

Broad Views

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

EDITED BY
A. P. SINNETT.

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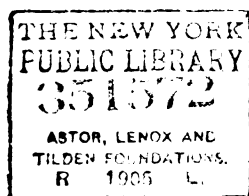


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Failure of the Church. By Viscount Mountmorres ...	I
The True Meaning of Occultism. By A. P. Sinnett ...	13
The Theory of Protection—	
I. By Major Leonard Darwin	23
II. By J. Parker Smith, M.P.	35
The Conscription Report. By Major-Gen. Sir Alfred Turner, , K.C.B.	40
The Rise of a Nation. By May Bateman	56
The War Cloud in the East	64
The Human Double. By an Occult Student	65
Glances at Current Literature—	
Mr. Savage Landor's Latest Wanderings. Russian Prospects. French Views of Albion. Providence Re- discovered. The Destiny of Nations. Madame Adam's Memoirs	73, 503
Passing Events	85, 173, 265, 357, 442, 538
The Women's Congress in Berlin. By Mrs. Henry Fawcett	93
The Civilisation of Atlantis. By the Editor	102
The Intelligentsia of Russia. By S. E. Saville	117
"Immerito." By P. Woodward	127
Mademoiselle Lamotte. By Mrs. Neish	138
Our Neglected Criminal Code. By H. J. Randall	143
The Outlook in Australia. By a Victorian	151
The Falling Birth-rate. By "Karshish"	158
The Zenana System in India. By Dr. Helen Bouchier	183
The Future Life of Animals. By A. P. Sinnett	193
The Verbosity of the Law. By E. H. Short	205
Our Somaliland Fiasco. By Fred A. Edwards, F.R.G.S.	213
The Shortcomings of Shakespeare. By H. A. Stacke	227
Hellenic Studies in England. By J. Gennadius, D.C.L.	233
The Women of the Future. By the Editor	237
Our Effete Party System. By E. B. D'Auvergne	244

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
In a Roman Pension. By May Bateman	250
Mr. Balfour's Survey of Science. By an Occult Student ...	254
Social Relations with the Colonist. By Anna Howarth ...	258
"The Times" Competition. By the Winner of the First Prize	273
The Purpose of Knowledge. By A. P. Sinnett	288
The Indian National Congress. By William Digby, C.I.E. ...	300
The Intellectual Progress of Animals. By the Editor ...	314
Jacob Boehme. By Mrs. A. P. Sinnett	321
Political Judgeships. By a Practising Barrister	337
Rhodesia. From Our Own Correspondent	341
The Royal Academy	349
— Jeanne D'Arc. By T. Douglas Murray	355
The Clerical Headmasters. By T. Miller Maguire	363
Professional Occultism. By A. P. Sinnett	376
The Housing Question. By Percy J. Brebner	389
Gambling—	
I. A National Curse. By Vigilans	396
II. Betting and the Bookmaker. By Anti-Faddist ...	402
III. Moderate Play <i>v.</i> Total Abstinence. By "Modus in Rebus"	409
IV. Authorised Gambling in France. By "Pari Mutuel"	416
A Conversation Concerning Marriage	420
The Fallacy of Illustrations. By E. M. Girling	435
Army Organisation. By Major-Gen. Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B.	453
The Origin of Life. By A. P. Sinnett	466
A Conscientious Craftsman. By C. B. Wheeler	476
Degeneration in the Working Class. By E. Henniker Grant	485
How to Raise the Stage. By H. A. Stacke	491
Love Eternal. By George Barlow	498
Fiscal Reform in Australia. From Our Own Correspondent	514
An English Girl's Impressions of Russia	521
Our Future in this World. By an Occult Student	529
Our Policy in Somaliland	535

BROAD VIEWS.

VOL. II.

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THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCH.

BY VISCOUNT MOUNTMORRES.

THERE is a growing tendency among the thoughtful to call in question the efficiency of latter-day Christianity, and more than once recently events have occurred which have forced on us a doubt as to the usefulness more particularly of our national Church. Not so long ago the greatest social inquirer of our day, Mr. Booth, in completing his exhaustive work on the lives of the poor and the distressed in London, drove his readers to the conclusion that, as an instrument for improving the lives of our fellow-men, it is practically worthless. The mere expression of such an opinion is apt to arouse the bitterest antagonism. The Church party furiously resents so much as a suggestion that it is possible for anything to be amiss with their religious organisation; whilst on the other hand the idea that the Established Church can possibly have in it the germs of good which might by the adoption of drastic measures be so developed as to exert a powerful influence on the population, is no less strenuously objected to by that great body of religious thinkers grouped together under the general title of Nonconformists. They for their part are as blind to the possibilities of a state religion as the Church is to its own shortcomings. How utterly unable the friends of the existing order in the Church are to recognise the needs of the day is excel-

lently shown by the credit they have taken to themselves for acquiescing in the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into one or two trivial points of detail connected with the administration of the Church. They expect their critics to be devoutly thankful for this utterly inadequate concession. It may, it is true, show that they have advanced beyond the stage when they would not even admit that anything could possibly be at fault with their religious organisation ; that they are open, at all events, to make a show of inquiring whether anything is amiss with it. To this extent it may be an advance in the right direction ; but unfortunately it is a very small one, and unless the Church party is prepared calmly and dispassionately to discuss the most radical reforms, they cannot fairly expect their opponents to treat them with lenience or to pay any great deference to their protestations of well-meaning.

On a Sunday afternoon at almost any cathedral in England, one will find in a small part of the magnificent and impressive building a cluster of well-to-do, well-lunched, comfortable, middle-aged, middle-class Christians—mostly women—for whose benefit a service, enriched by all the sensuous charm which exquisite music can lend, is being conducted. An air of self-satisfied repose and indolent languor pervades the whole scene. The voice of the minister as he recites the familiar prayers and admonitions, during the intervals when the white-robed choristers are silent, is carefully modulated in a drowsy cadence so as not to disturb the spirit of restful peace which fills the congregation. Finally, some venerable and erudite prelate, living a life of comfort and ease, and thoroughly attuned to the harmony of his surroundings, delivers in cultured tones a forty-minutes' discourse on some abstruse point in tenth-rate metaphysics. He may or may not have the gift of oratory ; he may or may not have the power of drawing vividly and brilliantly a narrative picture ; he may or may not be capable of touching the emotions of the more sensitive of his audience ; but it is certain that, whatever his talents or lack of talent may be, he will studiously refrain from breaking in on the comfortable mood of his congregation. He must on no pretext arouse them or give their mind food for disquieting reflection. He must carefully avoid touching on any of the more serious concerns

of life, or referring to any of its unpleasant phases such as might possibly send his hearers away in a less cosy frame of mind. So, to the melody of a beautiful organ played by a master of his art, the little group is dismissed to its scandal and its tea.

No one who has been in the habit of visiting our cathedrals will suggest that such a picture is a caricature of the scenes that are witnessed in them week by week. For the rest, these splendid and spacious buildings, with their enormous staff of highly-paid dignitaries and officials, are merely artistic monuments of the highest merit, making a strong appeal to the antiquary. It is idle to pretend that they exert on the moral and social welfare of the teeming masses of the population of this country any beneficial influence in the least commensurate with their enormous cost and elaborate organisation. Such a fact is calculated to fill us with disgust. We may put aside altogether the appalling prostitution of talent on the part of those who draw rich emoluments for delivering addresses which any art student at one of our Universities would be ashamed of, and for taking an occasional part in the musical portion of a liturgy so trite as to have become meaningless. We may well confine ourselves to the palpable failure of the Church to fulfil its mission, when on a day statutorily devoted to religion, its various headquarters despite all the meretricious aid they can get from the sensuous arts, are unable to obtain a better or more representative congregation than those one customarily sees in our cathedrals, and in many instances can only rely on the small and mean-minded audiences present by resorting to such expedients as locking the doors of the choir.

The fact is, that in this respect at least the Church has grossly abused her trust. Whilst her well-paid members are quarrelling over candles and crosses, they have wholly lost sight of the reason for her existence. What we need is not a Royal Commission to decide with pomp and ceremony whether some petty item of ritual, as practised in some place of worship, is in accordance with the strict letter of the law, but a thoroughly searching and practical inquiry on the part of all those who are interested in morality and ethics as to whether the Church, as she

is at present constituted is of real use as an engine of social and moral improvement.

The opponents of disendowment maintain that the endowments were given to the Church by self-denying and pious men in the past, and that to deprive her of those endowments now would be as gross an act as to deprive an orphan of its patrimony. But surely the truer statement of the case is that the good men of old times builded their cathedrals and gave their monies and their lands, not for the personal benefit of the prelates and the priests, but that the Church might do her work. She is the trustee of these gifts, and if ever a trustee was guilty of both misfeasance and non-feasance she has been, so far as her cathedrals are concerned. Surely no one will deny the right of the State to step in on behalf of the beneficiaries of a gift in order to deprive a fraudulent trustee of his powers of misappropriating it? Can we believe that the old monks, whose establishments were an asylum for the afflicted and the persecuted, who alone during the dark ages kept alight the twin lamps of learning and of justice; who spent their whole days in ministering to the needs of the poor, and in instructing the ignorant in the practical arts of agriculture and husbandry; can we believe that if these could revisit the fanes which they reared with such devotion and at such a personal sacrifice, they would not be the first to cry out against their present occupants, and gladly to invoke the aid of the State in re-establishing the living and the real religion that should answer the requirements of the age, a religion that is not of metaphysics and theology but of practical charity and social reform?

We are all, of course, aware that the Church in the past did much and great good work, but she did it through the instrumentality of devoted men, who had very really at heart the cause of the down-trodden and the miserable, and by means of an organisation that was abreast of the needs of its day. It was a living organisation, if anything ahead of its time, and not a fossilised relic of antiquity clogging the wheels of social reform. We are also, of course, all of us aware that there are still many good, devoted, and self-sacrificing men in the ranks of the clergy, who slave all their lives among the poorest of the poor for a wholly

inadequate reward, and that there are also one or two enlightened ones who play their part zealously and unremittingly in furthering the cause of social reform. But it is not by these exceptions that the Church, as she exists to-day, can hope to be judged. They are not, and no one will pretend, least of all the average Churchman, that they are the outcome of the Church spirit. Rather they are instances of individual lives, and of characters which have proved themselves stronger than that spirit, and have in some measure at least freed themselves from the theological and dogmatic shackles with which the Church fetters the most of her servants. Either these brilliant exceptions are looked upon by the ordinary Churchman as eccentrics, whose modernising influence verges on the blasphemous, and at best can only be tolerated with Christian patience as an oddity inseparable from exceptional ability; or else they are regarded by their co-religionists as deliberate traitors whose influence is subversive of those great principles of constituted law and authority which it is the object of the Church as an organisation to uphold so strenuously.

The spirit of the Church, the spirit which animates the overwhelming majority of her ministers, the spirit which, as a corporate body, she is most zealous to foster, is the spirit which is reflected in the Sunday afternoon services of our cathedrals. It is the spirit of dignity, of reverence, which being interpreted is the spirit of lethargy, of repose, of outward pomp and circumstance. Its whole tendency is to resist innovation, to withstand advance. It reveres custom and tradition with an almost idolatrous awe. What they have said in old times is the one criterion by which all opinions are judged of it. No constitution in ancient Mexico or in the primitive village communities of Europe was ever more slavishly governed by the tyranny of established custom than is the Church at the present day. Tradition is her last Court of Appeal; antiquity her one standard of conduct.

An intelligent Thibetan, visiting our shores with no other idea of Christianity than that derived from the New Testament, would probably find it impossible to believe that the present rulers of the Church expect to be taken seriously in their profession of adherence to the teachings of the Master, so completely have they

reproduced the very evils against which He fought. He was, before all things, the great social Reformer, sweeping away relentlessly those ills which had their origin in, and received their sanction from antiquity. It was against what men had "heard them say in old time" that He directed His principal attacks. His most trenchant onslaughts were against the Scribes and Pharisees, exact prototypes of our good Churchmen of the present day, those who rigidly and piously observed all the outward and visible forms of their religion, maintained a scrupulous attendance on its services, and as we may believe, subscribed largely to its funds. The Christ shown us in the Gospel history was a revolutionist, whose energies were devoted to attacking the meaningless piety of the forerunners of our Sunday afternoon Christians. His bitterest sarcasm was devoted to upraiding the whited sepulchres who were so loyal to the ceremonies and the services of their Church and their creed that they overlooked social piety and real charity. His whole doctrine was one of social obligations and family duties, and He set Himself to cast out the archaic and fossilised skeleton of formal religion, and to put in its place the live flesh and blood of brotherly love. He strove to remodel the obsolete system so as to make it meet the changed requirements of a more modern age. Yet those who claim to be the official guardians of His teaching in the present day so exactly picture the very abuses against which He strove, that it is almost incomprehensible how any large body of level-headed rational beings can so long have deceived themselves. The respect which they pay to the principle that they should "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" seems to have made them forget that there is an equal obligation to further the cause of the "least of these": to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, and to visit the prisoner.

The teaching of Christ, so far as it is recorded in the New Testament, was absolutely free from the metaphysics and theology which now occupy the whole thoughts and attentions and engage the whole energies of the Church to the exclusion of its social and communal duties, which alone were the duties imposed upon it by the Founder and Master. It was not until Saul of Tarsus, the Semitic metaphysician, the dilettante dabbler in Greek and

Egyptian philosophies, was won over by the high social ideals of the newly-founded school, then a school primarily of political philosophy, that its whole life became subservient to the quibbles and the hair-splittings of theologians and apologists; disputes which soon led to the rending asunder of the original body into hostile factions. That in one direction the Church gained in strength from this departure is beyond question. She became a school of philosophy which early attracted the attentions of the thinkers in the great Gentile world of her early days. She thus gained an importance to which she would probably never have grown had she continued as she was originally founded, a little group of devoted philanthropists and somewhat revolutionary social reformers. In an age when any new cosmogenic hypothesis or metaphysical theory was sure at least of heated discussion in all the schools from Rome to Alexandria, and amongst every group of persons with any pretensions to liberal education, the very surest means of inducing a sect with importance was to associate it with a system of philosophy in many respects striking and novel in the western world. Saint Paul would, no doubt, as a comparatively unknown man, have found it difficult, if not impossible, by himself to have attracted much attention to his speculations. His strange jumble of Judaistic theism and Egyptian occultism, however, was bound to arouse interest when associated with a faction which had already won notoriety in connection with the execution of a Social Agitator who had seriously disturbed the peace of mind of a weak Roman Pro-Consul and caused a flutter of anxiety among the authorities at Rome themselves. Thus it came about that the somewhat vain and surpassingly energetic Jew, whilst serving his own ends and flattering his own vanity, was, at the same time, giving to the newly-founded Church an importance in the eyes of the educated which it would probably never have received without him. His pushfulness and self-assurance soon won for him a commanding place in the counsels of the new sect, a position which he was not slow to avail himself of, or to turn to the best possible advantage, with the consequence that he came to be looked on as the exponent of the teaching and the ideals of Christianity. This recognition must have been the most soothing unction to a man of his temperament, and we see

clearly in his epistles how, as time went on and his position became more and more secure, he let his imagination run riot through the whole gamut of the most fanciful tenets of Eastern metaphysics. Finding himself suddenly regarded as one of the notable teachers of the moment, he tried to live up to the character. He launched into the most bizarre and abstruse theories concerning the Soul and the Vital Principle, and at times landed himself in dialectic mazes in which he was himself clearly bewildered. It was only his great gift of word-quibbling and of confusing his readers with largely meaningless verbosity that saved his reputation.

The net result of Saul's conversion was to start the Church off through that trackless jungle of metaphysical speculation in which it has ever since been groping its way. The whole character of the Church in its teaching thenceforward has been Pauline, and not Christian. All its great struggles and internal strife, all its great upheavals and reformations, have been concerned with minutiae of dogma and of doctrine. Factions have arisen, sects have split off from the main body, groups and parties have been formed alike within the recognised organisation and without it, but in every case the dispute has arisen over vain excursions in mysticism. The Church and all its varied off-shoots have throughout been chiefly schools of confused and unmethodical metaphysics, which have won varying degrees of social or political standing, according as their adherents have been drawn from the more aristocratic or the more plebeian section of modern states. But through all, Christ the Social Reformer, the Practical Philanthropist, the First Sociologist, has been forgotten, His teachings neglected, or only studied through the distorting glasses of Pauline dogma.

It is true that in the period which the orthodox consider the blackest page in Church history—the Middle Ages—the dialectic spirit did give place to a more practical, if possibly a more rough and ready, ideal of the Church's social mission. Owing to the selfishness and corruption rife among her hierarchy, she became for a time an almost purely political organisation, and played an important part in the social and intellectual advance of the world. In seeking their own sordid ends, her rulers were furthering the cause of civilization and enlightenment. The indolent neglect of

her pastors and teachers to inculcate the traditional dogmas led to two good results. The ignorantly pious renounced all worldly ambition, and gave themselves up with unquestioning devotion to the cause of their fellow-men. Their lives were not always patterns of orthodox morality : their ideas on virtue were often crude and deficient : but their work was practical ; and there is more of Christ in the lives of the libertine Friars, like the Father Tuck of tradition, than in the sanctimonious complacency of the ordinary Bishop of to-day. On the other hand, the more intelligent of her servants, left free by the idleness and listlessness of their teachers, to follow their own bent, were driven to think for themselves. They searched the Scriptures. They came to realise that all the great questions of heresy and of schism, with which alone the fathers of the Church had in the past concerned themselves, were merely side issues of insignificant importance compared with the task of social reformation which Christ had set His Disciples. Martin Luther was only one of the many kindred souls who were evolved by these circumstances, and arose between the close of the fifteenth and the early days of the eighteenth centuries. But in every case, no sooner had the reformer set out on his mission of revolution and reformation, than he was ensnared by the glamour of abstruse speculation and dogmatic teaching with which tradition had so inseparably, though erroneously, associated the work of the Christ, that he was not strong enough to shake it free of it. So it has come about that the followers of each in their turn have been engulfed in the same quagmire of metaphysics from which the reformers in the first instance thought to rescue the Church.

The shock and struggle of these so-called reformations have always driven the Church more and more irretrievably into the prison-house of theology. On the one hand, all the more-independent spirits have broken loose and followed after the new teacher, leaving by a process of elimination the character of the main organisation, more purely a school of dogma : and on the other hand, those who have had vested interest in the prosperity of the official organisation, its rulers and its teachers, have, in order to resist the dangerous attack of the schismatics, been compelled to devote themselves more than ever to doctrinal teaching, and also

to strengthen their position by the help of new dogmas and theories devised to meet the needs of the moment. Thus the Church at the present day, as opposed to the Nonconformists, is characterised by being a body of case-hardened dogmatics, whose sole concern is with theology, and whose only interest in politics and the practical life of the people is to safeguard its own position and its own interest. On the Nonconformist side at least we have an ever-growing realisation of the truer function of Christianity, of its duty to play a part in furthering not only the personal and family welfare of the people, but also their social and communal interest. All Christians, indeed, may primarily be mystics whose chief interest centres in speculations concerning the soul and the after life, and whose attention is largely devoted to disputes concerning the minutiae of metaphysical tenets. The Salvation Army, equally with the Established Church, looks upon dogmatic teaching and the acceptance of certain hypotheses in a purely speculative cosmogony as of paramount importance. The dogmas and the hypotheses may differ in the two cases. But the fact remains that both bodies put metaphysics before all else. Still, various causes have all tended to produce the general result that at the present day the Nonconformists as a whole, do to some extent, recognise the social and political side of their mission, whereas the Church utterly fails to do so.

It seems, indeed, useless to hope that as at present constituted she will ever realise her enormous responsibilities to the community, or that she will ever strive to do her work as a great engine of social reform and social advancement. The only course that is left open to the State is to assume those responsibilities, and undertake that work itself. The hundreds of thousands a year that are now wasted by the Church in instructing a small minority of Church-goers in utterly untenable metaphysics, would be sufficient to carry out many great social reforms, which all are agreed are necessary, and which all hesitate to advocate on account of their cost. The good that could be done by the cathedrals alone, were they owned by the community, is almost incalculable. It must be borne in mind that at least half of them are situated, not in the traditional sleepy cathedral city, but in great hiving towns in which at any

moment there are hundreds out of work, hundreds on the verge of starvation, hundreds of those for whose benefit Christianity was originally founded, and for whom at the present day the Church, as represented by her cathedral organisations, appears not to have a thought. The mission of Christianity is, after all, to the poor and distressed, to the outcast, to the sinner, to the Magdalene and to the publican. The temples of Christianity would, were the Church fulfilling its mission, be full of the starving and the ragged. Its cathedrals would be packed with the very scum of the population, who would come knowing that they would receive in them comfort and assistance, not of a theological nature, but mental, moral and physical. These great buildings would become, as they were originally intended to be by those who built them and gave them, centres of education and of mental relaxation as well as of physical rest, to which the ill-clad, the unwashed and the unfed might turn for bodily rest and warmth, and to hear the great gospels of social and family duties, and of self-improvement expounded by sympathetic teachers. They should be, as we can only believe that Christ, had He been a teacher in the present scientific and practical century, would have had them be, lanterns from which the rays of knowledge and of self-help might shine upon even the most down-trodden and poverty-stricken of the population. Not on Sundays only, but every day in the week, they should be full to overflowing with the weary and the homeless, drawn in by the certainty that they would get in them that comfort for the oppressed and the heavy-laden which the Church was designed to give, a secure refuge from the cares and misery of the world without, and a real well-spring of hope for the future.

The Church, as at present constituted, has proved itself utterly incapable of realising this ideal. Instead of welcoming the attempts of those who would free her from the fetters of theology and metaphysics by which she has so long been helplessly bound, she uses the whole strength of the resistance of her inertia to keep them from touching a single link of the bonds which long use has made her reverence. It is useless to look for any effective reform having its origin within the Church, and it therefore becomes not merely optional but positively obligatory for the State to step in and see that the instruments which the Church refuses to put to

their proper use, are turned to good account. Disestablishment and Disendowment are no longer politics which can find their supporters only amongst the enemies of organised religion. They have become principles which must appeal to all who have at heart the true cause of Christianity as originally taught, all who can lay any real claim to being followers of the Great Social Revolutionist.

MOUNTMORRES.

THE TRUE MEANING OF "OCCULTISM."

OUTSIDE the circle of those who are seriously concerned with the study of occultism, misapprehensions are very apt to arise concerning the significance of that expression. Nor are they who make use of it with the full consciousness of what they mean, otherwise than well aware that it is a misleading term which they merely employ for want of a better. The situation under which the term has come into use is roughly as follows :—In the ancient world the mysteries of Nature were studied under conditions differing very widely from those prevailing in our own time. When things were found to happen, people had not yet got into the habit of questioning the fact by asking whether such happenings could be accounted for along the lines of knowledge with which they were familiar. Glance a moment, for example, at the oracles of ancient Greece. With ludicrous conceit modern writers have sometimes supposed that the keen-witted people of that period were all imposed upon by charlatans in connection with the oracles they consulted, just as the modern bumpkin of the country fair might be imposed upon by a mountebank. Some critics, indeed, even outside the ranks of those who know enough to comprehend the theory of Greek oracles, have endeavoured to point out that it is unreasonable to suppose the Greeks as a body so stupid as to maintain their faith in the value of oracles through many centuries, if these all the while were no more really important than mountebank tricks. The laws connected with spiritual inspiration, clairvoyance and mediumship have since engaged the

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attention of a comparatively limited number of students more open-minded than the rest, and these have drifted into the way of referring to the deep underlying principles operative in connection with such manifestations as belonging to an "occult" or hidden department of human knowledge. So also in connection with much that went on in Egyptian temples, whose activities long preceded the developments of Delphi and other Grecian seats of occult science. The common people were certainly impressed by performances which appeared miraculous to them at the time, and may have been the outcome either of knowledge amongst the priests anticipating some of the familiar observations of our own science, or what is really more probable, they may have been due to the acquisition by the old Egyptian priesthood of resources by means of which natural forces with which modern science is still unfamiliar, were brought into play. In all cases, however, in the ancient world, such knowledge was jealously guarded by its possessors, and whether it had to do with those which we now call psychic phenomena, or with mere anticipations of modern physical discovery, all the science of the early period was "occult" in the sense that it was hidden from general observation.

Now, within recent years, multitudes of people have become aware of the fact that, independently of phenomena that have to do with and can be explained by reference to the physical senses, things are happening which claim for their interpretation a deeper investigation than can be carried out by mere laboratory researches or with the aid of mechanical instruments. The progress of human knowledge might have been provided for in a more satisfactory way if such happenings had always been examined by those already familiar with natural law as affecting the objects of sense, or in other words, of physical science. But events did not fall out along those lines. People who accidentally became acquainted with the phenomena of mesmerism, clairvoyance, spiritualism and the rest, were sometimes amongst those trained in scientific work, but much more often were ill-qualified to present their experiences to the world in a manner calculated to command respectful attention. And no matter what phrases they employed to describe the pursuits in which they were engaged, these were promptly contaminated in the

public mind by the offensive ridicule directed against them by representatives of narrow-minded and conventional bigotry. And this kind of condemnation was rendered all the more distressing by the tendency shown on the part of a great many of those concerned with ultra-physical enquiry, to surround their proceedings with turgid and bombastic phrases derived from mediæval literature, which seemed to them to invest, with extra mystery and wonder, the discoveries with which they were concerned. French writers even, in some cases no doubt with many claims to respectful attention had they been properly understood, were especially liable to fall into this bad habit. Eliphas Levi's writings, for example, "*Le Dogme et rituelle de la Haute Magie*," "*La Clé des grands Mystères*," and others, are saturated in this way with a portentous solemnity which greatly detracts from, instead of accentuating, their real value. Baron du Potet, also, whose researches in connection with mesmeric, and what French students of the subject are fond of calling "magnetic," experiments, are described to the world in books over-laden with pretentious language quite out of harmony, at all events, with the spirit of scientific research in other directions. But all this sort of literature manifestly belongs to the subject of occultism, and the term which thus has to be more and more frequently employed as the deep significance of the enquiry it represents is understood, becomes more and more discredited in popular estimation by the unscientific attitude of mind with which it is too often associated.

Perhaps the best word which might really be used to designate our growing comprehension of natural laws, conditions and states of consciousness, with which commonplace mankind has hitherto been entirely unfamiliar, would be one which was often employed by the gnostic writers of Alexandria. The term "Theosophy" might readily expand beyond its strict etymological meaning into the title of the future science which should deal with higher planes of nature, leading enlightened wisdom a little nearer to the divine fountain head of all knowledge; and it might roughly be translated as the science of the spiritual worlds. But that term again has had a narrow and conventional meaning assigned to it by association, especially with a specific society of modern growth, which, however dignified and important it may

really be, has been target of so much attack and misrepresentation that its designation for the world at large is apt to evoke a multitude of false conceptions. Another word, which has recommendations as descriptive of the great modern movement in the direction of enlarging the area of science so as to include some super-physical regions within our reach, might also be taken from Alexandrian literature, and would, at all events, have an obvious significance for modern readers because of their familiarity with its converse. "Gnosticism" could be taken as the designation of the highest science, and since everyone knows that the "agnostic" is a man who deliberately professes ignorance of anything that can be called divine science, the "gnostic" would be at once understood as one who professed to regard a great deal of divine knowledge as coming within the scientific purview. But for classical students, at all events, the term "gnostic," has such very specific reference to the writings and philosophy of the Neoplatonists that they would regard it as misapplied to the modern investigation of psychic phenomena. "Divine" science might be a phrase not improperly appropriated to the study of spiritual nature, but it would be flavoured with rather a disagreeable intellectual arrogance, and, moreover, would too closely resemble a scheme of thinking which, under the designation "Christian Science," has enlisted the enthusiasm of multitudes for a view of nature quite out of harmony with the exact thinking of those who are in the habit of calling themselves occult students.

It seems as though for the present these will have to be content with that title, hoping that as time goes on even people outside their own communion will come to understand that in its modern acceptance occultism claims to be not so much a department as an expansion of ordinary science, beyond the limits fully illuminated so far by physical investigation into regions of nature which have hitherto lain hidden from commonplace observation, but are no more really fenced off from us by impassable barriers than those recently opened fields of electric and chemical research, which, for the scientists of only a generation ago, were quite as occult as the laws which may regulate the utterances of an inspired seer or seeress.

It is needless to burden this brief paper with catalogues of

books relating to modern occult research, having to do not merely with the investigation of super-physical planes of nature lying beyond the range of any researches that can be carried on by physical means, but also with principles underlying the constitution of matter which tend to interpret the phenomena of chemistry still presenting unsolved problems to the chemist who denies himself the help of occultism. But such books are abundant in the present day, and others will show how occult research carries back our knowledge concerning the early history of the human race through all but illimitable vistas of the past, compared to which the written records of the last six or seven thousand years constitute no more than a final chapter torn from the whole book, and desperately misunderstood by those who know nothing of the missing pages. Modern occultism may concern itself sometimes with an attempt to elucidate the meaning of fantastic symbols and allegories embodied in the records of the Cabala, or running through the writings of mediæval Rosicrucians and devotees of alchemical symbology, but this is merely a ramification of occultism. These symbols, however irritating to modern taste, undoubtedly represented vague states of consciousness in the past approximating to exact knowledge. But even if we credit those who were attached to their use with a still greater degree of enlightenment, it is no longer necessary to wrap up their interpretation of even the most divine mysteries in symbolical phrases and allegorical stories designed to be unintelligible for the multitude. A much fuller light than that which the mediæval writers enjoyed has now been shed upon these mysteries, and, furthermore, the motives which in former ages rendered it necessary to deal with them in obscure language have passed away with the growth of religious toleration, which exempts us from the terrors of the Inquisition, even though we may be concerned with investigations which the crude theology of former times discountenanced. Occultism, therefore, is emerging by degrees into regions of overt science, but the subjects on which its energies are bent are still those which were less successfully pursued by the occultists of former ages, and thus it is impossible as yet to escape from association with the phrases which they were in the habit of employing. No doubt there is an element of absurdity in describing as occult

or hidden laws, and principles of nature which are fully described in current literature, and in reference to which it is supremely important that the world at large should be as far as possible enlightened. But until a more general diffusion of the knowledge available for mankind, as certain higher human faculties come more generally into use, leads to the employment of a terminology that has not yet been invented, we must go on talking about the acquisitions and achievements of occultism, meaning thereby the knowledge gained by the use of the faculties above referred to. Already these are diffused widely enough to bring about supremely important results, and I now propose to survey the fields of research to which the modern student of occultism directs his attention, and to indicate in a broad and general way the results which have so far rewarded his endeavour.

