless we make progress in

population. The war just begun in the Far East is pregnant with evil consequences to Australia. Whichever prevails we shall be less secure than before. Japan as victor will be a menace to Australia. Let Russia be supreme and we must look to our possessions. Is it any wonder that the population question should be assuming a first place in public policy.

The question is agitating all orders of society, and the Prime Minister has made it the subject of earnest conference between himself and representatives of the state governments who recently met in Melbourne. He put the case in a nutshell when he said :

“The annual increase of population for the last forty years shows little variation, and that variation is unfortunately in the direction of decline. In 1871 the percentage of increase was $3\frac{3}{4}$; in 1881, 3; in 1891, $3\frac{1}{2}$; and in 1901, $1\frac{1}{4}$. Low as the birthrate has become it practically accounts for the whole of the increase of population. For instance, the total immigration to Australia during the three decades has been 780,000, but of these no fewer than 644,000 were assisted immigrants. The deduction is that unassisted immigrants entered Australia only at the rate of 3,400 a year.”

The Prime Minister unhappily offered no practical proposal for securing the desired increase of population from abroad, but for that he is not to blame. Still, the position he has given to the subject must be for good, since it will help to fasten attention upon it. The cure like the disease lies deep. We are the victims of extremes of policy. In the early days, by the nature of things, Australia was governed in the interests of the few occupiers of great areas of country. The pastoral interest was the only interest, and naturally the early legislatures played into the hands of the pastoralists, who were the only capitalists. Territorialism became as absolute as it was in England a century ago. Then came the sudden change, the invasion by hundreds of thousands of young men from abroad, all eager to reap the golden harvest. They brought new ideas into the country, and were soon in conflict with the landed proprietors and their caste. That was natural and proper. In time, after long fighting, the old regime was broken down and radical views began to prevail in public affairs. This has brought us to the other extreme. The mass of the

people—the mob if you will—is supreme, and the mob, remembering past fights, is imbued with but one idea—distrust of capital. Inherited fear gives the tone to legislation, with the result that capital whence so ever it may come, is banned. Enterprise, though desired in the abstract, is condemned and thwarted when it shows itself, and investment is discouraged. So far the people who blindly accept this mistaken policy do not realise that employment is lessened, and that consequently Australia is not made attractive to immigrants. In every state where an income-tax is levied double rates are enforced against “absentees,” as they are called, but the term covers every person or corporation domiciled elsewhere, who draws income from the State. One would think, having regard to the great need there is for capital in a new country, that we would let the “absentee” off at half rates instead of demanding double; but such is the perversity of the ruling class. We shall not, I am afraid, have the satisfaction of seeing Australia grow in population until the stupidity of the anti-capital policy is realised, and better inducements are offered to enterprise than are now to be found here.

Another phase of the population difficulty is to be found in our tropical policy. Everyone knows that a great belt of the continent lies within the tropics, and everyone knows also that white labour is unsuited to manual work in tropical countries, yet Australia is a “white Australia” by the law of man. This means that the richest part of the territory must remain undeveloped, because under the “white Australia” law, coloured people are not permitted to enter. Without them the production of wealth is an impossibility, and Australia therefore keeps herself poorer than she might be because of the fear of a colour trouble in the hereafter. Yet it is well to look at the matter squarely, and to ask what is at the bottom of this feeling against the black man? It lies at the very root of things. The working man dreads the possibility of contact with the black. It is he and his wife and children who would be most exposed to the consequences of close association with the inferior race. The rich man, the middle class man, the newspaper writer, the critic, none of their children would be at all likely to mingle with the children of the coloured folk; there would be no fear of intermarriage or evil intercourse. But in the minds of the

worker, the danger is very clear so far as his children are concerned. There he is against the black "all the time." All the writing, all the preaching is beaten into feathery surf against the immovable rock of his prejudice. He is for a "white Australia." A mistake has been made in the past in trying to browbeat him into changing his views on the question, and the consequence is that he holds to them more firmly than ever. Apart from the objection on blood grounds he thinks he sees in the proposals for utilising black labour in the tropics, a design by the capitalist to bring down wages all over Australia. The hated capitalist again! The aim should be to endeavour to induce him to consent to a specified part of the north being worked by black (coolie) labour for the growth of tropical products only, such labour to be employed on the indenture system. This would involve the drawing of a colour line and the limitation of the number of labourers who might be at work in a given time. It is not hopeless that ultimately the democracy might be induced to agree to a departure from the "white Australia" policy to this extent, and there can be very little doubt that if this should be brought about the whole Continent would receive a magnificent fillip. It may seem absurd that these views should be submitted to English readers instead of to Australian, but they are written with some hope that they may lead to the discussion of the subject outside our boundaries, with the result that in due time the wisdom of the policy may become apparent within.

I have already mentioned the war. Another point in connection with it requires consideration. Since 1887 Australia and New Zealand have made a contribution to the Imperial Exchequer in respect of the Australian Squadron stationed in these waters. The agreement was revised at the Premier's Conference in London in 1902, and came up for ratification before the Commonwealth Parliament last year. The main points were that for better ships we would pay more money. No one objected to the terms, but strong objection was raised to entering into any agreement. Australia should own and manage her own navy was the argument of the objectors, and the labour party, which is so exclusively Australian as to deserve the description of being anti-British, was very vehement in its protests. It was pointed out

that Australia could not afford a navy of its own; that if she bought half-a-dozen ships to-day, at a cost of, say, £5,000,000, they would be obsolete in ten years, and that if any were wrecked or lost in battle we should have to supply new ones, and so on. Yet the objectors were not silenced. Happily, Parliament took the broad view and ratified the agreement which stands for many years. In the meantime we shall be adequately protected at a ridiculously small cost to ourselves, and the squadron will be maintained at the effective state stipulated upon. The point I wish to make, however, is that there would be very little objection to the ratification were the subject to be brought up now. The success of the Japanese in their attack upon Port Arthur has opened the eyes of the people who were misled by specious argument last year. That success has shown us that in the twinkling of an eye we might have seen our Australian-owned fleet blown into the air. Then where should we be? The policy of remaining a partner of the good old firm of John Bull and Co., in naval matters, at any rate, is found sound, and the more havoc the Japanese destroyers play with the Russian ships the better will it be for the enlightenment of persons in this part of the world, who think that Australia might do better with her own navy than in availing herself of the protection of the British.

PASSING EVENTS.

THE Anglo-French agreement, settled last month, does not claim to be a treaty but simply an international instrument dealing with a group of difficult questions, any one of which in days gone by might have given occasion, first for a war and ultimately for a treaty of peace. On both sides of the channel the terms of the agreement have been cordially approved, and but little disposition has been shown to cavil at the details of the bargain, though no bargain was ever yet made which did not afford opportunity for such cavilling if the contracting parties on either side were inclined to be quarrelsome. It might easily be contended, from the British point of view, that this country gives more than she gets. Probably many Frenchmen may fancy, on the other hand, that in giving up the theory that they have a right to be offended by our presence in Egypt, they are making a huge sacrifice on the altar of a new *entente cordiale*. But the main principle of the agreement that has just been reached is that the two nations do not mean to quarrel, and for the rest it does not greatly matter how the scales incline in a minute examination of the diplomatic concessions exchanged.

How has the main principle been established? That is really a more interesting question than those which relate to the origin of the rights in Newfoundland which the French fishermen are induced at last to surrender, or to the consequences likely in the long run to ensue from the French protectorate in Morocco. As for those questions in themselves, we need not pretend to think that we are getting a good bargain considered merely on its own

merits. The difficulties connected with "the French shore" in Newfoundland have been dragging on with ever accruing complications for many years. Students of the subject will be disposed to conceive that small compensation is really due to the authors of sundry encroachments in that region. And the articles on the current crisis in Morocco, which have appeared in the February and March issues of the Review, will show plainly that British trade interests in that country would, in a more cantankerous age, have pointed to the necessity of insisting on such and such provisions in any agreement on the subject, the effect of which would have been to keep the whole future of Morocco in an unsettled state, from which at any moment of international ill-temper the most formidable consequences might have ensued. But we want to insure against the formidable consequences, and even if we have been easy to deal with, instead of exacting, we have at all events effected the insurance, as far as such guarantees can ever be trustworthy in the midst of the shifting quicksands of human affairs.

And to what body of circumstance, or to what statesman's ingenuity, are we indebted for the establishment of a condition of feeling on both sides of the channel that has rendered the adjustment of so many outstanding causes of disagreement possible? The circumstances were all against the establishment of a good understanding between France and England just at this moment. The war in the East promised to intensify instead of lessening the strain, and this is not a period of brilliant statemanship anywhere about the European world. The situation is, of course, intelligible beyond the reach of misconception for open minded observers. The good understanding between England and France has been brought about by the King. Constitutional usage, or rather the democratic encroachments on constitutional tradition that have been so conspicuous as the political fruit of the last century, have fettered the Sovereign in a great variety of ways, but have not succeeded in rendering him entirely powerless for good. Without infringing the least important restrictions imposed upon him by Parliamentary etiquette, King Edward has been able, by the sheer force of his personal influence with the French people, to establish a state

of feeling in and around the body of men constituting the French government, that has rendered possible the agreements just reached. How far he may, during his recent intercourse with the French President, have contributed to design the character of the settlement thus arrived at is a question of considerable interest, no doubt, but one that is not likely for a long time to find a definite answer.

HERE and there in the suburbs of London lately, Mormon missionaries have been making themselves conspicuous, and in many cases arousing popular indignation, based apparently upon the belief that they have come over to beguile innocent girls into the harems of licentious polygamists in Salt Lake City. The missionaries complain that they are misunderstood, and are prepared to argue for the truths of Mormonism from either a scientific, moral, or religious point of view. In spite of which, the people of Finsbury and Hackney remain rooted in their belief that Mormonism is an organisation for stealing and illtreating women and girls, and the whole grotesque situation has been giving rise to disturbances which nothing but police intervention could deal with.

For those who have looked behind the scenes of the curious Mormon movement, the popular misunderstanding of the whole subject is very ludicrous. The present writer in the course of world-wide wanderings visited Salt Lake City in the year 1868, just before the United States government intervened to break up the regular Mormon government of Utah, and to replace the authority of Brigham Young by that of the General in command of the United States' troops. The United States' press was ringing already with denunciations of Mormon atrocities, and the government was goaded to arise and put an end to scandals discreditable to the civilisation of the great republic. The facts as observed on the spot certainly did not justify the feeling that then prevailed. Salt Lake City itself with a population of some 20,000 people, all Mormons, at that time, was beyond comparison the most orderly, law-abiding, and well-conducted community in the West of America. The people did not represent a high level of culture, they were most of them of the working or lower middle class, and

the theology of the movement to which they had attached themselves appeared to me, after some futile efforts to grapple with the rhodomontade of the Book of Mormon, a scheme of thinking arising from a crude view of the Old Testament combined with a stupid variety of spiritualism. But an extraordinary moral influence pervaded the community. One and all, the people were obedient to their untitled king, Brigham Young, to an extent which simply obliterated from their midst all the commonplace offences against law and order which prevail in cities of the ordinary type. If anyone called them a body of ignorant fanatics he could not be accused of misrepresenting the facts, but their fanaticism ran into such simple grooves that they were like so many innocent children in a well-governed school. Drunkenness was unknown, gambling unheard of. Police courts did not exist, for there were no offenders to be dealt with. The girls of the place would go about at night to the theatre unattended, with no more risk of insult than if they had belonged to a boarding-school procession parading Kensington Gardens in the morning. And the much talked-of institution of polygamy was a theory rather than a serious factor in the life of the place. All over Utah at the date referred to, the Mormon population was about 100,000. The number of families in which there was more than one wife did not exceed 500. The number of families to which more than two wives belonged could have been counted on one's fingers. Of course, as a theory, the leaders maintained the fantastic doctrine, but even that cannot be correctly apprehended unless we look back to the history of the movement. Polygamy was never promulgated as a decree of Divine authority until the Mormon population of Nauvoo in Missouri had been attacked and dispersed by the savage, whisky-drinking population of what was then the Wild-West. Large numbers of the Mormon men were massacred and the rest driven out, the women in the majority, into the wilderness. As far as a mere observer of events can read, Brigham Young, who, after the murder of Joseph Smith, became the Mormon leader, invented polygamy with the view of meeting the embarrassment arising from the preponderance of the women in the community under his care. As for the notion that the attack on Nauvoo was prompted by popular indignation against

the immoralities of the Mormons, that idea is a misapprehension of the facts. Nauvoo was simply an orderly and well-directed community, offensive as such to the surrounding population. It was attacked on the same principle which induces the proverbial collier to fling half a brick at the cleanly dressed curate.

There is no doubt some foundation for stories concerning offending intruders who, in the early days of Salt Lake City, were put to death by officers of the Mormons, ridiculously called "Avenging Angels." But the use of the revolver in the Western States of America, in the middle of the last century, was as natural to all persons concerned as writing to the *Times* with us. To say that murder was much less frequent amongst the Mormons than amongst any other Western community in those early days is to understate the case. On the other hand, of course, the activity of the Mormon missionaries in this country is as silly, shall we say, as that of many other missionaries who are less frequently denounced. The indignation of a lady residing in Hackney, and communicating with one of the papers, on account of the way in which, for the last two months, she has been "pestered" by the visits of the missionaries, is amusingly suggestive of the feeling that may sometimes be entertained amongst the benighted heathen similarly pestered by representatives of an alien faith, perhaps themselves not frequently superior in mental culture to the fanatical emissaries of Salt Lake City.

CHEMISTRY is getting demoralised. There is no finality any more in the character of an element. According to current information concerning work that has been carried on for some time, Dr. Baskerville, Professor of Chemistry at the University of North Carolina, has discovered either of two new elements hidden in Thorium salts, in the way Radium was for so long hidden in those of Uranium, or possibly in the discovery that Thorium itself is a compound of these two elements. One of these he has christened "Carolinium," in honour of his native State, and the other "Berzelium," in honour of Berzelius, the Swedish chemist, who discovered Thorium. Both these substances appear to be radioactive in a very high degree. Newspaper reports, possibly out-running the actuality of the case, describe them as transmitting

luminous rays through tubes of copper or iron. Sir William Ramsay, interviewed by reporters on the subject, says that he knew Dr. Baskerville to be engaged on work of this kind, and the tale of his successes, though telegraphed from America in somewhat excited terms, is probably founded, at all events, on genuine fact.

Thorium is the metallic base of one of the rare earths that have engaged the attention of chemists a good deal within the last few years, another of which, Yttrium, in the hands of Sir William Crookes, has yielded evidence affording important support to his great theory concerning the Genesis of the Elements. It is only in the form of their salts or oxides that these metals are practically known, and thorium has acquired commercial value by reason of its use in the manufacture of mantles for incandescent gas-burners. The wonderfully vivid glow which these mantles give is due not merely to the fact that they are incombustible material heated to a high degree ; their saturation with the thorium oxide is essential to the brilliant effect. And, like many other facts ascertained by scientific research, though we all know that heated oxide of thorium becomes very brilliant, no one has the least notion why that should be the case. Very possibly the presence in association with thorium of these newly discovered radio-active substances may account for the phenomenon. Probably if we could construct mantles saturated with solutions of radium oxide or bromide, we should obtain still more satisfactory results, but such mantles would only be available for millionaires. There is not enough radium in the world to provide for more than a few.

IN the last number of *Baconiana*, Mrs. Henry Pott, a living encyclopædia of knowledge concerning the great Francis, deals with the question where he was buried. Oddly enough, nobody seems to know. The biography, published in 1657 by Dr. Rawley, his secretary, says that his beloved master, Lord Verulam, died at Lord Arundale's house at Highgate, and was buried in St. Michael's Church at St. Albans. The late Lord Verulam gave Mrs. Potts positive assurance that the vaults of St. Michael's Church had been thoroughly examined by himself and a party of experts, that every coffin had been identified, and that Bacon

certainly is not buried there. Three early writers concerning "Lord Bacon," as many people now call him, Dr. Spratt, Dr. Wallace and Dr. Thomas Fuller, give three separate and different accounts of the places at which Bacon died. One says it was at the house of Dr. Parry, his friend and physician in London, another declares it to have been at the house of Dr. Witherbourne near Highgate, and the third declares the death to have taken place at the house of his cousin, Sir Julius Cæsar. There is a monument to Bacon at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, but not one of a kind that can enclose a tomb. Mrs. Pott's inference from all these is that Bacon did not die at the time generally supposed at all, but lived long afterwards, and produced a great mass of literary work with which his name has not hitherto been identified.

MANY of our readers will learn with pleasure that an address has been presented to Mlle Lind af Hageby and Mlle Shartau, the joint authoresses of "The Shambles of Science," embodying an expression of sympathy with and respect for those ladies, with reference to their courageous attitude as opponents of vivisection. The address is signed by a great many influential people—of high social rank or distinguished in other ways—and declares "unabated confidence in the veracity" of the book in question. The result of the recent action against the Hon. Stephen Coleridge may have left many of those who make no study of the facts connected with vivisection, and who accept with docility the decisions of courts of law, under the impression that the book which indirectly gave rise to the whole trouble was annihilated by the verdict of the jury and the language of the judge which preceded that verdict. Probably no one who has interested himself in the main questions at issue (leaving the vivisectioners themselves out of account) has regarded the result of the trial as anything but a miscarriage of justice. That view has been held by so many persons ready to back their opinion, that, as every one knows by now, the subscription raised to cover Mr. Coleridge's expenses outran the whole burden of damages and costs so as to leave a handsome surplus, which was handed over to the Anti-Vivisection Society.

IN association with the grim subject of vivisection there is not much room for humour, but one answer to a vivisectionist attributed to a certain Bishop, may meet the difficulty. "Do you mean to tell me," said the defender of the system, "that if your wife was dangerously ill, and you had reason to believe that you could find a remedy for her complaint by vivisecting a dog, you would not do so?" "My dear sir," replied the bishop, "under those circumstances I would vivisect *you*, but it does not follow I should be doing right."

BROAD VIEWS.

VOL. I.

JUNE, 1904.

No. 6.

THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

A PROFOUNDLY interesting social experiment in progress in the United States of America has not yet excited the close attention in this country which it deserves. The marriage tie has been loosened to an extent which is hardly realised as yet by the looker-on abroad. The conditions of divorce, it is true, differ very widely in different parts of the Union, but the divorces of one State are recognised in most of the others, so that the "chain" of matrimony—as the law regards it—is only as strong as its weakest link, in whatever part of the Great Republic it may be worn. The figures which are available to illustrate the extent to which the facilities for procuring divorce are taken advantage of by American citizens will be startling for most European readers, but they are not the only evidence within our reach. Comic newspapers alone would not be convincing, but even they may sometimes throw light upon the drift of social habits. And the easy-going treatment of the divorce question in which they indulge is indicative of a state of things around which gives meaning to their jokes, without which these would be pointless. One pretty sketch represents a lady standing at the door of her drawing-room receiving guests at an evening party. A gentleman approaches. "Ah," she says, "I am so glad to see you. We have not met since we were divorced!" "And how are the children?" he inquires. "Which were ours? I really forget," is the answer, carrying the joke into the realms of caricature, but caricatures have no meaning unless there is a reality to be exaggerated.

The Roman Catholic Church, stoutly upholding every doctrine that buttressed the authority of the priesthood, has always clung to the theory that marriages could only be dissolved by death or a dispensation of the Pope; certainly by no temporal power. But the Reformation introduced the thin end of the wedge into this body of thought, and it is unnecessary to trace the course of legislation which has, even in this country, provided a continual stream of business for the Divorce Court. The law which this tribunal administers is, of course, a bundle of anomalies, and its ultimate reconciliation with reason may be expected whenever we may find ourselves in the presence of a Parliament that can apply itself to other business besides that affecting party interests. But whenever our divorce law comes to be discussed seriously with a view to revision, the experience gathered in America can hardly fail to be the basis of future proposals. We will turn directly to the consideration of the causes for divorce recognised in the various States, but even leading figures may first of all indicate, for people who are unfamiliar with the facts, how huge a feature of American life the new system has become.