The great embarrassment which stands in the way of trying to carry out an idea of this sort has to do with the impossibility of beginning at the beginning of the story which has to be told. The world at large practically knows nothing as yet concerning the principles underlying human evolution, and is, in this way, wholly unsuspecting of the existence on earth of superior agencies intervening between the human family, as visible around us, and the divine impulses to which its origin is due. But such entities exist, however secluded from general observation, and without their help the dawning capacities of some amongst ourselves — bringing their possessors into some sort of touch with ultra-physical conditions of existence—would grope very helplessly amongst the obscurities in their way. So it is not quite true to say that we are beginning at the beginning of this story if we dwell, in the first instance, on what is known concerning the faculty of clairvoyance regarded as an instrument of research in connection with the higher mysteries of nature. But, on the whole, that is the best way of getting minds unfamiliar with occult research into tune with the possibilities of such undertakings. People must learn to realise, as the result of an independent enquiry, what really are the possibilities lying before the properly trained clairvoyant before they can be expected to pay any serious attention to the fruit of his researches.

The whole subject, it is true, has been so terribly contaminated by imposture, that those who stand aside from it have, at all events, some excuse for the attitude of mind they maintain, even if they do not directly come under the lash of Pope's censure as belonging to the class of those who

" . . . have still an itching to deride,
And fain would be upon the laughing side."

While the advertisement columns of certain newspapers are laden with offers of self-styled clairvoyants to look into the future for 5s. in the interest of anybody prepared to pay the fee, it is natural enough that people quite outside the range of serious experience in this connection should treat clairvoyance as of no more importance than gipsy fortune telling. But the people really to blame for this state of things are not so much the fee hunters as the scientific men of the last century, who have been dull enough to miss the extremely important significance of the clairvoyant faculty as such, independently altogether of the value, as far as early experimentation was concerned, of the knowledge to which it first gave rise. Enough experience has been floating about the world, for the better part of the century, to show that there are other avenues to consciousness besides the senses. And that these are capable of putting consciousness in relationship with realms of nature enormously more important than those with which the mere physical senses can be concerned. But unhappily the representatives of orthodox science have for the most part impeded rather than promoted investigation along these lines, and the occult student alone has been persevering enough to struggle with difficulties which the students of ordinary science might have smoothed away, to the end that at last he has realised the all but infinite capacity of the clairvoyant faculty for cognising the conditions of ultra-physical existence, and even of this physical earth at periods inconceivably more remote than any which can be reached by archæological inquiry. To justify this view would claim a very protracted digression. The growing literature relating to Atlantis will indicate to some extent the wealth of material available for those who wish to go for themselves again over the long road that has been travelled by the modern occult student.

I must not leave the reader under the impression that the knowledge, with which the modern occultism is concerned, has been exclusively acquired by means of the clairvoyant faculty, as exercised by those whose testimony can be employed to check and fortify each other's researches. Again, one would have to appeal to a considerable volume of literature, in order to indicate the circumstances under which the occult student becomes aware of the fact that access can be had, under certain conditions, to representatives of the human family enormously more advanced, both as regards their intellectual, spiritual, and psychic development, than the most gifted amongst those whose names are familiar to literature. But what I have said may serve to indicate the nature of the foundation on which the convictions of the modern occultist are built. However offensive the idea seems to 19th century conceit, a fairly considerable number of earnest and qualified devotees of the higher science have by this time been growing into a knowledge of the fact, that the world includes some few inhabitants standing on a far higher level of evolution than that familiar as yet to the civilised world at large. And when the conditions of their own spiritual development are such as to enable them to become, in a certain measure, the pupils of "adept" teachers, they may in turn become qualified to exercise in something like its true perfection, the clairvoyant faculties which in the absence of systematic training is apt to be concerned with relatively frivolous pursuits.

And now, what is the outcome of the teaching that is filtering through into the world from higher levels, and becoming available for verification, at all events, by earnest enquirers standing only a little way in advance of their fellows. The purpose of occult study may be roughly defined as aiming at the comprehension of human evolution as a whole. At an early stage of the enquiry a student realises that the mere observation of what takes place in the one physical life of a man, no more serves to explain his place in nature, than one glimpse of a river in an unexplored continent would teach the traveller to know the mountains from which it took its source or the seas towards which it was flowing. It is only when we realise that there is no really impassable barrier lying between our consciousness on this earth and that

which we reach when any given physical incarnation is over, that death is perceived to be not really a mystery at all. The region beyond the grave is really a bourne from which *all* travellers return, and only when we trace back their journeys through this world in the past, and realise the nature of the road that has been travelled by those who have out-stripped them in some conspicuous degree, do we begin to see that human evolution is a process quite within the capacities of human comprehension as a whole. And only then do we begin to see how infinitely important as bearing on our future course through the ages, may be the influence exerted on our conduct by that accurate comprehension and by a detailed survey of the past. That in a nutshell is the true meaning of occultism. It is the science of life and consciousness; the study which unfolds "human origins" in a manner which utterly eclipses the speculation of the most ingenious geologist; a forecast of the human future which even more brilliantly surpasses the teachings of the most aspiring theologian. Incidentally, of course, occultism brings us within sight of natural phenomena going on all around us, of which the ordinary world is wholly and entirely unaware. It enables us to take a new view of matter, and to realise that just as to the physical senses the multitudinous beings who pervade the spaces in which we ourselves move, are perfectly imperceptible to human creatures of the ordinary type, so these human creatures, or, at all events, their human bodies, with the houses and cities they occupy, are utterly imperceptible to the senses of that other multitude pervading the same space. This idea, and innumerable details hanging to it, are commonplace and familiar to the occultist, however beyond the range of ordinary thinking, and the occultist is equally aware that the plane or condition of nature just referred to is merely the antechamber of those which are far loftier in their nature and potentialities. He knows full well, even if he may not be able individually to verify the fact, that the planets of this system, so far as telescopes can show them, are merely the physical worlds of the system, and that many more would suddenly reveal themselves to higher faculties, if he were able to develop them—would spring for him into existence if those faculties were opened, as the sun's corona suddenly reveals itself to the watcher of a total eclipse.

Language must inevitably be vague when it deals with the higher planes of nature and the possibilities awaiting human evolution in the future; but with reference to the past, knowledge rewards the student of occultism with information as precise as that which can be gathered, with all the resources of modern journalism, concerning events and progress in far-off lands within our own time. The six or seven thousand years of human history, partially illuminated by the remnants we retain of ancient writing, are really no more than the last chapters of a mighty story stretching back for years, to be reckoned by the million over periods the history of which the student of occultism has recovered from the memory of nature. But it would hardly lie within the compass of this paper for me to attempt even a sweeping survey of the actual information put together by occult research with reference to the early history of mankind long before the geological activities of the earth had prepared the continent of Europe for the more recent scenes of the protracted human drama. It would equally lie beyond the purpose of this essay to trace in detail that familiar course through higher planes of nature which is traversed by each human soul when the physical body it has been animating for a time, has been worn out and cast aside. All this is set forth at great length in the literature of modern occultism, but so little is this generally understood that it has seemed worth while to devote some efforts to the interpretation of its general purpose, and with the fulfilment of this effort, so far as I have been able to accomplish it, I must, for the present, remain content.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE THEORY OF PROTECTION.

BY MAJOR LEONARD DARWIN.

I AM tempted to send this short article to BROAD VIEWS in the hope that the views of its readers may be broad enough to make them wish to hear both sides of a question. The "conventional habits of thought" of modern times tend to make the public wish to study only those works which are calculated to strengthen the views they already hold; and, by publishing both sides of a controversy, this periodical will certainly be acting in accordance with the professions set forth on its title page.

In BROAD VIEWS for May, Mr. Parker Smith stated the views of the Protectionist Party on the fiscal question in an interesting article, and to some of his contentions I propose to reply. But, first of all, I think I ought to be allowed to urge, as a matter not controversial, that, whatever may be the verdict as to the views held by free-traders, it can hardly be denied that we know something of our own minds. When dealing with the opinions attributed to us by Mr. Parker Smith, I may at all events speak very positively as to the state of my own mind; and I am certain that I may also speak in the name of all the free-traders with whom I am personally acquainted. We do not, as asserted, believe that English prosperity "began in 1846," when the Corn Laws were abolished. We see but little, if any, signs of other nations being converted to our views. We have never associated the name of Mr. Chamberlain with such phrases as "invincible ignorance" or "lowest party tactics." In

short, we repudiate every single one of the sentiments or beliefs attributed to us in the first paragraph of the article to which I am replying.

Although such a repudiation somewhat clears the air as far as I am concerned—I cannot speak for the type of free-trader alluded to by Mr. Parker Smith, a type with which I am not acquainted—and, although it is not necessary for me to reply on all the points he raises, yet there are nevertheless many subjects on which we disagree fundamentally. Luckily, from the point of view of brevity, there is one contention so vital to the issues raised, and so clearly brought forward in this article, that it appears both fair and suitable to select it as the main battle ground on which to try conclusions. If Mr. Parker Smith can retain possession of this, one of the keys of his position, I shall have failed in my onslaught. Free-traders no doubt argue that the importation of steel rails from Belgium, for example, does not injure this country as a whole, the reason being that these steel rails are paid for by exported goods, and that our profits can be made in the manufacture of these exported goods as well or better than in the making of the steel rails themselves. This argument, though supported by the greatest economists, is held to contain an “obvious fallacy,” which Mr. Parker Smith has detected at last. Let the question whether there be a fallacy or not in this argument be our battle ground. In order that this contest may be fairly fought, I must be permitted to quote at length the passage in which my opponent justifies his assertion :—

“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 rail-makers 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 five 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 five 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 this contention can be sustained, then no doubt my free-trade faith is shaken to its very foundations. To reply to this argument, and to make my meaning clear, I must be allowed to translate it into my own words, which I will do as fairly as I possibly can. Having done this, I propose, in the first place, to give reasons for suspecting that the fallacy lies with Mr. Parker Smith and not with us, and then to indicate what I believe that fallacy to be.

Let us take the case of the importation from Germany in 1903 of steel rails to the value of £1,000; and, since my opponent admits that such a transaction is "in reality an exchange of goods for goods," let us assume that these goods are paid for by the exportation from England of goods—let us say cotton goods—to the value of about £1,000. Now I take it that what we want to ascertain is what would have been the condition of things in England in 1903 if an import duty had been imposed on steel rails, and if, in consequence, these steel rails, to the value of £1,000, had been made in England instead of in Germany. If I follow my opponent correctly, he contends that if these steel rails had been made in England, they would have been exchanged for—or their manufacture would have created a demand for—an approximately equal value of other English made goods, which we may typify by or call cotton goods. Thus the result would have been, according to this view, that England would have retained for her own use not only the £1,000 worth of rails but also the cotton goods. If this

be true, we should have been in fact richer by nearly £1,000 worth of cotton goods, which, in the absence of effective import duties, we actually sent to Germany.

Unless I am mistaken, Mr. Parker Smith would, it is true, qualify this contention by adding that if the English mills for the manufacture of steel rails were as a fact fully employed in 1903, then there would, in that case, have been no loss in getting these steel rails from Germany. But industrial demands can generally be met in time ; for, when commerce is active, emigration is checked, immigration is encouraged, and new mills are erected. As regards ultimate results, I see little reason why even this modest limitation to the supposed beneficial effects of protection should have been inserted.

In dealing with this subject, I propose in the first place to indicate some startling conclusion which would follow from the acceptance of the views which I am controverting. I have assumed that we exchange English-made cotton for German-made steel rails, and the contention is that we shall gain greatly by the stoppage of this branch of international barter. Now the reason why the imposition of an import duty would check or stop international barter is that it would absorb a part or the whole of the possible profits, and that it would thus make the trade less remunerative or not remunerative at all ; and it is obvious that the same kind of check would be placed on this barter between English cotton goods and German steel rails, either by England placing an import duty on German steel rails, or by Germany placing an import duty on English cotton goods. We have assumed that the barter of these goods would be absolutely stopped by the import duty imposed in England, or rather by the threat of an import duty ; for if the trade were stopped no duty would actually be levied. And, in cases where no duty is actually levied, the result would be precisely and absolutely the same whichever nation it was that threatened to impose the duty. Now the contention is that this barter is harmful to us, and it obviously follows that we ought to be grateful to all who take any steps tending to stop it. As regards the trade under consideration, our complaint against Germany should therefore be, not that she is imposing duties on our goods, but that she is

not imposing duties high enough to stop their entry into Germany altogether ! Thus far it would seem that retaliation would do us nothing but harm if it really would have the effect of throwing the doors of Germany wide open to us !

Do I, at this point, hear the protectionist exclaim that he wants England to supply the existing demand for cotton goods in Germany, and also that the new demand for cotton goods in England which would spring up if we prohibited the German importation of steel rails, and if, in consequence, we made these steel rails for ourselves at home ? If so, a moment's reflection will make him see that it is impossible to get at the same time the advantages which would result from both checking and encouraging international trade. He has merely to ask himself how we should get paid for our exports of cotton goods to Germany if we were to stop the corresponding importation into England of German-made goods, and he will recognise that such a demand to have our cake and eat it too is futile.

It may, perhaps, be urged, that we must consider whether the imports received from any foreign country are "labour displacing imports" or not ; and that it is only the importation of such labour displacing goods which we should endeavour to check. The imports we receive from Germany are chiefly manufactured goods, which are certainly classed as labour displacing by protectionists ; and this consideration only strengthens the contention that, if Mr. Parker Smith's views are sound, any import duties imposed in Germany are beneficial to us. To whatever extent Germany should increase her import duties, we should be wise in taking it lying down ; that is, if no fallacy exists in the protectionists arguments. As to our trade with South America, to take another example, the goods received by us from that continent are chiefly raw materials, and consequently cannot be classed as labour displacing. This branch of our international barter is, therefore, wholly beneficial to us, and we should try all we can to remove any barriers in the way of commerce with South America. Here, therefore, where a retaliatory duty would fall almost wholly on raw materials, we might safely retaliate. Mr. Parker Smith did not, it is true, deal with the subject of retaliation in his article, and these remarks are merely by the way.

The foregoing is not, however, the most surprising result which can be shown to follow from the acceptance of the views of protectionists. Mr. Parker Smith admits that the "importation of foreign manufactured goods" is "in reality an exchange of goods for goods." On this theme I keep harping, because I believe that any man of honesty and ability, qualities for both of which Mr. Parker Smith is very conspicuous, who fully admits this truth is a lost soul to the protectionist party. He can only escape from the meshes of free trade by going back to a certain extent on this admission. Now if this axiom be admitted, we are right in regarding German steel rails as being exchanged for English goods—say cotton goods; and the effect of stopping that exchange cannot, as I have shown, depend on which of the parties it is which stops it. The argument, so confidently brought forward to indicate the results likely to arise in England from protective duties must be equally applicable to Germany; that is, in cases where the duties levied in either country do prevent any international barter which would otherwise take place. We can imagine a German disciple of the protectionist school urging in words almost identical with those already quoted that, "if the merchants of Berlin purchased £1,000 worth of cotton goods, they in effect pay for them by giving orders upon thousands of manufacturers in Germany. This is equally true," he will add, "whether the cotton makers in question reside in Germany or in Lancashire. So far as Germany, as a whole, is concerned, there would be a loss, by getting this cotton from England, of nearly the whole price of that cotton," and protective duties, he will therefore conclude, must have the effect of vastly increasing the manufacturing output of Germany. Now, if all this be true, the stopping of international barter will increase production in an amazing manner both in Germany and in England. What a vista of wonderful possibilities this opens out to our view if we allow our fancy to dwell for a moment on the advantages of dividing Europe by commerce-proof barriers into still smaller districts! The Tariff Commission has, indeed, a mighty task to perform in framing its scientific tariff to produce this result. But seriously, I am certain that Mr. Parker Smith does not believe that protective duties can greatly increase the production of the world as a whole; and, if so, he has to show why

his arguments are only applicable to England, and why the stopping of this barter should enrich England and impoverish Germany. This he has not shown.

I hope that some of those who were at first inclined to accept Mr. Parker Smith's views may be now somewhat more disposed to believe that there is a fallacy in his arguments. The fallacy which I believe to exist is, curiously enough, closely allied to the "gross blunder in accounting" which the protectionists appear to believe that the free-traders have made. Mr. Parker Smith, it will be observed, tacitly assumes in his argument that, if the London County Council were to order its steel rails from England instead of from Germany, it would follow that such an order would simply be added to the orders which would otherwise have been given; that is to say, that the steel rail trade would be increased by the amount of this new order without any opposing tendencies being brought into play. This assumption, innocent as it sounds, he has no right to make; and here we are, at all events, on the track of the fallacy. My opponent states clearly, and I believe correctly, that steel rails made in England or Germany must be regarded as being exchanged for other goods; or, in other words, that any wages, &c., paid in the steel rail trade, cause a demand for other goods made in England or elsewhere. But has any free-trader ever denied this? What Mr. Parker Smith fails to see is that the order for the cotton goods for Germany being no longer placed in England will diminish the wages in the cotton trade, and lessen the demand for other goods, including English-made steel rails. More steel rails and less cotton goods may possibly be made in England in consequence of any protective duties; but, as regards trade generally, there will be two opposing tendencies at work, the increase in trade caused by the new orders for steel rails, and the decrease in trade caused by the loss of the order for cotton goods. There is no reason whatever to assert that the one tendency, which Mr. Parker Smith sees, will be greater than the other tendency, which he entirely ignores; and there is nothing in his arguments to make us believe that England will gain on the whole as the result of any check on international barter.

Let the reader keep clearly in his mind the notion that international trade is the barter or exchange of goods between

different nations, and he will at once see that the effect of the introduction of any friction into this barter must be to make the nations concerned more self-contained. A nation, however, may become more self-contained in two different ways. It may attract industries; as, for example, when the rise of prices due to import duties induced certain English hat manufacturers to set up works in Australia, and thus to supply Australian-made hats to the Australians. But a nation may also become more self-contained by ejecting industries. England, for example, would depend less on imported food if the cotton goods manufacturers and workmen supplying Germany were to migrate in a body to that country. Forces are set at work by the imposition of new import duties which tend both to the adoption of new trades and to the abandonment of old trades; but the opposing influences thus produced on the labour market will not necessarily ultimately balance each other. Manufacturies have in all probability been established in Australia in consequence of protective duties; and if the advantages undoubtedly thus gained have not been more than counter-balanced by the undoubted check on agriculture, railway construction and other necessarily local industries, due to the rise in the prices of the protected goods, then Australia has gained by protection. Personally I believe that Australia has checked her own progress by her fiscal policy; but of this I am not certain. In England, on the other hand, the result of any check on our international barter and of the inevitable tendency thus produced to make us more self-contained, is likely to be more felt in the direction of diminishing the output of old manufacturies engaged in the export trade rather than in attracting new trade to our shores. By taxing our food we should be likely to encourage the growth of manufacturies in countries from which we draw that food, and we should thus injure ourselves to such an extent that the simultaneous encouragement to English agriculture would be very far from compensating us for the losses thus sustained. It is because of this inevitable loss to my countrymen from protection that I feel keenly the necessity of fighting such a fiscal revolution with every weapon in my power.

In the same article to which I am replying, it is correctly stated that taxation for revenue only has been the rule of British

financiers in recent years; but to the explanation given of the theory of this rule I must demur. We are told that the object of Free Traders 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." This statement errs both in excess and in defect. One of the main objections to import duties is that prices are thus raised, a tax is thus imposed on consumers generally, and a portion of the revenue thus raised is in effect transferred to a particular class of the community. An import duty on wheat would cause all bread eaters to pay a tax, only a fraction of the proceeds of which would go to the exchequer, the rest eventually finding its way for the most part into the pockets of the landlords. This consideration alone is sufficient to give great weight to the arguments of those who wish to adhere to the maxim of taxation for revenue only. Then, again, is it correct to say that the idea of escaping responsibility has anything whatever to do with the aims of the ordinary free trader? Many free traders are themselves manufacturers actively engaged in the struggle between the "home producer and his foreign rival," and the desire to avoid any change in our fiscal system cannot in their case be dictated by any desire to escape responsibility. Some of the more theoretical protectionists of the present day no doubt argue their case on the plea that our *laissez faire* system can no longer be tolerated, and that our government must be given general and wide powers to act upon trade from time to time by means of import duties, in such a manner as may seem best. Free Trade manufacturers, who have much responsibility thrown on them at present, certainly do fear the transfer of any of that responsibility to any Government department. Do not the comments on our methods of administration which we hear every day amply justify that fear? And, if the majority of our legislators are impressed with the belief that protective duties can act like a magic wand, and vastly increase our productive powers, are not these fears doubly justifiable?

Thus far I have been endeavouring to point out what appears to me to be the main fallacy in the theory of protection as enunciated in this Review. There is, however, another very im-

portant aspect of the fiscal question comprising both political and economic considerations, and a brief allusion must here be made to the effect of protection on the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies. In the article to which I am replying it is stated that "in every colony the growth of domestic protected industries makes relations leading to Imperial free trade ever more difficult ;" thus implying that such an aim is desirable. It is not quite clear why free trade even between ourselves and the other parts of the Empire is desirable if the results to England and perhaps to the Colonies are as likely to be as disastrous as my opponent appears to consider. Steel rails may be imported from Canada before long, and it is very doubtful if we should be right in permitting their importation if the result would be a loss to this "country of 95 per cent. of the cost" of those rails. But putting this point aside, would the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals make free trade with the Colonies appreciably more probable? To a great extent his arguments tell in favour of protection in general, and they seem, therefore, somewhat ill-adapted to aid in the conversion of the Colonies to a policy of even partial free trade. But even if Mr. Chamberlain and his followers in England are advocating preferential tariffs as a stepping stone to internal free trade, as I gather Mr. Parker Smith would contend, what authoratative statements can be quoted to show that the proposed reform is regarded in the same light in the Colonies? I know of none. In order to abolish customs barriers within the Empire, the first step should be to prove to the Colonies that free trade would benefit all parties. Free traders can endeavour in this manner to throw down all impediments to internal commerce; whilst the arguments of protectionists are likely to have the effect of establishing them more firmly than ever.

In the same article we are also told that "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." But what is the lesson taught by Germany? It is absolute free trade with the Empire, an absolute free trade established as a fundamental constitutional principle to depart from which would be an act of rebellion. Mr. Chamberlain's pro-

posal bears only a delusive resemblance to the German policy, and it is not even held by the Colonies to be a step in that direction. Under a system of preferential tariffs, each integral state of the Empire would be at liberty to impose duties to any extent on goods entering their gates from other parts of the Empire, and most of the self-governing Colonies appear to be determined to continue to avail themselves of their right to tax British goods entering their ports. No doubt it is intended that there should be some compact under which, as long as it lasted, foreign imports would have to be taxed more heavily than similar British goods when entering British ports; but no system has been suggested which would not give rise to bickerings as to which party to the agreement was being benefitted most. Unless we do in reality take a lesson from Germany and establish constitutionally safe-guarded internal free trade, questions connected with customs duties will continue to be a subject of negotiation between the different states of the Empire; whereas the reason why a true Zollverein makes for Imperial unity is that all friction arising from such bargainings is entirely avoided. It would rejoice the hearts of free traders if we could persuade the Colonies to freely and voluntarily adopt free trade within the Empire; but a system of preferential tariffs would not, I believe, be a step in that direction. I would sacrifice much to see the bonds of Empire strengthened; but I cannot agree to a sacrifice which would be made in vain.

Protection would injure England; and protection is, I believe, injuring the Colonies; and those who hold this faith must fight against it. Even if my opponent could convince me that I am wrong with regard to the economic effects of protection, I think I might even then fairly quote the recent bye-elections as a proof that the numbers who share my errors are very great. Any proposal in the direction of protection is certain to call forth fierce opposition; and, even if the Protectionists were to carry their reforms, the Free Trade party would not accept preferential tariffs as a permanently-established system. The bonds which unite us to the Colonies can be strengthened in many ways; and a serious impediment will be placed in the path of all those who are striving for Imperial Federation, if that question is in future always to be tied to the question of tariff reform. Not only would

preferential tariffs do us harm economically, but they would give rise to forces tending on the whole more to separation rather than to unity.

LEONARD DARWIN.

THE THEORY OF PROTECTION.

II.

BY J. PARKER SMITH, M.P.

By the courtesy of the Editor of *BROAD VIEWS* I have been able to see a revise of the foregoing article in time to write a short reply to appear in the same number of the Review.

Major Darwin repudiates with some warmth my description of the attitude of mind of Free Traders in the controversy. I accept his disclaimer for himself. If all "Free Fooders" were possessed by the same spirit of fairmindedness and thoroughness that always characterises my friend Major Darwin, a sketch which avowedly contained an element of caricature would have been so exaggerated as to be unrecognisable. Even in this article, however, I see the shadow of the cloven hoof, and the compliments which Major Darwin is good enough to pay me are spoiled by his underlying conviction that no man who does not accept the Cobdenite views upon trade can be, at the same time, both honest and intelligent—a serious reflexion upon the great majority of civilised mankind. I do not propose to add anything in regard to Colonial preference, though that is the vital motive of the whole movement, nor to enter upon various other points where I do not accept the views of Major Darwin, but shall confine myself to the defence of the main argument of my former article, because I agree with Major Darwin that that alone, if it can be safely held, makes the position of Free Traders untenable.

The question between us is whether the substitution of foreign

for home-made manufactured goods (*e.g.*, steel rails) is, or is not, injurious to the country. In my view this is a question of fact, depending upon the circumstances of each case. Major Darwin, on the other hand, boldly states, as the Free Trade position, that it cannot be injurious to the country as a whole, "the reason being that these steel rails are paid for by exported goods, and that our profits can be made as well or better in the manufacture of these exported goods as in the making of the steel rails themselves." My reply is that profits are made both upon the rails and on the goods exchanged for them. I don't know on which the profit is greatest, but I prefer to have both profits rather than to have either singly. In this view I claim no originality. When a similar problem was put to President Lincoln, and he was told that rails could be bought cheaper from England than they could be produced in the United States, his reply was: "If I buy rails from England we have the rails and they have the money, if I buy them here we have the rails and the money too." But to go further back to an authority who should carry weight with Major Darwin, my argument is, in reality, nothing more than a restatement of the position of Adam Smith in his chapter on the different methods of employment of capital (Book II., Chapter V.) The passage is worth quoting from the original, because no statement of the case can be more clear:—

"The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country generally replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. When it sends out from the residence of the merchant a certain value of commodities, it generally brings back in return at least an equal value of other commodities. When both are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals which had both been employed in supporting productive labour, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital that sends Scottish manufactures to London and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh necessarily replaces by every such operation two British capitals, which had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of Great Britain.

"The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry replaces too by every such operation two

distinct capitals, but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain replaces by every such operation only one British capital. The other is a Portuguese one."

To this argument neither Major Darwin in the present article, nor any previous writer, has found any sufficient reply.

To take the successive points raised by Major Darwin. He considers that he has driven me into an absurdity by drawing from my argument the inference that it is possible for a hostile foreign tariff to benefit a country.

I am not concerned to deny that this is possible. It has occasionally happened that prohibitions intended to be ruinous have benefitted the country attacked by causing the growth of manufactures. During the early years of last century German and American industries sprang into being through the Orders in Council and the closing of the seas. But such results, though possible, are not probable, for tariffs are not fortuitous concatenations, but schemes deliberately framed for definite purposes, and capable of modification if it is seen that those purposes are not being attained.

Major Darwin next deduces what he rightly calls a more surprising result. He argues that if it is true that an exchange of cotton for rails in the home trade is worth twice as much to England as a similar exchange in the foreign trade, then the same will equally hold good for Germany. So far no one can contest his reasoning. Hence he tries to force me into the absurd inference that "the stoppage of international barter will increase production in an amazing manner both in Germany and in England."

In reality nothing of the kind follows. Major Darwin, like Ricardo before him, arrives at an apparent *reductio ad absurdum* by the easy process of shifting his premises. The only inference to which he is legitimately entitled is that the interchange of two capitals in Germany, and of two capitals in England, means more production than the interchange of one capital from Germany with one capital from England, a proposition which the staunchest Free Fooder will not be concerned to deny. Adam Smith (like myself) was discussing one single transaction, the

exchange of commodity A for commodity B. The manufacture of each involves an expenditure in wages, profits, taxes, &c., which Adam Smith calls a capital. If commodity B is imported from abroad, then capital B, which is employed in making it, is foreign capital, and capital A (which is expended in making commodity A) is all that is divided amongst English employers and workmen. If commodity B is manufactured at home, then an English capital is expended in making it, and English workers have both capital A and capital B divided amongst them. Major Darwin would not deny this, but he changes the hypothesis by assuming two more capitals, capital X and capital Y, both foreign, producing two other commodities, commodity X and commodity Y. We now have the case of four capitals and four commodities, two English, A and B, and two foreign, X and Y. Whether it is more profitable to exchange A for B and X for Y, that is for both countries to confine themselves to home trade, or to exchange A for X and B for Y, that is for both countries to enter upon international barter, is a question not to be determined without knowledge of the circumstances of the case. But as regards England either of these alternatives is obviously better than that commodity A should be exchanged for the foreign commodity X if the result of that is that capital B stands idle. But this last is the result contemplated with indifference by Free Traders, in consequence of what I have called a gross blunder in accounting, into which from M'Culloch to Major Darwin they have fallen. The alternative is not between capital A and Capital B standing idle. Capital A, the cotton-making capital, has equally to be expended whether the rails obtained in return are made by capital B, the English capital, or by capital X, the German. Major Darwin in reality concedes this when he agrees to my statement that English-made rails, equally with German, are to be regarded as paid for in goods (in the case to which we have both of us for simplicity confined ourselves in cotton goods). If that is so, the loss of the order for cotton goods for Germany is made up by the gain of an order for cotton goods for the home rail-makers, and the order for rails remains as a clear gain.

The whole structure of the Free Trade argument depends upon the assumption that capital and labour are freely transfer-

able from one employment to another, and that if the English railmills do not get one particular order they can, without delay or loss, find another equally remunerative piece of work to take its place. Bagehot long ago pointed this out as the primary postulate of political economy (Economic Studies), but the importance of the limitation has been lost sight of through the blunder of counting the cotton maker's work twice over in the manner I have explained.

I must apologise for labouring so much a point that appears obvious, but when so acute a mind as that of Major Darwin fails to grasp the reasoning, I feel it cannot be stated too carefully.

J. PARKER SMITH.

THE CONSCRIPTION REPORT.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED TURNER, K.C.B.

(Late Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces.)

AFTER carrying on deliberations for over a year, the Royal Commission, under the Chairmanship of the Duke of Norfolk, appointed by the King "to enquire into the organisation, numbers, and terms of service of our Militia and Volunteer forces; and to report whether any, and if any, what changes are required in order to secure that these shall be maintained in a condition of military efficiency and at an adequate strength," has produced its report.

134 witnesses were examined, who gave replies to 24,150 questions; the enquiry, therefore, was of a most exhaustive nature.

Eight of the eleven members of the Commission (one, Colonel O'Callaghan Westropp, with considerable reservations set forth in an appended memorandum) subscribed to the report; three, namely, Sir Ralph Knox, Colonel Satterthwaite and Colonel Dalmahoy submitted minority reports. The two latter differed strongly from the majority on the following grounds:—

(1) That the report fails in our opinion to report definitely on the problems submitted to the Commission.

(2) That it leads to a recommendation of universal service, which, in all the circumstances of the case, we consider to be unnecessary and inadvisable.

(3) That the proposals contained in Section IV. of the report are inadequate in the case of each force.

Sir Ralph Knox, on the other hand, while disagreeing in certain of the views expressed in the report, considers "that the time is come for carrying into effect some measure of compulsory service to train the forces needed as the second line for the military service of the Empire."

The composition of the Commission on the whole met with approval; but there were not those wanting, who, having regard to the fact that one of the Commissioners was supposed to entertain strong views as to the desirability of compulsory Military service; and to hold opinions the reverse of flattering as to the merits of the Volunteer Force, prophesied that a suggestion of conscription in some shape or other, would be made, which would be a "*reductio ad absurdum*," and tend to weaken the force of any other recommendations made in it.

From the first the Commission evidently felt itself to be in a difficulty owing to what it considered, the ambiguity of the terms of reference. Being required to report on the numbers of the Volunteers and Militia, they held that no basis had been stated on which they could come to a conclusion as to the function which these irregular forces of the Crown were meant to carry out, which was essential for them to know before they could draw conclusions as to the requisite numbers for fulfilling it. They considered that if invasion is held to be out of the range of practical consideration, no auxiliary forces whatever are necessary; but if on the other hand this country is open to invasion by a "modern continental army," not only cannot the Militia and Volunteers be relied on to defeat an invader without substantial help from the regular Army, but even "improvements in the Militia and Volunteers will not be sufficient."

A remarkable correspondence took place between the Chairman of the Royal Commission and the Committee of Imperial Defence, during the early sittings of the former. This was in the first instance due to a refusal by the Lords of the Admiralty to allow the Director of Naval Intelligence to give evidence before the Royal Commission.

If we consider the six subjects on which the latter asked for evidence, which would bear the stamp of Admiralty authority, we can hardly be surprised that the Lords Commissioners of the

Admiralty declined to commit themselves to an expression of opinion. Most of the queries involved purely hypothetical assumptions, to reply to which, except on similar hypotheses, would be impossible, and which could not lead to any practical conclusions; would be unsatisfactory, if not dangerous.*

The Commission was therefore referred to that somewhat mysterious "*Deus ex Machinâ*," known as the Committee of Imperial Defence.†

The Royal Commission accepted the suggestion of the Admiralty, and the Chairman accordingly addressed the Duke of Devonshire on the 26th May, 1903, and asked to be enlightened as to the services which would be expected in case of war from the Militia and Volunteers, as, from the nature of the enquiry referred to by the Royal Commission, they considered that the possibility of an invasion must be reckoned upon as accepted. The Chairman further pointed out that, in order to arrive at a conclusion as to what should be the strength of the auxiliary forces, they should know the approximate strength of the invading force that our land force may be called upon to meet—to which the Chairman did not directly reply, naturally enough it appears, but informed the Commission that the latter was not intended to inquire into the number of troops, regular or auxiliary, which should be maintained for home defence or other services, as this question "has been for some time and still is under the consideration of the Committee of Imperial Defence." It was suggested that the Commission should accept the numbers of Militia and Volunteers

* The questions were as follows :—

(1) To what extent can the Navy be relied upon to protect the country against invasion?

(2) Is it possible that from (a) stress of weather, (b) defeat in action, or (c) temporary absence from other cause, the protection which the Navy would naturally give, might be temporarily suspended?

(3) Would protecting the Kingdom seriously interfere with the duties of the Navy in other respects?

(4) Can the Navy, during the first weeks of a war with a Naval Power, be relied upon to convoy reinforcements to our garrisons abroad?

(5) If the country can be invaded, what are the limits which the Admiralty puts to the force which could be landed?

(6) On the assumption that this country is at war with one or two Continental Powers, within what time do the Navy expect to have command of the sea?

† See Appendix B. of Report, p. 74.

as defined "under the present scheme of mobilization of the War Office."

This was written on the 22nd June, and a month later the Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence forwarded a memorandum to the Royal Commission, in which the opinion of the former was expressed that it appeared to them "that it would be most unfortunate if the Royal Commission should, with necessarily imperfect opportunities of examining the question, incorporate into its Report an expression of opinion as to the liability to invasion, or as to the strength of the force which should be maintained for the defence of the United Kingdom or for the other purposes referred to, which may afterwards be found to be at variance with the deliberate and authoritative decision of the Committee of Imperial Defence, whose special function it has been to examine these questions, with a full command of the sources of information at the disposal both of the Admiralty and the War Office."

"It appears to the Committee of Imperial Defence that the main object for which the Royal Commission was appointed was to advise His Majesty's Government and Parliament, not as to the strength at which the Militia and Volunteers should be maintained in this country, but how the establishment of Militia and Volunteers could be maintained at full efficiency, and at the strength decided by His Majesty's Government and Parliament on the advice of the Committee of Imperial Defence to be necessary. It is therefore suggested that the present mobilisation scheme should be taken as the basis on which the Royal Commission should consider this question, as the principles which they lay down must necessarily be applicable equally to the establishment which may vary within reasonable limits on either side of the existing one."

On the 5th August, 1903, a further memorandum was addressed by the Committee of Imperial Defence to the Royal Commission; informing them that the former consider that it will meet the purpose of the enquiry, if the Commission will "base their recommendations on the assumption that the mobilisation scheme for Home Defence will be met by an effective Force of 100,000 Militia and 200,000 Volunteers."

These instructions, as they may be termed, are perfectly clear, and, one would have thought, unmistakable. It is however to be regretted, that the enquiry into *numbers* formed one of the terms of reference to the Royal Commission, and that "training" was not inserted instead. However the memorandum of the Imperial Defence Committee of 22nd July, 1903, appears to have made it perfectly manifest, what the latter desired the scope of the enquiry to be. Effect, however, was not given to its suggestions and plainly expressed wishes.

Not only does the Royal Commission express its opinion that this country is liable to invasion, but it records its opinion that the Auxiliary Forces are not capable in the absence of the whole or the greater portion of the regular forces of protecting the country against it; it concludes the report by stating that this security can only be obtained "on the principle that it is the duty of every citizen of military age and sound physique to be trained for the National defence, and to take part in it should emergency arise."

This means conscription pure and simple, however it may be glossed over.

The Commission report that "either invasion is possible or it is not." No one will dispute the soundness of this proposition; few, however, will fall in with the view expressed, that if it is not possible no military force is required for home defence. The policy of the Government and the *raison d'être* of our land forces are that the regular army is meant principally for oversea work, that *serious invasion* is not one of the perils we need dread, so long as we maintain a proper Navy, that behind our Navy we must depend, in case of emergency, upon our auxiliary forces for the defence of the country. I am convinced that the vast majority of our countrymen will accept this policy, and that they will decline, in no doubtful manner, to admit the principle of compulsory service, in any shape or form, as being not only unnecessary but also contrary to our traditions, our Constitution, and our institutions, and repugnant to the nature and temper of the British people.

On one, and as far as I know, only one former occasion, was Conscription not only seriously mooted, but accepted for a short

time. This was in June, 1803, when panic was rife in the land owing to the enormous flotilla which Napoleon was assembling at Boulogne, and the vast host he was collecting for the invasion of England. A Bill was passed on the 28th June to raise 50,000 men for the regular Army by Conscription, viz.:—34,000 in England, 10,000 in Ireland, 6,000 in Scotland, in addition to the Militia (80,000) then embodied.

Following on this, a Bill was brought in shortly afterwards to enable the King to call on the levy *en masse* to repel the invasion of the enemy, and empowering the Lords Lieutenant of the several counties to enrol all the men in the Kingdom, between seventeen and fifty years of age, who were to be divided into regiments according to their several ages and professions. But all persons were to be exempt from this Conscription who were members of any Volunteer Corps approved of by His Majesty, and such was the general zeal and enthusiasm, that in a few weeks 300,000 men were enrolled, armed and disciplined in the different parts of the Kingdom, and the compulsory Conscription fell to the ground. This immense force, which embraced all classes and professions of men, not only was of incalculable importance by providing a powerful reserve of trained men to strengthen the ranks and supply the vacancies of the regular Army, but contributed in a remarkable manner to produce a patriotic ardour and feeling of unanimity among the people, and lay the foundation of that military spirit which enabled Great Britain at length to appear as principal in the contest and beat down the power of France, even on that element where hitherto she had obtained such unexampled success.*

Even in those dark days, when a huge coalition was ranged against us, and Napoleon, with all the resources which his genius and energy had collected, was awaiting the moment to make his swoop upon our shores, Conscription was found to be unnecessary and useless. How much more is it so to-day.

So far as the Commission confined itself to the strict terms of reference, the report and its recommendations, were as far as they went, excellent; their fate, however, is doubtful. One of the measures very strongly advocated, was the creation of a separate

* Allison's History of Europe," Vol. VIII., pages 283-4.

Department at the War Office for the administration of Auxiliary Forces—such a Department independent of the Adjutant-General existed up to 1878, after which change succeeded change in the personnel and composition of this Department, after the usual charming contempt for continuity and consistency which characterizes Army administration with us. On the 17th February this year the Department was set free from that of the Adjutant-General, with the result that it became possible promptly to carry out work with despatch and in a business-like manner. Alas! *horresco referens!* at the end of March, on the appearance of No. 3 report of Lord Esher's Committee, which was adopted forthwith without any discussion in Parliament, and in what appeared to be hysterical haste, the appointment of Inspector General of Auxiliary Forces was abolished, and his department placed under a Director, with much reduced work, the latter being brought under the Adjutant-General, to the indignation of the Auxiliary Forces. A deputation of Commanding Officers of the latter waited on Mr. Balfour on the 9th inst. to protest against this step, which was a retrograde one, and which was contrary to a pledge given in the House of Commons in March, 1900, by Mr. Wyndham, then Secretary of State for War, which was supposed to have been fulfilled by Mr. Arnold Forster in February, 1900. Mr. Balfour declined to accede to the request, and conceded nothing at all, for though he stated that the Director should have access to the Secretary of State, and that papers concerning the Auxiliary Forces should, if the former wished it, reach that minister; this has practically always been the case. What is desired is a distinct department, independent of the Adjutant-General, who has his hands quite full enough with his share of the administration of the regular army. The auxiliary forces would through such a system be in no way separate from or taken out of the framework of the army; but if the Director and his assistants are men who are, as Mr. George Wyndham said, *personæ gratæ* with the auxiliary forces, if they are men who understand them and the conditions under which they live and serve, and if, above all, they appreciate the fact that the volunteers are citizen soldiers enrolled for a special purpose and not mock regulars, they will thrive and develop

instead of being starved and cold-shouldered as has too often been the case in the past. Again, the terrible delay in transacting business would be avoided, which now prevails owing to papers having to go the round of many departments, which wastes the public time and therefore its money, and produces disgust and discontent, to say nothing of contempt for the War Office, which, as regards its personnel, is entirely undeserved; for that is as a rule, both on the civil and military side, as good as the country could desire. Where, however, the nave of a wheel is faulty, it boots little if the spokes, felloes and tyres are perfect. This reminds one of the reply of the present Secretary of State for War to Lord Landsdowne, in his Army Letters, 1897-8, when the latter defended the War Office officials, civil and military, from a somewhat sweeping attack. He wrote that he did not deal with personal matters. "The office (he said) may be manned by archangels, of consummate ability and genius, but this band of shining ones must be judged like other officials, by what they do, not by what they are." No one will dispute this, and everyone I am sure, hopes that now Mr. Arnold Forster has joined this shining band and has taken charge of it, that he, with the aid of the Reconstruction Committee, will find himself able to create a new heaven and a new earth, in which the "archangels of consummate genius and ability" may carry out their work without let or hindrance, and without soiling their wings under a system so rotten that Lord Hugh Cecil felt himself bound to say, when descanting on the War Office, "ineptitude, like leprosy, clings to its walls," a very apt simile, as I believe it is established beyond doubt that part of the great leper hospital of London, in the Middle Ages, occupied the site of the present much abused institution in Pall Mall.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the remainder of the excellent recommendations of the Royal Commission of measures to increase the efficiency of the Militia and Volunteers will not be treated in the same off-hand manner as the one above alluded to. Already fears which have been expressed that the final portion of the report, with its startling suggestion as to compulsory service, would render nugatory its really valuable and practical recommendations appear to be justified.

Let us briefly consider what our Auxiliary Forces were fifty years ago and what they now are.

With regard to the Militia, as has been already stated, 80,000 Militia were embodied at the time of the scare of invasion by Napoleon in 1803-4. After 1815 the Militia was neglected and gradually decayed till the beginning of 1852, when Lord Grey submitted a memorandum to his colleagues calling attention to "the great and not unnatural anxiety which was felt by the public as to our means of repelling a foreign invasion."

The same year Lord Derby brought in a Militia Bill providing the levying of 80,000 Militiamen. At the second reading of this Bill in the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington made his last speech, in which he spoke in the highest terms of the services which the Militia had rendered to him in the great struggle for our country's liberties.*

At this period the Militia was in a deplorable state. In the report made by Lord Harris' Committee in 1889, appointed to inquire into certain questions concerning the Militia, the following graphic description of its conditions was quoted.†

"When the nineteenth century had run just half its course, our Militia was represented by an Adjutant per regiment, too often an infirm old man, and one sergeant per company, many of them as infirm or more infirm than the adjutant, many of whom had never served in the line, and no one of whom probably had ever seen on parade the regiment to which he nominally belonged."

True, there appeared in the Army List the names of certain gentlemen who purported to be officers in these shadowy battalions. Of these some few were venerable relics of the old war; some very few were men who, having served in the Army, accepted commissions in the Militia on succeeding to the paternal acres; but some were country gentlemen holding nominal rank in a practically non-existent force, partly as a matter of county tradition, partly also moved by the title to wear a uniform and to hold, as it were, a diploma of some social standing. And if any of these gentlemen were possessed with any ambition to fit themselves for

* "Lord Cardwell at the War Office," by General Sir Robert Biddulph, 1904.

† Paper read in 1880 by Colonel G. C. Walker, A.D.C., 3rd Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers.

performing the duties, which were titularly theirs, they were absolutely without the means of acquiring any knowledge of them, and so it was that when, about 1850, the nation became possessed with an uneasy sense, a forecast of its exceeding unreadiness for war, and it set itself to rummage in its old armouries, it was found that it had a Militia only in name. The present Militia force is a very different one to that of fifty years ago. The average strength of the rank and file for some years past has been 103,554, though that number fell some 10,000 last year. Sixty-one battalions besides artillery, engineers, and Army Medical Corps, in all 1,691 officers and 43,875 N.C. officers and men, served in the war in South Africa; in addition to this 14,000 Militia reserve men, in most cases the N.C. officers and the best soldiers of the Militia, were taken from that force just at the time that it being embodied most required their services; and during the war 1,981 officers and over 40,000 Militia recruits were transferred to the regular army.

The above is a record of which the Militia may well be proud.

In addition to this Militia Force, we have over a quarter of a million of Volunteers and 28,000 Yeomanry; so that the total number of our existing Forces obtained by voluntary means exceed by far the numbers given in the mobilisation scheme. If these numbers, which, as in 1803-4, could be augmented to any extent, were the country in danger, why should we have recourse to compulsion.

The vast majority of the people of this country hold that Conscription in any shape or form is unnecessary, and that, therefore, it must be undesirable.

The Government certainly holds the same view, for on the 27th November last, at a meeting of the United Club, the Prime Minister, in the course of a now memorable speech, said: "You will never be able in this country or in any country to have a compulsory *Levée en masse* to defend possessions far off across the seas in distant and tropical climates. Those who advocate Conscription in this country forget what Conscription is, what it does, and what it is intended to do. Conscription never has been used by any country in the world to defend its distant possessions by large bodies of men, and it cannot be so used. We, therefore,

in the ultimate resort, must depend *upon the free will of a free people*. You may have, and you must have, that organised Army to be sent forth in the moment of danger to deal on the spot and with the utmost rapidity with the menace from a foreign Power ; but if events develop, if the stress of war increases, and the vast resources of these great Military Empires are brought against you, you will have to depend, and you must depend, not upon the Army for the time being, but upon the readiness of your population in this country and in your free Colonies to join you in opposing the aggressor."

Later on in the same speech Mr. Balfour said " that the Problem of the Army is not one of home defence, for the Navy can deal with that ;" and on the 21st January last, the Secretary of State for War in a speech delivered at the Conservative Club, at Liverpool, said " the Prime Minister has laid down the policy that the regular is intended for work oversea, that invasion on a large scale is not one of those perils we need fear if we keep the Navy in proper order, and that with this in view, with this principal established, the Militia and Volunteers must accept increased responsibility, which he felt sure they will accept."

It would be well if those who advocate Conscription would study and take to heart these two speeches, which show quite as clearly, as did the decided answer on the subject given by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons a few days ago, that the present Government do not dream of compulsory service, while we may be still more certain, that a Liberal Government would relegate any such idea to the Greek Kalends.

It is rumoured that not only in the service clubs are voices heard strongly advocating Conscription, but that a distinguished and highly placed General Officer does not hesitate to express his conviction that Conscription is coming not only for home defence but for foreign service, which latter the Head of the Government states is impossible ; in this opinion he will be supported by everyone blessed with power of perception and common sense.

The British nation considers that Conscription is unnecessary because of our peculiar geographical position, and because of the necessity which devolves on us therefore to maintain a vast Navy at very great sacrifice, which we are ready to make, because

we feel that the Navy is to us what the Army is to a great Continental Power, whose frontiers are coterminous with those of another great power. Again, the Navy is not only the means of our home defence, but it is our very life owing to the nature of our food supply, which is a problem very different from that of other countries. Our population is by the last returns about 42,140,000; three-quarters of the food consumed by the vast mass of human beings comes from abroad: out of 5,700,000 tons of wheat and flour annually consumed in these islands, only 1,360,000 is produced in them.

Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, one of our greatest authorities on such matters, writes as follows:—

“The annual import into this country is represented by 24,000,000 tons register of British vessels carrying cargoes, and 11,500,000 tons register foreign vessels carrying cargoes. It seems to me a probable estimate that in a war with the Triple Alliance the annual carriage into Great Britain would be reduced by about 3,000,000 tons, and in a war against the Dual Alliance by 1,500,000 tons, so that assuming that no foreign neutral vessels were withdrawn from the British trade, we should have imports amounting to about 10,000,000 tons a year conveyed in foreign ships and imports amounting to about 4,500,000 tons conveyed in British ships. At least one half of this annual carriage would be required for the conveyance of the present food supply, the other half would represent about one quarter of our present imports other than food.

“The sudden reduction of our imports and exports would give a shock to credit, trade and industries, to which experience offers no parallel. The greater part of those workshops which depend for their operations upon imported raw material, or which supply the export trade, would necessarily be closed. The profits of very many branches of trade would suddenly disappear, and very large bodies of work-people now earning good wages would find themselves unemployed, and dependent either upon the resources of their unions or upon charity. Almost every class would find its income reduced by the National loss of trade. At the same time the great reduction of imports would be accompanied by a general rise in prices, and the scarcity of very many necessities other than food, a scarcity which would of itself cause acute hardship to half the population.

“Captain Stewart Murray making use of the enquiries of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Rowntree, has estimated that of our Urban population of *25,000,000 there are at present,

*Note the whole population of the United Kingdom being by latest returns 42,139,530.

"In poverty, earning 23s. a week or less, 7,675,000.

"In comfort, earning 23s. to 50s. a week, 12,875,000.

"Upper and middle class, 4,450,000.

"The conditions above described will certainly depress one half of the class now in comfort to a state of poverty, while those who at present earn 22s. or less, will find their earnings reduced by the rise in prices, which will leave their employers less money available for minor services. A war will find us with at least 13,000,000 people living in poverty.

"It is hardly probable that so long as the British Navy is undefeated the import of food into the United Kingdom will be or can be prevented."—"Does War mean Starvation?" By Spenser Wilkinson).

Let those gentlemen who glibly talk about Conscription deign to consider these facts ; which prove that even were this country to submit to a Military Hierarchy, even if a magnificent host, such as the army of Germany, were on this Island, nothing could save us if our navy were lost and the command of the sea gone ; and, further, that while no sacrifices can be too great to enable us to maintain a navy which can guarantee us against such a cataclysm, the land forces for home defence are altogether of secondary consideration. Such forces, however, must be maintained, because raids upon our coasts in case of war are not improbable, and if our country, behind the fleet, were defenceless, our enemies would be tempted and incited to raid and produce panic, a great and far-reaching factor in war. It is inconceivable, however, that any serious invasion will be attempted while we hold the command of the sea. Consider the position of a force landed in the temporary absence of the fleet, decoyed, to use the favourite expression. It might certainly do us harm, and in its desperate situation it might do us a good deal of harm ; its eventual destruction would be, however, certain, and foreign powers are not quite so devoid of acumen as some persons among us appear to suppose.

The Royal Commission seem to conclude that because the Committee of Imperial Defence inform them that 100,000 militia and 200,000 volunteers may be taken roughly as the numbers required for home defence, that serious invasion is contemplated and not merely raids by a small force. I imagine that the views of the Committee of Defence are that our coast line, being a long one, raids might be attempted on various portions of it, and that the forces mentioned by them should be, as they are, dispersed

to deal with such attempts wherever they may be committed, and not concentrated to repel serious invasion by a "modern Continental army."

The majority, however, of the Royal Commission do not agree with the principles enunciated by the Government. With the ever present spectre of serious invasion before their eyes, they record their opinion that our present Auxiliary Forces would be, even if improved as suggested by them, unable to defeat a modern continental army in the United Kingdom. No one will differ with them as to this. If a perfectly trained and equipped host, like that of France or Germany, numbering some half million men, were landed quietly and concentrated within England by some magical process, not patent to persons of ordinary human understanding, no force which this country could array against it would stop its advance. Our rôle, however, is not to fight "modern continental armies" in the United Kingdom, but to prevent their coming there. It is through arriving at a conclusion formed upon, what I venture to consider, an entirely unjustified premise, that has led the majority of the Commission astray.

Is it not the case that in the spring tests were carried out on the South Coast by the Navy and Army, with the result that experts concluded that :—

- (1) Landings on the coast are impracticable.
- (2) Troops would have to land in boats.
- (3) They would be shot down at 500 yards range.
- (4) The shell fire of an enemy's ships could not dislodge a protected Coast Force.
- (5) Modern arms are entirely against the success of landing.
- (6) Most landings have been made against weak opposition or none at all.
- (7) Before a fleet of transports could sight the shore the Navy would have to be non-existent.

Relying on this opinion, and trusting in the power of our Navy, let us once again lay the Bogey of Invasion and its twin brother, the Spectre of Conscription ; on the other hand, let us urge the Government to carry out the measures for the improvement of the Auxiliary Forces urged by the Royal Commission, and also to refrain from in any way reducing

their strength, as has been freely rumoured of late to be, or to have been the design of the War Office.

No one can quarrel with the laudable desire to reduce the extravagantly inflated Army estimates, but economy may be exercised in a wrong direction. The regular soldier is estimated to cost £94 a head, the Yeoman £22 5s. 8d., the Militiaman £20 11s. 8d., and the Volunteer only £7. Out of the enormous estimates of £28,830,000, the Volunteer vote is but £1,789,795, and that of the whole of the Auxiliary Forces, Yeomanry, Militia and Volunteers £4,524,280.

The Auxiliary Forces, moreover, proved themselves to be a most valuable and powerful reserve to the regular army during the late war, though such service is quite outside their proper rôle. Out of a total force of 448,435 which were from first to last required to crush the independence of the two small Dutch Republics, the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers numbered 3,678 officers and over 90,000 N.C. officers and men, and the Colonials, oversea and South African, over 100,000. How they conducted themselves is well-known from reports which have been rendered, and also from the very small number of surrenders by the Auxiliary Forces from home and the oversea Colonials in comparison with those of other troops.* Above all let us bear in mind that the presence of the Auxiliary troops in this country, and especially the Volunteers, owing to their great numerical strength, fosters and perpetuates the military spirit and that feeling of patriotism which leads them to sacrifice their spare time and holidays to their military training, and to offer themselves for service in war when the country is in need of them.

The introduction of compulsory service would destroy the grand voluntary spirit of which the country is so justly proud. The existence of this spirit is fully recognised by the Royal Commission (in page 13 of the report), and it deprecates any change which would modify it. How it could continue to exist if service were made compulsory instead of voluntary I am, I confess, unable to understand.

The above are some of the reasons why the public hold that compulsory service in any form is unnecessary; and while it

* See appendix to report of the Royal Commission on the War.

entertains such views, not the most rabid advocate for Conscription will venture to say that its introduction is possible, for it is not a question which can be decided by an ordinary division in Parliament. It is a measure upon which the voice of the people must be heard and their votes taken. Is it conceivable that there are those who really think that the people of Great Britain and Ireland will submit to a burden, from which all nations who are forced to endure it would free themselves, if their circumstances did not render it necessary for them.

Although unable to agree with the conclusion to which the majority of the Commissioners came as to compulsory service, one cannot but acknowledge that the Report is a most able one. One gladly bears tribute to the intense industry and painstaking of the Commission which sat eighty-two days, examined 134 witnesses, and asked over 24,000 questions. The country owes a large debt of gratitude for this gratuitous and unrequited service. Finally, one feels that if the suggestions in Schedule A and B of the Report are carried out, and not pigeonholed, as is the fate of most such reports which reach the War Office, their effect upon the Militia and Volunteers for good will be great and far-reaching.

ALFRED TURNER.

THE RISE OF A NATION.

MIGHTY forces may often be controlled by means of one small instrument. The helm of a battleship, the lever of a steam engine, the brake of a motor car, furnish examples. In the same way the late successes in Japan—successes upon which so many issues depend—are largely the result of one man's enterprise and forethought.

When the Emperor of Japan came to the Throne thirty-seven years ago, his nation stood in relation to other Powers rather as a plaything than as a rival. Scarcely one took her seriously. From the "Land of the Lotus" they expected amusement rather than attainment. Yet since that time she has advanced in leaps and strides. Her face has been transformed. Her social, her economic conditions have alike changed. Instead of her old Absolutism, she has a Constitutional and Parliamentary Government; her natural resources are extended, her commercial enterprise is a force to be reckoned with. So late as 1868, her Fleet consisted of seven warships. The Army was composed of various regiments, which stood somewhat in the light of bodies of retainers to their feudal lords. To-day she has 6 1st Class and 1 2nd Class Battleships, 2 Coast Defence Ships, 8 Armoured Cruisers, 18 Protected Cruisers, 9 Unprotected Cruisers, 1 Torpedo Vessel, 17 Torpedo Boat Destroyers, and 67 Torpedo Boats, mostly of home construction. Three more Protected Cruisers, 2 additional Torpedo Boat Destroyers, and not less than 18 extra Torpedo

Boats are now in course of building. Her Army—ample in strength, efficient in equipment—numbers 686 battalions, 26 Companies, 99 Squadrons, 1,116 Guns, 735 Officers, 348,109 Men, and 84,460 Horses—a grand sum total for one man's endeavour.

The Mikado stands to his people more as a father to his children than a monarch to the nation. A personality so remarkable, so strenuous, was bound to come to the fore whatever his station in life. He is a man with an ideal, and that ideal is the glory of his nation. Unwearying in work, he concentrates unusual natural energies upon the great essentials: rightly to rule is widely to understand. He informs himself of the most minute detail affecting the welfare of his people; he grudges neither bodily nor mental labour in their cause. The decoration of his own rooms in the palace is marked by a severity unusual in the East: his first act in a financial crisis is to place his privy purse at the disposal of his people. He feels with, and allows for, their temperaments; he knows their weak points and their strong; the emotions they are swayed by, the calls to which they respond. Witness one of his earliest addresses:—"On ascending the Throne of Our Ancestors, Our determination is, in spite of all difficulties that may beset our path, to rule Our Country in person, to . . . make Our Country glorious." In the unity of the nation lies one of Japan's main sources of strength. She knows neither internal bickering nor discontent; she is as a devoted family, moved by a common cause.

"Patriotism," writes one of the Imperial General Staff in a History of the War, from a Japanese point of view* now before us, "is the religion of Japan. The spirits whom Japan worships, whether in the family or the State, are its own ancestors, and one of the most striking ceremonies of the religious life of the country is the great festival of the Yasukuni Jinja, with its homage paid to the *manes* of the soldiers who have died in honour of their country. No Japanese would hesitate in choosing between a breach of patriotism or death." "In performing your duty," commanded Captain Yashiro, in his final charge to the volunteers on board the warship "Asama," "If you happen to lose your left hand, work with your right; if you lose both hands, work with both

* "The Russo-Japanese War." Kinkodo Co., Tokyo. London Agents, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

feet ; if you lose both feet, work with your head. Execute your duty regardless of your life." That the spirit of the men bears out the words of their commander is shown in many instances ; we quote two. A sailor whose right hand was shot away, picked it up with his left, and walked off to the doctor. A midshipman, cut almost in two by a piece of shell, laughingly suggested that those about him should "collect the fragments," while his last words were "I must go back to fight."

It is courage such as this which has nerved Japan in her dealings with Russia. Again, to quote from the History which, but lately published in Tokyo, has not yet been publicly circulated in England:—"It has been reserved for Japan to have the honour of being the first nation to challenge Russia to single combat, not only in self-defence, but as the champion of the rights of nations.

. . Russia is one of the world's great powers, respected by the greater nations, and feared by the smaller ones, and it is a long time since any single nation has dared to challenge her to single combat. Turkey did so in 1876, but she had the moral support of several European Powers, and even then she got a severe thrashing ; in the Crimean War Russia fought single-handed against a combination of France, England, Sardinia, and Turkey. . . . When Napoleon invaded her in 1812, it was not France alone that fought against Russia, for the armies that Napoleon led to destruction were drawn from South Germany, the Rhine, Belgium, Holland, and Italy, as well as from France."