In 1870 96½ per cent. of the marriages in America were terminated by death and 3½ per cent. by divorce, in 1890 the latter percentage had increased to 6·2. On the assumption that *the conditions of the past thirty years remain constant*, one writer on the subject, Mr. Wilcox, a recognised authority, has estimated that in 1910 10 per cent. of the marriages in the United States will be terminated by divorce proceedings; in 1930, 16 per cent.; in 1950, 26 per cent.; until, by the year 2000 A.D., more than half the marriages in the country will meet with a premature dissolution.

That is a bold forecast hardly designed for serious consideration, but meanwhile the marriage and divorce problem has been investigated in America by the "Department of Labour," and a report was published in 1890 entitled, "A Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States 1867-1886, including an appendix relating to marriage and divorce in certain countries of Europe, by Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labour." Mr. Wright found that there was one divorced person to 185 married, and that, of the total population of 62½ million, 119,854 had been

divorced. Later on the United States census for 1900 shews that there were almost 200,000 divorced persons in a population of 75,000,000.

If for the purpose of comparing the United States with other European countries a single year is taken, say 1885, we find that whereas 508 divorces were granted in Great Britain and Ireland, 6,245 in France, 6,161 in Germany, 23,472 were granted in the United States. In other words a greater number of marriages were dissolved in the States in consequence of divorce proceedings than in all the other centres of European population in the world. The past fifteen years have certainly not changed the comparative position. The following figures, which were compiled after the 1900 census, shew the proportion of marriages and divorces for a single period in a few of the principal cities in America. They represent the working of different codes and differ very widely, but they agree in shewing the prevalence of divorce on the other side of the Atlantic.

		Marriages.		Divorces.
New York ...	...	33,447	...	817
Chicago (Illinois) ...	...	16,684	...	1,808
Philadelphia ...	...	9,912	...	492
Boston ...	...	6,312	...	446
San Francisco ...	...	3,716	...	846

Such facts as these are, however, meaningless apart from a general standard with which they can be compared. We require some basis from which we can work both as to cause and result, and to gain this, we may turn for a moment to the English records. Until 1858 a complete dissolution of marriage in Great Britain could only be obtained by Act of Parliament. Since that date it has been possible to obtain a decree at the suit of the husband on proof of the wife's misconduct, and at the suit of the wife on proof of the husband's adultery, coupled with cruelty or desertion for more than two years. The Act of 1857 naturally led to a considerable increase in the number of divorce petitions, and in 1860, 272 were granted. In 1870, the number had risen to 351; in 1880, to 615; in 1890 to 644; and in 1900 to 747. This rate

of increase, unlike that in the United States, corresponds very fairly with that of the increase in the population. During the first thirty years the English Act was in force, 10,651 petitions were presented, of which 7,321 were successful, and 812 dismissed, the remainder not coming on for hearing. In the United States, however, 328,716 divorces were granted in a period of twenty years—1867 to 1886. We will state this bare fact yet again in order that the immense difference between the working of the divorce laws in the two English-speaking communities may be placed beyond all possibility of doubt. The figures must not be taken as absolute or as representing a constant ratio, but they illustrate a fact that can be proved by folio upon folio of statistics.

In England thirty years (1858-1887).	In the United States twenty years (1867-1886).
Divorces granted ... 7,321	328,716.

In the United States marriage and divorce legislation is a prerogative of the various states of the Union, and is guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Though the differences between the enactments of the forty-eight or fifty jurisdictions may be easily exaggerated, they are in some respects remarkable. Thus in South Carolina there is no divorce law at all. In other States the legislators have interpreted the meaning of the phrase "conduct rendering the marriage tie impossible of fulfilment" in the most liberal spirit, and, in consequence, a divorce petition can be lodged upon grounds that a man accustomed to the English standard can scarcely understand. Mr. Wright enumerates some forty-two causes as operating in one or another of the States of the Commonwealth at the date of the issue of his report, but, selecting only those in operation in December, 1903, we find the following. Adultery is a cause in all the States, except, of course, South Carolina. It is the only cause in the state of New York. A plea of habitual drunkenness is accepted in all the States except eleven. Wilful desertion for a year is a cause in twenty States, for two years in twelve, and for three years in thirteen—or in other words practically throughout the Union. The petitioner may plead the imprisonment or conviction for felony of the other party to the

marriage in all the States and Territories except seven. Coming to less general causes we find that "failure by the husband to provide" during one year is a ground for divorce in California, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, North Dakota, Nevada and Wyoming, and "absence without being heard of for three years" in Ohio and New Hampshire. "Indignities rendering life burdensome" is a cause in five States, "ungovernable temper" in Kentucky, and insanity lasting four years in Florida. Finally we discover that "joining any religious sect that believes marriage unlawful and refusal to cohabit" is sufficient to justify divorce proceedings in Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, and that a plea of "public defamation by the other party" entitles a married man or woman to relief in Louisiana.

A judgment upon *a priori* grounds might readily lead to the opinion that it was unnecessary to look further for an explanation of the greater number of divorces in the United States, as compared with great Britain. It would account for the phenomenon by shewing the variety of minor grounds upon which divorce could be sought in cases of unhappy marriage. As a matter of fact experience proves, and statistics fully support the statement, that the greater number of these causes are practically negligible and that the vast proportion of the decrees in the United States are granted upon allegations of desertions, adultery and cruelty. The following represent the approximate proportions:—

Desertion	...	...	39 per cent.
Adultery...	...	...	21 "
Cruelty ...	...	...	16 "

Mr. W. F. Wilcox in his review of Mr. Wright's report which appeared in the Columbia University annual published in 1891, puts the proof of this very neatly. He analyzes the whole number of divorces during the period 1867-1887, and finally examines the 315,547 cases in which proper divorces were granted for known causes, the latter being divided into general and particular causes, as they were common to the majority or to a few only of the States.

BROAD VIEWS.

GENERAL CAUSES.

				Per cent.
Desertion	...	...	126,676	40·15
Adultery	...	...	67,686	21·45
Cruelty	...	...	51,595	16·35
Drunkenness	...	...	13,866	4·40
Neglect to provide	...	...	7,955	2·52
Imprisonment	...	...	2,721	·87
Combination of general causes			35,417	11·23
Total for general causes	...		305,916	96·97

LOCAL CAUSES.

Neglect of duty, Ohio	...	2,685	
Incompatibility of temper,			
Utah	...	1,579	
Misconduct, Connecticut	...	454	
Voluntary separation, Wis-			
consin	...	228	
Violent temper, Florida	...	119	
Vagrancy, Missouri	...	50	
Supervenient insanity, Ark.,			
Wash....	...	28	
Gross misbehaviour and wick-			
edness, Rhode Island	...	6	
Total for local causes	...	5,149	1·60%
Combination of general and			
local causes	...	4,115	1·31
Minor causes	...	367	1·2
		315,547	100

The obvious probability suggested by this table is that "desertion" is the formal plea made use of in cases where both parties to a marriage agree to separate. In some States one year's desertion is enough to justify the claim, and nothing can be simpler than for the husband to desert accordingly for the required

time and so provide the wife with the necessary qualification. Happily for American couples agreeing to disagree, there is no official in the States fulfilling the absurd part assigned by the English law to the "King's Proctor." This unfortunate busy-body is required to "intervene" and prevent the final decree of divorce if within six months of the decree *nisi* being granted, he finds reason to believe that there has been "collusion." If, that is to say, the husband can be proved to wish for a divorce besides having been guilty of misbehaviour that makes the wife wish for it, or *vice versa*, the relief both parties desire is to be denied them. If it will make one of them miserable it may be allowed. One can understand the theory out of which this condition of things has arisen. It springs from the original doctrine of the Church that marriage is indissoluble. But the law says:—"We cannot stand that. If one party behaves abominably the other must have relief." The Church, clinging to the last shred of its system, says, "then are you simply going to make marriage cohabitation during pleasure, to be dissolved when the parties are tired of one another?" The law intimidated by the suggestion that it is wanting to encourage immorality, replies:—"No; we will take care there shall be valid ground of complaint on one side or the other," so, hardly realising the effect of its concession it invents the King's Proctor, to dash the cup from the lip at the last moment in all cases where the marriage tie has become intolerable to both persons concerned.

The puzzling entanglements that arise would provide for an entertaining narrative if anyone with the adequate experience would write it. The present writer was once on a jury in a divorce case brought by the husband. The wife was accused of misconduct with the co-respondent. But no evidence to prove it was really forthcoming, and, of course, the lady and her friend swore the charge was groundless. Most of the jury said, "Ah, well, where there's a will there's a way," and on that principle wished to find a verdict for the plaintiff. To the writer and one other jurymen it seemed monstrous to declare a woman guilty of a disgraceful offence on evidence that would not have convicted a Mormon of polygamy, so the two held out; the jury disagreed and the trial was all to no purpose. But the two all the while were

gravely in doubt as to whether they were not bitterly disappointing the lady of a release which she most likely desired, though for form's sake and to render it possible of attainment, she had to pretend that she resisted it by all the resources of perjury. Anyhow, a second jury was less squeamish and the decree *nisi* was obtained.

No doubt, however indisposed we may be to regard the marriage contract as one that lies outside all other kinds of contract, and has a divine sanction which must not be flouted—however ignorantly and precipitately a pair of young people may rush to a registry office—it may be allowed that great dangers would attend an alteration of the law that should provide for divorces by mutual consent. One party might extort the consent of the other by very nefarious means. The husband, for example, might bully his wife into a consent—much as the relatives of unfortunate Indian widows in the days of “Suttee” not so very long ago—used to extort their consent to undergo the “euthanasia” in question. Then the consent once given the immolation of the women on the funeral pile used to be carried out by force if she changed her mind when the time came. It would not answer to let the apparent consent count for everything in our application for divorce without a thorough investigation of the circumstances. The necessity of protecting the woman should be ever present in the minds of people who concern themselves with the great questions of marriage law reform. These may be approached, indeed, from various points of view, and the ideas suggested in this paper are put forward tentatively to be followed in all probability by essays of a very different colour, but to complete the idea last hinted at, the theory of protection for the woman might be worked out more completely than merely with reference to the possibility of unfair treatment to which she would be subject if mutual consent were accepted as a justification for divorce.

The burden of a matrimonial yoke which has become irksome is very much more oppressive, for obvious reasons, to a woman than to a man. As long as we work with the theory of a divine sanction in marriage the endurance of any miseries on either side becomes a religious duty, but from the point of view of the marriage law reformer, who regards the contract as of human making, however supremely important a contract, it has to be

surrounded with safeguards especially protective of the person who stands to lose most by its infraction. It would clearly be impossible to grant either party the right to obtain a divorce on the simple ground that the tie had become irksome, but would any dangerous embarrassments ensue if the woman in all cases were allowed to claim her liberty if the burden of the yoke she had assumed became intolerably heavy? No woman would apply for divorce if she would be condemning herself that way to destitution—unless, indeed, for some grave reasons the husband had made himself so horribly offensive to her that she preferred any destiny to that of remaining his wife. In that case surely the claim would be one of overwhelming force on any theory of marriage other than that of the Roman Catholic priest.

Once get rid of what may be described as the supernatural theory of marriage and the contract becomes one to be regulated in whatever way may be best conducive to human happiness. It may be urged that this, on the whole, would not be provided for, and that people would not be encouraged to frame exalted ideals of happiness if the contract were so loosely interpreted as to be practically voidable at will. But on that theory it is certainly the only contract imaginable that is not voidable by the mutual desire of the two persons concerned, and it can only be assigned to a special category by itself by the infusion of some ideas derived from the supernatural theory. Moreover, if difficulties—embarrassments but not insuperable obstacles—are put in the way of people applying for divorce, they may suffice to protect the community from such frequent changing of partners as it would deem unseemly. In his charming book about the Burmese, which Mr. Fielding has called “The Soul of a People,” he tells us that the Burmese wife has a right to divorce on demand. But when she applies for it the proper authority answers in effect—Divorce, Ma’am! Certainly, Ma’am, if you wish it. But we are really too busy to attend to the matter to-day. Do come again next week and we will have everything ready for you! The cases in which the lady does not come next week are surprisingly numerous.

As we have seen, the different States of the American Union recognise different justifications for divorce, but so far they seem all under the dominion of the old-fashioned ecclesiastical theory

of marriage as to recognise no possible variations of the one uniform contract in the first instance. Of course, the whole mental attitude of the civilised world as regards the relations of the sexes would have to be revolutionised before it would be possible to introduce any great variety of form into the matrimonial contract; but it is impossible to study the results of this bold legislation with respect to divorce that has been attempted in America without wondering whether or not it may be followed eventually by modifications in the original contract. It is difficult even to suggest modifications without offending general sentiment at present, but much does suggest the idea that human society is in a transition state in reference to the most important conceptions of right and wrong which can affect human happiness. The matrimonial agreement need no longer be consecrated at the altar. As regards its necessary ritual it is no more sacred than the process of signing the lease of a house. It is none the less to be criticised after the legal form has been complied with, as though it were supernatural in its nature. The question will very likely come under consideration sooner or later, but its treatment as a practical problem of legislation is likely to be so long deferred that it is hardly worth while to pursue the idea further.

Returning now to the examination of facts, it appears that in South Carolina, the only state in America where, as the law now stands, divorce is impossible, an experiment was tried in 1872, when an act was passed providing for divorce in some cases. But probably the conditions were onerous. In seven years the number of divorces granted reached only 39 per annum, and at this price the experiment was considered a failure and was abandoned, the old divorceless condition of the State being restored. The final result was so illogical that it would require explanation in the light of special local knowledge to be intelligible.

Turning for a moment in pursuit of experience to our own colony, Victoria, Australia, the "Shiel's Act" of 1890 aimed at lessening the excessive cost of divorce "in the interests of morality and for the relief of unoffending married persons." Its purpose was "to extend the provisions of the law of divorce to certain cases of desertion, cruelty, drunkenness, and conviction for crime in which the objects of marriage are by the conduct of the

offending party equally defeated, as in the case of adultery." The act permits petitions for divorce in cases where desertion for three years, or three years habitual drunkenness can be proved. The immediate result was that the number of divorces, which during the ten years prior to the act had averaged 16·7, rose to 110 and 114 in 1891 and 1892. This was followed by a decline to 86 in 1893, the figures gradually rising until 105 divorces were granted in 1900 and 107 in 1901. The increase is considerable by comparison, but the final figures are insignificant when set against those of population. Mere cheapening of divorce without the introduction of any device by which mutual consent can be made effective does not give rise to large results. For instance, again, in France the new law, which permitted a woman to obtain a divorce for infidelity without the obligation of proving cruelty, was voted in 1884. Since then 102,167 divorces—a large number when compared with the English standard—have been registered, of which 7,741 were granted in 1901. As in America, the proportion of divorces to marriages has shown a tendency to rise. In 1885 fourteen divorces per thousand marriages were granted, in 1887 twenty per thousand, and during the years 1896 to 1900, an average of twenty-seven per thousand marriages. But here again the figures are not comparable with those of America.

The most curious fact brought to light by the statistics from which we have been quoting is, that even in America the current stories which represent thousands of mismated Americans flocking into Nevada or South Dakota for a six months' holiday and a divorce are sadly destitute of substantial foundation. We might readily give up, as a stretch of the imagination, the story about the station at which the trains stop twenty minutes to enable passengers to get divorced, but the South Dakota hotels thriving on the custom of divorce seekers have been very definitely talked about. The figures seem to show that Americans accept the divorce laws of their own States with general contentment. Only one-fifth of the divorces granted relate to couples who have sought relief in other States than their own.

Our enquiry into the working of this new method of regarding the marriage contract leads naturally to the question, who is the gainer by the changes in the law that have resulted? Do they

operate in the interests of the man or the woman, or do they operate equally? On this point the statistics speak with no uncertain voice. In England, in a typical year, 383 divorce petitions were presented by husbands, 262 by wives. In countries where divorces can be obtained upon proof of desertion, the reverse is the case. In the United States, for instance, two-thirds of the divorces are granted upon the demand of the wife. In France, 42 per cent. of the applications are made by husbands, and 58 per cent. by wives. Out of the 147 claims presented in Victoria in 1900, the wife was the petitioner in 103 cases, and, of the 138 cases in 1901, 96 were at the suit of wives and only 42 at the suit of husbands.

So far, we have assumed that any increase in the number of marriages dissolved is directly traceable to the facilities offered by some legislatures. As a matter of fact, other causes operate to decrease the divorce rate in one country or State and increase it in another. These extra legal causes are particularly potent in cases where women might be petitioners. The wife, as a rule will only ask for relief when she is assured of means of support, either by re-marriage or by opportunities for gaining a livelihood. This is the chief factor that determines the relative frequency of divorce in the various parts of the United States. Mr. Wright's report clearly shows that divorce is most common in the Pacific States, where women might be expected to have least difficulty in remarrying. Again, divorce is far more common in the six New England States, where industrialism has reached its greatest development, and where the opportunities for women to find employment are greatest, than in the Southern States. Nor is this all. Whereas, less than 50 per cent. of the applicants for divorce in the Southern States are women, the percentage is 69 in the Northern States.

But references of this nature are of no serious importance. After the whole field of statistics has been reviewed, the figures we first quoted remain of primary importance, 7,000 odd divorces in this country against 300,000 odd in America, where the law practically works so that "collusion" must be successful! The morals to be drawn from such facts will be as variegated as the laws that regulate the dissolution of marriage in the different countries of the world.

THE PSYCHIC PHENOMENA OF MESMERISM.

THE most interesting results that can be reached by the practice of mesmerism are those which illuminate the mysteries of the life to come, and help us to realise the fundamental principle that the visible world is merely one of its aspects. Subtler senses than those associated with sight and touch bring us into relation with other planes of nature (to use a convenient figure of speech), as rich and variegated in their character as that associated with the experiences of common life. In those cases where a subject sensitive to mesmeric influence, is so far spiritually evolved as regards his or her interior nature as to be available for such a research, an entirely new world opens out before the enfranchised consciousness, while the peculiar relations established between that consciousness and the body by the mesmeric condition, are such as to enable the subject to answer with the physical lips questions appertaining to the experiences which the emancipated soul is undergoing.

Any one who has made a serious study of clairvoyant conditions is first of all embarrassed in dealing with them by reason of having realised that there are many different kinds of clairvoyance and many different ways by means of which the beautiful faculties indicated by that expression can be brought into play. We can map out the subject with which we have to deal most conveniently by considering first the various kinds of clairvoyance that are possible in connection with the expansion of ordinary human faculty; then endeavouring to appreciate the very different extent

to which, owing to the difference of their spiritual evolution, different subjects are capable of exercising the clairvoyant faculty, if they have it at all; finally taking note of the different conditions under which the exercise of that faculty may be stimulated,—that with which we have to do for the moment, the mesmeric process, being merely one of several that can be brought into activity.

In the beginning of this research, the early French mesmerists were content with the wonderful result attained when they found that under certain conditions, sensitives, with their eyes completely bandaged, could nevertheless see what was going on in their immediate neighbourhood, could read the time on a watch put, for instance, against the abdomen, or even describe the contents of a given page in a closed book. Carrying the experiment a little further, they found their sensitives able to describe what might be going on in distant places with which in some way or other it was found possible to put them *en rapport*. All this kind of thing has to do with what may broadly be called clairvoyance in space. The faculty is employed on objects the nature of which would have rendered them perceptible under ordinary circumstances to the senses with which we are familiar. The perceptions, in short, of the clairvoyant in space relate to the physical plane to which his normal consciousness belongs. Then it is found, and much of the clairvoyance with which the mid-century books are filled has to do with this variety, that clairvoyance in time is also a possibility, that is to say, that the clairvoyant can become aware of facts connected with the past life of people with whom he is in relation, and even, in some cases, anticipate the future and correctly describe events destined to come to pass. Predictions of that nature, indeed, lead us to consider many mysteries of nature besides those which have to do with the clairvoyant faculty. To illuminate this branch of the subject completely would involve a long digression, and it is enough for the moment to say that no clairvoyance concerning the future can ever be regarded as absolutely trustworthy. It is unconsciously exercised by people in an exalted condition which need not for the moment be described more minutely, and what they see is the event which would come to pass should no fresh causes be interposed between the body of circumstance tending in

that direction and the actual event. More often than not in such cases no fresh causes do intervene, and the foresight is vindicated by the result, but this need not bewilder thinkers who appreciate the importance of recognising human free will. The truth simply is that in comparatively few cases is human free will guided by a sufficient degree of super-physical enlightenment as to enable those who exercise it to import fresh causes into the current even of their own destiny. But the profound psychological problems to which that reflection gives rise, lie really outside the main current of the enquiry on which we are for the moment engaged. Anyhow, clairvoyance in time, whether the time concerned is that of the past or the future, is a faculty differing altogether in its character from that which has to do with the observation of tangible things unseen with the physical eye, or with occurrences transpiring at a distance.