Between Russia and Japan there has existed for many years an ever increasing hostility—the hostility felt by a smaller Power towards a greater which has abused its strength. "To bear patiently is not to forget" ; an opportunity must arise in time for him who ceaselessly awaits it. The story of the Russo-Japanese relations has for its first scene the rough setting of the Siberian coast-line so long ago as 1780. A Japanese crew was wrecked there, and the men made prisoners by the Russians. In 1806 a Russian expedition pillaged and burnt the most important Japanese town in the Island of Saghalien, once called the gate of Japan, and threatened later "to ravage all the northern possessions of Japan if the Japanese refused to trade with them." In 1865 she seized the northern half of Saghalien, and ten years later, the

Japanese not being sufficiently strong as yet to cross swords with so formidable a Power, were obliged to renounce all claims to an island which, by its position, was of peculiar natural importance to them.

The Treaty of Pekin brought Russia within tempting distance of the Korean frontiers, and the two Powers again came into active opposition.

Negotiations concluded with an agreement that "both countries should have equal advisory powers in the fiscal arrangements of Korea, that each should retain the control of certain telegraph lines, and that they should allow Korea to develop freely without any constraint or military pressure on either side." Once the new order was established, the representatives of both nations were to withdraw.

A History of any War, written by either of the two hostile Powers while that war is still in progress, is seldom unprejudiced; allowance must be made for natural bias. But the statements of the Imperial Staff, from which we take these excerpts, are fair on the whole, especially when denuded of certain comments with which most of the articles conclude. It is a matter of history that Japan "kept her pledge and gradually evacuated the country. Russia marched a force of 200 Cossacks to Seoul 'to protect the Legation,' gave to Korea presents of arms and ammunition for the use of the Army, offered the services of her officers for the instruction of the Korean troops, and finally made a treaty with Korea which actually placed her territorial and financial resources in Russian hands, to the total exclusion of Japan. . . . In April, 1898, was concluded the 'Treaty of Tokyo,' by which both countries undertook to recognise the independence of Korea, but two years later Russia obtained in the Korean port of Masampho, in direct contravention of her own treaty promises to China in 1886, a large piece of land, which, if it had not been for the energetic action of Japan, would have been ere this a naval base for the Russian squadron in the Far East."

"Strictly speaking," writes another member of the Staff concerning the Manchurian question, "it is just as legitimate for Russia to expand eastward as it is for Japan to extend her Colonies towards the west. But . . . Russia expands by the Russification

of smaller countries, which in process of time become merged in the Empire and lose their identity. . . . Japan . . . considers that the three Empires of the Far East . . . form a band of sisters . . . and that it is incumbent on each one of the sisters to defend the independence and integrity of the other two."

It was on the "plea that China was unable to preserve order in her own provinces" that the Russians at last occupied Manchuria in force. Early in 1903 "Europe, Japan and America protested against this . . . annexation. . . . The troops were withdrawn from Moukden and a few other large towns, but large barracks were built at the different stations of the East China Railway, and thus the evacuation was one that was only in name. Not a Russian soldier left the province, nor did the Russification of Manchuria cease for a single day."

One of the most interesting portions of this official narrative is that which deals with the relative strength of the two countries. It was written, perhaps, with a view to encourage the smaller nation ; the facts are certainly astonishing, and the author makes out a strong case. "Although the Russian Fleet is far superior in numbers to the Japanese, it must be remembered," he says, "that Russia is always bound to keep a part of its Fleet in European waters, while its Black Sea Fleet is unable to pass through the Dardanelles. . . . Japan's proximity to her Naval base gives her further advantages over her rival." His purpose, he admits frankly, is "to show that Japan possessed at the commencement of the war certain qualities and virtues which put her on a level with her antagonist, in spite of the comparative smallness of her material resources of men and money." Take, for example, one factor so prominent in the Japanese character that it has assumed the significance of an article of faith. "The result of this religious patriotism has been that, while the military authorities could count with certainty on the bravery and devotion of the armies on the field of battle, the central Government could lay aside all care as to any disaffection or disloyalty at home." The importance of this statement cannot be over-estimated. "The Japanese Government has a great advantage over the Russian," continues the writer. "Japan has within her borders no discontented Poles and Finns, no Nihilists, no Anarchists, no Siberian exiles. What

is more, Japan has never been, like Russia, a menace to surrounding nations. She can devote the whole of her energy and strength to the war in which she is now engaged. . . . Another element which Japan has in her favour is the intelligence of her men. No country in the world possesses a system of education as complete as that of Japan. Japan has every reason to boast of her magnificent chain of schools, from the lowest elementary village school to the Universities. . . . All of them are good and up-to-date, and what is more, are improving from day to day. . . . The intelligence of the Japanese soldier and sailor makes him to be, individually, vastly superior to his Russian foeman. While the Russian private can very seldom read or write, and obeys orders mechanically without understanding them, the Japanese as a rule not only knows what he has to do, but why he has to do it ; and we have already seen in the excellency of Japanese gunnery, and the intrepid skill which Japanese seamen have shown in handling torpedo boats and destroyers, that their superior education and intelligence is of great value to them, and goes far to equalising the otherwise great disparity between the two nations. . . . In the superior honesty of Japanese military and naval administration, and in the greater sobriety of the Japanese soldier, lie also "two potent forces in the equalising of the chances of war."

"Japan has no reason to fear the size of the Russian Army," writes Major Wasuke Jikemura, the translator of the work, in his excellent preface. "She can put 500,000 well-trained soldiers in the field to meet her gigantic foe, and when danger calls, every Japanese is a soldier. Love of Emperor and of country unites us all as one man, and the chivalrous traditions of by-gone ages have left indelible traces on the national character. We prefer death to dishonour, are always ready to die for the fatherland, and do not know when we are beaten."

"The brave makes Danger opportunity."

Not long ago in the public press it was said that with the Japanese disregard of death, there went hand in hand a sense of something akin to scorn for those who returned home wounded in battle—unfit again to serve. If this be true, it is probably a survival of the days when the Japanese always met their foes face to face in hand to hand combat, fighting until the last breath of a

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man's body had ebbed out, while he had two fingers left to grasp his sword, and, indeed, until life had been absolutely hewn "piece-meal away."

High courage is the watchword of the nation ; before it the Japanese bow down as before a token of the gods they worship. Even in this book it is agreed that "Russia has always known how to make a splendid defence," and but lately the cheers of the Japanese soldiers rang out above the din of battle, which even those who have followed in its wake must remember as one of its most terrible factors, as they watched a Cossack regiment retreat in perfect order under a scathing fire. There is a story told of the mother of a Reservist of the Imperial Guards, who "earns his living as an itinerant vendor of medicines." He was away on a long trip when the orders came for him to join his regiment "The mother promptly went to the district office, obtained a few hours grace for her son, raised 48 sen by the sale of a few kitchen utensils, and started off to search for him in one direction, while sending his younger brother for him in another. The search was fruitless, so she pawned some clothes for a yen, and went on searching steadily until she found him at a remote village in Chiba Prefecture, and brought him back to Tokyo, a little late, it is true, but not too late."

The humanitarians hold up their hands in horror at war and all that war means to a nation—the gaps it rends in social life, the political difficulties, the financial loss. Yet it is surely by means such as these that each nation rises to its truest height. A nation is as an individual, after all ; for the one and the other there is no "higher way above, nor a safer way below, than the way of the Holy Cross," and the way of the Cross is ever the way of suffering and peril. The shams, the artificialities of life, slip from a man in war to an extent absolutely impossible to conceive, except by such as have come into personal contact with him in these moments ; once more, primitive and simple, the great essentials move him to an inevitable end. Later on, he may shut his eyes to the lessons he learned when the gates of death were wide before him, but for a brief space the eternal mystery shrouded him, and from that contact no man emerges as he was before. So with a nation. The end of a war is not necessarily the day

when peace is declared. The real end lies with the people themselves—how the war affects them; how much it has taught them; whether it has ennobled or degraded them, or left them merely indifferent. England had her chance lately, Japan has her's to-day—her chance of proving her birth-right, of “finding herself,” of rising to the heights to which any nation may rise, if she knows how to endure with fortitude, and to forgive magnanimously, and to hold what she has bought at the great price of human blood, with wisdom and with equity.

MAY BATEMAN.

THE WAR CLOUD IN THE EAST.

The smoke of War's dread Torch now dims the Sun,
Rising a sombre cloud o'er Eastern lands ;
And men must slay or die ; yet is there one
Who understands ?

Why war should be, or why the giant Power
Reels from the blow of Liberty and Right ;
Can no one see behind this passing hour
Of angry night,

The inner causes of the outer show,
The mighty purpose working on this Earth ;
Why Man or Nation finds both joy and woe
E'er follows birth ?

For this we learn, no Nation comes to power
But has its birth and after grows thro' strife ;
None have endured or reached to manhood's flower
But fought for life.

That is the Law, that men and worlds obey,—
What's worth the winning ever must be won.—
It is the Law of Life, the only way
All things are done.

Yet those who, watching how the balance sways,
Cry to their Gods for peace, from bended knee ;
Ne'er one asks, Why ? And looking, boldly prays
That he may "See."

Ah ! pray not for such peace. Ye cannot find
True peace in forms that blossom and decay ;
But ask thy God for wisdom and the mind
To know His way.

G. A. P.

THE HUMAN "DOUBLE."

FEW abnormal phenomena affording us glimpses into regions of natural law as yet unfamiliar to ordinary scientific investigation, are more bewildering, even to students who can account for many of such phenomena, than those which have to do with the appearance of what is loosely and unscientifically described by most writers up to the present time as the "human double." Such appearances being of infrequent occurrence, people who have not met with them are apt—if they belong to the large class disposed to think that "what they know not is not knowledge"—to be loftily contemptuous with regard to the testimony of those who have encountered them, and consequently believe that they sometimes take place. But, at all events, large numbers of educated people are now rising above the mental level represented by the stupidity, in this respect, of the nineteenth century; and cases in which various persons, when at the point of death, have been seen by others at places far removed from those at which their physical bodies were actually existing at the time, are so numerous that it seems hardly necessary at the outset of these remarks to enumerate examples. The records of the Psychic Research Society are stored with evidence relating to such cases, and few persons who pay serious attention to ultra-physical investigation will have failed either to encounter some themselves, or to have met with friends in whose experience the phenomenon in question has been observed.

But a gulf of difference really separates all those cases in which the semblance or phantom of an absent person appears to

friends at a distance when he himself is on the point of death or has just passed away,—from those in which the semblance or phantom appears during the active, intelligent and waking life of the person concerned. The appreciation of this difference will be more readily approached if we focus the enquiry on illustrative cases. It is hardly worth while, as I have said, to quote from the abundant records of the Psychic Research Society cases in which people on the point of death have been seen by friends in other parts of the world, either just at the moment of their dissolution or very shortly afterwards. Any one who, at the present day and in presence of the available evidence on the subject, affects to deny that such occurrences take place, is too ill-informed to be worth consideration. But the appearance of the “double” during the waking life of the person so represented is a relatively rare phenomenon much more difficult to explain, and for this reason I have induced a friend, whose personal experience has included examples of that rare phenomenon, to prepare a statement on the subject for publication in these pages. Mr. Wilton Hack, the friend in question—now residing in Australia—is well known to many people in this country as a man of very earnest and religious life, and I venture to express unreserved confidence in the truthfulness of his narrative. This runs as follows :—

MR. WILTON HACK'S NARRATIVE.

On four occasions, it has come to my knowledge that my “double” has appeared to others at a distance, when my actual body was many miles distant. In the three first cases, those who saw this “appearance” of myself were most intimately known to me, and I to them, and in the last case the enclosed postcard and letter from Mrs. Van H—— will explain the circumstances.

FIRST INSTANCE.

Some nine or ten years since, I had been very ill and needed a change badly. I was then residing in Adelaide. On a Monday between 10 and 11 a.m., I received a letter from a friend, who urgently advised me at once to seek change of air and scene. I was excited at the prospect and arranged to leave by the next day's boat

for Sydney, where I knew I should be kindly and warmly received by my friend, Edward Minchin and his family. I was thinking of them intensely and earnestly desiring to reach them. I left by the next day's boat, and when it reached Melbourne I wired to Mr. Minchin that I was on my way to him, but being very ill, wished that he should meet me at the wharf. He did so, and welcomed me most kindly, telling me, however, that his wife and mother had both been nearly dead from influenza, but that the first was now better. The distance from Adelaide to Sydney is something over 1,000 miles. I left the first port on Tuesday, and on the Friday arrived at my destination. I found my friend's wife able to move about but looking very ill still. Her mother was not out of danger.

On the day after my arrival at Mr. Minchin's home, his wife remarked :—

"A very strange thing has happened to me. Last Monday about 11 in the morning, I was feeling very ill and had no hope of recovery, the doctor had called to see me and had not left the room for more than a few minutes when the door opened and you walked in. For some moments you stood at the foot of the bed looking at me, then you moved to my side and made passes with both hands over my body. No word was spoken, and you then left. I soon began to revive, and am now out of danger."

It is to be noted that at the time this double of mine was seen by this lady, I was 1,000 miles away; that *then* I did not know she was ill at all; that whilst I was thinking strongly of the family and anxious to go to them, I had *no thought or idea* of projecting myself in any way, so as to produce phenomena; also that on this morning I was neither in sleep, trance, or faint.

SECOND INSTANCE.

In my youth I had become greatly attached to a young lady, but early we separated—I to go to Australia, she to remain in England. In due course she married and had a family, and I married in Australia and also had several children. No correspondence passed between us, but after an absence of 16 years, we met in England once more. Soon after this I returned to Australia, and for 19 years we neither saw each other nor was

there any correspondence. I returned to England and commenced enquiry as to the whereabouts of my old friend. I utterly failed to get a clue as to where she had gone, or even if she were alive. I landed in November, and the early part of December I was very busy seeking for information.

The following month I obtained a clue and wrote; my friend was found and we met. She then said, "A wonderful thing happened to me last December. I knew you must be in England, for *twice I saw you on a railway platform* as I was journeying to see my mother." I had assured her that at the time she spoke I was not in the part of England she referred to at all.

Again it must be noted that I had no thought of so projecting myself, but at the time the phenomena occurred I was earnestly thinking of her and trying to reach her.

THIRD INSTANCE.

I was in Coolgardie in the great gold boom. One of my sons was at Mount Margaret, 210 miles north of Coolgardie.

I had come down the country leaving my son behind, and to save my horses had joined the coach at a place called Niagara, leaving my trap and horses in care of the publican there. Some time after this a scrawled message in pencil reached me from my son at Mount Margaret, saying that he was down with typhoid fever. The nearest doctor or hospital was over 100 miles distant, and he had no means of going there for help. Coaches from Coolgardie did not run every day, and I had to wait Saturday and Sunday and catch the Monday morning coach.

Imagine my despair and helplessness. I could go by no other way. My own horses and trap were 130 miles along the track. The unfortunate lad was in my thoughts as a long agony until the coach started. Arrived at Menzies I hired a buggy to drive me the 34 miles to where my own trap awaited me, this cost £10. As soon as my own horses were harnessed I almost galloped the rest of the journey, arriving on the Wednesday, having done an average of 70 miles a day. I found my son better and sitting up in a bough shed. After chatting some time he said, "Father, you frightened the wits out of me last Sunday afternoon, I was sitting

here, when I saw you coming bounding towards me, I felt real scared, and all at once you disappeared."

Note again that on that Sunday, 200 miles distant, I was frantic to reach my son, but again the projection, if any, was *not* intentional.

FOURTH INSTANCE.

At Cheltenham, I had, in my visits to England, got to know and esteem a lady, Mrs. Van H——. Her letter and postcard on the subject I enclose. In the beginning of 1899 I was in Cheltenham, and had been visiting a friend. On Friday before returning to Gloucester I had intended to visit Mrs. Van H., but I was prevented from doing so. The next morning, after breakfast in Gloucester, I very much regretted that I had not gone to see this lady, and felt a great wish to do so. I enclose the postcard Mrs. Van H. sent me dated Saturday, saying that she much regretted not seeing me when I called *that morning*. I accepted the invitation for Sunday afternoon. When I met my friend I asked her what time it was when I had called the day before, she said about 11, but she was out shopping and regretted it. I then told her that I had not been in Cheltenham on Saturday at all. She was greatly puzzled. I then suggested that she should ask the maid if I was the same person who had called the day before. She did so, and the maid positively declared I was the man.

A few days after I received another friendly note from Mrs. Van H. in which this passage occurs:—"My maid still contends that it was you who called on Saturday morning."

The difference in this phenomenon and the others lies in that I was previously unknown to the maid, and I knew nothing of her; also that I spoke and enquired for her mistress. Again, on the Saturday morning I was strongly desirous of meeting my friend. The letter referred to above I enclose for your inspection.

WILTON HACK.

With reference to all experiences of this kind, the commonplace world may be divided into two categories. People of one kind are content to sweep all difficulties out of their way by

affecting to think that the narrators are either lying or hallucinated. Others regard their stories as wonderful and interesting, and then pass them by without realising that such wonders may constitute, as it were, glimpses of wider worlds than those in which we live, claiming the earnest attention of, and all the analytical resources of natural philosophers claiming to be regarded as intelligent. Those who really appreciate such experiences as have just been detailed in accordance with their real claim to attention, are for the most part to be found in the ranks but thinly peopled as yet by those who are entitled to be described as occult students. But, for the specialist in this department of science, the wonderful character of the "double" manifestation is due to the fact that it is not explainable along the same lines exactly as those which enable us to interpret the appearance of distant friends on the point of death.

Although the commonplace world may shut its eyes to the abundant knowledge available concerning the process called death, which simply, of course, introduces each human being to consciousness on the plane of existence generally described as "astral," there is no mystery whatever for the occult student in the circumstances immediately attending this change. A fairly considerable number of persons, although their numbers are few relatively to the masses of mankind, are already in the enjoyment of senses which enable them to cognise, and even converse, with friends who have lately quitted this life, and are for the time being exercising their consciousness in the ethereal, but still material vehicle which they have extricated from the grosser physical body. This ethereal vehicle described by the occultist as the "astral" body, can move about the earth in obedience to thought impulses with something resembling the speed of light, and drawn by sympathy with distant friends to their neighbourhood will sometimes, under conditions that are not beyond the reach of investigation, but need not be here minutely discussed, make certain interior efforts which give rise to a change in the generally invisible astral body, and render it for a short time perceptible to commonplace sight. All that is quite plain sailing from the point of view of super-physical science, and the true consciousness of the ego is, in such cases, present with the appearance seen at a

distance from the discarded physical body. And truth to tell, it is not always necessary that the change described as death should play a part in such manifestations. During sleep the astral body will frequently be so completely disengaged from the physical, as to be able to carry the consciousness of the true entity to a distance, and to render itself perceptible in the way above referred to. But the conditions are very dissimilar when we come to deal with experiences like those described by Mr. Wilton Hack.

Here we have the true consciousness left behind with the physical body in a waking and normal state during the appearance of the double, and the physical body certainly retains within its embrace the matter of the astral body. And yet the double, as in some of the cases above described, is capable of performing acts which seem to require a certain amount of intelligence even though they are not continued for any length of time, nor associated, so to speak, with collateral acts of intelligence which would be manifested by the living person. In conveying some sort of healing or soothing influence to the persons visited in two of the cases described, Mr. Hack's double seems to have acted with definite purpose. But he does not seem to have said anything concurrently with such action to explain himself, or account for his appearance in any way. The double, as far as its intelligence is concerned, seems as though guided from a distance with simply one purpose in view, and is in no way prepared to modify its action by new circumstances encountered, but where there is a strong motive in operation, as in the case where the son's life was at stake, it seems possible to frame a hypothesis which, at all events, comes within the range of some general principles familiar to occult science. I should be carrying the reader rather abruptly into the bye-paths of that very unfamiliar science if I developed this vague statement by fuller reference to "thought forms" or "artificial elementals." In reference to ordinary physical science, though the world at large may not keep pace with current research, it hears enough about the results not to be quite unfamiliar with the principles to which these relate, but so far, in reference to super-physical science, the world is divided into those who pursue it with ardour and accumulate a very extensive knowledge on the one part, while on the other side of the

boundary line, people in general remain as totally uninformed of all that has been done, as in days gone by before this science began to take anything resembling a definite shape. So all its terminology unhappily remains quite unfamiliar, and one cannot explain any of its more recondite discoveries without employing this unfamiliar terminology. For the moment I can only venture to say that a "thought form" is a material reality created by the mental activity of human beings, consciously in the case of those of advanced knowledge and capacity, unconsciously and with corresponding inefficiency by the general run of mankind who do not know what they are about. The artificial elemental is still more remarkably the product of human will or desire, acting on matter and force of an extremely subtle order, which pervades the whole world, although for the present, enquiry concerned merely with physical means of investigation is quite unaware of its existence.

That such remarkable experiences as those described in the simple records published above are due to the complicated play of elemental forces, is a conclusion which the occult student will reach with entire confidence. But this does not mean that he feels the whole problem disposed of by that very broad and general conclusion. In chemistry we are not content to say that a pinch of gunpowder disappears when it blows up; we want to know what becomes of its constituent elements, what has caused them to break away from their former relationship, and what new combinations they have entered into in the gaseous condition. So with the study of abnormal phenomena, it is not enough for the occultist, at all events, to record the fact that they happen. In doing that even, he advances a long way further than the more primitive thinkers, who evade the problems by denying the facts, but he is quite ready to grant that his own resources of investigation fall far short of enabling him to account for all the curious and entrancing mysteries which his more developed perceptions enable him to cognise.

AN OCCULT STUDENT.

GLANCES AT CURRENT LITERATURE.

MR. SAVAGE-LANDOR'S LATEST WANDERINGS.

MR. H. SAVAGE-LANDOR has not yet caught the trick of writing in that way which forbids his reader to suspect him of embroidering his narrative. When he wrote his famous book about Tibet, the suspicions of critical readers perhaps out-ran the doubts that may still linger over the details of that story. But to do no more than justice to the most indefatigable literary traveller of our time—Mr. Landor's later books have gone far to provoke doubts in an opposite direction ; as to whether he may not, after all, be a more trustworthy writer than seemed to be the case at first. At all events, his book about Persia showed him to be developing in a remarkable way as an observer of politics and the ramifications of Eastern diplomacy. But independently of his growth in this direction, his book about the march to Peking did a great deal towards checking the spirit of incredulity which his earlier writing had excited. He told tales in that book of his doings which might easily have been scoffed at as over-coloured, to say the least, if it had not been that he fortified them by photographs which actually showed him pursuing his business as a self-appointed special correspondent in the midst of battle scenes and in the close neighbourhood of bursting shells. Now he has presented the world with two volumes recording his varied wanderings among the less known islands of the Philippine archipelago. As

usual, he describes himself as passing through numerous adventures, from none of which he had any right to expect to emerge alive ; but again, in one case at all events, he supplies us with a picture reproduced from a photograph taken by the mate of the vessel in which he was then voyaging, which shows him half way up an all but perpendicular rock of volcanic origin some 1,200 feet in height, and hanging apparently by the tips of his fingers several hundred feet above the sea, against the face of a precipice, under conditions that seem to forbid the possibility of supposing that he could have lived more than a few minutes longer.

His new book is called "The Gems of the East" (Macmillan & Co.), but he scorns all reference to the main islands or to Manila. Interviewing the Governor on his arrival, he explains that he arrived that morning, and wishes to leave the following day for the almost unknown regions of the Sulu Sea. The Governor warns him that these islands are inhabited by cannibals, head-hunters, and fanatical Mahomedans, by whom he will surely be killed ; but he treats this assurance as merely imparting fresh interest to the expedition, and the Governor lends him a little steamer of 250 tons, in which next day he accordingly sails for the South. The heat was intense ; but he casually remarks, "I had been wearing tropical clothing all through the winter in England, so there was really nothing I could take off to feel more comfortable ; besides, no healthy man should take more than a day or two to get accustomed to any climate." Even if Mr. Landor is tough and wiry enough to justify this remark as applied to himself, it is just one of these which especially irritate his critics. And so with reference to the extraordinary ascent of the volcanic peak in the island of Coron, the careless tone in which he describes his almost impossible achievement is a distinct challenge to the sceptical reader. "Each individual had to look after himself, and we did not use ropes or other such nonsensical Alpinistic devices, my rule having always been to use common sense and avoid all accidents in general, and collective accidents in particular." This extraordinary island of Coron lies in about lat. 12 to the south of the large island called Mindoro, and is one of the most interesting regions that Mr. Landor touches. The waters in the immediate neighbourhood of the great volcanic peak are set with curious

laminated rocks that give out a sonorous note when struck,—“a soft, most melodious deep note, as from a bronze bell, vibrated in the air,” when the native guide struck one of these rocks with a stone. The sound rose and fell in its note, apparently in obedience to the wash of the waves, which altered the vibration as they surged up and down. The volcanic peak itself is an extinct crater with a lake at the bottom, but “much to our disgust, when we reached the summit the rock was in such sharp blades and points, that nowhere could we sit down and rest.” Other lakes in the island are said to be inhabited by a gigantic species of octopus with arms eight yards in length, but Mr. Landor has no personal experiences to relate in this connection.

For the rest, his account of the various tribes he visits, represents a great deal of painstaking effort on his part to collect information that may interest ethnologists, and he goes to the trouble of recording elaborate tables of the anthropometric order, in which the majority of his readers will take very little interest. The thread of personal narrative running through the present volumes constitutes their principal charm. Courting disaster from which he is comparatively secure while on board the little cruiser *Balabac*, he carries out some explorations in a rickety unseaworthy boat, about 14 feet long, which can only be kept afloat by continual bailing, and with a crew of Filipino rowers, he coasts about amongst unknown reefs and shallows, continually going aground and dragging the forlorn craft over impossible places. At last in a gale of wind, he determines to rejoin the *Balabac*, lying in the offing, and insults his luck by going to sea in a leaky boat in which, nevertheless after eleven hours' desperate rowing, he reaches the *Balabac*. He bears glowing testimony to the gallant courage of the Filipino crew, part, apparently, of a constabulary force under an American officer. They would not even accept a present from him, “modestly declaring that they had only done their duty, and were sorry that their bad rowing had caused us to be wet. After drinking some water—they positively would have nothing in it—they got into their boat and, having put up a sail, in a whiff disappeared.”

But the “Gems of the East,” on the whole, though showing

Mr. Landor once more in the character of a singularly intrepid explorer, and handier than ever with his pen, since he has contrived to make even the record of this journey fairly interesting, leaves us hoping that the next time he gets tired of civilised life, he will make his way to some more interesting region of the earth than those inhabited by the savages of the southern Philippines.

RUSSIAN PROSPECTS.

THAT happy moment sometimes described as the "nick of time" has been chosen for the publication of Mr. Geoffrey Drage's new book on "Russian Affairs" (John Murray). It constitutes a very exhaustive account of the political, social, and economic condition of the Russian Empire, and is laden with solid information on the collection of which the author has been engaged for years. But it is sufficiently up-to-date to contain speculations concerning the present war, and some forecasts on which the author ventures are not a little thrilling in view of the progress that is apparently being made towards their fulfilment. Curiously enough Mr. Drage does not represent the Russian people as suffering so acutely as lookers-on might imagine, from the religious intolerance of the administration. The vast bulk of the people are fanatically orthodox, while many of their leading representatives in the higher classes from whom one might have expected a broader view of the situation, regard the religious persecutions, at which the world has been shuddering for years past, as an essential part of the great programme which they discern as designed by Providence for the Russian people. In this way, Mr. Drage throws rather a new light upon the subject he has taken in hand. One thinks of the Russian nobility as simply representing a civilisation not far advanced in its morals beyond that of the earlier Roman Empire. But it seems that some, at all events, of the Russian nobility sincerely believe in the mighty future of the Russian Empire, along the lines of a phrase quoted by Mr. Drage from some utterances by Count Mouravieff as a motto for his present volume. "I believe," says the Count, "that Russia has a civilising mission

such as no other people in the world, not only in Asia but also in Europe. . . . We Russians bear upon our shoulders the new age. We are come to relieve the tired men." There is just a touch of pathos in the idea that this belief may sincerely prevail amongst some of the more intellectual representatives of the Russian nobility, now that circumstances seem drifting in the direction of what may prove a very terrible awakening for the whole class to which they belong. Mr. Drage's position is that the strain of feeling through Russia in consequence of the administrative tyranny which grinds all but the highest class under the Juggernaut car of the police system, has very nearly reached the breaking point. If the present Emperor has the courage to carry out reforms in the direction of an enlarged system of liberty, then the crisis may be averted, but if the revolution that is inevitable should not come on along such lines as those, it will ensue as an outburst from below, and if it assumes this latter character, it will, in the present author's opinion, exceed in horror anything that history records of the French Revolution.

That is undeniably a development towards which present events are tending. To carry out the revolution by orderly methods from above, would claim an administrative genius far in excess of that which we have any reason to suppose is embodied in the person of Nicholas II. But the crushing blow to the prestige of his rule in process of delivery in Manchuria, can hardly fail to precipitate convulsions which must then take the more disastrous character. As regards the ultimate consequences to be anticipated, there may be much for the world to welcome in the far distance. To a greater extent than the newspapers have yet led their readers to believe, competent political critics are distinctly looking forward to the breaking up of the huge Russian Empire at no distant date, under the influence of the convulsions to be expected. The various nationalities which are not yet entirely trampled out, will reassert themselves in a manner which will put an entirely new face upon the map of eastern Europe. That Finland and Poland will recover their independence, is readily to be anticipated. The region of the Caucasus is likely to be another unit in the future redistribution of sovereignty. Siberia, although so largely inhabited by emigrants of Russian

origin has already moved far in the direction of generating what may roughly be thought of as a new colonial nationality. The Central Asiatic States will undeniably feel the shock of the great disturbance when it comes to pass, and it may be, in this way, that Russia as a huge homogeneous power will, within the life time of the current generation, disappear altogether from the family of European States.

Such a contingency, associated as it must necessarily be with a terrible interregnum of horror, is one to which it is impossible to look forward without a deliberate, however solemn, a satisfaction. A terrible catalogue might be made of the sufferings which in one way or another European States have endured during the past century, in consequence of the existence of Russia as a great power in the world. History recast on the basis of a hypothesis that Russia should never have existed, would be almost Utopian in its character as compared with that which events have actually evolved. European diplomacy, with which in future no Russian influence is to be associated, promises to inaugurate a period of relief that would begin to foreshadow the possibility of a general disarmament.