Apart altogether from these two varieties of clairvoyance, we have to consider that which puts the sensitive into conscious relationship with unseen aspects of the world around us referred to above. This kind of clairvoyance can only be fully described by a phrase, "Clairvoyance concerning other planes of nature," but may be conveniently referred to as psychic clairvoyance. It is immeasurably the most interesting of the three kinds here recognised, and leads to an apprehension of some, at all events, of the laws governing human evolution, the interest and importance of which are beyond the reach of exaggeration. But let it be always remembered that when we are speaking of the mesmeric process we are only dealing with one of the ways, and by no means the most efficacious way in which the faculties of the higher clairvoyance can be brought into play. The grander methods, if we come to consider these, could only be interpreted by a complete exposition of the possibilities which actually lie before human creatures at this stage of evolution, if they are resolute and patient enough to work them out, with laws under which the faculties of the higher clairvoyance, besides many other of quite equal sublimity, *may* be developed by each man for himself, independently altogether of anything resembling mesmeric treatment. But patience and resolution of that kind must be protracted beyond the span of one physical life, and can hardly even be undertaken

without a full consciousness of the manner in which spiritual evolution is carried on by means of successive incarnations. Leaving, therefore, these grander methods out of sight for the moment, let us examine the character of mesmeric processes which may, so to speak, provoke the occasional manifestation in people suitably qualified, of the faculties with which the grander method would endow them as a constantly available possession.

But now, it is necessary, in order to gain even a general comprehension of what transpires under the circumstances we contemplate, to realise that the actual consciousness of any human being *inhabits* the body during ordinary conditions of waking life, but is much less closely knit with that organism than commonplace physiologists suppose. Few of the ultra-physical mysteries of nature can be elucidated without reference to many others. In this way we cannot begin to interpret the higher clairvoyance sometimes brought into activity by mesmerism, without realising to begin with that every human being is invested with a vehicle of consciousness adapted to, at all events, one of the unseen aspects of the world around us. When inhabiting this he is just as completely capable of feeling himself to be really himself as when he is under normal conditions.

The consciousness even of ordinary people is capable of slipping from one vehicle to the other—from the grosser to the finer, or *vice versa*—under circumstances that frequently recur. For even in ordinary sleep the true-soul consciousness as a general rule drifts out of the body in the sheath or organism technically spoken of as the “astral body” even when in that condition it is capable of very little intellectual activity. And, this last remark paves the way for a comprehension of the first important point we have to consider in estimating the possibilities of the higher clairvoyance in regard to any given mesmeric subject. It does not follow by any means that because such a subject is sensitive enough to the mesmeric influence to be put into a trance therefore he or she is capable of describing with even an approach to accuracy, any feature of the higher plane to which consciousness has thus been transferred. Capacity for exercising consciousness on these higher planes is the result of a gradual spiritual evolution not more rapid than that which has gone on

pari passu on the physical plane along the lines of progress familiar to biological thinking. Where we are fortunate enough to encounter a sensitive qualified when the consciousness is induced to drift away from the body under the mesmeric treatment, to exercise it with freedom in that new condition, we are dealing with a person whose spiritual evolution has advanced to a considerable degree. The faculties involved in the exercise of that which has been called above, "clairvoyance in space," need not really be other than those of the bodily organism, although the perceptions of the brain in such cases may be brought into play by vibrations far more delicate than those which appeal to the eye or the ear, and may even have to do with media of vibration to which no ordinary scientific research has yet introduced us. But when the question has to do with the interpretation of phenomena belonging to aspects of the world, detached, so to speak, from its physical manifestation, the faculties required for the cognition of such phenomena can only be sought for in the higher astral vehicle itself, and unless they are latent there as the consequence of that soul's spiritual growth, they cannot be artificially stimulated by any mesmeric process. Even if there, their latency may be so complete that their possessor is quite unconscious of them, and yet they may be in such a condition as to respond readily to the mesmeric stimulus. Granting all these conditions, we find ourselves in presence of the opportunity of investigating the unseen aspects of nature in advance of any complete development within ourselves of that higher clairvoyance, the result of what I have above called the grander methods, and thus it is that the finest kinds of mesmerism may be so enormously important in expanding the knowledge of ordinary mankind concerning the higher realms of nature at this peculiar period of our evolution, a transition period in which we are dimly groping after sublime knowledge, which at a much later stage will be clearly illuminated for our more developed understanding.

In endeavouring to apprehend these higher realms, the occult student, of course, relies much less on mesmeric sensitives than on the testimony of those who have thoroughly developed the power of observing the higher planes of nature for themselves, while still going through ordinary physical life. And independently of those

who can strictly be called occult students, we have to remember the millions all over the world who, by means of methods associated with spiritualism arrive at more or less accurate conceptions concerning the future state of those who have passed on. The value of the mesmeric method has to do with the opportunity it affords to an intervening body of enquirers, those who are not in command of the highly trained clairvoyant faculties of the initiated student, and at the same time, are ill-content with the results of mere spiritualistic séances. For them it may be possible, if they are fortunate enough to obtain the help of an adequately spiritualised sensitive, to check for themselves the teachings of occultism in one direction, and the information received through mediumship in the other.

And investigations, let me say at once, which I have had the opportunity of carrying out under the conditions indicated, abundantly confirm the teaching of the occultly developed clairvoyants; confirming also a very large part of the testimony afforded by spiritualistic communications, while elucidating and accounting for the mistakes into which many of those who have passed on into the next state of human consciousness (to call it the next world is rather misleading), very naturally fall by reason of the circumstances in which they find themselves involved. I am chiefly aiming, at present, at the interpretation of the psychic phenomena of mesmerism, but it is impossible to carry this any further without setting forth the actual state of the facts, as occult students regard the matter, in reference to those higher planes of nature which under certain conditions come within the range of psychic observation. Thousands of convergent assurances derived from people who have died out of this life, corresponding with the more scientific view of the subject, give us the assurance that in ordinary cases the soul awakens to consciousness after getting clear of the body in a vehicle or organism belonging to the Astral Plane, and in that vehical or body feels him or herself to be so absolutely the same as usual, that great difficulty is found in realizing that death has taken place. For the senses then in activity, an astral body though invisible to physical sight, is so definitely real to its inhabitant, that the person who has passed on is bewildered at

first by not being able to make himself seen or heard. Very rapidly, however, he himself sees and hears all that is going on in the new world he has entered—new to him although so closely involved in space with that which he has quitted—that he is taught to understand the change through which he has passed, and in most cases is vividly interested in the unfamiliar scenes opening before him. The situation is varied over a very wide range, according to the extent to which the person passing on is, so to speak, spiritualised by the course of his previous life. If he is very closely entangled in all his thoughts and feelings with physical conditions, he may find it for a long time almost impossible to escape from the attachments of the life he has just left behind. An unseen presence, he frequents the home with which he is familiar or whatever part of the world attracts him most, and is very glad when the opportunity offers of communicating with people still in the flesh whom he may find endowed with the higher faculties of clairvoyance which put them in relation with the plane to which he then belongs. This condition of things accounts for a very large proportion of the insignificant phenomena associated with spiritualistic enquiry, while of course, it may also happen, and happens very frequently, that people whose nature would be quite in harmony with higher spheres of experience may be attracted to those whom they have left behind on this plane by ties of deep affection. But with whichever class we have to deal we are still concerned with people who are associated with one or other of the many and varied aspects of the astral plane. Beyond this lie realms of spiritual consciousness of such boundless extent and variety that the whole astral region from the higher point of view is a mere intervening state to be looked back upon as little more than a sublimated portion of the physical existence. It is unnecessary here to attempt anything resembling a complete exposition of the higher spiritual possibilities to which human consciousness may attain. Enough to say that from the astral plane people whose spiritual growth is appropriate to the transition, may pass on into realms of consciousness of which, while on the astral plane, they are as completely unconscious as on the physical plane they were unconscious of the astral. This second transfer from one plane to

another conducts the entity to the region which for convenience we may here refer to as the spiritual plane, to avoid the use of technical expressions which would embarrass a simple explanation of this kind.

Now the entity once established on the spiritual plane is bathed in a restful bliss so complete that it is impossible for him to contemplate any definite return to the physical life he has left so far behind. People who can only think in terms of the physical intellect will be unable to apprehend the significance of this statement. They will argue that any one whose affections are worth talking about could not be happy except in the presence of those he loved; that those he loves may still be alive and perhaps in conditions of suffering; that the soul which had passed on would be selfish and contemptible if it could be bathed in bliss during the continuance of such a state of things. The mysteries which any reply to this objection would bring into the discussion are rather too complex to be treated parenthetically. It may seem a paradox to say that those who have been left behind are nevertheless present on the spiritual plane with those who have passed on as it may also seem paradoxical to suggest that the present and the future, or what we call by those names, are so curiously interwoven on higher levels of consciousness as to be all but indistinguishable. Things of the spirit cannot be adequately appreciated with the eyes of the flesh or adequately described in terms of the physical intellect.

But, and here we return to the main stream with which this paper is concerned, the super-physical intellect of an adequately spiritualised sensitive, set comparatively free from the body by the mesmeric process, may in some cases actually be enabled to cognise the conditions of that spiritual plane whose nature for us is so difficult to realise, and in so far as the physical plane language will enable him to put his perceptions into words, may give us some more or less vague and general appreciation of the ineffable splendours with which he is in touch. One must use a pronoun in speech or writing, and thus I wrote "he," but "she" would more often be the appropriate word, since, for reasons which would involve protracted speculation along other lines, it is very much more often possible to obtain the higher

psychic results of mesmerism from a female than from a male sensitive.

And it goes without saying that since in some cases it is even possible for the sensitive to get into touch with the spiritual plane, it is enormously easier for her to cognise the conditions of the lower astral world. There she stands in almost the same position in which the person who has just passed on finds himself on his first awakening. The astral world is at once manifest and visible to her. With its inhabitants she can easily converse, while at the same time, owing to the peculiar conditions of the mesmeric state, she can converse with her mesmerist through the physical lips. In this way it constantly occurs that the mesmeric sensitive will be able to become a very much more effective channel of communication between people still in physical consciousness and their friends on the other side, than any person who is commonly called a medium in the language of the seance room. It is true that neither the sensitive nor the person who, having passed on, is still on the astral plane, can be entirely trusted to describe with accuracy appearances with which she is in contact. The matter of the astral plane is extraordinarily plastic to the influence of thought. Here we have to do with another great department of nature's mysteries. In physical life, although the phrases of religious thinking should render the idea familiar, people lose sight of the way in which thought is a creative power. The mesmerist may easily realise this great truth for himself by such experiments as one, for example, amongst very many I select from my own experience. To a sensitive in trance I once gave a letter asking her to describe to me the place from which it was written and the person who wrote it. At the same moment I pictured in my own imagination very vividly a person quite unlike the writer of the letter clad in a somewhat fantastic costume such as the writer would never have worn. As my imagination had not dealt with the place itself from which the letter was written, the normal clairvoyance of the sensitive was not disturbed in reference to that. She described the place quite correctly, and then described as the writer of the letter the fantastic figure I had evolved from my own imagination. Now, the astral plane is laden and saturated with thought pictures of this kind, contributed not merely

by the inhabitants of the astral plane, but also by those entities still in the flesh, and it is very difficult in many cases for a sensitive who has not been profoundly trained in the methods of occult science to distinguish between those empty thought creations of human imagination and the other thought creations which better deserve to be described as realities. One other illustration from my own experience will perhaps come into its place here. While conversing, with the help of a clairvoyant, with a friend who had passed on at about the time when all of us were filled with anxiety concerning the fate of the Europeans besieged in the Residency at Pekin, I asked him, after private matters had been discussed and after he had rendered his identity entirely obvious, whether he could tell us anything about what was going on at Pekin. Thereupon he expressed grief and horror, described the situation as too frightful for words, said that all the residents had been massacred, and gave details into which I need not here enter. Ultimate experience showed that he was entirely in error, but it was due to no wilful falsehood, but simply to the fact that he had mistaken astral pictures with which our thoughts had laden the atmosphere in which we lived, for the reality he endeavoured to discern.

No confusion of this sort attends the observations of the sensitive who is sufficiently spiritualised to pass, by virtue of the attractions inherent in her own nature, into the higher spiritual plane when set free from the body by the mesmeric process. In these rare and magnificent cases, it is possible with such help to carry on investigations of sublime dignity, possibly even under some circumstances to investigate problems connected with the nature of the physical plane which are outside the range of ordinary observation. I do not mean problems relating to the physical plane destinies of people still in the flesh. Complications arise here which embarrass the psychic observer, as a superior control is exercised over all experiments of the lofty order that I am now describing, and for various reasons we are sometimes precluded from diving too deeply into the actual facts of the physical plane life in which we are immersed. But as regards the mysteries of physical nature, no such prohibitions come into play, and as a matter of fact psychic investigations have in many cases enlarged our apprehension of physical science to an extent which has con-

siderably out-run current enquiry on the physical plane. Information so acquired, indeed, is not very readily accepted by the scientific world at large, because it is so completely out of touch with recognised methods. But it leads those who are conducting experiments associated with psychic mesmerism to something resembling an appreciation of the possibilities attaching to consciousness on the spiritual plane.

An interesting limitation, indeed, comes into play in connection with investigations of this kind. The sensitive, last of all, is a being with qualifications commanding admiration along certain lines, but is not necessarily endowed with ordinary scientific attainments. In the absence of these, natural facts belonging to the category of those which may be described as scientific, will perhaps be outside her comprehension, whether on the one plane or the other, and thus although in presence of the solution that one seeks for, she may be quite unable to bring it back. Nor even in those cases where she is in touch, on the higher plane, with some more highly instructed personage, can the physical brain which is guiding the actual speech addressed to the mesmerist be rendered capable of transmitting ideas entirely outside the range of those which it would be possible for that brain to entertain in the waking state. Even, therefore, in reference to the more beautiful faculties I have been endeavouring to describe, embarrassments that arise are sometimes extremely tantalising, but these only present themselves to the student of somewhat advanced experience. For those who may be so far unfamiliar with the possibilities of the higher mesmerism, although qualified in other ways, to avail themselves of these possibilities, the opportunities they hold forth are of almost limitless grandeur and dignity. I need hardly say that such persons are not recommended by the present writer to try experiments for themselves until they have made a considerable study of the whole subject with the help of the very abundant literature gathered around it, and even if we grant all the conditions that are most favourable for such an undertaking, we have still to recognise that the mesmeric process, beautiful as it is in many of its aspects, is one which the more advanced humanity in the future will be able to dispense with altogether. When people have learned how to cultivate within

their own consciousness the faculties that enable them to cognise the higher planes of nature, as sooner or later the advanced representatives of mankind will undoubtedly do, they will have passed beyond all necessity for making use of the resources that mesmerism suggests. But an intervening period will no doubt come on when the crass ignorance concerning all super-physical things, which is at present unhappily characteristic of most of the cultivated people around us, shall have finally been illuminated by the light already available for those who seek it, but when the still higher developments of the future are still far off; in this intervening period mesmerism will most certainly play such a part in human affairs that its importance will be beyond the reach of exaggeration. Grand results will ensue when this state of things comes on, and serious perils will also have to be faced as those unworthy to exercise it come nevertheless to apprehend all that mesmerism in some of its worst manifestations may render possible. But few of the great achievements of human progress are entirely free from concurrent evils, and for the race to which we belong there is reason to hope that the forces of the higher morality may prove sufficiently powerful to combat the evil contaminations of the higher knowledge.

A. P. SINNETT.

INDIVIDUALISM.

EVER since Cain in the old Hebrew myth put forward his self-justifying plea, "Am I my brother's keeper?" men have been confronted with the problem, How far is one human being responsible for the conduct of another? And, as action is mainly determined by thought, How far is it our duty to try and modify each other's opinions, and how far is it possible to do so?

From his mode of birth, from his helplessness, and the manner in which he obtains nourishment in the first months of his existence, man is obviously, in his early stages, a very dependent animal ; and for the most part he continues so throughout life, living in herds, deriving his opinions from the common stock, and adapting his conduct, at all events in public, so as not to outrage his neighbour's feelings. Only here and there will be found a perverse individual whose instincts urge him to attack all that is, for the sheer love of opposition, to whom every convention is a windmill to tilt at, and who would possibly do a good deal of harm in the world if he could get people to take him seriously. For to assail conventions simply because they are conventions is about as foolish as to uphold them for the same reason ; the wise man, walking ever in the middle, will support all those which appear useful in themselves, not because they are conventions, but because they are useful, while those which seem to him pernicious he will brush out of his road as lightly as he would a bramble that crosses his path.

The history of mankind has been the history of the evolution of the individual. In early times the tribe was everything, the

man nothing ; all property, real as well as personal, was common ; it was held entirely just that the children's teeth should be set on edge for the sour grapes which the fathers had eaten, and that a murder should be avenged by the slaughter of any member of the murderer's family ; tribal responsibility was readily accepted for the wrong-doing of one of its members, and the blood feud was handed on from generation to generation till one tribe or the other was exterminated. In the tale of Troy we find a whole city cheerfully undertaking a long and costly war in defence of one of its members who had repaid the hospitality of a neighbouring king by running off with his wife and his property. No one seems even to have suggested, as would certainly have been done in our more civilised era, that it was impolitic as well as immoral to steal from those strong enough to protect. But as time went on, the natural disintegration took place : the father gave up the power of life and death over the son, and at the same time freed himself from responsibility for the son's conduct ; man learnt to look less to the tribe and more to himself ; becoming less the slave of custom, he determined the advisability of his own actions and took their consequences upon his own shoulders.

Such was the origin of individualism. It took long ages to bring it to birth—how cruelly slow Nature seems in the evolution of her higher products—and still it is but a tottering infant ; but every century sees an increasing number of those who dare to live their own lives, to think for themselves, and act as their own heads and hearts dictate. So long as a man fears, it matters little what he fears ; whether it be death or poverty or his next door neighbour, it is all one so long as the fear be vital. So long as a man is a slave, it is of comparatively little importance whether his master be a sugar planter, or a creed, or public opinion ; there are only the two classes, the slave and the free. It took the civilised world up to the Victorian era to abolish physical slavery—which even yet lingers in the darker corners of the earth—how many centuries will have to run before man gets rid of the still more cowardly craving to enslave the minds of his fellows ?

For there is far too much of the missionary spirit in humanity. All enthusiasts are prone to believe their light to be the light

of the world, to blow the trumpet and proclaim: "This is the way: walk ye in it"; not seeing that all furrows lead to the end of the field, and that to climb over the ridge into one's neighbour's furrow is but to delay one's arrival at the goal. Of all the sayings of the wise men of Greece the only one set up in letters of gold on the temple at Delphi was "Know thyself"; for the wisest of the ancients deemed that self-knowledge and self-control were of infinitely more importance than the investigation and management of their neighbours' affairs. For those who make it their prime object to influence their fellows will generally produce less effect upon them than those who strive first to regulate their own lives and thoughts, in which process they present an example to the world which generally proves far more potent than the precepts of the others. There is no truer or sadder fact in life than that no man may save his brother's soul; all his preachings will, at best, only make for his own salvation, and too often he will find that in his efforts to save others he has neglected the claims of that tiny fragment of the immortal which is himself.

It is the missionary spirit which is responsible for all the persecutions in the world; and it is only natural that a man who believes himself to be in possession of the only truth should try all means, even the cruellest, to get that truth accepted. If appeals to reason and threats of future fires will not avail to turn men into the road he believes to be the only right one, he is driven by his creed to the more convincing arguments of the thumbscrew and the stake. In fact, if it is his business to save his neighbour's soul, his use of these or any other means of compulsion is not merely justifiable, it becomes a positive duty. Wherefore it is well to see that those who, in their own opinion, possess the keys of salvation do not also become possessed of the keys of power; for if they do, they will inevitably become persecutors.

In the early stages of human evolution the social instinct was a quite necessary factor of progress, as were many other qualities which are now deemed undesirable, such as aggression, acquisitiveness, deceit, tyranny, all of which have played their part—and a very useful part—in the evolution of man, and, having done their work, are now rightly labelled "Vices," and regarded with disap-

probation—at all events when manifested in the individual, for international morality has hardly risen as yet to the same level. Accordingly, the fear of unpopularity, which was an enormous potent factor in uncivilised times, and certainly made for the welfare of the community, has nowadays about outlived its period of usefulness and is probably doing as much harm as good. In time it will be seen to be a hindrance to the further development of the race, and then that curious survival of the sheep stage of humanity, the man who cares more what his neighbour thinks of him than what he thinks of himself, who will cheerfully make mince-meat of the Ten Commandments provided he can keep the Eleventh intact, will consult the best interests of the race by dying out.

The individualist must, of course, expect to be called hard names: fortunately for the relief of the illogical, when arguments fail, there is in the language a wealth of epithets, the use of which is limited only by one's own notions of propriety. The first and most obvious of these to hurl at the individualist will be the term *Selfish*: the man who believes that his main work in the world is the development of his own character, of course, without injuring his neighbour's in the process, will most certainly be told that his is a selfish creed. He will probably reply that, were everyone to cultivate such selfishness, the world would be a very much happier place than it is; for there is an enormous expenditure of energy in altruistic endeavour which is entirely unproductive of good to any but the operator. He may add that he has been driven to try and save his own soul by finding the futility of his efforts to save those of others; and finally that a man's duty towards his neighbour has been summed up in the command to love him as oneself, which presumably does not mean to the exclusion of oneself, and indeed does not imply even a preference but merely an equality, so that self-sacrifice is as much a breach of morality as the sacrifice of another. For between the two extremes of entire disregard of one's neighbour's feelings and complete sacrifice of one's own comes the detached attitude of one who, stepping outside his own personality, can regard it as having an equal claim upon him with all other personalities. Either extreme is easier of attainment than this mid course of impartiality; and while it is no doubt to

the credit of humanity that there should be in every generation so many instances of self-denial and self-sacrifice, the credit is due rather to men's hearts than their heads, and, if experience has shown anything about morality, it is the futility of allowing either the feelings or the intellect to reign in solitary supremacy.

The words selfish and unselfish require a little analysis. At the first blush they seem to indicate the difference between the man who tries to please himself and the man who tries to please others; but, of course, this distinction is absurd. Every man tries to please himself; it is as imperative a law of nature that he should do so as that he should satisfy his hunger and thirst. In this sense the Good Samaritan who bound up the traveller's wounds was as selfish as the thieves who inflicted them; he sought happiness in his way, just as much as they did in theirs. The difference, in fact, is not to be found in the ultimate motive, which is simply self-gratification in all cases; it lies in this, that some natures find their keenest satisfaction in witnessing the happiness of others, or in thinking of it, while some find it in acts which produce no effect or an injurious one on their neighbours. Various reasons have been given for this very important difference between one man and another: it has been ascribed to (1) heredity, (2) environment, and (3) personality, together with any combinations of the three. In other words, two people may be different because they have had different ancestors or different training, or because each of them at birth brought his own character with him, whether derived, as the Buddhists say, from previous incarnations, or, as the Christians believe, from the mould in which it pleased God to fashion it at the moment of birth.

It is an astonishing thing that this problem has not been scientifically solved—indeed that no solution of it has ever been attempted. How far are the resemblances between parent and child due to the fact that children are most commonly brought up by their parents? If A. and B. could exchange families, how far would the little A.'s grow up like B., and the little B.'s like A.? Or, if both families were handed over to C., how far would it be possible to sort the two at the end of ten years? These are questions which lie at the very threshold of the study of man, and which are cheerfully leapt over by the believers in heredity.

It is easy for them to claim as proofs of their theory all those points in which a son resembles his father, and to attribute all those in which he differs to some convenient ancestor of whom nothing is known ; but it is hardly convincing. In each man's pedigree there have probably been saints and scoundrels, fools and wise men, cowards and heroes of every degree, so that it would be difficult to find any quality which might not be regarded as an off-shoot from some former generation. But heredity, to be of any value, must be something a good deal more definite than this.

Till the scientific world have made good their contention that all differences of character are directly attributable to heredity and environment, there will remain at least a possibility that they are due to no external cause, but to the fact that each man is an individual, however much his education, environment, and experiences may tend to shape him into conformity with those around him. Probably most people are acutely conscious at one time or another of this feeling of separateness ; it is a lofty thought, however sad, this thought that I am I, and by no strivings can I ever become another. What is sexual love in its essence but the craving of the two to become one, that longing of each to be merged in the other which is so pitifully futile ? The poet may write of the ecstasy "when soul is joined to soul," but none knows better than the poet that such union is but temporary, for most of us but momentary, a flash, a light, and we are ourselves again, and alone.

It is in this that the real pathos of marriage lies : two natures can only become one by the slaughter of one of them, which is no doubt an easy way out of the difficulty, and the way in which all "happy" marriages have solved the problem. One of the two is weaker than the other, or has a greater love for peace or hatred of "scenes," and for the sake of harmony sets to work to stifle his or her nature ; the double pronoun is needed, for it is by no means always the wife who becomes the cipher ; more often, perhaps, it is the other way, though the clever woman generally manages to conceal from the world, and often even from her husband, the fact that she has reduced him to a nonentity. The idea of two lives merging into one is no foolish dream, but the method whereby people try to realise it is nothing short of criminal. If there is

anything divine in man, it is his individuality, the feeling that he must be himself and live his own life, following the highest that he knows, and bearing with such cheerfulness as he can command the bruises which are always the allotted portion of those who walk outside the beaten track. Surely there can be no heavier crime against the great purpose of Nature than to give up this divine birthright, to yield one's will to another, to become the mouthpiece of alien thoughts, the reflection of another's mind. And yet it is so easy, so infinitely easier than to live day after day, year after year, with one of different tastes, different ideals, and a different creed from one's own.

It is not merely from the point of view of the earthen pitcher that this self-surrender is criminal; the brazen one suffers even more damage than the frailer vessel it has shattered. For self-sacrifice almost inevitably produces selfishness. It is proverbial that good husbands make bad wives, and good wives make bad husbands. Theologians would no doubt ascribe it to original sin; but, whatever be the cause, the fact remains that human nature is always prone to take advantage of kindness, and that the most careful self-scrutiny is needed by all who are encompassed with love and devotion, if they would save themselves from counting on and undervaluing that goodness which flows to them unasked. So real is this danger that we might almost say that only those couples who "do not get on well together" stand much chance of getting on at all.

If, then, it is true that to murder one's individuality is an immoral act, and to assert it continually before the person with whom one lives is anything from an annoyance to a torture, according to the temperament of the individual, the hardened celibates would seem to have ground for their assertion that theirs is the better—even if the less holy—state. And yet, under present social conditions, it is rarely that one can get an intimate knowledge of a person of the other sex except through the portals of matrimony; and obviously the man or woman who knows only his own sex has failed to make the best use of his life. All this tends to prove the folly of life-long unions; for although in certain rare cases they may promote the development of both the contracting parties, in the vast majority of instances they are merely

suicidal as tending to the extinction of one or other of them. Nature is no more responsible for life-long partnerships between men and women than she is for the distinctions of caste; both institutions owe their origin, or at all events their force, to the arrogant intrusion of the priesthood into the secular sphere; both have in their day been productive of a considerable amount of good, and are horribly cramping as man rises to a clearer view of his own possibilities of development.

But it is not only on behalf of the other contracting party that a husband or wife has been required to surrender his birth-right and consent to self-annihilation. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his remarkable book, "Mankind in the Making"—which, whether we accept its conclusions or not, "gives furiously to think"—lays down the astounding theory that each generation is to be regarded mainly as the producers and educators of the next. Up to the period of marriage a man and woman are allowed to consult their own wishes and act for themselves, but the birth of a child tolls the knell of their individuality, and thenceforth they have but to lead such lives as will most promote the welfare of their offspring. We can only feel thankful that the many men and women, who have done good work in the world after the birth of their children did not consider that their energies should be confined within the limits of the nursery and the schoolroom.

It is folly to suppose that Nature's great scheme can be furthered by any course of conduct which demands self-neglect; throughout the whole gamut of evolution her law has been self-development. Imagine a field of turnips in which each root devoted its energies to forwarding the growth of the others; but fortunately there is no missionary enterprise in the vegetable kingdom. There is plenty of work to be done by each with his own character, however long he has lived; let him cultivate his own garden, without troubling himself about his neighbour's, and he will be repaid a hundred-fold both in fruit and flowers. If he is thoroughly in earnest about himself, he will have no time or energy to spend in approving or disapproving of the rest of the world, much less in attempting its conversion to his own views. Even the simplest minds of to-day are so complex that it is an impossibility for an outsider to know them; the wise man may

feel tolerably certain what will please himself, he cannot feel equally sure what will please another. If he does unto others as he would have them do unto him, he will often get himself very much disliked. The Golden Rule is only suited for very primitive communities, for the days when men were as much alike as pennies from the mint (if such days ever were); to-day it is foolish to credit my neighbour with my tastes; to send him tickets for an organ recital or a prize fight, simply because such amusements appeal to me, is to run the risk of mortally offending him. My neighbour is no reflection of myself, and it is idle to look in my own heart to find what appeals to his.

Yet all this inevitable isolation is no argument for the hermit's life. On the contrary, the man who would cherish the divine spark within him must go about among his fellows, not in their interests but his own, mindful of the great truth that there is nothing wholly evil in the world, and that if anything seem to be so, the fault lies in his own eyes; so that it becomes him not to condemn what he fails to understand.

When the Delphic oracle declared Socrates to be the wisest of men, he could only explain its response on the ground that, while all men were ignorant, he was more fully conscious of his ignorance than the rest of the world. It is strange that after ages should revere a sage whose teaching was almost wholly destructive, who gave men no candle to light their way, but chiefly devoted himself to the extinction of such rushlights as they had. For we of to-day are all for the instruction of our neighbours, the management of their business, and the saving of their souls; and as a set-off against this somewhat superior attitude, we are a good deal more afraid of them than we are of ourselves, and most easily gain our own approval by winning theirs. Accordingly, we abstain from a number of perfectly harmless actions, lest our friends should misunderstand them, and neglect many opportunities of doing good for fear our enemies should attribute our conduct to some unworthy motive.

If men could only shake off this cowardice, and realise the strength which comes from respecting themselves more than their friends, the serenity which flows from living up to the light that is in them! So much harm is done by what is called "respecting

people's prejudices." If people insist on having prejudices with regard to what does not concern them, it is a friendly act to trample on those prejudices till they give up the ghost. If my eating meat cause my brother to offend, I shall do him a greater service by bidding him mind his own business, than by following the Apostle and becoming a vegetarian. That brave maxim of George Herbert's, "Feed no man on his sins," may be recommended to the notice of those well-meaning people who, under the guise of respecting the prejudices of others, confirm them in the right they have usurped to regulate the lives of their neighbours.

Life is no easy matter for those who are in earnest about it, for those whose eyes have once been opened to their own responsibilities, their own almost limitless power over themselves; but their way will be smoother when they have realised the hopelessness of trying to regulate other lives than their own, and have refused to allow that outer world which they cannot rule to tyrannise over them. For what are any of us but gropers in the dark, coming we know not whence, reaching forward to we know not what, conscious only that we have within us one little spark of the divine, which we may foster till it glows with transcendent light, or perchance extinguish altogether. But, whether bright or dim, it is the only lamp we have to guide us along the road of life. Is not the dust of the road thick enough already, that we should blind ourselves yet more by following in the track of another's wheels?

C. B. WHEELER.

THE TREATMENT OF BOYS AT SCHOOL.

I.

THE SEX DIFFICULTY.

OF ALL the problems that confront the schoolmaster there are none that give cause for more anxious thought than those connected with what is called school morality. These problems arise in some form in all schools, but especially in those here under consideration, in which boys are together between the ages of 12 and 18. In these, whether large or small, there will always be times when the dangers that especially beset this time of growth find an entrance, and have to be met, if they are not to spread their infection. I have no desire to paint a picture, however true, of the conditions of the school of which such infection has taken hold, nor to dilate upon its prevalence. My object is rather to show how I believe we must try to combat it, for it is a danger from which, arising as it does from the sexual development that is a necessary part of growth, no school can always be altogether free. I distrust the man who says that his school is absolutely free from all danger of this kind, just as I distrust the parent who says that he is confident that his boy is completely ignorant of these things, and so has never spoken to him on the subject. With all our care we cannot be sure that either a school or an individual boy will always escape the danger. For in the first place there is the natural curiosity of childhood to be allowed for, a curiosity which we may do our best to repress, but which we do

not thereby destroy—probably only turn into channels the less wholesome because hidden from us. And, secondly, we cannot, do what we will, hedge out all knowledge upon the great, and to the child deeply interesting subjects of birth and sex. Whatever our own attitude may be, we cannot direct that of all with whom he comes in contact; a chance word, something in a book, or something seen, may open his eyes and set him wondering. Accident alone may give rise to the habit or the knowledge of which we believe him ignorant. And, in any case, in the course of growth must come impulses that, misunderstood or misdirected, may bring untold trouble. And if the individual boy may at any time, even at home, be brought face to face with difficulties attendant upon sexual development, it is impossible for a school wholly and at all times to escape, where not only is it more difficult to guard against their entrance, but, if they enter, they may touch many.

What, then, are we to do? The easiest thing is, of course, to do nothing; to shut one's eyes to the possibilities of danger, and if harm comes that cannot be ignored, to hush the matter up, get rid of the offender, and go on as before. This, the traditional method, need only be stated to be dismissed. Nor is the method of preaching more satisfactory. To denounce evil is not to combat it; and to institute periodic inquisitions is not the way either to elicit truth or to touch the springs of motive. Neither method, I think, will number many open supporters nowadays. "Don't be a fool," the votary of common sense will urge, "but keep your mouth shut and your eyes open. See that your boys live a wholesome life, and go to bed tired out. It's your own fault if you don't see when anything goes wrong, and then will be time enough to talk." This I take to be the attitude of nine out of ten schoolmasters to-day; and it is a distinct advance on the other methods in that it takes account of the *conditions* of life as an important factor of the problem before us. "A wholesome life" is of course open to many interpretations. This is an age of commissions and conferences. Why do not doctors agree—or disagree if necessary, minority reports are sometimes the most helpful—on questions of food and clothing at school; the amount of sleep required at different ages; what constitutes overwork and

overplay ; the admission of sunlight and fresh air into class-rooms and dormitories ; the use and abuse of bathing, and so forth ; and the bearing of these things upon school morality ? And these are not only questions for doctors. We have to consider, too, the advantages and drawbacks, from this point of view, of separate cubicles and studies, and the other conditions imposed on the life of a school by what Thring used to call the "almighty wall." But even when we have given these things full consideration, and improved the conditions of school life up to the best of our lights, we must realise that these are not all ; that walls alone will not keep the enemy out, nor the most carefully planned time-table preclude all opportunity of going wrong ; and that no watchfulness, as I said above, can always and altogether prevent the approach of danger. I do not know that—except from the point of view of our own ease—we need regret it. Our ideal should not be in this any more than in other matters "a fugitive and cloistered virtue." A convent, even if it is all that it professes to be, is not the best training ground for character, or the best preparation for life. I do not mean to say that every boy must needs be put through the furnace that some of us have been through, or carry with him from school a burden of knowledge that he would fain forget. What I mean is that, as we cannot always keep him out of temptation, and as there are things that, if he does not know just as much as if he mislearns them, may lead him sadly astray, we have not done all our duty in setting him in wholesome conditions if we neglect the most important conditions of all, clean knowledge and right motive. We must not wait till he goes wrong, or rather, for this is what it comes to, till we happen to find out that he has gone wrong, before we explain, and warn, and help.

But who is to do this ? The schoolmaster says, and with some reason, that it is the duty of the parent, as having the child's confidence ; while the parent usually shirks the task, persuading himself that at home there is no danger, and that at school it is the schoolmaster's business. And both are right. The first person to enlighten a boy as to the meaning of sex should be his mother. If she from the first would answer simply and truthfully his childish questions, and if, as he grew older, she would

take, or make, opportunities to explain the facts more fully, associating them thus with his feeling towards herself, there would be the less likelihood of trouble later on, for other knowledge would be forestalled, and the whole subject associated with his best memories and feelings, instead of a sense of shame. Yet even this, immense gain as it would be, is not enough. The time when the boy begins to develop into the man, and has to face new difficulties and master new impulses, demands a fuller explanation of the physical change he is undergoing, and the misuse against which he has to guard. Is this to be the work of the father or the schoolmaster? However natural it may seem for the father to do this, the fact remains that many fathers, out of a very intelligible feeling of shyness, will not, and still more, however willing, cannot do so any more than they can teach their children successfully in other subjects. The result of the attempt is too often mere mystification. As a schoolboy puts it: "The Pater called me in and gave me a jaw, but I couldn't make out what he was driving at, and I was in too big a funk to ask." It is not only fathers whose well-meant attempts fail in this way; but my contention is that it is part of the duty of the schoolmaster to train himself in this, as in the rest of his teaching, and to bring to it no less insight and sympathy than he would wish to bring to the teaching of Latin or of cricket. The preparatory schoolmaster, so it seems to me, cannot feel that he has done his whole duty by a boy, unless he sends him on equipped with knowledge enough to protect himself from being misled or from falling into wrongdoing from ignorance of what it means; and unless, too, he has endeavoured to arouse in him a sense of truer manliness. And similarly, I cannot think that, at a later stage, we have done our work, unless we have assured ourselves that a boy understands the difficulties he must sooner or later face, both in his own experience and in his relations towards others; and unless we have done our best to establish a motive for conduct stronger than the impulses he has to master.

But is not this, it will be urged, the very way to put ideas into a boy's head that otherwise, in most cases, need never come there? Perhaps. Whether it is true to say that in most cases but for this the subject need never force itself on a boy's

notice, may well be doubted. At least we can never, as I have already urged, be sure of this ; and the all-important thing is, not that these things should not come into his consciousness—it is surely most necessary that sooner or later, if he is to be a good citizen and a good father, they shall—but that they should come in the right way rather than the wrong, and from the first be associated with self-control and social duty. But, a second objector will say, if you talk to a boy in this way, can you be sure that you will get the truth from him, or that he will not go away merely confused, or, worse still, either wounded in his self-respect or secretly ridiculing your ideas and you ? One can only be sure that it depends chiefly on oneself, on what one says, and still more on how one says it. If we don't speak plainly enough to be understood, or if we try to frighten him by painting the results of "sin," we shall probably do little but harm. It needs the most matter-of-fact treatment, and it needs sympathy. We have to make the boy realise that these are difficulties that he, like the rest of us, has to face ; that the knowledge of the sex-functions of the body and their possible abuse is just as clean as any other knowledge, and as necessary for the right conduct of his life ; and we have to enlist his feelings, as well as his reason, on the right side. All depends on keeping the subject, from first to last, perfectly natural and wholesome, and associating it with his best feelings ; first and foremost with his home-love—especially the love of mother and child, and the facts of motherhood, on which it rests—and the thought of future fatherhood and its obligations ; and, secondly, with his love of his school, his pride in it, and his own share in the making and keeping of its worth, and his desire of helpfulness, the ideal of public service, that is one of the best traditions of our schools and the pride of our race. There are few boys to whom these things do not in some degree appeal ; not to all alike, but that is precisely where the skill and interest of teaching lie. And it is by this appeal to the individual that we can hope to establish and maintain a sound and active public opinion—what is sometimes called the "tone" of the school—which is the only sure and real guarantee of school morality. With all our watchfulness we can never, I must repeat, keep a school free in perpetuity from bad influence ; we cannot even be

sure of giving help at the precise moment when it is most needed. What we can hope to do is to establish, as I said, such a "public opinion" on the subject, based on clean knowledge and the good feeling of the majority, as will not let bad influences, when they appear, work unchecked. The character and strength of this public opinion depends mainly, of course, on the influence of those in authority, or rather, perhaps one should say, of those in most estimation, among the older boys ; but not so entirely as we are apt to suppose. Heaven help the school in which the leaders are weak, or indifferent, or led astray ; but this at least we can prevent, if we will. Our commonest difficulty is likely to be with those who are not yet of an age to think for themselves, or to realise their responsibilities towards others. If it is with the older, the actual leaders, that our work will be most far-reaching in its effects, it is with these others that it is most needed.