FRENCH VIEWS OF ALBION.

To see ourselves as others see us is supposed to be a very instructive privilege, but "The English People," as a nation, will hardly profit, we fear, from the sight of themselves afforded them by the book bearing this title, just issued in the form of an English translation. It is the work in the original French of M. Emile Boutmy whose eminent qualifications as a student of our manners and customs are vouched for with cordial enthusiasm by Mr. J. E. C. Bodley in the course of an elaborate introduction. M. Boutmy, who is an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, has devoted "a large portion of his busy life to the special study of English institutions." "No foreigner, so Mr. Bodley assures us, "since Delolme has acquired a profounder knowledge of the British constitution." And we are told that for each of his visits to England he prepared himself with conscientious care, arranging in note-books questions

which he proposed to put to representative Englishmen, and filling in the pages as his information was acquired. And yet the results of this painstaking effort, as embodied in the substantial volume before us (published by Fisher Unwin), is to give one the impression to a large extent of having been gathered on the Boulevards rather than from the midst of the British people. Our atmosphere, we are told, is so charged with moisture that respiration is difficult, "and the enfeebled body can only maintain its normal temperature by a large amount of exercise," which is the reason why England "abounds in big and vigorous men." This is fortunate, as "the soil, moistened by fogs and drowned in showers, requires incessant drainage and clearing to prevent its re-conquest by the marsh and the forest." The feebleness of the sun, whose rays are softened by the mist and the gloom which sometimes overcasts the day, obliges the Englishman to work hard to procure himself impervious material for his clothes and thick walls for his house. And the damp air deadens the sensibilities of the English. "In these big white-skinned bodies, bathed in an atmosphere of perpetual moisture, sensations are experienced far more slowly" than by dry and vivacious Italians or French. The illustration of this characteristic which M. Boutmy supplies is even more entertaining than the generalisation.

Anyone who has spent a week in London cannot have failed to notice the usual method of advertising, which consists in the senseless and incessant repetition of the same word, the name of a candidate perhaps, posted up by hundreds over huge spaces. Our livelier minds are wearied and stunned by it, but these thousand repetitions are absolutely necessary in order to penetrate the thick covering which, with the English, envelops the organ of perception.

And this same dulness of perception accounts for the difference between French wit, which "like a graceful calyx airily poised upon a stem, exhales the most delicate quintessence of good sense and good taste," and English humour, which often "is but a gloomy and tedious buffoonery, buffoonery ambling ponderously and persevering along under its load."

There are but few pages in the book—which Mr. Bodley introduces to us as though it had solid claims on our attention, and not merely as entertaining by reason of its grotesque mis-

conceptions—certainly no chapter, which would not yield quotations as ludicrous as those already given. M. Boutmy's summary of the manner in which the English regard the sexual relation as compared with the view taken by "the man of the South"—the Frenchman in fact—is in itself a revelation of his inability to understand the subject on which he ventures to write at such length. Without quoting the whole passage, which is based upon the idea that the Englishman is like a bull at a gate in the matter of his passions, we may indicate its tendency. "The man of the South" is described as subject to the needs and appetites of humanity at large, but in him "these needs are divine, these appetites become more delicate in consequence of the numerous and vivid impressions which are blended with his whole life, and become, by degrees, not only the condition but a part of all his pleasures." In the rest of the passage, which goes perhaps more into detail than the taste of an English author would have suggested, the implication is that the voluptuous instinct in a Frenchman is delicate and beautiful compared to the brutality of his insular neighbour, and, without criticising this view in detail, we may leave it to amuse the British man of the world who knows his Paris, and to illustrate once more the significant incapacity of our neighbours to comprehend moral principals which they do not share.

Amusing passages might be quoted from Monsieur Boutmy's work with reference to the French and English systems of managing children. The fact that English children are for the most part brought up in nurseries, is interpreted by him to mean that "no enervating tenderness falls to their share." And the English boys' habit of referring to their father as "the governor," is carefully criticised as indicating that the British father is a stern ruler who could never be regarded with the irreverent familiarity so pleasantly distinguishing the relations between father and son in France! Dealing with great political characteristics, Mr. Boutmy is as hopelessly incompetent to appreciate the truth, as with reference to social life. Civil liberty, he recognises, has been highly developed at home, "but the English . . . feel themselves exempt from the duties of humanity towards other nations. Where such are concerned they break

the rules by which long habit has bound them, and the principles which they consider their special heritage and make their boast." And then our philosophic critic, selecting illustrations from the records of the Warren Hastings period in India, and from the Jamaica riots of Governor Eyre's time, presents his readers with a picture of English authority over alien races as more or less identical in character with Mr. Legree's attitude towards Uncle Tom.

The publication of his book in an English translation can do no harm, but it is rather sad to think that its misrepresentations are widely circulated in France, and apparently invested with the prestige only inferior to that which would have attached to a corresponding volume by Mons. Taine himself. It would be difficult to over-estimate the volume of human misery that has ensued from misunderstandings between England and France. Just now we have been able to welcome a wave of reviving cordiality due to the influence of the King. But such feelings are apt to be dispersed as rapidly as they are developed when there is no real foundation of mutual understanding in which they can be permanently rooted. Whether it would be possible at any time in the future for the English people to make their character understood abroad is a question that may depend for its answer, perhaps, on the capacity of foreign nations to comprehend a moral development that has in some respects out-run their own; but it is also embarrassed by the careless indifference which the English people as a whole have shown in reference to the drift of foreign opinion concerning them. This indifference is very largely the explanation of American irritation when developed against us. Americans care a great deal about what we think of them, and are annoyed exceedingly when they realise that English people as a rule are perfectly untroubled by currents of criticism directed against them in American literature. As far as the French are concerned, though nearer neighbours geographically, they and ourselves are much further apart in mutual comprehension really than the English and the Americans. So probably no irritation will be provoked in France by the fact that Mons. Boutmy's book will excite no indignation—and by reason of being on the whole rather dull reading, very little attention—in this country. But it

ought not to be regarded with indifference. It is a burly pretentious volume, claiming to rest upon enlarged experience on the author's part, and it will, no doubt, have a considerable effect in stimulating delusions abroad, which stand seriously in the way of anything like a genuine *entente cordiale* between ourselves and the French people.

PROVIDENCE RE-DISCOVERED.

PEOPLE who think earnestly about "the riddle of the universe," as Professor Hæckel calls it, may be grouped on various levels of mental development, so that they regard the questions raised from very different points of view. Ascending from the condition of primitive mankind, at which level no thought is wasted on unprofitable problems having no bearing on to-morrow's dinner, we reach the mediæval attitude of mind in which the narratives of Genesis, interpreted in the simplest fashion, suffice to satisfy the cravings of the understanding. Above this level again we soar into altitudes of thought represented by doubt concerning the practical details of Jonah's residence in the whale, or of other problems connected with biblical history which perplexed good Bishop Colenso. Still, at a higher level, advancing intelligence quarrels with Mosaic chronology. Geologists insisting on millions of years for the natural processes they deal with, cannot pretend to acquiesce in the limitations of the "sacred" record, and scientific scepticism once let loose upon theology culminates—in the opinion, at all events, of some amongst its representatives—in a final catastrophe which pulverises the whole structure and leaves us standing with Hæckel, alone in the universe without anything resembling a God anywhere in sight. For many representatives of scientific thought, indeed, "la question de Dieu," although defective according to the French epigram as regards *actualité*, is kept respectfully in reserve although assigned to a region outside the limitations of science, left blank, as it were, on the chart of human knowledge and ticketed "unknowable." Early geographers were more discreet in describing the vacant spaces on their charts as "unknown." The use of the word "unknowable," as applied to

spiritual mysteries, is a serious blemish on some schools of philosophy, frequently regarded perhaps with more esteem than they deserve. Prudent students of nature, even in theorising concerning problems in reference to which no satisfactory data are yet available, will sometimes hazard conjectures on the basis of such knowledge as they possess, but always with reservations acknowledging the possibility that ulterior discovery, so far quite unforeseen, may in the long run revolutionise the views they propose. And now we may see distinct movement in the direction of specifically recognising a creative purpose underlying all the marvellous potentialities of matter as a hypothetical agency, even though the laws which control its operations may be as yet wholly beyond our discernment. Lord Kelvin a year or two ago modestly ventured to express his belief in such an intelligent purpose, evoking at the time a storm of wrath from such thinkers as Professor Ray Lankester and Sir William Thistleton Dyer ; and the conception of God as the first cause of the world around us, not to speak of the universe, is reviving now amongst those thinkers who not only have ascended to the level represented by the doctrine of evolution, but have contrived, by standing on Darwinian shoulders, to attain an altitude of thought which distinctly represents intellectual progress.

The book suggesting these remarks has just been put forward by Mr. John Gerard, F.L.S., and he calls it "The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer" (Longmans). It is rather an amusing volume from the point of view of those whose scientific study has long since carried them into the realms of ultra-physical research, because there is such elementary simplicity in the mere conclusion that an intelligent creative purpose underlies the phenomena of physical nature. The wealth of literature which we now possess, embodying the researches of those who have been enabled to carry scientific investigation into realms of nature beyond the reach of the physical senses, renders the bare conclusion reached by Mr. Gerard so very little entitled to be regarded as either a new discovery or a vindication of ancient thought. Why, indeed, he has regarded his answer to the old riddle as the "newest" that can be suggested is a riddle in itself that we cannot easily solve. It is conceivable that advancing science would afford a new justifica-

tion for the old answer, but Mr. Gerard's final conclusion that a Supreme Being exists, and that laws of nature emanate from him, is last of all, an answer which has been floating about the world for a good many thousand years. Meanwhile, as an answer, not so much to the old riddle as to that grotesquely ignorant and absurd volume issued by Professor Hæckel as *his* reply to the riddle of the universe, the present volume may be deservedly welcome to many people instinctively desirous but not individually able to thread their way through the entangled fallacies of that desperately unscientific treatise.

PASSING EVENTS.

ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR has been contributing to one of the daily papers amusing comments on the state of things shown to exist with reference to the Church-going habits of the London population. He finds, apparently, that only 18 per cent. go to any place of worship at all, and he ventures to say, "the conclusion that the vast majority of the 82 per cent. have little or no interest in Christianity is inevitable." The conclusion which would much more nearly approach the inevitable would be that a very large majority of the Christians resident in London are so little satisfied with the presentation of Christianity afforded by the services carried on at the various places of worship, that they shrink from undergoing the irritation they must necessarily endure if they listen to language in Church which offends their intelligence. Or they may be little inclined to believe that they can learn anything from listening to the sermons of clergy entangled in the meshes of a theology which is out-of-date—condemned by the rules of their order to affect a belief in creeds and doctrines which no one of modern culture really dreams of accepting. The Archdeacon's proposed remedy for the state of things under which people will not go to Church, and will not listen to clergymen, is to provide an additional supply of churches and more clergymen. The Archdeacon entirely agrees with Mr. Booth in declaring that among all the reasons for abstaining from public worship, genuine conscientious unbelief takes a very small place, but he utterly fails to apply the obvious inference which should be drawn from this admission. Of the 82 out of every 100 people who stay away

from church, a negligible few may be accounted for by infidelity. 80 per cent. let us say, believe in the essential ideas of religion, but have no sympathy any longer with the presentation of it in church. Christianity is one thing and Churchianity is another.

The blunder underlying the conventional clergyman's view of all these questions is illustrated by a controversy that has lately been carried on in the *Times*, concerning the Athanasian Creed. Various writers have been expressing disgust with the ferocious anathemas of that curious composition, and Sir Henry Howorth vigorously declares that it is monstrous to impose its acceptance as a test of orthodoxy, and to make people declare a belief in the eternal damnation of all who do not assent to its quite unintelligible definitions. The absurdity of the situation is involved in the idea that at this date it should still be possible to find protests against the Athanasian Creed in progress. It is out of date by so many decades that if the Church as a whole had a glimmering perception of its true duty, the wild extravagances of the composition in question would either have been eliminated from the Church Service long ago, or explained in terms of an entirely reformed theology. The truth is that even the Athanasian Creed, interpreted by the light of superior wisdom than that which the conventional clergy can bring to bear upon the subject, indicates the possibility that its original authors may have comprehended some of the deeper truths of spiritual science more thoroughly than their clumsy exposition of these would lead the superficial reader to imagine. If we once remember that "eternities" in oriental language represent protracted periods in the order of magnitude under discussion, and that the word had not originally the mathematical "infinity" meaning attached to it later on, we begin to get a hint of what the idea of the unknown authors of the "canticle," as Sir Henry Howorth describes it, really may have been. By the time we have furthermore invested the term "damnation" with an entirely different significance from that which is associated with it by the mediæval inventors of hell-fire, we shall have roused a suspicion, at all events, in the minds of some enlightened students of spiritual mysteries, to the effect that whoever wrote the Athanasian Creed knew more than modern

clergymen who recite it. But that suspicion would not even tend to justify its recitation, for the modern world has left off the habit of dealing with religious ideas along the lines of purely allegorical suggestion. A modern Englishman of the conventional type has no inclination, if at all events he is a man of earnest feeling about religion, to take part in the repetition of formulæ which in their straightforward significance are an offence to his understanding and an insult to his God. In that large class where social considerations and an inclination to conform to the dictates of respectability are far more important than any offences or insults of the nature just referred to, Archdeacon Sinclair will still find abundance of willing churchgoers. But those who are anxious about the empty condition of the pews must remember that under the existing administration of the Church there is no place there for those among earnest Christians who participate in the intellectual progress of the age to which they belong.

THE Dundonald incident in Canada is merely another illustration of the pestilent influence on public interests of the dual party system wherever, either at home in England or in any constitutional colonies under the British Crown, that system prevails. Lord Dundonald, in his capacity as general officer commanding the Canadian militia, appoints an officer to a certain regiment. A Minister, acting as Minister of War for the time being, as the matter was first explained, perceives that this officer belongs politically to the party opposing his own, and therefore cancels the appointment. Lord Dundonald protests in vigorous language, and this offends the whole Ministry to the extent that he is dismissed from the command of the militia. The general tendency of criticism on the subject is in the direction of vindicating the Ministry, and the Order in Council that cancels Lord Dundonald's appointment denies that Mr. Fisher, the minister in question, was actuated by political motives. But the denial is in terms that are not convincing, and regarded from the point of view of the national interest the result is grotesquely absurd. It must be assumed

that Lord Dundonald picked out the officer he appointed on his military merits. Of these he must be assumed to be a better judge than Mr. Fisher. The idea of making an army the prey of party politicians is an expansion of the American theory that the spoils of office belong to the victors, which certainly exhibits that theory in its most offensive aspect. Under the republican system the growth of such an abuse is natural enough, but the whole theoretical beauty of a constitutional monarchy, as compared with the republican system, resides in the idea that the administrative work of the nation shall be carried out by men selected by an impartial authority as best qualified to perform their tasks.

However boldly in practice that theory might be realised, it would not rob Parliament of any fraction of its legitimate power. It would not deprive the people of any single guarantee on which their liberties rest. It would simply guard the nation from the democratic abuse, according to which the public offices of the State are primarily regarded as so much plunder falling to the share of the most successful politicians, and only in a secondary degree a trust to be exercised in the interests of all. At home in the mother country it would hardly be possible that the Dundonald incident could be exactly reproduced. Politicians of cabinet rank are still sufficiently, for the most part, under the influence of old aristocratic traditions as to shrink from the vulgarity of feeling exhibited in the present case by the ministers in power in Canada. Certainly no military appointments would here be criticised with reference to the politics of officers selected for promotion. With us the curse of the Dual Party system broods chiefly over the whole area of legislation. Parliamentary activities which might be devoted to the interests of the country at large are paralysed in presence of the personal struggles that must for ever rage around the table in the House of Commons as long as the existing system prevails, as long as the country is content to submit to the practical suspension of the British Constitution involved in the solidarity of the Cabinet and the suppression of the functions which ought to attach to the Crown.

SOME very singular proceedings in a Court of Law are reported in the papers of the past month. An action was brought by a lady against a lady doctor who, she alleged, had left a sponge inside a wound with which she had been dealing, in such a way that a second operation was ultimately needed for its extraction, all of which, of course, gave the patient unnecessary suffering. With the medical aspect of the case we need not here be concerned. One is a little surprised, indeed, to hear that in such matters it is the duty of the nurse rather than of the doctor to count the sponges used in order to make sure that none have been left behind. But it does not follow that all doctors take this view of the matter. The interest of the proceedings has rather a legal than a medical aspect. The jury, in the first instance, returned with a verdict in favour of the plaintiff with one farthing damages. They were sent back by the judge on the ground that the damages were inconsistent with the other part of the verdict. Meekly reconsidering their position, they returned with a second verdict giving the plaintiff £25 damages, and judgment was entered for this amount.

Now, it is unnecessary to discuss whether the jury were right in the first instance or whether the amount on which they afterwards agreed represented an appropriate compensation. The absurdity of the case turns upon the way in which it illustrates the character of the present jury system. It may be, and many arguments could be adduced in support of this view, that juries are so frequently liable to turn out stupid, and to return from their consultations with unjust verdicts, that it is important for the judge to have the right to upset their decisions when he conceives this to be desirable. But may it not also be contended that if there is any merit in the jury system at all, it is precisely designed to protect litigants from what may be the single prejudiced view of the judge? The tendency of our legal practice at present appears to be to maintain, as an old-fashioned theory, a belief in the jury system as the paladium of our liberties, and at the same time to muzzle and fetter juries by all the devices that judicial practice can invent. The system which is now so generally adopted, under which to begin with the jury, is rarely called upon to say whether it finds a verdict for the plaintiff or the defendant, but is simply

required to answer a series of questions put to it by the judge (who in his turn determines whether those answers embody a verdict for the plaintiff or defendant), is a system which sweeps away at one blow 90 per cent. of the jury's influence. It is easy, if a judge is so minded, to entangle a jury in a series of embarrassing questions, and practically to constrain them to answer in such a way that their answers can be interpreted in a manner the questioner thinks right. Very likely in the majority of cases the judge's view is the right one, and so the public interest is best served by allowing him to control the event, but the situation is illogical and irritating. Either the jury system is utterly out of date in these days when judges need no longer be feared as the docile instruments of administrative tyranny, or it should be so invigorated by wholesome reforms as to be a genuine factor in the decisions of Law Courts.

No doubt that could be arranged quite easily if the attention of Parliament could ever be turned to matters merely important as affecting public interests. Everything would turn upon the creation of a reasonable jury list that would supersede the present ridiculous system of taking people at random from the Post Office Directory, or from any other documents that inferior parish officers choose to employ. There must be in every great English city plenty of qualified and educated men of reasonable leisure who would be glad enough to perform the duties of jurymen, and who, in that capacity, would be qualified to exercise real control over the verdicts they should give. Such men would never conceive their duty to be properly fulfilled by merely listening open-mouthed to the summing-up of the judge with a view of guessing as well as they are able to, what answer he expects.

THE tragic incident that has terminated General Bobrikoff's cruel reign in Finland, is hardly one which even those of us who are most deeply impressed with the infamy of Russian proceedings in that country can regard with approval; but it is silly affectation on the part of the *Times* to begin its article on the subject by

saying, "A terrible crime has been committed at Helsingfors which must cause horror throughout the civilised world." Most readers of the telegram on the morning we heard of the "assassination" will have realised at once that it belonged to a wholly different category from that which includes the regicide crimes of anarchists. The senseless and brutal ferocity that has dictated most offences of that nature, represents criminality of the most atrocious order. The deeds of such miscreants, for example, as the wretch who murdered the Empress of Austria, did indeed send a thrill of horror through the civilised world, but that which the world has been horrified by in connexion with Finland has been the abominable tyranny of the Russian Government, resting on the broken promise of the Emperor, and carried out with savage cruelty by the man who has just been shot. The civilised world likes the system of political bloodshed as little in the one case as in the other, but cannot fail to recognise the appalling alternatives presented to the victims of such frightful misgovernment as that which rages over so large a part of the Russian dominions. Abject submission is possible on the one hand, and on the other——? What course is open to any given victim who is ready to sacrifice his own life for his country? The man who shot General Bobrikoff was no common anarchist, but a man of culture and social position. Even he may have been mistaken in supposing that by killing the tyrant of the moment he would arrest the course of Russian oppression, but he gave the world the most effective guarantee of his unselfish sincerity by sacrificing his own life in the hope of benefitting his country. The old epigram about Russian tyranny being "Tempered by assassination" may err in implying that assassination softens its rigour. Probably the situation is never alleviated in that way. Assassination is made the excuse for further tyranny, and the last state of the sufferers is worse than the first. Fresh agents of tyranny are always forthcoming, and patriots ready to offer up their own lives on their country's altar are not very numerous, but as long as the tyranny goes on from time to time, self-sacrificial opponents of it will rise up here and there.

The idiotcy of the anarchist position resides in the theory

that all constituted authority is necessarily tyrannical, and the form of that idiotcy, which is perhaps the most revolting, is the one it takes when the wearer of a crown is on that account, quite without regard to his or her character and conduct, regarded as an enemy of liberty. But the Russian system of government breeds the tyrant-killer (it is hardly a correct use of language to say the "assassin") as inevitably as such a system, for example, as was represented by the reign of Queen Victoria breeds loyalty and devotion to the crown.

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THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN BERLIN.

THERE is only one feeling among the English visitors who have recently taken part in the Women's Congress at Berlin, and that feeling is delight at its unqualified success. Speaking for myself alone, I must say that my pleasure was heightened by surprise. It was no surprise to me that German women should show skill and capacity, or that they should bring their natural thoroughness into the elaborate organisation which was essential to the success of the Congress. The surprise arose in my mind from finding how much further advanced than I had supposed was the claim of women in Germany to a larger, fuller share of national life and national responsibility. I had been accustomed to think and to say that the women's movement had made less advance in Germany than in any other civilised country ; but I shall think and say this no more. Along the whole line the recent Congress in Berlin shows that German women are bestirring themselves, that they are no longer capable of being satisfied with the traditional three K's, which were formerly supposed to limit the horizon of their aspirations, "*Kleider, Kuchen, and Kinder.*" Not that German, any more than English, women wish to repudiate or slight domestic amenities or domestic duties, but that they put *Kleider* and *Kuchen* in a different perspective : they are no longer the be all and end all of any reasonable human being ; while the third K, *Kinder*, have become more important than ever before. A woman needs more freedom, more strength, a better education, a more vigorous intelligence, in order more worthily to fulfil the great charge entrusted to her in the care and nurture of children.

German women are keenly alive to the fact that the "young generation are knocking at the door," and that they must be ready to open to them and make them welcome.

The International Congress, which was entirely in the hands of the German Women's National Council, was preceded by a meeting of the International Council of Women. At both Council and Congress, nineteen nationalities, if the British Colonies are counted as separate nations, were represented, viz., Great Britain and Ireland, Canada, New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand, The United States, Argentina, Germany, Austria, Holland, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, and Switzerland. All the foregoing have National Councils, and are consequently entitled to be represented at the International Council, held once in every five years. Belgium, Finland, and Russia have at present no organised National Councils, but individuals representing these countries were present and took part in the proceedings.

This International Council of Women began its history without associating itself with any propaganda. It has gradually passed through this colourless phase of its existence and is now pledged to support Woman's Suffrage in those countries which have Parliamentary institutions, and the extension of such political rights to women as are enjoyed by men in countries which are without representative government. The International Council likewise supports Peace and Arbitration, and the Abolition of the White Slave Trade. When the council was over the Congress began under the able chairmanship of Frau Marie Stritt, of Berlin. The opening address of welcome was given by Frau Stritt on Monday, June 13th, in the large hall of the Philharmonic, which was filled to overflowing. The buildings of the Philharmonic are admirably adapted for the purposes of such a gathering. There is a pleasantly-planted shady approach where members of the Congress could rest in the open air between the meetings. Four large halls accommodated the four sections into which the Congress was divided, while under the same roof were refreshment rooms, a large quiet room for reading and writing, a press room, a post office, a general information bureau, a saloon, a cloakroom, &c., &c. Each morning, while the Congress lasted, papers by

ladies possessing expert knowledge of their subjects were read in the four sections, which represented respectively: (1) Education; (2) Industrial and Professional Employment; (3) Social and Philanthropic work; (4) the Civil and Political Status of Women. The languages authorised were German, English, and French. The sections did not meet in the afternoon; members of the Congress then had ample opportunities of enjoying the hospitality very kindly extended to them, or of visiting the various institutions which were thrown open for their inspection. Each evening, with the exception of Wednesday and Saturday, a public meeting was held in the largest of the halls which the Philharmonic provides. The subjects of these public meetings are very representative of the activities of the Congress. The first was the Position of the Women's Movement in Civilised Countries; the second was on Women's Wages; the third was the Relation of the Women's Movement to Political and Religious Bodies; the fourth was on Women's Suffrage. A fifth public meeting closed the Congress on Saturday afternoon. Its subject was the foundation and aim of the Women's Movement. At all of these German women spoke most admirably. I was particularly impressed by Fräulein Anna Pappritz who spoke most forcibly on the need of raising the opportunities of higher education for girls in Germany. It appears that girls attending the more advanced classes in the German government schools labour under considerable disadvantages as compared with boys. The professors and teachers in the gymnasia, or the most fully-developed classical schools, teach their male pupils in the morning while they are fresh and at their best, and their female pupils in the afternoon when the teachers are jaded and tired. A strong case is thus made out for co-education. Fräulein Pappritz also spoke with great force and eloquence upon the absurdity and hypocrisy of a different moral standard as between men and women. She held her audience spell-bound, and was warmly applauded. She has done admirable work to rescue and protect young girls from lives of vice, and her speaking is the outcome of the real work she has done.

It was cheering in the section dealing with philanthropic work, to hear the example of England again and again quoted by German speakers as that which they desired to follow. In

speaking of prisoners' aid and the general humanisation of the treatment of prisoners, it was the German, not the English, speakers who did homage to the revered names of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry. Lady Battersea read a paper, in German, on her experiences as a prison visitor in England, and she was afterwards by permission of the Chancellor, Count von Bülow, permitted to visit the prisons of Berlin. Germany presents a curious amalgam of the most advanced modern thought in some directions, together with amazing survivals of mediævalism in others. For instance, capital punishment in Prussia is carried out by chopping off the criminal's head with an axe. I mentioned this to a Magdeburg lady, in order to receive either confirmation or contradiction, and she replied at once, "Yes, we know it quite well. The executioner is a butcher who lives in Magdeburg, and he is sent for to other places whenever his services are required; we know what is happening when we see him on his travels."

In one of the sections various German speakers referred to the constant flow of population from agricultural to urban districts; the usual regret was expressed that this should be the case and remedies likely, or held to be likely, to attract the people back to the land were suggested. The speakers were proceeding with rather unctuous platitudes to dilate on the health and virtue to be attained by cultivating the land, when a young woman rose at the reporter's table, and white with passionate emotion, addressed the audience. "Did the Congress wish to know why people were leaving the land? It was because they were dying of starvation. It was not merely that they were poor but," as the speaker vehemently repeated, "that they were dying of hunger." The young woman who spoke was said to be a Socialist. I had no means of knowing how far her statements were accurate, but they were uttered with evident conviction and I thought they went a good way to explain the strength of the Socialist vote in Germany, and that they also were a noteworthy commentary on the effect of protection on the condition of the poorest part of the population. It is quite possible that the orator's words were exaggerated, but that they represented a very poignant degree of suffering could hardly be doubted. Another German speaker in another Section, referring to the classes from which domestic servants are drawn,

spoke of their extraordinary poverty and the absence of all domestic comfort and amenity in their home lives. There can, I think, be little doubt that the general standard of comfort is very considerably higher in all classes in England than in Germany. To illustrate this I may mention what I saw in Berlin, of what was in many respects an excellent institution for training young ladies in all kinds of domestic occupations, cooking, laundry, cutting out and needlework, and all details of household management. When I visited the house the tables were laid for tea ; there were no table cloths, but white American leather was nailed over the tables, and the bread, &c., was put down upon this covering without any plate or dish. There were no flowers on the table, nor any attempt at elegance or refinement. In the dormitories the beds were packed in closely serried ranks, touching each other at the head and foot, and with very narrow gangways between the rows. I saw no overcrowding in the Concentration Camps of South Africa to compare with this. In the summer, when all the windows could be open, and I hope were open night as well as day, this degree of overcrowding may be comparatively harmless ; but in winter nights, when no doubt the dormitories are hermetically sealed, the atmosphere must become most poisonous. The superstition that night air has a peculiarly deadly quality is very prevalent in Germany, and I was assured quite seriously that people who slept with their windows open became blind. Near the two dormitories, which contained 21 and 19 beds respectively, there were two bathrooms, each with a single bath, so that "each pupil could have a bath once a week," as the superintendent complacently told us. All other washing had to be performed in public, though it is only fair to add that each pupil had her own small washstand. All these things point to a much lower degree of domestic comfort than we are accustomed to in England.

Some very interesting papers were read in the Education Section. One by Signorina Bice Cammeo, of Milan, described the position of women teachers in Italy, where they appear to be terribly underpaid—salaries ranging about £20 to £25 a year only. In contrast with this on the same morning was a pleasant little address by Lady Marjory Gordon on the work of women on

School Boards in Scotland. She said that the means of a thoroughly good education was now within the reach of every girl in Scotland; the board schools provided for them from 4 to 14, and then if they had the capacity they could have bursaries to prepare them for university education, now free in consequence of Mr. Carnegie's gift. A woman teacher in a Scottish elementary school in the country began with a salary of about £70 a year, or, approximately, 3 times what women can get at the same employment in Italy. Another interesting educational paper was given by Miss Melville descriptive of the gradual opening of university education to women in the United Kingdom. She strongly advocated co-education, and believed that Scottish experience shows that it strengthens the bonds of social comradeship between men and women, and that its supposed dangers and drawbacks vanished in the light of its actual working. Another very weighty paper in support of co-education was contributed by Miss Carey Thomas, the Principal of Bryn Mawr College, in the United States. Miss Carey Thomas's arguments have a special cogency, from the fact that she presides over an educational institution for women only. She is a woman of wide culture having been herself educated at Leipzig University. In 1870 Miss Thomas said that only one-third of the American universities admitted women to their classes and degrees; now, if the Roman Catholic universities (which are mainly seminaries for priests) are excluded, four-fifths of American universities admit women to all privileges of membership; only two exclude women altogether; of 28,000 American women university students 23,000 are in mixed universities, and only 5,000 in separate universities for women only. Miss Carey Thomas contended that American experience was now sufficiently extended to prove conclusively that university study does not affect the health of women unfavourably, that it does not affect their desire to marry, and that when married it does not diminish their power to bear healthy children. She also urged that the co-education of men and women had had a favourable moral influence, that the moral standard of men was higher where they were accustomed to mix with women of their own class interested in the same pursuits and studies.