My conclusion, is, therefore, that not only must we talk frankly to boys about all this matter, but that a talk on one occasion, such as the first going to school, or at Confirmation, is not enough. It is the mother who can best lay the foundation of all such knowledge, but the father, or more often in his place the preparatory schoolmaster, has his part to see that the boy is aware of dangers that he will almost certainly have to face in the course of his school life. Again, when the critical period of development is reached it is well, I have tried to show, for the schoolmaster, alike for the sake of the boy and of the school, to enter into the subject more fully, both in its personal and social aspect, especially emphasising the latter as the boy comes to have a position of responsibility. In this way, I believe, it is advisable to speak with all boys, not to preach or lecture or talk vaguely, but so far as possible to gain the boy's confidence, and to give him such help as he needs at each stage of growth. And in this way alone, I believe, can the moral difficulty in the school be met. I do not mean that external conditions do not matter. I believe that they have not yet received half the attention they deserve. I believe, for example, that we shall some day come to see that amongst the conditions of a wholesome school-life (and for girls no less than boys) one of the most helpful, from our present standpoint, is co-education. No one reading the reports of the recent Mosely

Educational Commission to America can fail to be struck by the admission of men, not otherwise favourably disposed towards co-education, that so far from the presence together of the sexes at all ages increasing the sex-difficulty, it does much to remove it. It is the head master of one of our public schools who writes that in the co-educational schools he visited, "there is an absolute absence (I might well add disappearance) of sexual strain." But I am aware that it can only appear paradoxical to suggest co-education as a means of combating the evil in our schools, and I am far from supposing that it could be of any avail, or should even be tried, except under favourable conditions and with such watchfulness and help as I have been postulating. The two things that are necessary in every school, if we are to tackle in earnest the most difficult of school problems, are, first, that we should think out the conditions that tell for and against a wholesome life; and, secondly, that we should not rely upon externals alone, but upon a sound and efficient force of public opinion, the creation and maintenance of which we should regard as the greatest of our opportunities, and not the least test of our fitness for the work we have undertaken.

"A dangerous doctrine to put in practice," I seem to hear the reader say. For answer I will borrow words which, though I find them in another connection, seem to me to apply with special force to this school problem: "Yes," I said, "but I fear that life itself is a dangerous thing, and nothing we can do will make it safe. Our only hope is courage and sanity."

J. H. BADLEY.

THE TREATMENT OF BOYS AT SCHOOL.

II.

WHAT OUGHT TO BE TAUGHT.

WE may all recognise the great principle that school education should, for its main purpose, be concerned rather with the formation of character and the preparation of the mind for future study, than with any specific instruction in this or that department of knowledge. But in so far as school teaching must concern itself with some definite subjects, the question, "What ought to be taught?" is one that can hardly be deemed unimportant. For English students of the educational problem, of course, the question inevitably plunges us into the midst of the old controversy as to the relative value of classical as compared with scientific training. It is hardly necessary to restate the hackneyed arguments on both sides, but a very important body of evidence bearing upon the dispute has lately been furnished to the world in the shape of the Mosely Commission Report. This Commission, consisting of some five-and-twenty experts in all departments of educational work, has, at the cost and charges of a generous enthusiast, Mr. Mosely, investigated the educational methods prevailing in the United States; and though the reports themselves—for each member supplies his own, besides contributing to one of collective authority,—are more descriptive of American methods than controversial, they bring out very plainly some few facts that can hardly fail to have an important bearing on the judgment to be

reached concerning the educational methods of this country. In one case, indeed, Professor Rhys implies some sympathy with the old-established theory that the study of the classical languages invests the student with a more elevated species of mental culture than can be attained in any other way. Of course, at present, in America the classical languages are almost completely neglected, if we compare the university systems of the United States with our own. But Professor Rhys thinks that when the rush to become rich has somewhat abated, a larger class in America will be able to afford their children the advantages to be derived from studying the ancient masterpieces of Grecian literature. This remark begs the question at issue. Are the mental advantages referred to superior in their nature to those derived from the studies actually carried out? That at present the mental activity of the country is due in a large measure to the practical character of school and collegiate teaching, comes out plainly from nearly all the reports of the series. Moreover, every member of the Commission seems to have been struck by the extraordinary zeal of American students,—even of those who may still be called children,—in the prosecution of their studies at school. The boys are brought up on a mental diet that is not merely conducive to their ultimate success in the practical affairs of life, but on one which is pleasant to the taste, so to speak, while it is being consumed. The boy fed on the Latin grammar loathes his food as a rule, and comes to hate the whole business of study accordingly. It may be difficult to estimate the extent to which the intellectual progress of a nation is retarded by a system which establishes a disgust for study as the fundamental sentiment of the upper classes, but the terrible significance of that sentiment is beyond misunderstanding. We need not assume that the zeal for learning shown by the American boy is due to any peculiarity of national character. He is a bright pupil because his teachers interest him. There is no teacher living who could interest an ordinary boy in Latin declensions.

It is impossible for any conscientious reader of the Mosely Commission Report to avoid feeling, that however little they directly attack conventional English views as to the value of classical teaching, they have undermined the whole position

represented by the established educational institutions of this country to quite an extraordinary degree.

And another thought must be allowed to exercise an ever increasing influence on the question "what boys should be taught." Whatever value we may attach to the influence on the mind of Greek thought or Latin poetry, it must be allowed, in view of the abundant facilities the modern world possesses for appreciating that thought in modern language, and for realising every idea in ancient poetry, which loses nothing but its external grace in translation, that the value of classical knowledge as contributing to mental culture is diminishing as time goes on, while on the other hand, the value of the mental development ensuing from the study of nature's loftier mysteries, as science advances, is to even a more remarkable extent continually on the increase. Even in the days of Francis Bacon, he, at all events, had already come to the conclusion that the human mind could not advance on the basis of classical study alone, that it was necessary to interrogate nature by scientific experiment, and to commence the illumination of human intelligence on entirely new principles. Later generations have in one way faithfully worked out the great idea he inaugurated. Modern science has reached a comprehension of the natural forces under-lying the physical world, to an extent which broadens and emancipates human thought beyond all possibilities that can have dawned 300 years ago even on Bacon's mind. But strange to say, the great educational institutions that have continued to exist ever since, have remained rooted in the traditions which he so boldly assailed. Learning in Bacon's time meant nothing but the faculty of dealing with other tongues. In a very limited degree the ideas embodied in those other tongues were allowed to dissolve themselves in the learned mind, but only to a very limited degree, and in truth, the appreciation in the later cultured world of the thoughts embodied in Greek philosophy might perhaps be traceable much more to the influence of translation than to the fruit of original study. But however this may be, the point just emphasised is one of supreme significance in regard to the fundamental question as to what study should be made use of as the instrument of education.

The value of the more practical scientific training favoured by

the American methods as estimated in dollars or pounds, is indisputable in America, as interesting tables in the Mosely Report establish. The money-earning capacity of men rises in proportion to the dignity of the educational course they have been enabled to pursue. It would, of course, be impossible to show the same results by any comparison of middle class technical and upper class classical education in this country, but we may grant that money-earning capacity is no measure of culture. On general principles, what body of knowledge conveyed into the mind is best qualified to engender within that mind a volume of thought that can be regarded as elevating and dignified? Perhaps while scientific knowledge remained on the level where it still lay—rather than stood—in the Elizabethan period, the study of language in itself may have been a better mental training than could be supplied by the vague and chaotic conjectures that surrounded the groping of the period in the direction of natural knowledge. But now, with every region of nature's activity brilliantly illuminated by achievement and discovery, so that alone in any one of a dozen paths of study a man may spend the whole energies of a life-time, the value of scientific work as a mental exercise, apart altogether from the tangible results obtained, would be represented on a diagram by an upward soaring curve, approximating to a right angle with the flattened line below representing the stationary value, as a mental exercise, of mere devotion to grammar.

In this country, the old-established institutions are resolving themselves very slowly into newer forms, but the change must come about unless we are destined, as a race, to play no further part in the progress of civilization; unless we are contented to be left behind in the onward march of progress, representing, in connection with the idea of culture, something resembling senile decay. We need not expect or desire that classical knowledge shall become extinct amongst us, but it is distinctly to be desired in the interests of real educational progress, of real natural culture, that the condition of things at present prevailing should be reversed. So far, in the classes privileged to enjoy the highest education, a man feels somewhat ashamed to display complete classical ignorance, but is in no way ashamed of being totally destitute of scientific knowledge. The condition of things which

should be established would be one in which a man of the upper classes would blush to misunderstand the meaning of a technical phrase for example, associated with spectroscopic research, but would be free from any feeling of embarrassment in connection with frank inability to understand a quotation from Horace. The literary enthusiast would still devote himself to Horace or Homer, after acquiring the necessary mental equipment of a gentleman in connection with scientific research, if the eccentricities of his own taste led him to pay attention to extinct languages.

M. R. I.

THE TREATMENT OF BOYS AT SCHOOL.

III.

SPARING THE ROD.

IT is not strange that the treatment of boys at school should be a matter of interest to almost everyone. To those who are parents the question is presented afresh each holiday time, and even the aged bachelor may have vivid recollection of awkward moments, when school discipline was even for him a topic of pressing and enthralling interest.

For in the stupid masculine mind "discipline" is invariably associated with punishment of one kind or another. Recent inquiries would seem to show that this is not at all the case in girls' schools. There, we are told, "in a well managed school the question of punishments need not arise. Rules are few and simple, and discipline is preserved by the force of character displayed by the head-mistress."

Well, this may be true, but, if so, it is only one more proof of the enormous superiority of the so-called weaker sex. In boys' schools, at any rate, even those head-masters who have displayed the greatest possible "force of character" have been obliged to have recourse to what their feminine compeers would, perhaps, be inclined to call brutal and disgusting compulsion. Against one form of compulsion—the authorised use of the cane or birch—there has sprung up in recent years a strong prejudice, possibly having its origin in feminine sentiment on the subject.

We are told that corporal punishment is "brutalising," a "return to the methods of barbarism," a "sure means of destroying the confidence which ought to exist between master and boy," and so on. And when the poor schoolmaster, deprived by this sentiment of his "magic wand," asks how he is to maintain his power and authority, he is met by a host of suggestions. It is admitted that he, being a mere man, can never hope to reach those academic heights, where "force of character" is in itself sufficient, and so, to accommodate his weakness, it is suggested that he may set "lines" (and thus really punish his victim by spoiling his handwriting for life), or he may "keep his class in" (depriving them, that is, of the air and exercise which are essentials of their existence), or else, recognising the folly of this, he may give them extra drill, and thus incidentally bring the Cadet Corps into hatred and contempt, and check the growth of youthful patriotism. As a matter of fact, all these expedients are failures, and every schoolmaster knows it. If a boy sets himself deliberately to defy a master before the assembled class (and here we must lament again the fact that boys are so inferior to girls in these matters), it will not be of much use to write him down for an hour's drill. The simplest and most effective plan, when reft of that ready and unassuming instrument of castigation, the cane, is to "punch the head" of the offender, or, as a Yorkshire schoolmaster preferred to put it, "fill his eye."

And this, or something like it, the fond parent will be shocked to hear, is what is commonly done.

Where canes have been long tabooed, this "head-punching" has been developed into something very like a science. At one London school a name was invented for certain well-directed strokes of clenched knuckles on the victim's cranium. They were called "owls," a name which according to some was a reference to Minerva's bird, these being stepping-stones to wisdom, or as others preferred, it was a Cockney corruption of the sounds which accompanied them. Now, whether this substitute for the cane is altogether to the advantage of the victim is much to be doubted. It might be thought that the contest between the knuckles of the master and the skull of the boy was not an unequal one. But no doubt there is a great deal of truth in the complaint of a York-

shire parent on this score : " I shouldn't ha' minded his bein' beat with a cane on the hands or t'otherwise, but to go an' choose t' *weakest part* of t' poor lad's body—nay, mon, 'twarn't raight." For masters who recognise the force of this plea there are other methods open, such as ear " boxing," or pulling, or the application of an occasional judicious kick. Moreover, the taboo does not seem to apply to rulers and walking-sticks, and these are sometimes used as excellent substitutes for the time-honoured cane or birch.

Now, all this will probably be news to the average British parent. He (or she) has heard from the lips of the head-master that " corporal punishment has been abolished," and so has been able to rest in peace.

But what does the head-master's statement mean? It means, in the majority of cases, that assistant masters have been deprived of their canes, and are therefore compelled (sometimes in actual self-defence) to use fists or boots. It does not mean that all bodily punishment has been abolished, but simply that a legal and authorised, and on the whole salutary, form of it has been superseded by other methods, irregular and unofficial, and in many cases infinitely more painful and injurious to the sufferers.

The folly of this squeamish shrinking from the infliction of pain is clearly seen from the fact that in many schools it has been deemed advisable to hand on the masters' disused canes to the prefects, in order to check bullying. Whether it is altogether wise thus to set prefects on a higher level of trustworthiness than assistant masters is surely doubtful, but at least the practice bears eloquent testimony to the fact that a regulated form of punishment, and the use of a recognised instrument, is to be preferred to a state of things where every man has to invent for himself some extraneous and unrecognised expedient for enforcing discipline.

It is really astonishing what ingenuity in the matter of punishments will be displayed by a modern master, who has been parted from his handy, commonplace, and, on the whole, harmless cane. In the London school before mentioned, a master, who was gifted with a certain grim humour, invented what he called a "sardine-box." All the members of his class who broke down in

their home-lessons (sometimes fifteen or more), were crowded into a space between two cupboards about a yard square, and those on the outside were carefully and scientifically kicked, until the pressure in the centre rivalled that of a bale of cotton or the Black Hole of Calcutta. Another method was called the "rabbit-hutch." A small boy was crammed into the foot-space of the master's desk, where he was not only in a very uncomfortable position, but was also conveniently placed for receiving sundry kicks, whenever he dared to shift his cramped limbs.

Now it is not to be imagined that the master who invented these tortures was a fiend incarnate, bent on out-rivalling Mr. Squeers of hated memory. On the contrary, he was a scholar and a gentleman, a real lover of literature, and one to whom many besides the present writer owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. He was, perhaps, a little hot-tempered, but the schoolmaster's is a trying life, and certainly no one could ever have accused him of bearing malice. The pity of it is to see such a man as this, deprived by a foolish sentiment of a natural and legal method of maintaining order, and so reduced to inventing methods which, however much redeemed by humour, were in many cases distinctly harmful to the health of those who endured them.

And where the master is not of this stamp, where, on the contrary, he has in him something of the tyrant's nature, the results of removing a method of punishment, open and easily controlled, are still more disastrous. Another schoolmaster literally called the powers of darkness to his aid. He was accustomed to range his pupils round the room with their eyes shut, and one hand held out, while he heard their repetition. Anyone who was too overcome by this combination of darkness and dread to remember his lines, felt the weight of an enormous ruler on his outstretched palm. The result was that one continuous wail ascended to heaven, and his classroom received the name of the *Campi Lugentes*. He had a further amiable trick of occasionally seizing a boy by both ears and bumping his head against the wooden partition. But this could not often be resorted to, as it disturbed the slumbers of a neighbouring colleague.

There are many other "methods" in vogue, such as compelling offenders to stand or kneel in uncomfortable attitudes, or

cultivating an unerring aim with Liddell and Scott lexicons. But any schoolboy will be able to supply countless instances of this modern art.

But it will be asked, if all these iniquities are being carried on in modern schools, how is it that so little is heard of them ? The boys themselves must know that they are illegal—why do they not complain to the headmaster or to their parents ? With regard to the headmaster, the reason is that no boy likes to earn the reputation of being a “sneak.” Of course, it is not so dire an offence against schoolboy sentiment to complain of a master, as it would be to sneak of a school-fellow ; but still, even masters have their subordinate place in a boy’s code of honour.

As for the parents, it would seem that they themselves are to a large extent responsible for the conspiracy of silence that reigns in this matter. There are certain cherished convictions of the British parent which it is considered “bad form” to upset. Almost every middle-aged Englishman will tell you that things have altered very greatly, and for the better, since the days when he was at school. Conservative himself, he imagines that everyone else, and even human nature itself, is revolutionary. According to him there is no longer any bullying or corporal punishment at school, no drunkenness at the Universities, and no “ragging” in the Guards. And his fidelity to these beliefs is so determined and so pathetic, that the younger generation resolves to leave him undisturbed in the possession of his comforting faith. And so if an occasional bold spirit ventures to tell him the truth, he is totally unprepared for it, and treats the revelation as the lying invention of some mean-spirited cur. That is one reason why the British parent remains in ignorance of the real state of things in regard to corporal punishment.

But another reason is that the schoolboy himself, at any rate of the upper classes, is a rational being, possessed of no small amount of common sense. He sees that it is quite impossible for the average master to control a class of twenty or thirty high-spirited boys without the occasional use of a discipline somewhat sterner than that of a girls’ school. He sees also that a silly prejudice has deprived the master of his ordinary and natural means of defence, the ferule. And so, with the English sporting

instinct, he agrees that his preceptor ought to have some means of getting even with his foes (foes, be it observed, for alas! in spite of Sir Joshua Fitch, the schoolboy prefers to keep up the ancient feud, and obstinately refuses to recognise in the modern pedagogue a "guide, philosopher, and *friend*"). Even though he sees that the substituted punishments, the ear-boxings, and the thumps and the kicks, are infinitely more injurious to him than the strokes from a cane, yet he puts up with them on the principle that "poor old So-and-so must do *something*, you know, when the beggars cheek him."

The evil, then, goes on, and is none the less harmful because we hear so little of it. Every now and then an elementary, or even a grammar school teacher is summoned for "assaulting," *i.e.*, for inflicting unauthorised corporal punishment on some small boy. But, instead of asking whether the punishment was fairly and squarely administered with a good sound cane, the magistrate generally regards it as a sufficient excuse if the defendant pleads that he "only used his hand to the boy." Surely it would be better if we gave up the farce of pretending that corporal punishment no longer exists in our schools. A wiser course would be to look facts in the face, and to regulate that punishment according to humane but sensible principles.

Caning is a punishment which, while causing real discomfort to the wrongdoer and thus acting as a deterrent, does least bodily harm, and is easily regulated in the interests of humanity.

There would be no fear in these days of our returning to the methods of that flogging head-master of whom Charles Lamb tells us that it was fortunate that the cherubs who came to bear him to Paradise had no *bodies* to tempt his sublunary infirmities. The modern schoolmaster, deprived by our "perverted pity" of his cane, would still be equal to the occasion—he would use his fists, and even cherubs have *heads*.

As for the nonsense about caning "destroying the confidence between boy and master," it is far more likely to bring about a healthy relation between them, when both know that the punishment is administered according to a recognised and legal system. There can be nothing more injurious to the health and well-being of the boys, and to the morals of the master, than those irregular

expedients for enforcing discipline to which the pedagogue is reduced if he would avoid running counter to the prevailing prejudice of the hour.

If we wish to restore a healthy tone to our schools, and to cope with that growing unrest and insubordination which is fast becoming a national peril, if, moreover, we wish to put a stop to a state of things which is dangerous for the ruled and unsatisfactory for the rulers, the first step is to restore to the schoolmaster those useful and wholesome instruments the cane and the birch. Then there will once again be a meaning in Hood's famous motto for pedagogues :—

“Palmam qui meruit ferat.”

E. M. GIRLING.

THE TREATMENT OF BOYS AT SCHOOL.

IV.

GAMES AND WASTE OF NATIONAL TISSUE.

IN a general way success, moral or material, is usually commensurate with the sum of energy put into the achievement. "In the long run men hit what they aim at," and since this is so the astonishing energy put into the getting of goals on the football field is likely to include a proportionate subtraction from the energy that properly belongs to goals of a more essential kind. One finds it so in fact as well as in logic. The head-master of one of the most successful of the newer public schools told me that a large proportion of boys who had confessed to him their difficulties, agreed that their absorption in games, whether they chiefly played or watched or even read of games, made it practically impossible for them to keep their thoughts on any serious subjects. Again, a don at Oxford, who took records of these things, proved that athletes—though they were much above the average in intelligence, being altogether men of superior tissue—almost never reached the absolute highest achievements. Mr. Kipling, in some rhyming lines which contained a half-truth, forcibly, if grossly put, illustrated the deficiency from the military force of the nation involved in the pursuit of athletics of all sorts. But the waste is more implicit than this. The absorption in military affairs in Germany represents a waste of tissue exactly analogous to the waste of thought on athletics in England. In the long run a nation hits what it aims at, and now in England an enormous proportion of the male and female population allows

its best thoughts to circle round one form or another of game. Those who cannot play, watch, and those who cannot watch follow games in the press and bet on results. The effect on the national progress is mathematically demonstrable, and is peculiarly fatal because this emphasis on games is greatest amongst those whose characters are in the forming. I always enjoy the Eton and Harrow match, but, at the same time, I believe the tendency of which this match is the symbol to be wholly bad. Schools should play each other on school grounds, with as little outside fussiness as possible. But we have had recently regrets from many head-masters that their schools should be allowed to play in London, a school racquet match is established in London, the London Athletic Club has now a schoolboys' race, and an international schoolboys' race was recently held abroad.

To some extent there is great waste of physical tissue, and the old athlete is sometimes highly inferior to the ex-smug, simply because he has developed himself in his youth above his natural capacity. In America the collapse both moral and physical of ex-athletes has been lamentable in several striking instances, and lately in England a most unhappy number of old oarsmen have suddenly, at the first onset of disease, lost strength and life. Nevertheless, I believe that in England, where we are free from the worse exercise of American athletes—our football players do not lie down on the field and cry, nor our runners spend weeks in hydropathic training establishments—the danger taking the whole field is not chiefly physical. As a rule old athletes are still athletes. Nor, except in the case of the huge crowds who spend vicarious interest on league football, is it directly moral in spite of the more than rapid methods of going out of training. The menace is rather this, that we have, say, 90 per cent.—the proportion can hardly be lower—of the youth of England utterly absorbed in football and cricket. Recreations are a business; and this business of recreations deducts the zest of interest from proper subjects of individual and national progress. Boys who used to give play to inventive genius never find out their faculty because their spare moments have been busy—I quote a real example—in “getting up” the doings of professional billiard players and making tables of League matches. Boys with

a faculty of observation, once fostered in a sort of natural nature study, lose it wholly on the unproductive soil of the playing field. The influence in school goes to the best athlete, and it is a probable conclusion that his own eminence in athletics prevents him from taking proper thought for the proper exercise of his influence, and makes him feel a certain disrespect for those whom he thinks of as smugs, the smugs who are conserving their tissue, though they may overdo the conservature not less than the athlete indulges in excessive expenditure. Who does most for the nation, turns out the most effective citizen in the sequel, the smug or the athlete? The schoolboy smugs are in a very small minority of the total school population, but I see a great many ex-smugs who have kept and developed the power and character which I know many ex-athletes to have to some extent destroyed, and the smugs are become the more eminent and valuable citizen.

I would not suggest the surrender of games. I believe firmly that games have in the past proved an invaluable training, and, personally, with most who have enjoyed games, I have every desire to play games as long and as well as I may. But the excess of games I know to be gross and disastrous. To see 100,000 people crammed into the cockpit at the Crystal Palace, surging and screeching with excitement at the evolutions of twenty-two paid players who individually represent no particular district, is an object lesson in National degeneration. And this professionalism, this League, is a symptom of the extravagant and perverted indulgence in athletics which, among amateurs, is conspicuous in the United States. I know of professional runners, a few years ago, models of physical perfection, who are now wrecks of humanity, whose sole occupation is begging for drinks, and in less extreme cases the deterioration is likely to be similar when boys and men become so absorbed in games that they have no fund of interest to fall back on as a practical and intellectual prop,—no hearth of thought at which to sit.

How to prevent the excess is another question. But education that is worth anything should include some staple outdoor interest other than games; and though compulsory games may be necessary, compulsory abstinence from games, and yet more from sporting papers would be not less valuable.

W. BEACH THOMAS.

PROFESSOR MENDELEEF'S CONCEPTION OF THE ETHER.

THE scientific world has from time to time been under the influence of various theories concerning the Ether. We need not go very far back to come in contact with a period when one such theory was to the effect that no such thing existed. That is only the inverted statement of the fact that up to the middle of the last century the ether was always referred to as a "hypothetical" medium invented to account for some phenomena that could not otherwise be explained. Then by degrees, as the undulations of light came to be more closely and exactly studied, it was seen to be entirely impossible to do without ether, but the attributes assigned to it were bewildering and contradictory in a very extraordinary degree. At one time a favourite illustration used to account for some of its properties, compared it to a jelly pervading all space, mobile but incompressible. For a long while this conception so far held its ground that the ether was resolutely denied the molecular or atomic structure supposed to belong to all other material bodies. In the course of a lecture at the London Institution in 1880, Sir Oliver Lodge summed up existing knowledge on the subject in these terms:—

"As far as we know it appears to be a perfectly homogeneous incompressible continuous body, incapable of being resolved into simpler elements or atoms; it is, in fact, continuous, not molecular. There is no other body of which we can say this, and hence the properties of ether must be somewhat different from those of ordinary matter. But there is little difficulty in picturing a continuous substance to ourselves, inasmuch as the molecular and porous nature of ordinary

matter is by no means evident to the senses, but is an inference of some difficulty.

"Ether is often called a fluid, or a liquid, and again it has been called a solid, and has been likened to a jelly because of its rigidity; but none of these names are very much good; all these are molecular groupings and therefore not like ether; let us think simply and solely of a continuous frictionless medium possessing inertia, and the vagueness of the notion will be nothing more than is proper in the present state of our knowledge."

That view of the subject seems to have held its own up to a recent period, and perhaps has not yet been recognised as overthrown by any general consensus of scientific opinion. The first serious challenge directed against the homogeneous theory was that embodied within the last twelve months by Professor Osborne Reynolds in the course of his somewhat startling contributions to the literature of the Royal Society. He adopts a distinctly molecular theory of the ether, but one which is very far from ranging it side by side with any other molecular fluid with which we are acquainted. Our purpose for the moment, however, is not to attempt the extremely difficult task of epitomising Pro. Reynold's views. No matter how striking some of the evidence he advances on its behalf may be, the whole body of speculation which his theory represents, has quite lately been swept aside by the great Russian chemist, Professor Mendeléef, who has published a short essay entitled "An Attempt towards a Chemical Conception of the Ether."

The course of his speculation will be interesting in a high degree to all students of science. His great reputation as the discoverer of the Periodic Law discernable in the characteristics of the chemical elements, and the estimation in which his work has been generally held, will render it impossible for anyone to treat his present conception with indifference, severely even as it may strain some long established impressions. Summing up his present argument very briefly, he regards the ether as in effect an ultra-rarified gas, distinctly molecular in its character, and endowed with a molecular velocity, which renders it indifferent to the gravitational influence, not merely of the planets, but of the suns in space. There is no half-hearted ambiguity in his declaration. A few sentences selected here and there from the present essay will show how boldly he has declared his belief.

"The ether may be said to be a gas like helion or argon, incapable of chemical combination."

"In calling ether a gas, we understand a fluid in the widest sense, an elastic fluid having no cohesion between its parts."

Mendeléef has arrived at these conclusions under the influence of thoughts suggested by the recent study of radio-active bodies. But he describes his present conclusions as resulting from an "extrapolation" of the periodic law. "Extrapolation" is a somewhat unfamiliar word, but it signifies the mental process which assumes that a law holding good up to a certain point will hold good in regions beyond experimental investigation. As for the Periodic Law, very familiar under that title to all students of chemistry, it may be worth while here briefly to explain that its main significance is as follows:—If we group the known chemical elements in successive series of sevens, in the order of their increasing atomic weights, the seventh of each series will correspond in its most striking chemical characteristics with the sevenths of other series. Each note of the octave, in fact, has a note in the octave above with which it is in unison. Now, hitherto, hydrogen has been taken as the first note of the first octave, and the law represented by the grouping he adopts is so abundantly confirmed that Mendeléef in his present essay ventures to speak of it as an absolute law. Now, however, that we have to take into account various gases that were unknown at the time the periodic law was first enunciated, those which Professor Ramsay has discovered in the atmosphere, Argon, Crypton, Xenon, and the rest,—besides the all-important Helium, which encourages us to believe that in time we shall also get hold of Coronium,—Mendeléef has been encouraged to extrapolate the periodic law backwards, so to speak, and to establish in the rear of the hydrogen group one which he now calls the "zero" group, which actually, if his bold guess is to be relied on, carries us back to a substance, called "X" for the moment, which *is*, in point of fact, atomic ether. Another as yet conjectural element belonging to the zero group, to be called "Y" for the present, would be Coronium, or some other gas with a density of about 0.2.

As regards "X" itself, Mendeléef quotes, apparently without objecting to the idea, conclusions which he says Lord Kelvin

arrived at some time ago in attempting to estimate the theoretical weight of the ether. It might perhaps be urged that to assign weight to a body the characteristics of which enable it to triumph over the laws of gravitation is somewhat unreasonable, but at all events, the figures used help us to realise the scientific conception of rarity as applied to the ether. Lord Kelvin's estimate is as follows:—"While a cubic meter of hydrogen would weigh 90 grs. under atmospheric pressure, the weight of a cubic meter of ether would be 0.000,000,000,000,000 1 grm."

Expressed in words that would mean that a cubic meter of ether would weigh a thousandth part of a million-millionth part of a gramme. As the gas to which this mass is assigned becomes by current hypothesis the medium by means of which the forces of gravitation are exercised, the anomalous nature of the calculation is very bewildering.

Nor is it our purpose at present to put forward arguments in its favour. The great interest of Mendeléef's present conception, from the point of view of those who at the same time may watch scientific progress and also give an ear to the discoveries of occult science, turns on this remarkable fact. That the conception of the ether now put forward by the great Russian chemist was explicitly anticipated about nine years ago by certain explanations published at that time in Theosophic literature, as the result of a special research carried out by certain occult students endowed with the necessary clairvoyant faculties in reference to the constitution of matter. The results of this research are described in the periodical now called the *Theosophic Review*, then published under its earlier name *Lucifer*, for November 15th, 1895. Imperfectly developed as it was, and interrupted by circumstances that impeded its further progress, this research not merely led to the appreciation of the ether along lines very closely corresponding with those which Mendeléef is now working upon, but really carries the conception a great deal further than the limits which his boldest extrapolation will enable him to reach.

The object in view in the first instance in connection with the research referred to, was not so much to investigate the composition of the ether as to determine the actual nature of physical atoms. Here it becomes desirable to say a few words

concerning the nature of clairvoyant vision when cultivated under intelligent guidance to the highest degrees of its potentiality. It becomes not merely a means of observing distant places or penetrating opaque obstacles, it has both the microscopic and telescopic capacities developed almost to infinity in both directions. The best microscope provided by the optician, beautiful as it is at the present day compared with some of its relatively savage ancestors, is an instrument of very limited range compared to the microscopic sight of a clairvoyant who can freely employ that which occultists describe as "astral vision." That kind of microscope has no limitations and can be tuned, so to speak, to deal with any part of the interminable path leading in the direction of the infinitely little. Does the reader grasp the conception of molecular magnitude as understood by ordinary science? The favourite illustration is that the molecules of a drop of water bear about the same relation to the drop, that bodies somewhere between the magnitudes of cricket balls and small shot would bear to the Earth. And yet one of these molecules can be separately observed by those who are gifted with appropriate astral vision and its constitution examined in detail.

If such an atom of any metal be chosen for observation, it will be found that its complexity is so overwhelming as practically to defy accurate description. But the complexity of individual atoms of any given chemical element varies in exact proportion with their atomic weight. While an atom of gold, for example, is seen to contain some thousands of subordinate atoms arranged in a definite structure and moving amongst themselves with the symmetric rhythm of a minute solar system, the atom of the lightest element known, hydrogen, is somewhat more easily describable. It consists of only eighteen of these primary atoms, discerned to be to all intents and purposes identical in their individual nature, except in so far as some of them have attributes which may be vaguely described as positive, and others those of a corresponding negative kind. With these details for the moment it is not necessary to concern ourselves. The particular result of the occult investigation we are dealing with is to the effect that all the chemical elements known to us, however

varied their properties, consist of atoms, the structure of which is widely different, but the composition of which is so far identical throughout, that primary atoms of the same order are concerned with building up all of these dissimilar bodies. The houses built differ widely in architecture and magnitude but the bricks used are in all cases the same. When this great fundamental principle was realised it became also apparent that these atoms, the primary atoms of inconceivable minuteness, were dispersed throughout space, even interpenetrating the molecular structure of the physical bodies perceptible to our senses, and that in point of fact, these primary atoms were atoms of the universal ether.

So far the idea is simply identical with Mendeleef's present conception, although if it passes into general acceptance it will no doubt be associated in the future with his name and not with those of the unknown authors of the occult investigation. That will be a matter of infinitely small interest to the persons concerned, for occult knowledge dealing with many other problems besides the constitution of ether, reduces worldly fame to an importance, as compared with the permanent conditions of the Ego, that might be fairly well expressed by Lord Kelvin's fraction quoted above. It is more important, however, that the world at large should realise that all the really great advances to be expected in future in connection with the progress of those studies which deal with the attributes of matter, must be looked for in connection with methods of research which at present fall under the ban of popular disapproval as occult.

The information derived from the occult research we have been describing does not stop short at investing us with the conception of the ether as consisting of extremely minute atoms dispersed throughout space. The further explanation of its nature must be overtaken by orthodox discovery sooner or later, and meanwhile we may venture on a forecast of the direction such later discovery will take. As will be seen from Professor Mendeléef's book, as also from the writings published so far by Professor Reynolds, speculation along familiar lines has always taken for granted that the ether is uniform throughout in its character, whatever that may be. Whether as a homogeneous jelly or as an

ultra-rarified gas, it has been thought of always as a definite form of matter. The occult research of 1895, however, partly overtaken, as has been shown by physical discovery, discerned several varieties of ether as actually existing under conditions which eluded ordinary chemical observation. Four distinctly different kinds of ether play their respective parts in the great natural activities with which this medium is concerned, and it is only when primary atoms are completely dispersed so that they are separately diffused through space that we arrive at that which may be called the elementary condition of ether. Between this condition and that in which a sufficient number of atoms are aggregated together to constitute a substance with attributes manifest to the physical senses, there exist three varieties of what it may be convenient to call "molecular ether."

From the point of view of the knowledge we are endeavouring to set forth it is impossible to continue the use of the terms "atom" and "molecule" in precisely their conventional significance. For readers unfamiliar with the technicalities of physics, it may be as well to explain that when a chemist speaks of a "molecule" of any given known substance, he means two atoms of that substance in a mysterious kind of union. This method of thinking was adopted to facilitate the expression, by chemical formulæ of the composition of compound bodies. Without the hypothesis in question chemists would have been drawn into the embarrassment of assuming that in some cases the molecule of a combined body contained half-atoms of some of its constituents. Occult research, however, shows this method of thinking to be out of harmony with natural truth, although it fits some of the facts. When it comes to be recognised that the atom of each chemical element contains a multitude of etheric atoms, and that the union between two elementary substances involves a complicated interaction amongst their respective primary atoms, the word molecule will cease to have this artificial and inaccurate meaning. For our present purpose, and anticipating what will probably be the practice of chemists in the future, it will be convenient to reserve the word atom for application to those fundamental particles which constitute the simplest variety of ether, and to employ the term "molecule" to signify the single organised structure which

can be recognised as a chemical element on this plane. For some time, indeed, the conventions of language are so embarrassing that if we speak of the hydrogen molecule or the molecule of any other substance we are liable to mislead the ordinary thinker into supposing that we mean the conventional molecule of two atoms, so that it may still be convenient to speak of the atom in reference to the indivisible particle of any given substance, even though that may contain hundreds of atoms properly entitled to the name.

And here it may be convenient before going on to indicate what little is known concerning the molecular varieties of ether, to indicate the probabilities arising from such observations concerning the actual number of atoms in the molecules of the known elements in so far as that number has been observed. In reference at all events, to oxygen and nitrogen, it turns out that the number of atoms in each molecule of these substances, is exactly equal to the product of the atomic weight and the number 18, which represents the number of atoms in the molecule of hydrogen. If this law holds good throughout, it enables us to determine with precision the number of atoms entering into the composition of the molecules of any known substance, and when we come to deal with substances the atomic weights of which are over 200, it will be seen that each molecule includes several thousands of ultimate atoms, and thus it is not difficult to conceive that in such cases the ultimate limits of stability have been reached, and that the phenomena of radio-activity are to be readily explained along the lines of thought suggested by this condition.

But going back to the varieties of molecular ether, these appear to be ruled off one from another by limitations relating to the number of atoms entering into the composition of their molecules. The 18 atoms in the molecule of hydrogen represent two distinct groups of 9 atoms each, interlaced in a curious fashion which could hardly be described in words or even shown by a diagram. A model in three dimensions would be necessary to make the arrangement intelligible. But the highest or most complicated form of etheric molecule may be represented by either of these groups taken separately and disentangled from its partner. We need not assume that all ether of this kind which may con-

veniently be called "ether 4," consists exactly of such molecules as the separate hydrogen groups would represent. Other combinations of 9 or 7 would still belong to "ether 4." As yet it is impossible to be very precise in defining the limits in each case, but ethers 3 and 2 consist of molecules embodying some smaller numbers of atoms than those which make up the molecules of ether 4, and one interesting thought connected with this part of our explanation carries us back to Professor Mendeléef's recent speculations. Ethers 2, 3 and 4, will go very far towards filling up the vacant places in that zero series which he now adds to his periodic table, the refinements of which culminate in his "X" substance identical with atomic ether.

The extent and manner in which the different varieties of ether may be diffused through space must as yet remain a matter of speculation even for those who avail themselves most fully of the occult information at our disposal. It may be and for various reasons appears probable, that the more complex orders of ether are subject to gravitational influence, and therefore aggregated around the planetary bodies. That the atomic ether is for some reason entirely exempt from the influences of gravitation appears to be a conclusion we cannot but accept, and one indeed which Mendeléef himself adopts. But if molecular ether does surround each planet as a highly refined atmosphere, it may, at some future date, be found very helpful in interpreting many optical phenomena connected with light and colour. If in pursuit of this idea, we were to soar upwards into the loftier regions of speculation "on the wings of extrapolation," as one scientific lecturer once put the idea, we might expand that last suggestion to very magnificent proportions, but that is hardly the purpose with which this paper has been written. The scientific world has been interested if not startled by a new view of one amongst the most important of its hitherto unsolved problems, and that new view as far as it goes, is in direct harmony with the foolishly neglected teachings of occult science. To show this plainly has been the purpose of the present writer, and there for the moment the matter may be allowed to rest.

THE HELLENIC NATIONALITY OF CYPRUS.

I RELY on the courtesy of the editor, and, indeed, on the very name and purpose of this periodical, for permission to offer a few remarks on Mrs. Gladwyn Jebb's article, "Immemorial Cyprus," which appeared in the April number of *BROAD VIEWS*. I beg leave to do so, both as a Greek, and as claiming many valued friends and some relatives in that island.

The personal appreciations of a fleeting wayfarer are, generally speaking, as harmless as they are often entertaining to the scrupulous inquirer and student. But when the substantial facts of history and geography are in question, one is very much inclined to agree with Mrs. Jebb's indictment of those superficial persons who, on the mention of Cyprus, will say: "Oh yes, the place where the currants come from—meaning Corfu; or will ask whether Prince George does not reign there now—meaning Crete."

With the reservation that currants do not happen to come from Corfu, it is to be regretted that, after this praiseworthy abjuration of superficiality, the history, ethnology, and language of "immemorial Cyprus" should have been summarily disposed of in the following startling sentences:

"The majority of the islanders are Christians, who belong to the Orthodox Church and speak a bastard Greek. They call themselves Greeks, and are given to waiving the flag of that country over a good deal of mild sedition, but as Greece had no connection with Cyprus since long before the Christian era the claim must be regarded as unfounded. Considering the number

and variety of their conquerors, it would be difficult to say to what race they do belong."