A good deal of prominence was given, especially at the evening meeting, to the subject of Women's Suffrage. The question was represented by delegates from New Zealand and Australia, where women now have the vote, as well as from the various American States, where they have a similar privilege, and also by members of Women's Suffrage Societies from England and other countries. I have naturally, in my time, heard many speeches on Women's Suffrage, but I never heard better than those of the Rev. Anna Shaw, of U.S.A., and of Mrs. Napier, of New Zealand. I was charmed to find that the Rev. Anna Shaw is really an Englishwoman, that is, she was born in England of English parents, and lived here till she was four years old. Her argument for Women's Suffrage was to show, not what women could get by it, but how much more they could give to the State to which they belonged, if they had it; how much more effective their work for children, for the aged, for the poor would be if they had the ballot behind them. Mrs. Napier's speech had a special interest because she was able to describe ten years' working of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand. There have been four general elections in New Zealand since the enfranchisement of women. The argument that women would not take the trouble to vote when once the novelty had worn off has been falsified by experience; the number of women voting has steadily increased at each election from 90,000 in 1893 to 138,000 in 1902. But what is perhaps even more interesting is that the number of men voting has increased at the same time. Bringing politics into the home has apparently kindled more interest in public questions among the male electors, for their numbers increased from 129,000 in 1893 to 180,000 in 1902. The direct legislative results of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand had been to raise the legal standard of morality, to raise the age for the protection of the young, to equalise conditions for divorce for both sexes, to throw open the legal profession to women, to provide asylums for the inebriate, to prevent testators willing away their property without making due provision for their families, and so forth.

Chief among the American ladies representing Women's Suffrage was the veteran Miss Susan B. Anthony, now in her 85th year. Her presence at the various meetings never failed to call

forth very great enthusiasm. She was among the group of ladies received by the Empress, and is said to have congratulated Her Majesty on being the happy possessor of a very clever husband. The Empress expressed a newly awakened interest in women's education. It appears that the young generation has been knocking at the door even in royal palaces, and a little daughter of 14 has reminded the Empress that a time comes when rocking the cradle is not the only duty of a mother, and that it is as important and considerably more difficult to guide the growing intelligence and direct the ever-increasing power and activity.

Throughout the Congress the reports and comments in the Berlin Press were sympathetic and respectful in tone. I was very much struck by the immense number of reporters, many of them women, attending all the meetings. A very large reporters' table, sufficient to seat forty to fifty persons, was to be found in each section, and was nearly always full. A sprinkling of men attended the sections and the evening meetings. At one of the latter the well-known divine, Adolf Harnack, was present, and briefly expressed the great interest with which he had followed the Congress and his sympathy with its aims. Count Münsterberg at the concluding meeting said how much he had been impressed by the obvious desire of the women who had taken part in the Congress to give their whole strength for the good of the community. While man, he said, generally founded his efforts for the good of society on a material basis, women generally started from a spiritual one. The best could only be reached, he argued, when men and women combined, and in those societies where man has the highest respect for woman. These and other indications seem to show that the women's movement in Germany will have a great deal of support from the most thoughtful and best men; and it may be predicted that it will not be long before these pioneers will be followed by the crowd, who will wonder how it was ever possible to think that the mental development of one-half of the human race could be advantageously circumscribed by Kleider, Kuchen and Kinder.

The Congress was brought to a conclusion on the evening of Saturday, June 18th, by a reception at the Rathhaus, given by the Bürgermeister on behalf of the Town of Berlin. A most

sumptuous entertainment was provided. It can only be compared with a Mansion House banquet, intensified by the German conception of what is generous in the way of eating and drinking. Each guest was also presented with something to carry away in the hand, a bonbonnière taking the shape of a Bear, representative of the Arms of Berlin. The Burgomaster said in his speech, in which he welcomed the Congress, that this was the first time the capital of the German Empire had given official greeting to women; not that German men had been backward in showing devotion to the women of their homes, "But the homage which is given to-day does not spring from the sacred feeling common to all men. The woman of our day does not wish to be restricted to house and family. She will, according to the altered economic and legal circumstances, stand by the man in society and State and take a greater share in public life. She will accept new duties, and desires new rights. What vast fields she demands for her activity, and how far she plants her goal, the International Women's Congress of this week has shown us."

Frau Stritt made a suitable and dignified reply, and a very memorable week was brought to an appropriate conclusion.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

THE CIVILISATION OF ATLANTIS.

A CHANGE is slowly creeping over the view entertained by the educated European world concerning what used to be called the "Fabled Atlantis." Geological science has done something to contribute to this result. Tangible evidence has now been acquired to prove that the coast lines of Africa and South America were at one time much further advanced into what is now the sea than they are at present. This is evidenced not merely by the shallowness of the ocean for a considerable distance to the west of the European continent and to the east of South and Central America, but also by the fact that South American surveys have shown how the big rivers like the Congo and the Amazon are continued by deep grooves into the ocean bed far beyond their present mouths. These deep grooves are held to represent a period at which land, which is now submerged, was once above the ocean level and traversed by the river beds. Furthermore, there are plateaux surrounding some of the island groups in the Atlantic which fortify the conception that at one time these surviving islands may have been merely the mountain peaks of continental land, and very few geologists would now be found to ridicule the conception that at one time the configuration of land, in what is now the region covered by the Atlantic Ocean, corresponded with what used to be regarded as Plato's fable.

Furthermore, along the lines of strictly physical evidence, Ignatius Donnelly has shown that correspondences between archæological remains in Mexico and the Eastern world and between the flora and fauna of the now separated continents, indicate that at

one time there must have been something closely resembling land communication between these two regions. And, of course, that conception is fortified by broad geological beliefs concerning what has sometimes been called the "secular undulations" of the earth's crust. Few representatives, therefore, of the aggressive incredulity which characterised the last century will now survive amongst us, so long as we consider the geography of the past from the point of view merely of the geologist, without importing into the hypotheses which gather round the subject the human interest assigned to them by early Greek writers.

But Atlantean conditions would be very little worth study if we neglected their bearings on the evolution of the human race and merely think of the earth, in the configurations that have passed away, as empty of all intelligent tenancy and awaiting the advent of the human race at or about the period referred to in the remnants of early Jewish literature, on which, in reference to these subjects, the ethnologists of the last century were so curiously content to depend. Outside the circles in which it is felt to be dangerous to maintain any belief obviously incompatible with Mosaic chronology, the cultured world is fully alive to the fact that while Egyptian and Chaldean records carry us back to periods some 7,000 years B.C., the earliest of these records have to do with periods behind which, for an unknown procession of millenniums, the civilisations with which they were concerned had slowly been developed. And independently of specific evidence on the subject, the tendency of intelligent thought is certainly in the direction of recognising the possibility that at periods as remote as those when dry land covered a large portion of that which is now the Atlantic bed, humanity was already advanced far beyond the condition vaguely assigned to it in the bronze and stone ages. These ill-defined periods have sometimes been spoken of in a way which has encouraged careless observers to imagine that they followed one another in regular sequence, leading on to later phases of human history in which mankind collectively developed new arts and laid the foundation of later civilisations. The more intelligent view of the past suggests that the early barbarisms represented by palæolithic and other remains overlapped the progress of races concerned with much more developed

knowledge, and that even if we could identify the dates at which palæolithic or neolithic implements were in use that discovery would not preclude us from assuming that concurrently with such dates humanity in some parts of the world was already far advanced in the direction of what we now call civilisation. If the old-fashioned sceptic who doubts this on the ground that the geological strata which afford us palæolithic remains do not preserve the traces of such civilisation, the answer is very obvious if we accept the idea that the land which was the scene of the earliest civilisations has long since disappeared under the Atlantic Ocean. As it happens, however, we are no longer obliged to rest our conception of Atlantean society on empty hypotheses of this nature, nor even to let them depend exclusively on the testimony of Egyptian priests recorded in Plato's well-known essay.

From the other side of the water information now reaches us which throws a vivid flash of light upon the later Atlantean story. The American explorer of Yucatan, Dr. Le Plongeon, appears to have been remarkably successful in his search amongst Mexican antiquities for traces of Atlantean history. For a long time the hieroglyphics inscribed upon the walls of ancient Mexican temples were quite unintelligible to the archæologist. The hieroglyphics themselves appeared to be very like those of Egypt, but no sense could be made of the inscriptions which they constituted. Naturally enough attempts to read them in the ancient languages of Egypt were entirely futile. The alphabets, or the symbols which took the place of the alphabet, might be similar in significance, but if they spelt one tongue in the Valley of the Nile and another in Yucatan it was manifestly impossible for the mere Egyptologist to make sense of the far western inscriptions. But Dr. Le Plongeon devoted himself to the study of the aboriginal languages of the Mayas and Quiches, the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan, and with the knowledge so acquired was enabled to make sense of hieroglyphical inscriptions that had hitherto baffled all previous scrutiny. Roughly speaking, it would seem that the hieroglyphics have approximately the same phonetic value in Mexico as in Egypt. In order to translate them into modern speech nothing is required beyond the knowledge of the language they spell. Fortified by this knowledge the observations which Dr. Le

Plongeon claims to have made, are of the highest possible interest, and as regards the light they throw upon the early history of mankind, considerably more important even than those which have rewarded the painstaking work of a similar character carried out in Egypt. In three different places Le Plongeon has come upon direct written records of the tremendous cataclysm by which the last remnant of the Atlantean continent—itsself a huge island as big, at all events, as all central Europe—was swallowed up by the ocean about 11,000 years ago. One of these records is in the form of a manuscript known as the Troano MS., a document which survived the destructive habits of the Spanish conquerors in Mexico, and is still to be seen at some museum in Madrid. The all-important passage in this MS., which relates to the subject we now have in hand, is translated by Le Plongeon as follows:—

“In the year 6 Kan, on the 11th Maluc, in the month Zacm, there occurred terrible earthquakes, which continued without interruption until the 13th Chuen. The country of the hills of mud, the land of Mu, was sacrificed; being twice upheaved, it suddenly disappeared during the night, the basin being continually shaken by volcanic forces. Being confined, these caused the land to sink and rise several times and in various places. At last the surface gave way and ten countries were torn asunder and scattered. Unable to withstand the force of the seismic convulsions they sank with their 64,000,000 of inhabitants 8,060 years before the writing of this book.”

At two places in Yucatan Le Plongeon has found mural inscriptions corresponding to the story told in the extract just quoted, and the full narrative of his discovery is embodied in a book bearing a curious title and dealing with many other interesting questions, “Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx.”* The Queen Moo in question was a Mexican princess living at about the period to which the catastrophe of Atlantis is assigned, and her history has been extracted by the patient La Plongeon from a great multitude of inscriptions which he has been laboriously studying, indeed, the life history of Queen Moo has interested him apparently to an even greater degree than the testimony he has been able to acquire in reference to Atlantis. He has developed an interesting theory well worth attention on its own merits, though not directly concerned with the Atlantean problem

* Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co,

according to which the sphinx in Egypt was introduced to that country as a symbol or heraldic emblem by the Mexican heroine in question, who was driven from her own dominions by a great revolution and fled eastward until she actually reached the land already inhabited by many emigrants from Atlantis, the land of Egypt, already in full activity as a civilised region, although the period at which Queen Moo lived lies several thousand years behind the earliest records that have rewarded up to the present time the investigations of the most industrious Egyptologists. We must not stop here to study the history and adventures of Queen Moo, because, however romantic in their nature, they are of secondary importance as compared with the great problems of human evolution involved in the early history of the Atlantean continent.

The evidence to be put together on the basis of geological and archæological, research, even fortified as it is by the discoveries of Le Plongeon, would leave us little able to form an estimate of the part the Atlantean people played in that evolution if it were not susceptible of enormous expansion. This, however, has been accompanied by methods with which the modern world is still so little familiar that it is necessary here to turn aside from the main path of the present story in order to explain the manner in which detailed information now actually in our possession concerning the manner of life of the ancient Atlantean people, has gradually been acquired. In a former essay in these pages on "The Memory of Nature" I endeavoured to show from the evidence of experiments, that have been abundantly multiplied, how people gifted with a certain kind of clairvoyance, are able to recover a perception of events in the past associated with objects in the presence of which, so to speak, those events have transpired. The ignorant world at large, still taking refuge in disbelief in reference to matters it does not understand, may be quite unfamiliar with the experiences of those who have studied the peculiar art described as "psychometry"; but that art has already yielded results of surpassing interest, and is plainly destined, when better understood, to be employed as the most effective method of research in connection with the past history of mankind. The results to which it will give rise must eventually eclipse and all but supersede the lamer efforts of old-fashioned historians dependent

entirely on untrustworthy writings. We may still be very imperfectly informed concerning the subtle natural laws at work when the mere act of feeling, for example, an ancient weapon, will enable a really qualified psychometrist to describe the battle in which that weapon has been used. But, at all events, a good many people are now in a position to be quite sure that psychometrical investigation of the past is a possibility in nature, and though naturally, until it becomes very much more widely studied and made use of, no one clairvoyant can as yet expect to command implicit confidence, the aggregate testimony of those who are qualified to make researches in the memory of nature is not infrequently of a kind to establish broad conclusions on a trustworthy foundation.

Nor, be it understood, is the psychometric faculty available merely in the simple way most familiar to students. Even where no tangible objects are available which can afford a link between the consciousness of the clairvoyant and the scenes of the past, there are other ways for those who are properly qualified, by means of which they can get into touch with bye-gone periods, and from one central nucleus of observation, expand their perceptions so indefinitely that something like a complete history of the period under observation, no matter how remote in the past, lies within the range of recovery. The wonderful story of old Roman life lately reviewed in these pages, the so-called "novel" *Nyria*, is an illustration of the manner in which the circumstances concerning a life spent nearly 2,000 years ago can be definitely recovered in all their details and with all their environments. But with reference to the kind of memory which is made use of, it is just as easy to look back for twenty as for two thousand years. The memory of nature is as vivid with reference to events of a past to which even 20,000 years would be an inconsiderable period as with reference to those of yesterday. And so it has come to pass in connection with protracted investigations which have been carried out by students of the Atlantean period adequately provided with the faculty which enables them to make drafts on the Memory of Nature; that they have been able to put together records concerning the manner of life in Atlantis when that continent was in its prime, which afford us complete information, not merely concern-

ing its geographical arrangements, but also illuminating in the minutest detail its political constitution, its arts and sciences, its religion—for what that was worth—and the moral conceptions prevalent amongst its people.

Just as the reader desirous of knowing more concerning Le Plongeon's discoveries may be referred to his book already mentioned, so those who would possess themselves of the knowledge that has actually been acquired concerning the state of human society in the Atlantean period, may be referred to the "Story of Atlantis," (*) in which they will find not merely maps showing the condition before the catastrophe of the great continental remnant destroyed in the cataclysm of 11,000 years ago, but also the far earlier configuration of the Atlantean world, when pretty nearly the whole basin of the Atlantic was dry land, and the continents of Europe and America hardly as yet sketched in outline. For the rest, the volume deals with the place occupied in human evolution by the Atlantean race, and the appreciation of that important contribution to human history will certainly at some time in the future be studied by a more enlightened generation than that immediately around us, as calculated to throw light not merely upon the past, but as illuminating the whole design of evolution of the future towards which we are progressing.

We may now turn our attention to the actual results embodied in the book referred to, the preface of which informs us that "every fact stated in the present volume has been picked up bit by bit, with watchful and attentive care, in the course of an investigation in which more than one qualified person has been engaged in the intervals of other activity for some time past." It is important that this preliminary statement should be understood in its full significance. People who are unfamiliar with the methods and possibilities of occult research will always be liable to misapprehend the matter in one direction or the other. They will either suppose that such investigations are impossible, or, believing in them, assume that they are easy. They are perfectly possible for people gifted with the adequate faculties and with the patience which has enabled them to train the exercise of those

* Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, W.

faculties in the proper way. Any commonplace illustration will suffice to embody the idea. It is not impossible to play the piano, but, even granting the necessary musical aptitude, a good deal of patient self-culture is necessary before the piano can be played well. That is the simple fact with reference also to psychic gifts. Without them no painstaking will lead to useful results, but without painstaking the gifts themselves would be of little use. So the body of information conveyed to us by the Atlantean story, must be understood to represent very protracted efforts on the part of those to whom it is due, and a great mistake would be made by those readers who may now in a few hours run through the easily read pages, if they suppose that their preparation has been a task of corresponding simplicity. There is a great difference between travelling over the railway from London to Liverpool and making the railway from London to Liverpool.

In the case before us the very magnitude of the work performed leads some illogical critics to imagine that it never has been performed at all. The misapprehension is all the more likely to arise when the reader discovers that the work done has been concerned only in a limited degree with the state of the Atlantean continent immediately preceding the final disaster. It actually carries us back through the vista of the ages which separate us from the glowing prime of Atlantean civilisation about a million years behind the period of the final catastrophe, when, to begin with, the geographical configuration of the world's land and water was utterly unlike that which had been developed when Poseidonis, the last remnant of Atlantean land, was engulfed by the ocean. The land distribution of this globe a million years ago presented no resemblance to the present configuration. A huge mass of land stretched from the region which we now call Mexico to that dotted by these present islands of Great Britain reaching northward to about the latitude of Iceland and in the southerly direction to the Tropic of Capricorn; of Europe there was no hint whatever. The southern portion of Asia already existed as land although its outline was totally unlike that of the present map. The northern coast line lay in about the latitude of Great Britain, the southern capes just touched the Equator, and the most westerly tongue of this great land belt was separated

only by a narrow strait from the mass of Atlantean land previously referred to. Except for this little strait there was thus literally land communication between China and Peru, although, of course, neither China nor Peru were distinguishable a million years ago either as geographical or as political units.

Now, it is just possible that this sketch of early geography would not be regarded as at all unreasonable by modern geologists, but what they would fail to understand is that when the configuration of the earth was as described, the Atlantean mass was the home of a very advanced civilisation. The greatest of its cities, called by the name translated for our use into "The City of the Golden Gates," was situated on a bay penetrating the eastern coast of the great Atlantean continent, at a point on the map to be identified as about 10 deg. N. Lat. and 40 deg. W. Long. This city was the residence of the Atlantean Emperor. For many ages the Atlantean people had been governed by a succession of imperial rulers carrying on traditions of a preceding dynasty that we must regard as having been almost god-like in character, represented by beings on earth that were distinctly superior to the humanity of the period. But a terrible change was gradually coming over the morale of the Atlantean people. The time to which reference was made by the earliest map of the series, embodied in "The Story of Atlantis," was that in which the beneficent age was still in activity but approaching a disastrous revolution. "The City of the Golden Gates," magnificent in its architecture, and provided with engineering works of stupendous magnitude—those relating to its water supply being amongst the most wonderful—was eventually the prey of Atlantean revolutions which drove the Emperor to comparative exile in the wilder mountainous regions of the north, and inaugurated the period of what may roughly be described as Atlantean iniquity. For a very curious part was played in the history of mankind by the Atlantean race, a part which students of human evolution on a large scale can understand quite well as belonging necessarily to the whole design, but which nevertheless seemed to represent for a time the triumph of evil.

In order to understand it correctly, something must be said concerning that design in its broadest aspect, as apparent to the

sight of those who can survey the process as a whole. Conventional beliefs concerning the origin of mankind have rarely hitherto transcended the somewhat crude conception of creation which represents the undertaking as a continuous process proceeding, so to speak, along a straight channel of progress. Whether the theologian figures to himself a creation of a first pair, or the man of science endeavours to work out the idea of improvement from animal ancestry, the notion represents humanity as simply plodding along one pathway, and gradually attaining the modern development familiar to ourselves. That is not the way the process of creation was carried out as revealed to occult observation. The manifestation of Divine Spirit in matter has to be thought of,—as, indeed, it is quite correctly thought of in many eastern systems of philosophy,—as in the first instance a descent, the purpose of which is the animation of matter, or in other words, the development of material vehicles in which divine consciousness can work, and during the whole of this descending process the effort of nature is to differentiate centres of consciousness, to evolve separate beings with a sufficient individuality to persist as such, leaving them at a far later period to rise again through an ascending arc of evolution to the loftier conditions which it is possible for the divinely inspired being to attain. Now the descent of spirit into matter in the complete sense of this expression, had but just culminated at the Atlantean period. That represented a mid-way station, to put the matter in another form of words, on the vast spiral cycle representing the whole human evolution. Up to that time the purpose of nature had still been separation, differentiation, individualisation of its various units of consciousness ; and the moral principles of unselfishness and love, which now seem inherent in human nature, had not at the Atlantean period been generally developed,—had not at that time acquired, so to speak, a sphere of influence or activity. Thus it came to pass that, although in the earlier stages of the Atlantean race government was carried on by beings of loftier origin than those which constituted the population at large,—in order that material growth might be provided for in a way which would have been impossible had their own anarchical selves been allowed to control the course of events,—as time advanced, it became

necessary to leave the evolving entities to their own devices, to let them work out through all manner of tribulation the natural consequences ensuing from the full realisation of those characteristics of individuality to which they had attained.

From this it follows that the contemplation of Atlantean civilisation is not altogether a pleasing task. The interest of the research is very great, because the intellectual side of that civilisation had advanced to a very high level indeed, to a level representing a deeper familiarity with many of nature's obscure laws than has yet been reached by the progress of natural science in our own time. In this way scientific achievement in Atlantis seems, looking back, to have crossed the boundary which we recognise between natural forces and those which used foolishly to be called super-natural. Some of the manufacturing processes carried on in the City of the Golden Gates would seem to us to have been magical in their nature, and the efforts we are now making to solve the problem of aerial navigation are bringing us merely within sight of the beginnings of a system which was carried out by the Atlantean people as confidently as the navigation of the waters.

As far as the moral evolution of the race was concerned, however, this not merely represented a condition far inferior to that which humanity has since attained, but one so inferior in many respects that it is difficult for us to figure the condition of things in our imagination. All the more so because we have to disentangle the earlier influences associated with the benevolent imperialism of the earlier Atlantean ages from the condition more advanced as regards its intellectuality, but almost entirely dissociated from the earlier ideals, attained by the later subraces. And again, when we speak of the extraordinary psychic faculties enjoyed by and the super-physical powers exercised by the Atlanteans, we have to remember that it was only the minority representing the most advanced culture of the time to whom these faculties and powers belonged. So the great bulk of the Atlantean people were, after all, in a condition of slavery, and probably, to a large extent, representing entities still belonging, as far as their place in evolution was concerned, to the preceding great race which even ante-dated the beginnings of the Atlantean period. Then,

as regards the advanced representatives of that which we have to describe as Atlantean civilisation, some of its attributes developed during the earlier period seem to have persisted even up to the last. Among them, for example—and this point will interest many modern psychologists—Atlantean civilisation was entirely free from the system of oppressing the female half of humanity in the way that has been usual in the relatively modern world for the last half-dozen millenniums or so. This condition of things, indeed, was not due to any enlightened generosity on the part of the Atlantean men, but simply to the fact that strength, for the purposes of combat in those days, at all events amongst the representatives of the scientific culture of the time, depended enormously more on the freedom with which super-physical forces were exercised than on mere muscular superiority. And the women were as capable, indeed, it seems as though they were rather more capable than the men, of exercising these powers which have passed out of modern use. So that, as a matter of fact, they played their part in public and private life without finding their sex any disqualification. As often as not women were selected as provincial rulers and ministers of state, while, oddly enough, as far as the domestic routine was concerned, polygamy seems to have prevailed in a free and easy-going fashion, and, as far as domestic life was concerned, to have led to no particular discord. Some strain must be put on modern imagination exercised on these problems, as a rule, with reference to the data of modern experience, before we shall be able to realise the conception of what the Mormons call a "plural household" in which, nevertheless, the wives were socially, politically, and for the purposes of strife, should that arise, quite as strong as the men.

But the most curious fact connected with Atlantean development has reference to what we can only begin to deal with if we set out to inquire what was the religion of the Atlantean people. The old joke about the snakes in Iceland must once more be repeated. There was no religion among the Atlantean people, if, that is to say, we except a microscopic minority which through that morally darkened age kept the flame of pure spiritual knowledge and devotion alight. These few were, in fact, the occultists

of the period, and by no means more numerous, as compared with the whole volume of the population, than the occultists of to-day amongst ourselves, a microscopic minority compared to the bulk of the people. But whereas the occultist of to-day is the representative of a purer scheme of spiritual philosophy than that prevailing in the community at large, because he has acquired knowledge concerning mysteries of nature whose existence is unsuspected by the majority, the majority in Atlantis were familiar with the hidden mysteries, but failed to distil from that knowledge anything resembling a spiritual philosophy. This was developed only by the rare adept of the period, distinguished from his contemporaries not so much by the possession of power as by the possession of a loftier belief concerning spiritual life. Leaving these few out of account, the bulk of the cultured classes in Atlantis entertained no beliefs whatever concerning spiritual survival or divine supervision over human affairs. They worshipped nothing. They had no religious ceremonies, and, finely developed as their architectural and artistic achievements were, they devoted no buildings to any of the purposes which we should call religious. In so far as they sought an outlet for that instinct in their nature which they failed correctly to appreciate, they adored *themselves* as the loftiest phenomenon in the visible universe. In the only public buildings which faintly resembled temples in their character, the richer inhabitants set up statues of themselves to command the admiration of the passer-by as symbolising the most admirable and wonderful phenomenon that the world had presented to their view.

With such a body of feeling as this taking the place of religious sentiment, it will readily be seen that none of the loftier philanthropic impulses so characteristic of our own time could have taken root in the Atlantean nature. It was an age of selfish conflict and of oppression exercised over those who were destitute of the characteristics enabling them to wield the super-physical forces, and by the time individual growth among the people had dissipated loyalty to the old imperial dynasties, so that the latest representatives of these were driven from the capital city, a turbulent era of democracy tempered by the occasional supremacy of those who, from our own point of view, could only be described

as evil magicians, ran rampant over the vast areas of the Atlantean continent, while the small minority representing the loftier spiritual philosophy withdrew to what were then the distant corners of the earth, and amongst other tasks which they undertook set on foot the beginnings of Egyptian civilisation, which thus dates back really for a period compared with which the records of the 6,000 or 7,000 years surveyed by the modern Egyptologist constitute but a final fragment of the story, an imperfect epilogue relating to an age of decadence.

In regard to the details of Atlantean life and civilisation a great deal more information has been accumulated than it is worth while to embody in this explanation. The moral of the whole research is to be found in a comparison between the growth, culmination, and decay of the Atlantean race, and the progress so far achieved by the race to which we ourselves belong; or, to put the idea more accurately in consonance with occult teaching, let us say, the race in which we—the pupils of nature during our Atlantean experiences—are reincarnated in this later age. As far as mere intellectual growth is concerned, this race of ours, meaning by that phrase no one nationality but the Aryan race as a whole, has not yet attained the intellectual stature reached during the consummation of Atlantean civilisation. We are, indeed, laying the foundation by our intellectual and scientific progress for an ultimate intellectual growth, which, when reached, will distinctly exceed that of the Atlantean period. But until we recover eventually other forces of nature which are still beyond the reach of modern science, we shall not be able to regard ourselves as having distinctly reached the same level of progress as that attained in Atlantis. Meanwhile, we are reaching that concurrently with progress of a kind to which the Atlanteans, as has been shown, were utterly strangers. The magnificent moral and spiritual attributes of the Fifth race, even obscured and misdirected to some extent by a barbarous theology, has put a stamp upon the civilisation of this period which gives it an entirely new significance. It was inevitable, as we look on evolution as a whole, that the Atlantean people should in the end have been swept off the face of the earth by a mighty catastrophe, for their knowledge had out-run their moral growth. Their intellectuall

achievement, so far as capacity was concerned, was in no way destroyed by the catastrophe which overwhelmed "the land of Mu." Intellectual growth is an attribute of the reincarnating ego which is never lost; but, for the new race, it was necessary that its earlier life should be kept clear of the moral corruption into which the Atlanteans had fallen. Kept clear by wiping off from the consciousness of humanity the definite knowledge which the Atlanteans had so frightfully misused—which the new race could be trusted in the course of ages to regain for itself, concurrently with the development of the finer moral attributes especially belonging to its place in evolution. So it may confidently be anticipated that when, in due course, the people of the modern world, at some period, perhaps, awaiting us at no very distant stage in the future, shall have recovered the detailed knowledge of the Atlantean scientists, the powers thus accumulating on our hands will be exercised for the general good under the restraints of an enlightened moral and religious system, so that their effect will be to stimulate in their turn that spiritual growth in mankind to the influence of which they will owe their own nobler direction. The idea could, perhaps, be more easily understood if gradually elaborated in an essay on the interaction of moral and intellectual forces, which would in itself, perhaps, equal the length to which this paper has already run. For the moment, the view suggested must be left as little more than a hint to the reader, but, at all events, as pointing out the way in which the study of those earlier chapters in our human story which no mere literary research will ever suffice to unveil, will, when properly undertaken, pour a flood of light into the future illuminating the path along which we, the multitudes of mankind, are assuredly destined to advance.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE INTELLIGENTIA OF RUSSIA.

PERHAPS no European people are more difficult to represent in their true lights and shades than the vast race we call Russian. Many nations, in fact all, more or less, have, as we know, their peculiarities, their complex natures so worked upon and worked out by many and varied influences, conditions, hereditaries, that to gain even a partial knowledge of them makes a deep study necessary. For one must weigh many things in the balance, and consider side lights, under currents, ephemeral and permanent influences, foreign and national, and a thousand other things. But, in studying the Russians, added to all these are such unaccountable contrarieties, or rather untraceable contradictions. They seem at once to have every vice and virtue under the sun, and so strongly Russianized are these qualities, that in their peculiar form they seem to belong to no other nation but Russia. Then, too, the Government is one thing, while the people, the great bulk of the people, are entirely another. And, again, the people themselves differ so widely—not classes only—but different groups, self-organised as it were, cliques of magnetised atoms. And not the difference only which one naturally expects education, knowledge, culture to mark out, nor differences which minor influences tend to exert—but they seem to differ in the essentials of life. There seem to be a hundred nationalities in one—and yet how patriotic, how true and loyal to the one Royal Standard. They are indeed children of impulse, of mood, of passion ; and yet when I say this, I pause, remembering here their inconsistency, their contradiction. With all their passionate, unreasoning

enthusiasm, their wild impulsiveness, their childlike eagerness of pursuit, they can be, and are, as calm and contained, and immovable as the great Steppes which stretch over so large an area in their country. Indeed, the Russians resemble in many ways their country. We see in the peasants the wild waste and forlornness, the strange, weird strength of these same Steppe wildernesses. We see in the passionate on-flowing eagerness of the educated youth, the impetuosity, the rush, the volume of the great rivers. We see the impassable, the cold, the deathly snows reflected in the cruel, cold-blooded steeliness of officials, which blows like icy blasts on the fiery enthusiasms of the nihilistic blood of the young socialistic class. The rich black mould, a subsoil which covers so many acres of the country—the dark, dense forests—these suggest a rich productiveness, an underlying worth and life-giving product found in the peasant, as well as in another and more elevated section of Russian life. They remind us of a thick undergrowth of ideas, of original thoughts, which one day will help to supply the timber of Europe, with which great architectural monuments of the world will be raised, and of which none will need to be ashamed.