Very strange this perversity of the Christian Cypriotes (whose "majority," by the way, amounts to four-fifths of the entire population), to call themselves Greeks, in spite of repeated temptation to belong to some other nation! There is a very good story told of the famous Hellenist, the Baron de Villoison, who, during the French Revolution, had to leave Paris for Orleans. He gave his name to the officer at the city gates, but was contemptuously informed that that wouldn't do: there were no more Barons. "Very well," replied the deposed noble, "inscribe me as de Villoison." "That won't do either; we have done away with *de's* also." "Well then, simply Villoison." "It is equally inadmissible; we have abolished all *ville's*." "Then how on earth would you have me call myself?" "Mais *Oison*, tout bonnement!"

Apparently an ordeal of some such sort awaited the Cypriotes when, by a revolution of a very different description, Cyprus was placed under British rule. History offers no instance of so pacific, so sudden, and so blessed a transition from barbarous tyranny to a civilised and beneficent government. For, with the exception of that most unjust and unfortunate arrangement, the annual tribute to the Sultan, which is crushing and draining the island of its very life-blood, no fair-minded person will dispute the advantages which British rule has conferred upon Cyprus. And I, for one, can conscientiously say that I have persistently recommended to those Cypriotes who have sought my advice, not to offer any factious opposition to a state of things which is not incompatible with the maintenance and development of their legitimate national convictions and ideas. That the Cypriotes themselves are alive to those advantages, when administered in a benevolent and sympathetic manner, has been amply shown by their whole-hearted attachment to the late Sir Walter Sendall, who, during his High Commissionership acted as the friend of the people committed to his charge, and whose death was lamented in Cyprus more widely perhaps than in England itself.

But curiously enough, it was only after the occupation of Cyprus that the Hellenic nationality of its people was questioned,

for the first time in history, and derided—at least, in certain quarters, and for reasons not far to seek. We had witnessed the same persistent ignoring of facts in the case of the Ionian Islands, although the Ionians gave only too convincing evidence of their Greek nationality. The Hellenic character of Crete itself was disputed to the very last, and by such good people as involuntarily admitted it when they eagerly appealed to their Bible in proof of the alleged propensity of the Cretans to lying.

One might refer, with better reason, to the same immaculate authority in demonstration of the fact that Paul and Barnabas preached to the Greeks of Cyprus—the first people beyond Palestine who espoused Christianity. Far from Greece having had “no connection with Cyprus since long before the Christian era,” it is a fact known to every tyro in history, that the island formed an integral part of the Greek Empire of Byzantium. Later, the Crusaders persecuted the islanders as “schismatic Greeks,” and the Turks tyrannized them as “infidel Greeks.” Some of the foremost Greeks who illuminated the dark night of our servitude, by their eminence in the Church and in our literature, were Cypriotes. During our glorious struggle for independence, the heroism of the Cypriotes, who took part in it, was second to none of the other Greeks. And on the outbreak of the lamentable war of 1897, an entire contingent from Cyprus asserted their Greek nationality by the noblest and dearest evidence men can offer—their readiness to shed their blood for the common Fatherland. This is the price that readily pay, not such as “call themselves,” but those whose conscience bids them do their duty as Greeks.

Is this then a “claim that must be disregarded as unfounded?” And upon what grounds? “Considering the number and variety of their conquerors, it would be difficult to say to what race they belong.” Difficult, if we were to ignore history, and disregard patent facts. For, let us apply this novel principle in ethnological research to some other and more familiar island—Sicily, for choice. The Phœnicians, the ancient Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Byzantine Greeks, the Saracens, the Normans, the Lombards, the Teutons, the Spaniards, the French, Bourbons and Bonapartes, held the island at different

times, and peopled it in parts. Similar was the fate of the whole of India; and the same might be said, in a less degree, of the indisputably Greek islands of Rhodes and Chios. Now, in spite of the number and variety of the foreign conquerors of Sicily, is it difficult to say to what race the Sicilians do belong?

But really, one should not be too exacting in cases where the necessary historical equipment appears to be meagre, or the determination fixed to ignore facts and rely on mere assertion, in propounding an untenable proposition. How much more pleasant it is to admire the accuracy and detail of the information supplied as to the marked value of fruits and vegetables, turkeys and fowls, and other provisions procurable in Cyprus. Moreover, there appears, on another page, the following (unconscious?) *amende honorable*: "As a matter of fact, it is to be doubted whether country or inhabitants have changed very greatly since the days when St. Paul," etc., etc. This is refreshing. And lest there should linger any suspicion of the reputed masculine prejudice against the authority of the gentler sex in such matters, I will quote here the evidence, not of many men of eminence, which is abundant, but that of another English lady, Miss Agnes Smith, a cultured and accomplished scholar and linguist, who travelled and resided in Cyprus, and who, having taken more than a cursory view of the subject, gives a very different account of the nationality of the Cypriotes:

"It is stretching a point beyond the bounds of truth to say that the population is not in the main Hellenic. For what constitutes nationality? Blood and language, which are stronger in their ties if woven close by a common religion. The population of Cyprus is, of course, mixed. One fourth is avowedly Turkish, and the remainder must undoubtedly have received many contributions from Semitic and European sources. But the main stream of Hellenism has absorbed these, the spoken dialect alone being sufficient to prove that the island has been substantially Greek since the time when history began to be written. The dialect is, of course, not pure. No academy nor common school has kept it free from corrupting elements. The influence of Venetian and Turk has been employed to overpower it; but for that very reason, its evidence in favour of the nationality of the

peasants, who speak it, is the more unimpeachable and convincing." *

This was written seventeen years ago (*Through Cyprus*, 1887, p. 320), and since then the progress made under a liberal system of education, organised by the Cypriotes themselves, in purifying and rehabilitating the language, has been immense. The Greek of the eight or ten newspapers in the island is about as "bastard" as that of the New Testament. And newspapers are written in a style understood by all who can read. Of course, the colloquial style is dialectically special, in some respects, to Cyprus; and we know that in ancient times there was a distinctive Cypriote dialect, as also in Crete, and Ætolia, and Bœotia, and other Greek centres. Such dialectic differences subsist to the present day, but they are slighter than those met with in provincial English dialects. I believe I speak and understand English fairly well; yet, for the life of me, I could not make out in what language I was addressed, a few years ago, by a yokel who accosted me not far from St. Leonards. But I have not sought to contribute to the enlightenment of my compatriots by informing them that people in this country speak a bastard sort of English.

J. GENNADIUS.

* The views expressed by Mrs. Jebb had a forerunner in Mr. Rider Haggard, who, in his "Winter Pilgrimage," stated, *inter alia*, that "the richer and more successful class of Cypriotes have a habit of adopting Greek names, but, in fact, very few of them are Greek." Mr. Haggard's lucubrations were dealt with appropriately by a young Cypriote gentleman who is perverse enough to enjoy a Greek name (N. Paschalis: "Facts and Figures about Cyprus," London, 1902), and who, after a brilliant course of studies in the Middle Temple, was called to the Bar. He appeals to the evidence of Furthumchen, Von Lichtenberg, Muster and others, and says: "These learned men, against whose authority Mr. Haggard can rebel only if he has no connection with their scientific methods, are convinced that we are descendants of the Phrygian emigrants who peopled Thrace, and who formed the common stock of the most ancient population of the whole of Greece. (See "Lecture on the Nationality of the Cypriotes," delivered at the Kypriakos Syllogos by Prof. E. Constantinides, Nicosia, 1902).

THE RECORD OF A FORMER LIFE.

SINCE the great principle of Reincarnation has occupied cultivated thought, and since it has often been asserted that some exceptionally gifted representatives of our own race can remember their former lives, critics have often claimed that such reminiscences should be published with a view of showing that they are really possible. The answer, proceeding from those who are in touch with such memories, is generally to the effect that no proof would be involved in the presentation of stories that hostile criticism would assuredly treat as fictitious. But at last the effort called for has been undertaken, and under circumstances that can hardly fail to startle public attention into life. A narrative has been presented to the world which is in effect the detailed biography of a girl who spent her brief life in Rome about 1800 years ago, and who, though herself a slave, was in a position to observe the doings of the highest Roman aristocracy of the period and to illuminate some years of the Emperor Domitian's reign, with a more brilliant light than could be focussed upon them by all the classical scholarship of modern Europe.

The book which embodies this wonderful story takes the shape of a novel, entitled "Nyria," by Mrs. Campbell Praed (Fisher Unwin), but it is a novel which stands absolutely alone as regards its character, in the whole forest of fiction, and of which the genesis is explained with complete candour in a brief introduction.

Now all novel readers will be familiar with the trick which many writers employ of imbedding one work of imagination within

another ; pretending, for example, that they have found the main story in some ancient manuscript, or have gathered it from contact with a remote recluse ; and this device is well understood as a setting appropriate to some kinds of imaginative work. It remains to be seen how far the general public of this country, still very imperfectly alive to the transcendental possibilities of human faculty, will take Mrs. Praed's present introduction as a mere literary device of the order described, or how far it will generally be recognised that the whole statement embodied in the introduction is absolutely true to the letter, and descriptive of one of the most thrilling experiences which have ever rewarded psychic enquiry. Mrs. Praed tells us how she has enjoyed the privilege of friendship in this life with the person who is, in fact, the re-incarnation of " Nyria," the heroine of the present story : a girl, she tells us, " shy, reticent, modest and unselfish," who, under certain conditions of abnormal consciousness, has been able to live over again the adventures of her Roman incarnation. " In a child-like babble, but with plenty of shrewd observation displaying keen judgment of character about scenes, persons and conversations, that she described as going on around her," this girl has gradually unfolded the whole story that now lies before us. Her narrative incidentally serves to vindicate the explanations given already in these pages concerning the " Memory of Nature." Once endowed with the faculty of recovering the memory of a former life, those, at all events, who enjoy this faculty in perfection, can recover the smallest details of that life, the minutest circumstances of every scene in which they have played however subordinate a part. The very amplitude and minute abundance of Nyria's record will induce the hopelessly commonplace reader to regard it as impossible that any memory could recover past events with such exactitude. But psychic memory, which can sweep rapidly over long periods of time if nothing is needed but the general course of events, can pause at any point in its progress, and recover the details of any given situation with microscopic fidelity. This has been accomplished in the present case, with reference to the Roman period under observation, with altogether extraordinary success by reason evidently of the fact obvious from her former writings, that Mrs. Praed is a very careful student of the Roman

period. She has evidently guided the recollections of Nyria into channels which were likely to be productive of the best results, and the consequence is that the present story gives us such vivid pictures of the old Roman life described, that the best fruit hitherto yielded by the most patient historical research bears to the story now before us much the same relationship that a dried raisin bears to a grape. The well-known Roman story, "Gallus," is a careful compilation of such details as can be picked out from the literature of Juvenal, Tacitus, and the rest. The beautiful romance "Quo Vadis," surrounded the same meagre stores of information with the glow of rich imagination, but the structure of the tale was still manifestly the same. In "Nyria" we have the full blaze of sunshine cast upon a living scene. Some modern novelists successfully reflect modern London society; others give us a lifelike background derived from personal acquaintance with some phases of provincial life, others may exhibit a speciality derived from intimate acquaintance with the islands and people of the Southern seas, but "Nyria" has photographed old Rome for us on the same principle that these other successes have been achieved—by virtue, that is to say, of intimate personal familiarity with the scenes and people described. Apart from its supreme interest as an illustration of the results attainable by psychological methods of research into the history of the past, the charm of the present narrative, inasmuch as it has put us into touch for the first time with the innermost realities of old Roman society, seems to render all commonplace criticism and approval inadequate to the occasion.

Mrs. Praed explains that in all cases she has, as far as possible, made use of Nyria's own words in recording the conversations repeated, and the descriptions of people and places given in response to inquiry. "My part," she says, "in fact, has been solely that of the literary adapter. In welding together the various portions of Nyria's narrative and dialogue, and placing them in the manner I think most effective, I have adhered as closely as was possible to her own method and phrasing." There is a tone of earnestness about Mrs. Praed's introduction which ought to impress every reader capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood. But the perfect truth that assuredly resides in the passage

just quoted does not alter the fact that the adaptation has been accomplished with the masterly skill of an accomplished literary artist. Bits of the narrative here and there uniting the more vivid scenes must be in Mrs. Praed's own words, however completely the substance of such passages has been derived from Nyria's information. But the whole story, as it stands now before us, is nowhere blemished by irregularity in style. It flows on in a perfectly continuous stream, and over and above the psychological interest of the story, over and above its value as a picture of Roman life, glowing with colour and actuality, it is as a personal narrative one of absorbing dramatic interest. For poor Nyria, be it understood, although a slave, became so as a captive princess of war, brought back from Germany as a child. She was a valued slave by reason of her fair hair and unusual beauty, but fearfully ill-treated, while in the power of a tyrannical mistress, Julia, the wife of Flavius Sabinus, easily identified in history by reason of her imperial connections and intimacy with Domitian. At Julia's death, Nyria is sold with all the other slaves of the household, and passes into the possession of a "domina," or mistress, very unlike the ferocious Julia, for whom she is inspired with quite idolatrous affection. But the ghastly tragedy in which her brief life culminates is indirectly brought about by this same Valeria, the wife of Valerius Paulinus, formerly a tribune of the Prætorian guard. Valeria has a lover, Licinius Sura, with whom, for reasons, she becomes infuriated, and in a fit of blind passion betrays him as a conspirator in league with the Christians. Suspected by Domitian of organising a plot against himself, Lucinius is arrested in the midst of the little Christian congregation to which Nyria belongs—she having become one of the Christians under circumstances very beautifully described. All the unhappy victims of this seizure are swept off into the dungeons of the Mamatine, and many of them, Nyria amongst them, are given to the beasts in the arena. Our heroine, in fact, was a Christian martyr, resolute in her faith, though, if she had so wished, her beauty might have purchased her life from the licentious Emperor, and the present story, though closing with this terrible tragedy, is again unique amongst tragedies, by reason of the way it shows that even the

lions of the arena could only interrupt the course of an immortal human existence, resumed, after a due and refreshing rest, in the midst of the gentler civilisation of our own period.

It will be impossible within the limits of any notice like this to trace the events of the elaborate story, bubbling as it is with detail and interest at every turn. Some scenes, for example those associated with the terrible whippings to which Nyria was subjected while under Julia's tyranny, are sensational in a very high degree; others are touched with a much tenderer pathos. But the psychological value of the book eclipses even its interest as a story, and on that text alone there is more to be said than can easily be condensed within these limits. One obvious enquiry will have reference to the question of language. In what tongue does Nyria record her reminiscences? The question is only embarrassing to those who are unfamiliar with the methods of thought transference on the higher levels of consciousness. The memory of a former life comes into a modern brain *via* spiritual planes of consciousness on which no language is required to convey ideas. The idea itself clothes itself in any brain to which it is transmitted in the forms of speech with which that brain is familiar. Thus Nyria in her present incarnation, repeats the conversations she remembers in the English language however able she may be to pick up the Latin sounds if required to do so, as she would pick up the notes of the music provided at a banquet or the taste, if necessary, of the viands that might be consumed. Language would be an objective fact to be observed like the circumstances of interviews or architecture. Ideas to be expressed clothe themselves in the tongue with which the modern speaker is familiar, and pursuing that thought a little further, we may understand that it is no light or entertaining task for a person gifted with the psychic faculties of the modern Nyria, to look back on scenes so painful and tragic as those described in the present story. For just as the sights and sounds of the former life may be, as it were, perceived afresh, so the emotions and sufferings of that life are liable to be *endured* afresh, with consequences that might be even dangerous to the reincarnated personality if special measures of protection were not taken to provide against this contingency. Even allowing for this the

effort which this wonderful book represents can only have been undertaken under the guidance of a courageous determination, and cannot but have entailed much arduous and protracted labour—which, however, we feel sure, if the results are appreciated by the modern reader to any extent approaching the importance of their inner significance, will not have been grudged by a modern heroine reproducing the character of a Christian martyr.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

THE greater part of the immense mass of evidence which the science of archæology has been accumulating and sifting during the last twenty years is strictly impersonal. Business contracts, fragments of rude mythological poetry, incantations and primitive art work preponderate. Much can be learnt about the general culture of early historic times from such material. But it lacks the entrancing interest of real history, in which we are brought face to face with men—their vital thoughts and their vital actions. Now and then, however, the archæologist's search is rewarded by the discovery of a real treasure. Perhaps a statue by a known artist of the first rank; or some monument that throws an altogether new light upon a long forgotten statesman, of whom little has come down to us beyond his name and titles.

Within the last two years the Assyriologist has happened upon one of these really remarkable finds which, popularly speaking, are the real justification of his science. From the evidence of a single black diorite stele he has been able to present the world with a new personality—Hammurabi of Babylon. If not in England, at any rate in Germany, this monarch is taking his place beside Khufu (Cheops) of Egypt and Solon of Greece. It will be remembered that the Emperor William II. himself did not hesitate to rank Hammurabi with Moses, Charlemagne, Shakespeare, William I. of Germany, and the rest who, according to the Kaiser's gospel, have been the particular channels of divine revelation.

In December, 1901, M. de Morgan, the leader of the French

expedition which was excavating the "Acropolis" at Susa, unearthed an inscribed monument of exceptional size. It was in three fragments, which, when re-joined, made a stele eight feet high. Both sides of the block were filled with cuneiform characters, making the longest Babylonian record yet recovered. At what was evidently the head of the inscription, a carving in bas-relief represented a Babylonian ruler and the Sun-God Samas, the Judge of Heaven and Earth. A very brief perusal of the 3,600 lines of the inscription proved that the monarch was Hammurabi, who reigned in Babylon about 2,300 B.C. The seated figure from whose shoulders wings of fire proceeded was, as God of Law, dictating his decrees to the earthly monarch. The inscription has now been deciphered by three scholars, Father Scheil, the compiler of the official report of M. de Morgan's expedition, Professor H. Winkler, of Germany, and Mr. C. H. W. Johns, of Cambridge. It is to the latter we owe the English version of the code, which has the merit of a literal translation. For many years the name of Hammurabi had been known, and fragments of these very laws had been discovered. M. Oppert has shown that M. de Longperier came across a section of the Code as far back as 1851. Ingenious philologists have even identified Hammurabi with Amraphel, King of Shinar, whose name occurs in the 14th Chapter of Genesis. M. de Morgan's discovery, however, gives us practically the whole Code, and, in addition, a prologue and epilogue. Only a few columns from the middle of the inscription have been erased—possibly by the Elamite conqueror who took the great monument from one of the Babylonian temples and erected it in the Persian capital. No doubt he intended, in spite of the curses which Hammurabi calls down upon any such desecrator, to place his own titles and conquests upon the vacant space.

The dynasty of which Hammurabi was the sixth king does not appear to have been of Babylonian origin. It played a leading part in the revolution which expelled the Elamitic conquerors, and finally established a strong central government. Its first kings may have belonged to one of the Semitic hordes that throughout Babylonian history poured from Arabia into the fertile

valley of the Euphrates. These Semites found a highly organised state of society, the result of trade and commerce which had been carried on systematically for many centuries. They rapidly possessed themselves of this civilisation. When Hammurabi finally united North and South Mesopotamia, and made Babylon his capital, he found himself at the head of a highly complex social and political system. It would have been strange had the code of such a ruler proved, in any essential respect, archaic, or, indeed, very different to laws that might operate in these days. As a matter of fact, there is an entire absence of those anomalies, which some people expect to find in all thoughts and things that date from four thousand years ago.

In no part of the Code is this shrewd common sense more noticeable than in the clauses relating to women. Babylonian custom did not permit women to occupy the position they hold in this country or the United States of America, but bearing in mind the different social conditions, we find in Hammurabi's Code some evidence of respect for women. A woman was allowed to trade. She could hold property in her own right. The sanctity of marriage was recognised as binding in law. But at the root of every enactment relating to marriage seems to have lain the principle—never actually expressed—that the woman had been acquired by purchase. She became in the eyes of the law the property of her husband through his gift to her father. This is, perhaps, the explanation of the fact that a wife and children could be seized for debt. The period of such seizure was limited. For three years they had to work in the house of the money-lender, but in the fourth he was obliged to allow them to return to the husband or parent. Another clause added the proviso that, in cases where the debt had been incurred before marriage, the wife could not be seized. The purchase money was usually returned to the husband in the shape of a marriage portion. The Code, however, always regards the latter as the property of the wife or widow, and it was, moreover, returned to the father, if his daughter died childless.