We, as a nation, have been too prone to judge of Russia by its politics, its vile official organisations, its national exhibitions of crudity and barbarisms. If we mean to be at all fair to this people, we must look through this dark veil of officialdom, and we shall be rewarded by a sight of something better, nobler, much more worth seeing—a people of great, rich, and surviving qualities. It is the government which is a lying, deceitful, cruel administration—not the people behind. There are, as we well know, followers of the government, who participate alike in its gains, and in its vicious qualities. The government has also created another section, which though it has not inherently its vile qualities, has partially acquired them accidentally, by not being able to resist the overpowering influence which its close proximity has exerted. The English, too, speak of the low moral tone of Russian society. Well, as a rule, the man who speaks thus, has in most cases, no knowledge of the matter whatever; he takes his idea from some tourist who has been in the country a few weeks, and imagines he knows Russia. A man who knew

anything of the people could not make such a bare statement or such a statement at all without reservations. Measure the Russian by the English standard, you get, no doubt, strange results: low tone here, ridiculously idealistic there; inconstant to criminality here, faithful to death, exile, prison there. I do not mean individual instances of these qualities—you have those in every country; but I mean whole sections of the people adhering these principles, living for and by them.

From the curious, pregnant, fertile and muddy soil of Russia, have arisen many groups of sturdy growth; the Nihilists, or nihilists, as they call themselves, and the advanced Socialists of whom the Slavophilists or Russian Conservatives are such bitter enemies; and then that great band of noble workers, known in Russia as the "Intelligentsia," whose movement was one of the most typical indications of the higher class, the educated Russian mind, and at the same time one of the most curious, interesting and important movements of modern times. It was a true outcome of that heaving, restless, volcanic, passionate, idealistic nature, so complex, so inconsistent, so contradictory, and yet withal so thoroughly Russian.

Now before we can really understand what the people of the Intelligentsia were, or what was the work they attempted, we must look for a moment at the condition of Russian subjects thirty years ago. The peasant class was poor and ignorant, superstitious, retrogressive to such an extent, that an Englishman of even strong imagination can with difficulty conceive of such an abject condition, rife with misery and despair, at times with a stolid indifference, a stoic disregard of pain and discomfort, an heroic endurance and submission. Though the serfdom of the Russian peasants has never been slavery in the same sense as we have understood it to exist among negroes or among Easterners, they have always had a certain individuality, a certain amount of human assertion, which has at least kept within their souls a knowledge of their common humanity, a claim to the family kinship of the world, though there has been the inability to assert this, save in patches. This feeling of kinship has kept their inner consciousness or their spirit from bowing in utter servility, while at the same time their bodies have been prostrate before their

owners. Now this is one of the strong contradictions which makes their nature difficult to exhibit or explain truly. While they are the most servile, the most abject, they still have a dignity of soul, a conscious self-possession which is remarkable, constituting quite a different element from that primitive fear and abjection found in the negro slave. Yet it had been easier perhaps to raise them, had they been mere possessions like the animals they tended. But the will having been ever alive in them, it has thrown a faint glimmer of light into the soul, and revealed to them something of the dense darkness around. They are strongly reasoning animals, but without any knowledge to lead them to a safe conclusion. For centuries have they been ground to the earth by vile officialdom and Government injustice; for as long have they been crushed by a selfish, immoral, brutish class of men, who call themselves messengers of "the Prince of Peace." The men who stand up in the churches are the men who are hated and feared, and in no wise are they the friends and instructors of the people. They are in fact merely organs of the Government, instruments of torture, mutilating the people through the weapons of superstitious fear.

To whom then were the people to look? As we all know there is no freedom in Russia; neither rich nor poor, peasant nor noble, ignorant nor cultured, have any freedom of speech or action whatever. They are alike held down by the minions of the Crown; the Censor rules literature, the Church rules the conscience, the Curator rules the intellect, the Gendarme rules personal property, and the Government rules all. The Russian Government is a voracious man-eating monster; a devil-fish which sets its fiendish suckers into the flesh of hard peasant or tender aristocrat and draws out the life blood.

In the middle of the last century the bitter tyranny of government despotism had reached such a pitch in its cruel extortions, its callous indifference to justice, its wholesale exportation of innocents to Siberia, to the mines, to the prisons, to the gallows, without hearing or redress; in its utter disregard of the needs or safety of its subjects, its unremitting attempts to extinguish light and knowledge, its withdrawal of all means of illumination and progress, its selfish, shameless disregard of

personal and individual claims, that it not only drew upon itself the attention and severe, though silent censure of the better classes, but incited within the breasts of the humane and sympathetic part of the community a great longing to stem the tide of adverse circumstances, to bruise the head of this Frankenstein Monster, to lift the helpless and drowning ones on to a safe and dry shore. The government had not only oppressed the people by levying taxes impossible to pay, by the vilest cruelty, injustice, mercilessness, but it had in every sense opposed all that appertains to education and progress. It had so feared that this great mass of humanity should carve out weapons of defence, that every possible means of progress and enlightenment was closed to them. It deliberately raised every obstacle in the way of popular education; elementary schools were discouraged, there were no technical schools for the improvement of the working classes. Museums and art galleries were not open to the people, and not arranged as a means of education, as in other European cities. All growth was feared, knowledge silenced, education limited to such a degree as to be unworthy the name. The sciences were left out of the curriculum, or taught in such a way as to be useless, universities were closed for long terms at the caprice of government officials, lectures stopped. When private societies for improvement, as innocent as our Ruskin or Browning Societies, were commenced they were forbidden. No discussions were allowed, even upon science or literary questions. The building or endowing of any public institution for the promotion of learning, or the bettering of the people was disapproved. What were the people to do? How were the better classes even to gain an education worth having, when schools, universities, colleges, even private lectures were over-ruled by this exacting and despotic power; when the Curator, a vigilant servant of the Crown, dictated to the professor what he should say, or what he should not—what he should teach, or what he should not. And if he were a man of broad and enlarged ideas, he must keep silent, or be turned from his post. Is it not much to the credit of the Russian people that they should be so intelligent, so eager for knowledge, so desperately in earnest?

Then it was, with difficulties before them of such terrific

magnitude on the one hand, the dense, purblind ignorance and superstition of the masses, and on the other the powerful, determined opposition of the Government, that a brave band came to the rescue. A band of earnest, enthusiastic men and women, girls and boys some of them, who, holding the good of the masses as more precious than comfort and ease, determined to find some means of raising them from their dense ignorance, their dark, low, degraded condition, to something at least more human, more endurable. And this movement we call the "Intelligentsia" of Russia.

Of course, the work was to be done secretly, to avoid the sharp eye of Government. In bands they could not move; they must work alone, one here, one there, to disseminate new and widening ideas, and teach where and how they had opportunity. No sooner was the method decided, and the news secretly spread, than hundreds of cultured, enlightened, benevolent men and women volunteered for a share in the work. The Russian girl of wealth and comfort, in her muslin gown and ancestral jewels, came from her perfumed boudoir, and put on coarse clothes to sit in the mill next the peasant girl, where she toiled all day, and at the same time, in a soft and subdued voice, talked of many things new and elevating to the mind of this child of the people. The high born woman who could read in many languages, and knew Plato, and Homer, and Virgil as friends, came from her well-stocked library, from her *écritoire* and her spacious study, and entered the mediocre home as *employée*, where she could instil higher principles, introduce socialistic themes, evolutionary ideas into the young minds of the household. The young collegian came from his brilliant companions, his genial home people, his loved pursuits, his high ambitions, and took a place among the artisans or the labourers in the field, and made friends of the peasants, told them of great deeds, of noble men, and high thoughts, taught them to read and write. Noblemen's sons came out from their castles and estates, away from their horses, and servants, and luxuries, and sat in the office, or stood in the shop, and circulated among the working youths knowledge and instruction, and endeavoured to widen and broaden their views of life. The young daughter of high accomplishments, of gentle ways, and great ideals, came from

the side of loved parents, and took a place in the bourgeois kitchen, where she swept the floors, scrubbed the pans, washed the dishes by the side of rough girls, while seizing every opportunity of inspiring them with a desire for knowledge and a love of great and nobler things.

And thus these people worked, secretly, diligently, and accomplished what none but a determined, an idealistic, a renouncing set of men and women could have effected. But alas ! a few years were enough to arouse suspicion in official quarters, and the eagle-eyed Government, vulture-like, pounced upon its innocent prey. Arrest followed arrest, the prisons were filled, hundreds were taken without any proof whatever of their offence. It was not indeed safe to make entries in a diary, write a letter, have MSS., or even read or possess a pamphlet of the most innocent purport. Less than nothing was sufficient passport to exile and death. And so there was an end of it, a partial end, and for many, Siberia, or wasting in the dungeons.

Now the Russian temperament unfortunately makes against successful undertakings. The Russian never counts the cost beforehand, as we have had evidence in the present war with Japan. He means well—I am not speaking of the government, understand—his heart is right, but he does not consider the pros and cons before commencing an undertaking, he never allows for the terrific odds against his plan, or his ideal ; difficulties do not deter him, impossibilities do not make him hesitate. Facts to him are merely so many stones in his way which he will kick aside, he laughs at them, and never imagines that his feet may be bruised or broken in the act, or that he may set the boulder rolling which will crush down upon the heads of those he wishes to relieve. He is an idealist, an enthusiast of the most extreme type—but he is not practical, therefore his idealism falls short, or cannot be reached by the aerial staircase which he erects. Material feet must have material substance whereon to step—now that we have left the climbing and prehensile proclivities behind, or such endeavours result in falls, and thus has been the termination of many of the noble attempts of the Russian enthusiast. The Russian does not co-operate sufficiently, he does not concentrate his forces, therefore he fails.

It is curious to note that while the Russian people are so far behind in many things, they have the most advanced ideas of the most advanced civilization; they are abnormally quick, highly intellectual, reasoning, and besides being original in their ideas, and carrying out of ideas, they are wonderfully adaptive and imitative. Yet on the other hand they are childish in their estimate of the value and relation of facts. They draw absurd conclusions, colour everything to their own liking, are most unscientific; they ignore tradition and past experience, and rest all their bases on present feelings and impressions. They look neither behind nor ahead, they are not diplomatists, or strategists in any small degree. Oh for a Russian Garibaldi, a Russian Gambetta. They need a great leader to rise and, gaining followers, to concentrate force, crush the government and annihilate it completely—so that the iron clamp may be raised from off the people's neck, and they may breathe and stand erect.

So, we do not wonder that the "Intelligentsia" ended in imprisonment and death; nor can we be surprised that in the years that followed, attempted assassinations of government officials were frequent, or that the country became rife with secret societies in determined opposition to the government. What more could that brave band have done? And yet with all their failure, they accomplished a great and lasting work—they opened out a way, they let in light however dim, into the minds of the ignorant, oppressed peasant, and to-day, though little better in circumstances, he is not quite the same dense, dark, down-trodden creature that he was thirty years ago; he is no longer so docile, and submissive in his oppression, he is readier for insurrection, readier to kick his heels against the shafts.

Still is the Intelligentsia working for the betterment of the people, the spirit has spread far and wide, and grown, and taken deeper root. Now a large number of the enlightened class in Russia have true sympathy with the lower classes, and are ready to do their utmost to help them to a better condition whenever the opportunity occurs.

As a section of society the "Intelligentsia" has its code of morals; it is not the approved English code, hence it is criticised, and with superior wisdom denounced and ostracised. Well, the

English may say what pleases them about the code, if they throw no slight upon the men and women, whose principles are at any rate high enough to stimulate them to noble deeds, and sacrificial actions of the highest quality. These people of progressive ideas believe in "free love," as we are pleased to call it; and it is "free love" if we take it in the nobler and better sense, love, free from the trammels of artificial law and ceremonial restrictions, and as free from low desire as from these. By "free love" I do not mean bestial licence, but the breaking away from formal and conventional limitations, from orthodox ecclesiastical rule. In this sense was "free love" the code of the *Intelligentsia*. In the words of George Brandes, when speaking of the *Intelligentsia*: "It is a world by itself, with its own moral qualities, precarious at times, but always of more value than the mercantile compound, which in other parts of Europe goes under the name of moral. A pure young world, with the fiery faith of youth, and the passion characteristic of Russian heroism, constant even in torture. . . . love is not understood in Russia as in other countries, as mere sensualism. And there is found within the Russian *Intelligentsia* a true worship of love—as of a holy thing, lawful in itself."

Let it not be mistaken, neither George Brandes nor myself are here advocating any form of so-called "free love." We are simply endeavouring to be fair towards this heroic band of Russian workers, and to show them in a true light, such a light as will neither distort nor embellish; to give the character truly and simply. Now, to state simple facts is, at times, the cruellest and unfairest thing a writer can do. A realist is untrue, because he leaves out the subtle, ethereal something, which makes or changes everything—which is the atmosphere of the picture. There are anterior, posterior, contemporaneous impressions; there are subsidiary and fluidic influences, for which a realist, a painter of bare facts, has no room on his canvas or no combinations in his paint pots. Therefore he leaves out that part of nature which is the greatest part of truth. The teller of facts alone is not the truth-teller—the impressionist is nearer, he uses a truer medium. Therefore, if a man says the people of the *Intelligentsia* were men and women who indulged in what is known as "free love,"

without giving extenuating reasons or explaining to some extent the modified, or rather, elevated view they took, he does not tell the truth, though he may state bare facts.

These men and women of the *Intelligentsia* could not have done such noble, self-renouncing work had they been any other than *good*. Good comes from the same root, so I learnt in my childhood, as God, and in this sense they were "good"; they idealised love, and believed the marriage form tended to materialise it. They were strong believers in their own spiritual power—and how determined and invincible—it is of this sort reformers are made, and these are the men and women who will save Russia, who are saving it. The enlightened, the fearless, the irresistible, opposed to oppression, injustice, and all that hinders progress—they must win in the end. The spirit is spreading rapidly, to-day the best of the nobles work for the people, the writers write for them in spite of the abominable limitations of the Censor. The great and the good men are toiling and speaking for them, some in their own country in a subdued voice, others in foreign lands where the truth may be spoken in freedom, and find an echo in Russia. Yes, the democratic spirit is growing, the spirit is moving upon the face of the waters, the great living ocean is beginning to heave, and the masses are making for revolution; and the old oppressive, autocratic government will soon, we hope, be a thing of the past.

This destructive and humiliating war will, no doubt, do something not so trifling to bring things nearer to a crisis in Russia—do something to break the yoke from off the people's neck, and give freedom to a noble-hearted and generous-minded nation.

SARAH E. SAVILLE.

“IMMERITO.”

JOHN DOVE declared when he translated the “Shepherd’s Calender” into Latin verse five years after its publication in 1579 that he did not know who was the author. And even in 1904 after all the efforts that have been made to settle the question, it still lies open to doubt.

Immerito, who wrote the “Shepherd’s Calender,” must have been a very interesting personage. If the name “Shakespeare,” as some people maintain, was invented, “Immerito” might even claim to have been the inventor, if only on the strength of what follows:—

“Which the lady disdainig shooked her speare at him.”
 (“Shepherd’s Calender,” 1579, Glosse for October. Immerito himself was “E.K.”)

“Ne all good knights that shake well speare and shield.”
 (Faery Queen, 1590, Book II., Canto 2.)

“And in his hand a sharp bore speare he shook.” (Book III., Canto 2.)

“With that they ’gan their shivering speares to shake.”
 (Book IV., Canto 2.)

Also

“He all enraged his shivering speare did shake.”

In 1593, after an interval of less than three years from the publication of the “Faery Queen,” “Venus and Adonis” was published as by Shakespeare, and as being the first Heir of his Invention. Marlowe and Greene were by this time dead; facts of some significance.

Immerito formed a strong friendship with a brilliant young Cambridge University lecturer named Gabriel Harvey.

In his "Letter Book and Diary" (Camden Society) Harvey refers to "a friend of mine, that since a certain chance befallen unto him, a secret not to be revealed, calleth himself Immerito." Mr. Scott, who edited the Diary, complains that in the portions containing the copies or drafts of letters to Immerito leaves have been cut out, and that in the other twenty-five letters there is no reference to Spenser. In the others there is much about Immerito or Benevolo, but the only possible allusion to Spenser is the "E.S. of London, Gentleman," mentioned in a draft letter of 10th of (probably August) 1579. This curiously is a complaint about the publication by Immerito of some of Harvey's verses, but the date of publication is in another part of the Diary given as 1st August, 1580. In searching for the real Immerito we are rather drawn therefore to seek enlightenment in the statements made in the Harvey-Immerito correspondence printed in 1580, and the draft letters since brought to light by the Camden Society.

From these we learn that Immerito was:—

"Everyone A *per se* A his terms and braveries in print."

"Delicate in speech queynte in arraye, conceited in all points."

He was a "Hertfordshire gentleman," "Anglo-Francitorum" (which may mean English-French). He was "Magnifico Signor Benevolo," "Your delicate Mastership," "My yunge Italianate Seignoir and French Monsieur." Also "sutch an old frende in a corner, so honest an yuthe in the city, so trew a gallant in the Court, so toward a lawyer and so witty a gentleman." Again Harvey writes: "Good Lord you a gentleman, a courtier and yuth and go aboute to revive so owlde and stale and bookish opinion." And again: "You suppose us students happye . . . Would to God you were one of these men but a sennighte."

I give three other extracts:

"We are yet to take instructions and advertisements at you *lawiers and courtiers* handes that are continually better trayned and more lively experiences therein than we *university men* are."

"Foolish is all yonkerly learning without a certain manly discipline." As if indeed for the *poor boys only*, and not much more for well-born and noble youth were suited the strictness of that old system of teaching and learning. (Grosart's "Spenser," vol. i., p. 42).

"Your vowed and long experimented secrecie."

If we turn to the Immerito letters we find one written partly from Westminster and partly "Leycester House" in the Strand.

He says (16th October, 1579): "First I was minded for a while to have intermitted the uttering of my writings leaste by over much cloying their noble ears I should gather a contempt of myself or else seem rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it." (He evidently did not wish it to be thought he wanted to make money by his writings.) In another paragraph he says: "Your desire to hear of my late being with Her Majesty must die in itself."

On 9th April, 1580, Immerito, writing from Westminster, alludes to the very careful attention he has paid to the rules and precepts of the art of poetry devised by Drant, enlarged by Philip Sidney (then aged 25), and augmented by Immerito.

It is difficult to believe at this stage that Edmund Spenser, the sizar or serving scholar of Pembroke Hall (1569-1576), permitted to eat what was left from the meals of Harvey and the other Fellows and Commoners, could be identified as Immerito. He was a "poor boy," had long experience as a student, was the son of a journeyman clothworker, was never known to have gone abroad or to have become a lawyer, or to possess the means or credentials for becoming a courtier or gallant at a very exclusive Court. Nor was he likely, from his upbringing, to be on terms of intimacy with Harvey not to mention Sidney and the Queen herself. Even in recent times, in Oxford, no ordinary undergraduate could, without social offence, appear in public with a servitor. Nor could Spenser, in 1579, have been a "yuthe" in comparison with Harvey. Who then, was this precocious youth who seemed to have pocket money for any reasonable wants? Could he have been the curly-haired handsome boy whose portrait, painted by the English Court painter Hilliard, in 1578, had round it the Latin words by the painter expressing the wish: "If I could only paint his mind;" the youth who tells us that in 1578, at Paris, he invented the cipher "omnium per omnia?" This young man was certainly in England about 20th March, 1578-9, having brought from France to Queen Elizabeth a despatch of that date from her Ambassador. He had been at Trinity College, Cambridge, from April, 1573, to December, 1575, and at the

Court of France, and possibly that of Italy, from September, 1576, until his return in March, 1578-9. It is probable that he was in England on a visit earlier in 1578. In 1579 he was entered as an ancient at Gray's Inn, and the following year letters are dated by him from the Inn.

Gabriel Harvey had a wonderful influence over Cambridge students, and most of them crowded to his lectures. His age in 1579 was about 28. My authorities are the preface to his "*Circeronianus*," 1577, in which he is described as "*adhuc adolescentem*," and his own letter to Dr. Young of 24th April, 1573, in which he writes: "If May prove no better than April it will be the worst spring for me that hapnid this twenty-two years." He was selected by Earl Leicester, in July, 1578, to go to Italy for him, but from an entry in "*Howliglas*," one of his books, which bears date December of that year, he was probably in London as late as that month. Except for that entry one might have assumed that he was sent to Italy as companion and tutor for the precocious youth in the same way that Ludovick Bryskett had been employed in the service of Philip Sidney a few years before.

If we are to believe a revelation alleged to be disclosed by the "*Omnium per omnia*" cypher, Spenser, the poor student of Pembroke Hall, who, after seven years there, became M.A. in July, 1576, had found his way back to London and had agreed that his name should be put forward as author of the "*Shepherd's Calendar*" and other poems written by the precocious young versifier from France, whom we find in September, 1580, complaining, in a letter to Burleigh, how incongruous it was for a person in his position to be employed in studying the common laws! We have, therefore, to consider whether the facts as we study them offer any support to the allegation.

Spenser may or may not have entered the employment of Leicester in 1579. Dr. Fulke was master of Pembroke as well as one of Leicester's chaplains, and may have introduced him. But we do know that a certain Edmund Spenser went to Ireland in August, 1580 and remained there, with possibly one break in 1591, until he returned in December, 1598, and died the following month. (Chamberlain Letters.) Meantime what happened?

Hardly had he gone, when the Harvey-Immerito letters of 1580 were published, followed later by the 1579 letters in which the word "Edmontus" appeared in Latin, and some of the prints have the name Edmund Spenser at the back of them. Then the odd, the unexpected, and the strange continued to happen. New editions of the Calendar appeared with such corrections as lead Dr. Grosart to say that the author must have seen the works through the press himself! The 1581 edition came from a different publisher, in smaller type, closer set and corrected, and yet the Irish official can be proved to have been in Dublin in March, May, and July, and may be assumed from the nature of his occupation, the difficulties of communication, and his distance from London to have never left Ireland that year.

In 1582 he was granted a six year's lease of a house in Dublin, and in 1586 named as grantee of Kilcolman Castle with 3,028 acres. That year another edition, further corrected, of the Calendar was printed. In June, 1588, Spenser purchased the office of Clerk to the Council of Munster. In October, 1589, he was subjected to legal proceedings in Ireland by Lord Roche. On 1st December, 1589, the first part of "Faerie Queen" was registered, its explanatory letter is dated 23rd January, 1589-90, and the poem was published in 1590. On 29th December, 1590, a collection of poems, entitled "Complaintes," was registered. The printer's preface should be read. He has been engaged in collecting together "such small poems of the same authors as I heard were dispersed abroad in sunderie lands and not easie to bee come by, by himselfe, some of them having been diversely embezeled and purloyned from him since his departure over sea."

Bear in mind the assumption that the "Faerie Queen" was the work of a "new poet," as Ponsonby called him. First the long poem then the short ones. The first of these short poems is that most pathetic verse "The Ruine of Time," dedicated to Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and a lady of literary attainments herself, she having in that year translated Garnier's "Anthony."

Christopher North has remarked the curious absence of any reference by the poet to his relations. Yet we find Immerito writing stanzas on Leicester's death, which, according to Mr.

Palgrave, show strong and unmistakeable feeling. Add to this the curious dedication to Leicester in "Virgil's Gnat" in the same volume :—

"Wronged, yet not daring to express my paine
To you, great lord, the causer of my care
In cloudie tears I thus complaine
Unto yourself that only privie are."

Immerito appears to have had Leicester's affairs very much on his mind when we remember that in April, 1580, he wrote to Harvey :—

"Of my Stemmata Dudleiana and especially of the sundry apostrophes therein addressed you knowe to whome must more advisement be had than so lightly to sende them abroad."

Should Immerito turn out to be the *omnium per omia* gentleman of the cipher story, this feeling towards a father whom he had good hope would relent towards him is explicable. In the same way we are not surprised to learn from the "Amoretti" that his mother was named Elizabeth (Sonnet 74). Nor are we surprised to find the cipher claimant being entirely dependent upon the Queen for his maintenance. (See letter of October, 1580, Bacon to Burleigh, to be found in Spedding's Life.)

Though Sir Nicholas Bacon made a most elaborate will a few weeks before his death, providing in detail for all his relations, he did not make the smallest provision for young Francis. (See the will 12th December, 1578, at Somerset House).

Yet another curious detail we get from the "Ruine of Time," and that is the reference to Verlame City (St. Albans) and the river that, according to local tradition, used to flow to it.

Passing once more to the works written by Immerito, "Colin Clout," though not published till 1595, is dated from Kilcolman Castle on 27th December, 1591, and yet "Daphnaida" is dated five days afterwards, 1st January, 1591-2, at London. This looks like one of those little blunders which even the cleverest can never entirely avoid, but which tell a great deal.

On 1st September, 1596, verses entitled "Four Hymns" were dedicated from Greenwich, where the Queen resided. In November, 1596, two daughters of Earl Worcester were married, and Immerito celebrated the occasion by his beautiful "Epithalamium," with its reference to Leicester House by the Thames.

"A stately place
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
Of that great lord which therein wont to dwell,
Whose want too well now feels my friendless case,
But ah, here fits not well old woes but joyes to tell."

On 29th January, 1596-7, Immerito published the second part of the "Faerie Queen," with a reprint of the Sonnets written in 1589 to all the great noblemen and ladies of the Court.

Dr. Grosart sees in these Sonnets "touches declarative of some personal intercourse—some familiar intimacy." I venture upon one notable exception. The only person concerned whom, with the exception of Lord Grey of Wilton (who returned from Ireland in 1582, and took a house in London in 1590), we should expect the Clerk to the Council of Munster to be closely intimate with, would be Sir John Norris, the President of Munster. This renowned warrior spent most of his life in foreign warfare before he went to Munster, and the Sonnet to him is devoid of any indication of personal association. It is relevant to ask how could the Irish official, in Dublin 1580-1586 and then in Munster, acquire this personal intimacy with the frequenters of the English Court.

In 1597 another edition of the Calendar appeared. On 12th April, 1598, the "Viewe of Ireland" was registered. On 30th September, 1598, Spenser was appointed Sheriff of Cork, and on 24th December, 1598, he returned with a despatch to England, being the only evidence of a journey to England from Ireland since he was sent there in 1580. Aubrey describes him as a "little man, wore short haire, little band and little cuffs."

Under date January, 1598-9, there is a record in the Issue Rolls of a payment to Edmund Spenser by the hand of Thomas Walker of £25 for a half-year's pension due Christmas. The Issue Rolls for 1591-1598 are missing, so that we cannot tell what happened with regard to the other instalments of the pension granted 25th February, 1590-1591, to Spenser and his assigns during his natural life, to be paid at the office of the Exchequer at Westminster "by the hands of our Treasurer and Chamberlain."

On 16th January, 1598-9 Spenser died. Yet in 1599 a Sonnet bearing his name was prefixed to Lewkenor's translation of the "Commonwealth of Venice." In 1609 Immerito (if Spenser;

returned to life in order to correct for the press a folio edition of the "Faerie Queen." At the same time "Two Cantos of Mutability" must have been wafted down upon the publishers, and by them incorporated in the folio, with the observation that the Cantos "both for Forme and Matter appear to be parcel of some following Booke of the 'Faerie Queen.'" Why did they purport to rely upon internal evidence, instead of asking Spenser's children then living ?

In 1611 a corrected folio edition of "Spenser's" works was published. Immerito may have been a clever man, but he was not equal (even in a corrected edition) to describing Kilcolman and neighbourhood with even moderate accuracy. Was the poet's local colour worked up from a map ? Says Dr. Grosart : "To-day the fields and hills are commonplace and unpicturesque." The "Mulla" is five miles distant. Its correct name is Awbeg. There is no mountain of Mole, but some hills called Ballyhowra are about five miles in another direction. The "Allo" is the River Blackwater whose source is the hills of Slieveogher. "Arlo Hill" is the poet's name for Harlow, mentioned several times in the State papers as a fastness in the Galtee mountains frequented by disaffected Irish.

Immerito's genius was aristocratic in its preferences, in this respect resembling what we find in the works attributed to Shakespeare.

Immerito was a lawyer and a good one too. I give a few illustrations :—

"So is my Lord now *seized* of all the land
 "As is his *fee* with *peaceable estate*
 "And *quietly doth hold* it in his hand.

"The *warrant* straight was made and therewithal
 "A *Bailiff* errant forth."

"The damsel was *attacht* and shortly brought
 Unto *the Bar* whereat she was *arraigned* ;
 But she thereto no would *plead* nor *answer* aught
 Even for stubborn pride which her restrained
 So judgment passed as is by *law ordained*
 In *cases like* : which when at last she saw

Cried *Mercy* to *abate the extremity of the law*."

"Doth not the act of the parent in any lawful grant or Conveyance bind his heirs."

"It is a capital crime to devise or purpose the death of the King."

"That provision may be made for the avoiding of such fraudulent conveyances made only to defeat Her Majesty of the benefit of their attainders."

The previous sentence was written between 1596 and 1598.

Fraudulent Conveyances were the subject of special legislation in England in 1595. (27 Elizabeth c. 4.)

The "Vewe of Ireland" was written in 1596 though not published till 1635. The best M.S. copy turns up very suspiciously among the Lambeth M.S.S. It contains what was probably another of those little blunders that reveal so much. Spenser was at Cambridge in 1576, and there is no evidence of his going to Ireland before August, 1580. Yet it is stated that he was at the hanging of M. O'Brien (July, 1577). The "Vewe" appears to me to be a careful summary for the Queen of the state of things in Ireland, and was possibly written up from the "Irish Collection" referred to in the letter of Francis to Anthony Bacon of 25th January, 1594-5.