Seeing that the law might be called upon to intervene in so many contingencies, it is not strange that the marriage had to be proved by a written document, executed in due legal fashion.

"If a man has married a wife and has not laid down the bonds, that woman is no wife."

The high respect in which the wife was held is seen most clearly in those clauses of the Code which deal with cases where, owing to the wife not having been granted children, the husband wished to take a concubine. Every Babylonian desired an heir to whom his property might pass, and a childless wife seems frequently to have herself given a maid to her husband. The analogy of Sarah and Hagar will occur to everyone. The Code ordains that if such a maid attempted afterwards to make herself equal with her mistress, because she has borne children, "her mistress shall not sell her for money ; she shall put a mark upon her and count her among her maid-servants." "If she has not borne children, her mistress may sell her for money." In another section Hammurabi establishes the principle that serious sickness does not justify a divorce.

"If a man has married a wife and a sickness has seized her, and he has set his face to marry a second wife, he may marry her ; but his wife whom the sickness has seized, he shall not put away. In the home she shall dwell, and as long as she live he shall sustain her."

The Babylonian women of those days does not appear to have been invariably the perfect companion and housewife that society demanded. From one clause we can form some idea as to what conduct the law considered sufficient to justify a man divorcing his wife. Here is Mr. Johns' reading of Section 141 :—

"If the wife of a man who is living in the house of her husband has set her face to go out and has acted the fool, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, one shall put her to account ; and if her husband has said 'I put her away,' he shall put her away and she shall go her way, he shall not give her anything for her divorce. If her husband has not said 'I put her away' (the formula of divorce), her husband shall marry another woman, that woman as a maid-servant shall dwell in the house of her husband."

The case of a wife who, coming to hate her husband, refuses to continue to live with him, meets with severer treatment. The wife in the section just quoted only contemplated leaving her home. Where the wife believes that the conduct of her husband entitles her to a separation, the Code orders that an inquiry should be held.

"If she has not been economical, a goer about, has wasted her house and belittled her husband, that woman one shall throw into the waters."

If, on the contrary, no fault can be found in her, the husband is presumed to be in part, blameworthy. The woman is given her marriage portion and returns once more to her father.

No doubt the greatest benefits that Babylonia derived from the establishment of a strong central government were connected with the national irrigation schemes. In a river valley, such as that of the Euphrates, as in Egypt, the great difficulty with which the agriculturists were faced was the conveyance of water from the main stream to the meadow. Only a powerful ruler could afford to expend public money upon irrigating canals and drainage schemes. Activity in this direction is, in fact, perhaps the best test of true greatness in an Eastern statesman. By elaborate drainage schemes, and by the conservation of the surplus waters of the floods, much of Northern Mesopotamia was reclaimed about the time of Hammurabi. A new country around Babylon was practically opened up. On his own Monolith the King made the following claim:—

"I am the Blessing of Mankind, which brings the waters of fertility to Sumir and Akkad. Its two banks I made into cultivable land. I set up granaries and provided water for the land of Sumir for ever."

In later times great canals were cut, which ran right through Babylonia. They served to keep the land in cultivation until the coming of the Monguls, when, through neglect, the country became once more a marshy desert. Irrigation authorities are of opinion that the former agricultural prosperity of these districts may yet be restored. In the light of his experience in Egypt, Sir William Willocks has advocated raising some eight millions of pounds with view to reclaiming the land around the Delta of the Tigris. He has, moreover, added, that there is no reason why a similar scheme dealing with the land between the two rivers should not be commercially successful. Hammurabi, of course, realised that without constant supervision the state canals would be valueless, and numerous clauses of the Code deal with the question. There is, for instance, the case in which a man's property has been damaged

through a neighbour permitting his section of the irrigating canal to get out of repair :—

“ If a man has neglected to strengthen his bank of the canal, a breach has opened out itself in his bank and the waters have carried away the meadow, the man in whose bank the breach has been opened shall render back the corn which he has caused to be lost.

“ If he is not able to render back the corn, one shall give him and his goods for money, and the people of the meadow whose corn the water has carried away shall share it.”

A number of clauses of the Code deal with agriculture and land tenure in general. The wages of labourers and the hire of implements and beasts of burden are fixed. It would seem that, while the greater portion of the land was in the possession of private owners, some belonged to the Crown. This was held by state officials and overseers. These drew their pay from the produce of the fields and gardens, which they worked when not engaged upon state business. Apart from the evidence of the Code, numerous tablets have been discovered which point to an elaborate system of land surveys, and the registration of landed property at the palace or one or other of the temples.

While many clauses of the Babylonian King's codification do not sound in the least strange to modern ears, this is not the case with all. Those referring to the public-houses are certainly exceptions. Wine-houses seem to have been invariably kept by women, and, reading between the lines, it is evident that they were not considered to be places to which people of reputation would resort. A votary—the Babylonian “vestal virgin”—who entered one for drink, was burnt alive. A very severe penalty attached to a wine merchant who permitted a riotous assembly to meet in her house. If she failed to seize the rioters and bring them to the palace she was killed.

In the sections dealing with trade and commerce, and, indeed, throughout the Code, great stress is laid upon the necessity for having a written contract for every important transaction. This had to be signed in the presence of witnesses. If, for instance, a merchant was sending an agent (our commercial traveller) to trade on his behalf in a foreign country, the final settlement depended upon a priced invoice. The agent was not obliged to account for any goods which did not appear in the list.

"If the merchant has given to the agent, corn, wool, oil, or any sort of goods to traffic with, the agent shall make a note of the value and hand it over to the merchant. The agent shall take a sealed memorandum of the price which he shall give to the merchant. If an agent has forgotten and has not taken a sealed memorandum of the money he has given to the merchant, money that is not sealed for he shall not put in his accounts."

In case of dispute, therefore, it was possible to at once prove what the traveller had to account for. If he had not looked after the interests of his principal, he could be called upon to make good any loss. If, on the contrary, he was the victim of, say, a highwayman—

"The agent shall swear by the name of God and go free."

This trial by oath is, perhaps, the most primitive feature in the Code. It is accompanied by that other early form of human justice, trial by ordeal. Both, however, are only resorted to in cases where human judgment is deemed impossible and evidence is wanting. Babylonian wisdom took care that the god before whom the ordeal took place should not be allowed any chance of error in cases of obvious guilt. If a wife's unfaithfulness was proved beyond all possibility of doubt, she was bound with the partner of her sin, and, if the husband desired and the King was willing, both were thrown into the waters. To satisfy a suspicious husband it was sufficient that the wife should swear by God and return to her house. If, however, any independent witness accused her, the case was presumed to be more serious, and the wife was compelled to plunge into the holy river (the Euphrates). If she floated, the husband understood that the river god held her to be innocent of any offence. In the case of one accused of witchcraft exactly the same difficulty of proving guilt arises. Here, too, trial by ordeal was ordained.

"If a man has put a spell upon a man, and has not justified himself, he upon whom the spell is laid shall go to the holy river, he shall plunge into the holy river, and if the holy river overcome him, he who wove the spell upon him shall take to himself his house. If the holy river makes that man to be innocent and has saved him, he who laid the spell upon him shall be put to death. He who plunged into the holy river shall take to himself the house of him who wove the spells upon him."

What may be termed "barbarous survivals" in Hammurabi's Code are few. At times, perhaps, justice seems rather summary.

The housebreaker's fate is to be killed before the breach in the wall that he has made and to be buried there. It is ordained that the thief who steals from a burning house shall be thrown into the flames forthwith. In view of the importance of principle in the Jewish legal system, however, it is interesting to note that the *lex talionis* is generally recognised. Clause 196 reads: "If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost." The word "gentleman" is introduced in order to draw a distinction between this hurt and a similar one happening to one who was lower in the social scale. The penalty for putting out the eye of a poor man was only one mina of silver. Both these punishments were of small importance when compared with the end of the Babylonian jerry-builder.

"If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work and the house he built has fallen, and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death. If he has caused the son of the owner of the house to die one shall put to death the son of that builder."

It is to the credit of Hammurabi that, in the application of the *lex talionis*, a clear distinction is made between intentional and unintentional acts. Special penalties, moreover, are exacted for any lack of skill upon the part of a professional man. Should a doctor, in treating the wound of a gentleman, cause the loss of his patient's eye, "one shall cut off his hand." The doctor's remuneration was fixed upon a sliding scale. So much for treating an aristocrat; so much for a commoner; so much for a servant, and so much for a slave. Presumably the law-maker considered that the man who undertook a case guaranteed a cure, or, at least, that no worse results should come to his patients. If, then, the profits of the doctor in case of success were fixed by law, it was equitable that the penalties in case of failure should be equally certain. On the whole the *lex talionis*, as exemplified in the Code of Hammurabi, has not that brutal directness which is so noticeable in the corresponding Hebrew law given in the 21st chapter of Exodus:—

"And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, strife for strife."

There are numerous points of similarity throughout the Code

with the Mosaic law of Holy Writ. This cannot have been written until about a thousand years after Hammurabi. Mr. Stanley Cook, who has just completed a comparative study of the two systems, is of opinion that there is no evidence of direct copying. This seems to be a reasonable view. In a few instances, resemblances may be due to derivations from a common source. Others may be accounted for by presuming additions to the Jewish Code after contact with Babylonia. In the main, however, any general likeness is due to both systems having been faced with similar problems, and naturally arriving at similar solutions in some cases.

It must not, of course, be imagined that the Code is entirely the individual work of King Hammurabi. The civilisation of Babylon, its trade and agricultural systems, were far too complicated to have worked without many of the laws which occur in the 282 sections. We may, however, believe that the decisions of Hammurabi himself were numerous enough to justify his proud boast in the epilogue, which brings the inscription to an end.

"My precious words I have written upon my stele, set up before my image, as King of Uprightness. The oppressed man who has a suit may come before the image of the King of Justice, may read the inscription and hear the precious words. The stele will make clear unto him his suit, he will understand his cause, and his heart will rejoice."

PASSING EVENTS.

THE course of events in the Far East has set some German newspapers discanting on the possibilities of what they still call the "yellow peril," and in doing this they illustrate the great gulf that exists between the thinking of those who regard human affairs as a mere concatenation of events, and the view of those who bring even a little superior knowledge to bear upon current problems. The Japanese in fifty years or so have become one of the formidable powers of the world, though, within living memory, while still wrapt in their former isolation, they counted for no more in the general concert of nations, than if they had belonged to another planet. From any conventional standpoint, they are simply a section of the yellow race of which the Chinese constitute the great bulk. Since they have developed in the way we see, may not the Chinese in turn accomplish the same result, and then may it not happen that conquering hordes from the East may again overwhelm our civilisation as at some former periods of human history waves of barbarism have swept over other civilisations? Some alarmists have formulated the terror a little more definitely and have assumed that the Russians were going to make themselves masters of the fighting strength latent in the yellow race, and with hundreds of millions of docile Chinese at their back would assert supremacy over the Western world. That particular view is probably discredited now by the course of events during the war, which hardly promises to put Russia in the position of control the theory requires. But the brilliant achieve-

ments of the Japanese only serve the more to emphasise the idea that when the Mongolian races at large shall have shared in their advancement, the less populous nationalities of the West will lie very much at their mercy.

The small amount of "occult" knowledge which serves to dissipate this apprehension has to do with the broad principle on which human evolution has been and still is proceeding. Commonplace observation can only take account of nationalities, for the records with which it works are simply those that relate to the last four or five thousand years. Occult knowledge recognises that period as a small portion of the time during which the latest evolved of the great races into which human kind may be divided has been growing up to maturity. Lines of demarcation dividing nations are of very subordinate importance compared with those which distinguish the great "root races," each of which lives through millions of years of our time. That may sound absurd to people whose thinking is still hide-bound by the ignorance of the Middle Ages, but the evidence, even of the sort which the ordinary world can understand, gradually accumulating around the slowly reviving story of Atlantean civilisation, should have the effect of familiarising modern thought with the idea of millions instead of thousands of years in connection with the early history of humanity.

While the great Fifth Race, to which the Western nations belong, has been growing towards maturity, the great Fourth Race, which at one time represented an exalted form of civilisation—or, at all events, an exalted form of intellectual if not of moral civilisation—has been wearing out its energies in the vast spaces of the East. Asia is mainly inhabited by the later sub-races and off-shoots of the Fourth Race, and almost all of these have outlived their maximum period of greatness and are sinking into a condition corresponding, if we adopt a single analogy, to senile decay. But races ramify as time goes on, developing, not merely new sub-races, but new sub-divisions of these, each of which, in a minor degree, has its own life course to run. The Japanese, as a matter of fact, represent the very latest off-shoot of Fourth Race energy. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that they can ever carry the banner of progress, so to speak, to

later ages. That will be borne by sub-races of the Fifth, but, nevertheless, a future lies before them, for they have not yet realised the maximum possibilities of the evolutionary force they represent. Their course as a nation, though likely to be brief as compared with the vast future mapped out for mankind at large, will, no doubt, be rapid for some time to come, and may serve to shed a sunset glow upon the vast populations of the Far East, but these will never be inoculated with the interior vigour of the Japanese themselves.

Thus, in the light of occult information, we may congratulate the Japanese upon the success with which they are asserting the latent possibilities of their place in evolution, without the faintest trace of any reserved apprehensions concerning the consequences of their progress as affecting the Western world.

THE Russians are probably far from understanding the situation along the lines of this explanation, but they are beginning to realise that events are likely to turn out in a manner they were far from anticipating; and in France, where, as one correspondent puts it, "it was treason ten days ago" to question the Russian chances of victory in Manchuria, opinion is now rushing to the opposite extreme, and already regarding the expulsion of the Russians from Manchuria as all but accomplished. And the progress of events has apparently emboldened M. de Witte, formerly President of the Russian Committee of Ministers, to explain, in the course of an interview with a newspaper correspondent at Amsterdam, that he himself withdrew from the Ministry because of his profound disapproval of the policy adopted in Manchuria. He warned his Government that the Japanese were ready for war, the prize of which would be supremacy in the Far Eastern seas, and that Russia was by no means ready for the conflict. He had never been in favour either of the Manchurian occupation or of the Port Arthur annexation. As a financier, he had been endeavouring to economise Russian resources with the view of interior industrial development, and was deeply grieved to see them squandered in an unnecessary war.

It is still assumed by most critics that Russia will not be able to accept defeat, and must fight to the death in a prolonged war. The contrary opinion expressed by some correspondents is more reasonable. After all, the desperate resolution not to be beaten exhibited by Western nations is due to the direct influence of national feeling on the Government. In Russia, public opinion in the Western sense does not exist. If the authorities once realise that they have blundered, they can afford to put up with the lesson and retreat from a false position. On the whole, the success of the Japanese is not alone to be welcomed as a victory of civilisation—even though the civilisation is of recent birth—over an aggressive movement which a diseased civilisation has rendered barbarous, but also because, on the whole, it is the shortest route towards the restoration of peace.

THE view taken just now of the yellow races, besides contributing to allay any apprehensions having to do with what is called the “yellow peril,” may serve to emphasize the satisfaction with which everyone free from the tyranny of Party feeling will regard the new arrangement which promises to restore prosperity to the all-important industry of South Africa. The immoral attempt of politicians in Parliament, careless of all considerations but the hope of embarrassing the Government, to deny South Africa the industrial immigration of which it is so urgently in need, may be regarded as having been finally defeated on the 13th of last month, when the British Government signed a convention with the Chinese Minister representing the authorities at Peking. This put the finishing touch to the arrangements for the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. It was hardly necessary in truth that any fresh convention should be signed, because the treaty of 1860 really covered the present arrangements, and authorised British subjects to engage Chinese for service under appropriate regulations in British colonies. It is amusing from the point of view of those who are chiefly impressed with the ludicrous aspects of Party warfare, to observe that the treaty of 1860 was negotiated by a Liberal Government

although the Liberal critics of the new convention, which simply reconfirms the earlier agreement, pretend to regard it as a scheme for the restoration of slavery. But one must be saturated with the cynicism which experience of Parliamentary life encourages, before one can be content to regard the insincerities of Party conflict as simply food for merriment.

STUDENTS of scientific history are familiar with the idea that the most important events which occur, as mankind gradually works out its destiny, attract little or no attention at the time of their occurrence. Epoch-making discoveries have hardly raised a ripple on the surface of contemporary thought, only engaged at the time, perhaps, on political intrigues, the very meaning of which is destined soon to be forgotten. The same disregard of that which is really important is characteristic of our own time. As far as physical science alone is concerned, keen observers on every side are quick to pick up the significance of any new achievement, but already a great many people are well aware of the fact that the really momentous discoveries now in progress have to do with the exploration of new realms which will perhaps be known as those of "super-physical science" in the future. Now, we have certainly advanced, as a community, a stage beyond that condition in which fifty years ago every circumstance or observation which seemed to point to natural activities of an unseen order, was regarded with angry contempt, and thrust aside as a revival of superstition. The newspapers of the present day cheerfully chronicle events representing sporadic manifestations of some quite unfamiliar natural law, but they do this in the same spirit in which they may notice a railway accident or a curious divorce case: as an incident, that is to say, complete in itself, suggesting no particular inferences, nor claiming any continued observation. Take, for example, three or four passing announcements in the papers of the last month. A Swiss lady, entering apparently on a career as a public entertainer, is described as having such peculiar faculties that, although her eyes are undeniably and completely bandaged, she can at a pianoforte,

play any piece of music set before her, even though the notes had never been written down before. The commonplace looker-on, trained in the Bœotian attitude of mind cultivated by the intelligence of the nineteenth century, will, no doubt, simply find the performance entertaining, like any mysterious conjuring trick. In reality, of course, it is a manifestation of a potentiality in human nature more profoundly interesting and calculated to bring about more important results than any purely physical discovery or scientific invention that could be named. It does not, indeed, represent any new achievement. Everyone familiar with the progress of mesmeric investigation would be aware that similar achievements have been possible for a long time past. But hitherto none but professed students of the subject have even been aware of their occurrence, so successfully in the past has all psychic research been boycotted. In another case, a record comes through the somewhat unsatisfactory channels of the Russian press, concerning a girl in the Caucasus, in whose presence material objects fly about in a curious fashion without any human intervention. Here again, the story is told as something quaint and amusing, and people seem to take no trouble to think that if the story is true (and after all it is only one of a hundred similar narratives), it represents a volume of unseen intelligence and force pervading the world around us, the accurate appreciation of which would advance human intelligence by a stage as great as that which separates modern astronomy from the beliefs ascribed to Ptolemy. In a third case, we are told with much detail concerning a child who from the age of five or six has been writing plays, exhibiting, not merely literary excellence, but a complete grasp of the most delicate problems connected with human life and love. Here there is no question of a doubtful story from the Caucasus. The child in question, Carmen D'Assilva, has now attained the mature age of twelve, but at five or six had the privilege of reciting some of her own compositions in the presence of Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria. Does a human phenomenon of this character mean nothing to the intelligence of the twentieth century? Can people of modern culture be so dense as to imagine that by any possibility a child could attain—within a few years of its

creation as a new soul—such knowledge as Carmen D'Assilva's proceedings imply. One would think that to the intelligence even of a modern chimpanzee it must be obvious that such a child brings over from her last incarnation, owing to the operation of some abnormal circumstances, the knowledge acquired during that life. That is, of course, the familiar explanation—for all who understand the system of re-incarnation—of extraordinary musical talent developed in early childhood; but musical talent is very easily brought over from one incarnation to another. It is, in truth, a spiritual faculty requiring no specific recollection of physical brain impressions in any previous life. Carmen D'Assilva's case is quite peculiar as compared, that is to say, with the musical examples of re-incarnation. It is not peculiar altogether from the point of view of those who make a study of abnormal cases. In some Eastern countries especially, where re-incarnations appear to be quicker than amongst ourselves, definite recollections of a former life are by no means uncommon. Though when these are associated merely with the recognition of places that the subject in question seems to remember, it is always possible to explain the mystery more simply by assigning it to clairvoyance during the current life. Meanwhile, such an incarnate wonder as the child dramatist would really be better worth the attention of the Royal Society, for example, if that body may be regarded as endowed with its various capacities in trust for mankind, than even (with all respect to them be it said) the emanations of radium or the mysteries of the Röntgen ray.