About this time Francis and Essex were close in the confidence of the Queen and doing Foreign Office work. The "Note of Suggested Remedies," which may have been issued in 1598-9, was doubtless also the work of Francis though in the handwriting of Dudley Carlton, at that time training as a young man for Foreign Office service.

Immerito could not be trusted to "spare or pass by a jest." A writer in "Notes and Queries" in November, 1903, says he finds thirty-nine puns in Shakespeare's works. I can find at least five in those attributed to Spenser.

In Immerito's Tears of the Muses, 1591, Melpomene laments the low state of the stage. Terpsichore records :

Whoso hath in the *lap of soft delight*
 Been *long time lulled*
 If chance him fall into calamitie
 Finds greater burden of his miserie.

In Mother Hubbard's Tale, 1591, are the following lines, which do not square with the Irish Official's life :



What hell it is in suing long to bide

To have thy Prince's grace, yet want his Peeres,
To *have thy asking*, yet *wait many years*.

or

Therefore if fortune thee in Court to live,
In case thou ever there wilt hope to thrive,
To some of these thou must thyself apply,
Else as a thistledown in th' air do'h fly,
So vainly shalt thou to and fro be cast.

Immerito uses like metaphors and turns of expression to those found in the works of Shakespeare and Bacon. I give a few illustrations (among many that could be easily provided) without mentioning the source except by numbers : 1, Spenser ; 2, Bacon ; 3, Shakespeare.

1. "To be wise and eke to love
Is granted scarce to God above !"
2. "It is impossible to love and to be wise."
3. "For to be wise and love
Exceeds man's might ; that dwells with God above."
1. "In deep discovery of the mind's disease."
2. "Doth minister to all the diseases of the mind."
3. "Can'st thou not minister to a mind diseased ?"
1. "The evil done dyes not when breath the body first doth leave."
2. "Ill to man's nature as it stands perverted hath a natural motion strongest in continuance ; but good as a forced motion strongest at first."
3. "The evil that men do lives after them ;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

In 1606 the translation by Ludovic Bryskett of an Italian book entitled "Discourses of Civil Life" was prefaced by an irrelevant account of a conversation alleged to have taken place between Spenser and other gentlemen at a cottage near Dublin. Its value, except as making Spenser seem to claim authorship of the "Faery Queen," appears to be nil. Bryskett was a relation of the Sidney family. In 1600 he was stranded in London, and Robert Cecil wrote to Sir George Carew in Ireland to know if he could find him employment. Bryskett's book is dedicated to Lord Grey of Wilton, then dead, and the persons stated to have

been present at this obscure conversation reported after twenty years, with all the exactitude of an official shorthand writer, were also then dead, namely, Spenser (d. 1598-9), Warham St. Leger (d. 1597), Sir Robert Dillon, Sir Thomas Norreys (d. 1599), Captain Carleil (d. 1593), and another. Curiously enough Francis Bacon ("concealed poet") was, at the time, seeking official employment, and within a few months was appointed Solicitor-General, the first post of real value that he held.

Dr. Grosart had some difficulty in finding the exact Spenser who became an Irish official out of the "scores on scores of that name in London alone." He failed, moreover, to establish either the date or place of birth, names of the parents, or name of the wife of Edmund Spenser. Nor has he established the date and place of his marriage. Not a single letter or manuscript is extant nor a gleam of handwriting other than such clerical trifles as "Vera copia. Ed. Spenser."

We are equally at a loss when we attempt to get at the truth as to much more of the literature of the Elizabethan age. If Immerito, with his "vowed and long experimented secrecie," is to be identified with the concealed poet and inventor of an enfolded cypher, whose early career was at once so brilliant and so obscure, who at the age of 31 had taken all knowledge for his province, we must be prepared for many difficulties in attempting to unravel the mystery. Some people may say, with reference to such attempt, "*Cui bono?*" Others like myself will enjoy following up the clues.

PARKER WOODWARD.

MADEMOISELLE LAMOTTE.

MRS. NEISH.

SHE bore the indescribable Cachet that stamps her countrywomen, and she bowed from the waist—a graceful and delicate “bend,” rather than the ill-conceived and scarcely executed “nod” that stamps the inmate of the British Isles.

She came to me for an hour twice a week, an hour that became an oasis in the desert of my suburban dulness, and her methods of explanation and definition were inimitable.

“What is the exact meaning of your word ‘*épanchement*,’” I said to her one day—“that is, if there is an English equivalent?”

“Ah! Madame,” she responded sadly, “vous avez les *épanchements*, mais pas le mot.”

Later on we were discussing sentiment.

“You Englishwomen, you are not—what you call it—*sentimentale*,” she said, “vous avez les sentiments, mais vous ne les montrez pas et vous n’aimez pas vos maris, c’est à dire pas avec tendresse, n’est ce pas, Madame?”

“On the contrary,” I assured her, “I am exceedingly fond of mine.”

“Quel bonheur!” she replied gaily, “et c’est un Écossais, Monsieur votre Mari, n’est ce pas, Madame?”

There was an inexplicable something approaching sympathy about this assertion, nevertheless I bravely owned that he was indeed “un Écossais.”

“Les Écossais ne sont pas sentimentals?” she questioned.

"No," I owned, "he is not sentimental—for which I am truly thankful."

She looked incredulous.

"Vraiment, Madame ?"

"Yes," I said, "I do not like sentimentality, so it is lucky for me he is not sentimental—it is not the Scotch nature to sentimentalise," I added by way of information.

"Non ?" she echoed, "et cela ne vous attriste pas, Madame ? moi, cela me chagrinerait ;—mais comme cela me chagrinerait !"

I laughed. "He is very kind," I said, "and very generous in spite of his much abused nationality." I glanced presently at the song she held in her hand ; "and he cannot bear music," I added irrelevantly.

"Ah ! alors c'est un *vrai* Écossais," she murmured with sympathy—which saying was duly recorded to and appreciated by the "*vrai* Écossais" on his return to the domestic hearth.

"Vous chantez, Madame ?" she asked presently.

"Yes—and I want to sing you my French songs ; you must try and bear my British accent ?"

She smiled. "Prononcez ce mot," she commanded, opening a song and laying it before me.

"Amour !" I lingered involuntarily over the word, so beautiful in French, and only surpassed, perhaps, by the Italian "*Amore*."

"Encore, Madame, encore."

"Amour," I repeated slowly.

"Mais vous êtes artiste," she asserted triumphantly, "Madame, vous êtes artiste," and herewith ended my first lesson.

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"I wonder why Frenchwomen put their clothes on so delightfully," I said to Mdlle. Lamotte, as we sat chatting over our tea.

"Ah ! Mais il y a des Anglaises qui sont très bien mises," she replied ; "ce sont les Anglaises qui vont à Paris," she laughed, "qui n'ont aucun '*chic*.' Ah ! les pauvres Parisiennes, comme elles vous jugent mal !" She broke suddenly into English, "I take some young girls over to Paris myself once, yes, last year it was I take them, and they wear—what you think—les mackin-

torsh et des chapeaux!" she paused dramatically, "des chapeaux *indignes*! And my friends," continued Mademoiselle, "they say to me—for I take my young girls to see my friends—'Élise, qu'est ce que tu fais avec ces Anglaises que tu mènes partout. Quels tableaux!' but I say to my friends, 'mais je t'assure ce sont des jeunes filles de bonne famille,' and then they answer me," she shrugged her shoulders. "Bien vrai! chère Élise, mais ce sont des horreurs! Et ce n'étaient que ces chapeaux indignes," added Mademoiselle sadly, "car le soir, dans leurs robes de mousseline, c'était deux anges—oui deux anges,—si jolies, si blondes et mieux que 'chic.'"

Mademoiselle Lamotte informed me the other morning that she found housekeeping in England exceedingly difficult. Living with a friend and keeping only one servant the food question became monotonous and unvarying, and she longed for the charcutier where she could buy "toutes sortes de bonnes choses."

"Nous sommes si économes, nous Françaises," she explained, "and we feel not the shame at the housework. Non! moi je travaille beaucoup, et maintenant, je fais tout moi-même, parce que ma bonne," here she broke into English again, "she depart in haste to her mother who is ill, and I—what do I do? I can get no servant for a week, so I say to myself, 'Élise, tu n'as pas de servante—lève toi donc une heure plus tôt, ma fille,'" Mademoiselle paused, "et depuis une semaine, Madame, j'ai tout fait, même la cuisine et laver le 'sink.'"

This is the true French housewifely spirit that makes the French so thrifty a nation.

Working hard, for Mademoiselle gives lessons all day, this undaunted housewife yet found time, by snatching an hour from her sleeping-time, to "clean the sink." How many women workers would have left it dirty!

Mademoiselle told me she worked almost incessantly at her lessons. "C'est dur la vie, Madame," she lamented, "et je travaille toujours—mais que voulez-vous—il faut manger!"

"Moi aussi, je travaille," I replied, modestly. "I am a fairly hard-working journalist, Mademoiselle."

"Ah! Madame, mais pour vous, ce n'est pas nécessaire."

"No, perhaps not actually necessary," I admitted, "but

there are many things I should have to go without if I did not write."

"Mais, c'est pour le pain que je travaille," she insisted, "tandis que vous"

"C'est pour le gâteau," I replied, and elicited for my response a commending "C'est bien dit, Madame, c'est très bien dit."

Mademoiselle informs me she finds English women very difficult to teach, but rather on account of native "phlegm" and self-consciousness than from any lack of intelligence.

"Vous, Anglaises, vous êtes si aimables," she said, "si douces et si bonnes, très intelligentes même, mais vous avez trop de respect humain. Moi, je m'impatiente vite et j'aime bien dire ce mot 'Damn'. Je m'en sers bien souvent quand on m'agace," added Mademoiselle, enthusiastically, "parce que ça ne signifie rien, ce mot 'Damn' et quand je suis fâchée, je le dis une fois,—deux—même six fois! et ça me soulage tant. En Français je ne jure jamais, vous comprenez, Madame, non, non, jamais je ne pourrais le faire, mais en *Anglais* ça m'est égal et quand on me fâche je dis à pleine bouche, '*Damn*,'—le mot si excellent qui dit tout, sans rien dire!"

Suddenly as she was expatiating on this word "si excellent" she jumped up, and, twisting a lace scarf gracefully about her neck, said hastily, "Mais il est déjà cinq heures; il faut que je me sauve."

"Moi aussi," I replied, "je sors avec mon mari, et si je ne suis pas prête!" I paused eloquently.

"Se fâcherait-il?" she asked anxiously, evidently looking upon the "vrai Écossais" as a kind of ogre. "Se fâcherait-il, Madame?"

I nodded, "C'est bien possible."

She pursed up her lips. "Que dira-t-il?"

I smiled. "Je ne sais pas, mais je pense qu'il dira peut-être le mot si excellent," I replied, as I left the room to get ready.

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I asked Mademoiselle during one of our later and more intimate conversations whether she had ever been in love.

"Quand on a la lutte pour la vie, on n'a pas loisir d'aimer,"

she replied, with dignity. "Non, non, Madame, je n'ai pas d'amant, et jamais, je n'ai pu dire les mots 'je t'aime,' mais un jour peut-être," she paused, and a dreamy look came into her eyes. . . .

I feel sure when the moment of "peut-être" arrives Mademoiselle will love as ardently as she fulfils her other duties in life, and I only hope that since she so dearly loves the "sentimental" her choice will not fall upon "un vrai Écossais."

R. NEISH.

OUR NEGLECTED CRIMINAL CODE.

AFTER passing through many vicissitudes, the proposal to enact a Criminal Code for England is at present in a state of arrested development. Its greatest and most consistent advocate—the late Sir James Fitzjames Stephen—has lain in his grave nine years, and his mantle has fallen on none. But even for twelve years before his death his favourite scheme was in a torpid condition, and one can understand that the author, disgusted with the methods of Parliament, and occupying a high official position, should have made no effort in his later years to revive it. But that does not prevent us from inquiring whether the Code could not at the present time be placed upon the statute book with advantage to the administrators of the Law, the legal profession, and the public at large.

The first person to advocate a Criminal Code in this country with any effect was Jeremy Bentham—the father of law reformers, and the first of the Utilitarians. The full measure of his wrath was, however, directed not against the formal defects of the Law, but against the strange technicalities, terrible anomalies, and unreasoning cruelties that then disgraced it. He had in them a target that afforded the easiest possible mark for his arrows of scathing criticism, though he was destined to see few of the reforms he proposed carried out in his lifetime. But the dough was leavened ; he had taught the teachers of the coming generation, and with the Reform Bill of 1832 the old system passed away, and the modern one arose from its ashes.

The spirit of 1832, that hardly left any department of Law untouched, did not neglect the Criminal Law. Commissions were appointed to report on the subject in 1833, 1836, and 1837, which issued eight Reports. One of the members of the Commission of 1833 was John Austin, the author of the well-known "Lectures on Jurisprudence," and he, like Fitzjames Stephen in later years, was convinced of the inability of a Commission to construct a Code. "If they would give me two hundred a year for two years," he said in despair to his wife, "I would shut myself up in a garret, and at the end of that time I would produce a complete map of the whole field of crime, and a draft of a Criminal Code. *Then* let them appoint a Commission to pull it in pieces." And this was the method, though other hands accomplished it, by which our draft Criminal Code was actually produced.

In 1845 a Fourth Commission was issued under which five Reports were made. In their fourth report these commissioners put forward a draft Bill for consolidating into one statute both the written and unwritten law relating to the definition of crimes and punishments. Lord Brougham introduced this Bill into the House of Lords in 1848, but it made no further progress.

Between 1852 and 1861 various spasmodic efforts were made to advance the cause of Criminal Law Codification, and in the latter year these culminated in the Greave's Criminal Consolidation Acts. Nothing could be further removed from the ideal of a Code than these statutes. They contain no definitions of offences. For instance, the Offences against the Persons Act, sec. 1, enacts that whosoever is convicted of murder shall suffer death, but the practitioner has to discover from the Common Law what is murder. Again, sec. 20, of the same statute provides that whosoever shall unlawfully wound shall be liable to penal servitude, but leaves it to the Common Law to say under what circumstances wounding is unlawful. These Acts, too, make no distinction between the Substantive Law, and the procedure, or Adjective Law by which it is enforced. They are, in fact, merely a re-enactment of existing statutes thrown together, with the least possible pretence at order, arrangement, and classification. But with all their defects they have been of incalculable service in the administration of the Law. They cleared the Statute

Book of 107 statutes in whole or in part, and in the first 16 years after they were passed less than 30 decisions had to be given upon their provisions by the Court of Crown Cases Reserved.

From that time on nothing more was done to advance the cause, until Fitzjames Stephen brought it to the front once more, and with it his name will always be identified. Returning in 1872 from his codifying labours in India, he brought to bear upon the question a lifelong enthusiasm for the English Criminal Law, an unlimited capacity for work, and the remembrance of labours recently accomplished with success in the same field. The first attempt was an Homicide Bill, introduced into the House by Russell Gurney in 1874. It was referred to a Select Committee, and they, whilst praising the drafting of the Bill, objected to it as a partial measure. Stephen, seeing the force of the objection, at once sat down to prepare a comprehensive measure. This was nothing less than a Digest of the entire Criminal Law; a "boiling down" of the Statutes and the principles of the decided cases into the smallest possible space consistent with a full and adequate exposition, and the whole set forth in a logical, perspicuous, and rigidly consistent arrangement. The "Digest of the Criminal Law" is probably the best English Law Book in existence, and sets an example that the ablest of succeeding writers have been well content to follow. The principles are expounded in few words—in an orderly arrangement of sections, and each section is followed by a note of decided cases that illustrate it, and are, in fact, the authority for the matter contained in the section. The extent of the improvement may be gauged from the fact that the edition of "Russell on Crimes," used by Stephen, contains 2,886 large octavo pages, fills three huge volumes, and costs 5½ guineas. The Digest contains less than 400 octavo pages, and costs 16s.

The Digest being prepared, the next step was to obtain its acceptance—with a certain amount of alteration—by the Legislature. The Code Bill was introduced in the session of 1878, and referred to a Commission, consisting of Lord Blackburn, two Judges, Barry and Lush, and Stephen himself. The work of revision was accomplished with the utmost thoroughness. The judicial members were relieved from all judicial duties, for five months the Commission sat daily, and every section, every sen-

tence, almost every word of Stephen's Bill was examined again and again. In 1879, the Report with the Draft Code, was issued as a Blue Book, but it was too late for the Session of that year. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn wrote a letter to the Attorney General severely criticising certain parts of it. Stephen replied to this in the *Nineteenth Century*, of January, 1880, and his reply certainly seems to be a conclusive one. Then the change of Ministry supervened, and with it all hope for the moment of the passing of the Bill. In 1882 it was announced as a Government measure in the Queen's Speech, but a great mistake in Parliamentary tactics was made, for instead of being treated as a codifying measure pure and simple, certain proposed changes in procedure were placed in the forefront of the scheme. The result was to arouse hostility, and the measure dropped never again to be revived.

Such is the history of our Criminal Code, and the question that at once arises in considering the story is whether the oblivion into which the measure has fallen is deserved or not. Is it expedient, and is it possible at the present time to place a Criminal Code upon the Statute Book?

Most competent observers would we think agree with Stephen that the substance of the Criminal Law, or of the greater part of it, is in an eminent degree rational, humane, complete and logical. It was not always so. In the eighteenth century and later, when philosophic writers held up English Law and English Institutions to the admiration of the civilised world as the perfection of human reason, it was disgraced as we have said by "strange technicalities, terrible anomalies, and unreasoning cruelties." Doubtless the attraction that it had for Voltaire and other foreign observers was due to the facts that its substance was certain, and that its administration was public. A jury might be intimidated into giving an unjust verdict, a judge might impose a harsh sentence, but a Minister of the Crown could impose no sentence at all. In a word, though English Law might be harsh, yet it was *Law* and not caprice.

This praise of the substance of the Law can never be extended to its form. The latter is as confused, as intricate, and as objectionable as it can well be. It has to be gathered from several sources. There are unwritten rules handed down by

tradition, and resting upon statements in unauthoritative text-books. There are Statutes galore, enacted piecemeal after the manner of English Acts of Parliament, and none to be understood without a knowledge of the Common Law and of other Statutes. There are the decided cases, some decided upon the Common Law, others upon the construction of Statutes—frankly and utterly unsystematic, and decided upon facts as they arise, but yet containing gold mines of logical reasoning and practical wisdom. Through this labyrinth of matter—as embarrassing from its wealth as it is annoying from its confusion—the busy practitioner and the laborious student have to grope their way as best they can. Yet this same Criminal Law of England has to be administered in Quarter Session by Justices not learned in the Law ; it is so dispersed that Lawyers only learn it with difficulty, and Laymen never ; above all, the very persons who are bound to obey the Law never know it, and never can know it ; and the whole reacts upon the character of Legislation and makes it ill-considered, crude, and tentative.

On the other hand, the Code would throw the whole Law into a single Statute arranged on a definite and logical principle. It would be comprehensive, it would be intelligible, and it would be as short as the nature of the subject permits. There are, however, certain limitations that would be necessary on the ground of convenience. The Code would deal with Indictable Offences only. No doubt a Code of Offences subject to Summary Jurisdiction would be useful, but it would only confuse a Criminal Code to place the two together. The offences incidentally created by the Poor Law Acts, the Vagrancy Acts, the Local Government Acts, Police Acts, Post Office Acts, Highway Acts, Public Health Acts, and so forth, are never classed as Crimes, and it would be an abuse of language to so class them. Then, again, certain Statutes, the repeal or re-enactment of which would arouse great controversy, had better be left alone. An instance is the Lord's Day Observance Act. Certain Acts, too, are complete in themselves, although they create indictable offences, *e.g.*, the Foreign Enlistment Act and the Merchant Shipping Act. These would all be omitted from the Code on the ground of the balance of convenience.

Such being the improvements that a Code would effect, it remains to consider the objections to it. The first one arises from the jealousy of Parliament as to any infringement of its supreme authority over all legislation. The House of Commons has a strong aversion to taking codifying measures on trust, because it fears that such a measure may be used for the purpose of making clandestine alterations in the Law. Such is not the object of codification. It aims at an improvement in the form of the Law without necessarily making any changes in its substance. And if ever there was a Bill backed by high authority, it is the Draft Criminal Code. It was supported by a Lord Chancellor and an Attorney General, and examined with the utmost care by the Commission appointed for the purpose. We do not contend that it would not need careful revision to assimilate the legislation and cases of 25 years, but that being granted, it stands as nearly perfect a Bill as was ever penned.

Secondly, it is contended with great force that a Code should not be made of any portion of the Law that is in process of development. To make such an attempt would certainly give rise to undesirable consequences. Bad features might be made permanent, instead of being gently washed away by the stream of Case Law, and the Law itself might cease to be in touch with the conditions of life. We do not seek to minimise the weight of this argument, but merely to say that it does not apply at all to the Criminal Law. That Law is a rigid well-settled body of principles, and as such eminently suitable for the hand of the codifier.

But the stock argument against codification considered as a general principle is, that it will spoil "the quality of our law which those who dislike it describe as vagueness and uncertainty, and those who like it as elasticity." In fact, that "blessed word and thing," elasticity, has become as much a shibboleth to a certain school of juristic writers, as "competition" was to the political economists of a bygone generation. By reason of this quality of our Common Law, it is said that the judges can quietly and unobtrusively bring it into harmony with the ever-changing requirements of science, of commerce, and of politics. Legislation is slow and uncertain, and often inadequate, and needs a constant

flow of judge-made law to supplement its deficiencies. As applied to the Common Law—the Law of Contracts and the Law of Torts—there may be some validity in this argument. But even then it loses sight of the fact that the decision of a “leading case” involves the litigants in great expense, and they, at any rate, will say that if this expense can be avoided it ought to be avoided. It is hard to believe that the most determined advocate of the existing state of things will support the righteousness of a system whereby the whole cost of determining a new point of law for the benefit of future generations falls upon the unfortunate individuals who first happen to raise it.

This “elasticity” objection must be considered by every one who supports codification in any form, but for the purposes of a Criminal Code it is really completely irrelevant. Men may find arguments to support the proposition that it is desirable that the Law of Contracts should be in a state of flux, movement, and uncertainty; but no one could support such a proposition with regard to the Law of Crimes. A criminal offence is one of the most serious events that occur in the life of a modern community. Conviction for such an offence stamps a man with ignominy. It blasts his reputation, and renders him to a great extent a social outcast for life. These consequences, quite apart from the actual punishment inflicted, are terrible to everyone concerned, and it is a statement hardly needing argument that the acts that they follow should be definite and certain to the last degree. As far as human ability can make it so, there should be no room for doubt as to whether any particular acts constitute a criminal offence or not. And the greatest step that can be taken in furtherance of this object is to codify the Criminal Law.

That such a process would be an easy one no one would for a moment admit, and its difficulty is not lessened by the exigencies of passing a Bill through Parliament. The case cannot be better put than it is by Sir Leslie Stephen in his life of his brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen (p. 250):—

“A Code, or even a measure which is to form part of a Code, should be a work of art—unequivocal in language, consistent in its logic, and luminous in its arrangement. Like other works of art, therefore, it must be essentially the product of a single mind. It

is as impossible, as Fitzjames often repeats, for a number of people to make a Code as for a number of artists to paint a picture. The legal artist requires, indeed, to receive information from numerous sources, and to be carefully and minutely criticised at every point by other experts, and by the persons whose interests are affected. But the whole can only be fixed into the necessary unity by passing through a single understanding."

Happily in the present case the conditions have been complied with. The Code, the product of a single mind absolutely devoted to the subject, after having passed through an ordeal of expert criticism and revision such as hardly any other Bill has ever been subjected to, lies rusting from disuse. The legislation and decisions of the last generation will necessitate changes and amplifications, but with this exception, the Code is ready to take its place on the statute book. And if the curious should ask why it has been buried in a Blue Book for nearly a quarter of a century, we must answer that the reason is the impossibility of getting a Government to interest itself in the reform of "Lawyer's Law"—in measures that would be of the utmost use to the thousands engaged in the administration of the Criminal Law, but which do not appeal to the popular imagination. To parody the famous definition of the conditions of success at the Bar, it is in the first place apathy, in the second place apathy, and in the third place apathy. Meanwhile, from the hurried practitioner, who wants to find his Law easily, from the wearied student who wants to understand his Law easily, and from the great multitude who are bound by a Law that they do not know, and under present conditions never can know, the cry goes up "How Long?"

H. J. RANDALL.

THE OUTLOOK IN AUSTRALIA.

BY AN AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTOR.

MELBOURNE, June.

THE dramatic triumph of the Labour Party in the Commonwealth, first in defeating the Deakin Ministry, and then in forming a homogeneous administration, has upset the calculations of some of the shrewdest political students in Australia. Previously there was a common persuasion that the leaders of the Third Party were averse from accepting the responsibilities of office until the constituencies had strengthened the representation of Labour in Parliament. Even at the present moment, when they occupy the Ministerial Benches, that Party is the least numerous group in the House of Representatives, and exists on the personal animosities that impede a union or understanding between Mr. Deakin and Mr. Reid. The Three Parties have, during the current Parliament, been so evenly constituted, that the manifest strength and safest strategy of the Labour tactics appeared to lie in the possibility which the circumstances offered for securing the objects of the Labour Group by exerting pressure upon a pliable Ministry, whose lust of office compelled its members to conciliate the Labour corner. That was the policy pursued by Mr. Watson during the administration of Sir Edmund Barton and his successor, Mr. Deakin; and that was the policy that placed on our Statute Book the Measures guaranteeing the island continent not only from the invasion of all coloured aliens, but from the competition of all alien labourers, including the British workman, who were

attracted to the Commonwealth under a contract to perform manual labour.

There was no more striking instance of the control which the Labour corner exercised over Federal legislation than what is called the "White Ocean" Act, the Measure which prohibits the employment of any coloured workmen in any capacity on boats carrying the Australian mails under contract with the Federal Government. When introducing the Bill, the Leader of the administration in the Senate, Mr. O'Connor, now a Judge of the High Court, opposed the Labour Amendment, and insisted upon the injustice, as well as inexpediency, of prohibiting the employment on mail steamers of His Majesty's subjects in the Indian Empire when such steamers traded to Indian ports. Mr. O'Connor further predicted, rightly as events have shown, that the British Government would not lend its countenance to such disruptive legislation by becoming a party to the postal contract. The arguments of Mr. O'Connor proved convincing, and the Postal Bill passed the Senate in the form desired by the Government. But in the Lower House Mr. Watson adhered to the Labour demands, and when Sir Edmund Barton recognised that his ministry would be beaten on the point, he calmly accepted the Labour amendment, ignoring the argument and attitude of his official colleague in the Senate. As Prime Minister Mr. Watson could not have carried that clause, for he would have been opposed by both the Barton and the Reid parties. In such circumstances it was generally expected that Mr. Watson would prefer to enjoy the incontestable power he possessed as leader of the Third Party to the illusory prestige to be won as the leader of a forlorn hope on the Ministerial benches. Indeed, so plain did it seem to the onlooker that the party must be shorn of much of its significance, if it accepted office, that some of the Conservative publicists went so far as to suggest, as a means of administering a salutary lesson, that Mr. Watson should be urged into office by the Reid power in the hope that responsibility would sober the ambition and elevate the character of the Labour representatives.

The surprise, consequently, was general when Mr. Watson clutched at the first chance of usurping the Government benches. Usurpation is the only apt description. At the most he could

command a following of 26 including three deserters from the ranks of Mr. Deakin. Opposed to him were the combined forces of Mr. Deakin and Mr. Reid, numbering 48 members. The apologists of Mr. Watson maintained that he was prompted by the determination to include all state servants within the operation of the arbitration tribunal of the Commonwealth. But if that was his purpose it has been very speedily abandoned. Already the effects of office have had a sobering influence on the bulk of the party, for Mr. Watson limited the scope of his arbitration proposals to the railway servants of the states, and when an amendment was moved to extend the operation of the measure so as to include all state servants there were only five deserters from ministerial solidarity among the ten who voted for the amendment. The patent fact is, that Mr. Watson, in accepting office, was moved by no other consideration than the gratification of a personal ambition. He acted precisely as Mr. Deakin or Mr. Reid would have acted in similar circumstances and from similar motives. Perhaps Mr. Watson exhibited somewhat more audacity than either of the other politicians would have shown. But as he was prepared, for the currency of the present parliament at least, to sacrifice nearly all questions of principle, and devise a programme that was calculated to "dish" the Conservatives and Liberals combined, his course of action may be held to be characterised rather by astuteness than audacity.

When he announced the policy of his administration the community discovered with amused surprise that the ministerial programme, with the exception of the clause in the Arbitration Bill touching the railway servants, was identical with the programme that had been arranged in conference between Mr. Deakin and Mr. Reid as a basis for a coalition of their respective parties in the hope of ending or mending the unconstitutional position of government by a minority. In an indecent scramble for office the three leaders had carried the spirit of compromise to its extreme limit, and had revealed to an amused and amazed world a House which was composed of three irreconcilable parties, suddenly transformed into a unanimous House in which all were for the State and none were for a party, if the profession of policy could be accepted as indicating the

possession of faith. The immediate result of Mr. Watson's "slimness" was to destroy all chances of an alliance between the Liberal and Conservative parties. As a matter of fact, there had never been any real basis for such a union. Mr. Deakin had practically rendered a stable coalition impossible by declining to take any portfolio in a Coalition Ministry. Further, the animosity entertained by Sir William Lyne and other important members of the Deakin Party against Mr. Reid personally, was an insuperable barrier to any solid amalgamation of the Opposition groups. When, therefore, the Ministerial programme was announced, all hope of a coalition vanished. It would have endowed politics with a topsy-turvy feature too reminiscent of Gilbertian humour to ask discontented followers to facilitate a coalition the purpose of which was solely to carry out a programme to which the ministry had officially committed itself. Consequently some other method will need to be devised for displacing the usurpers on the Government benches.

The composition and character of the Cabinet are of more than passing interest. The Labour Party, as Mr. Reid submitted in his speech in reply to the Prime Minister, was originally a party representing the working classes and composed exclusively of manual workers itself. Yet on the Government benches was a distinguished lawyer with a large practice at the equity bar, and another member of the legal profession. The distinguished advocate is Mr. Higgins, who is the only breach in the homogeneity of the Ministry. He is one of the leading lawyers of Victoria who has always displayed a weakness for socialistic ideas and radical legislation. His inclusion in the Cabinet was necessitated by the refusal of the other lawyer, Mr. Hughes, to accept on account of inexperience the portfolio of Attorney-General. Mr. Higgins apart, however, all the members of the Ministry have worked at their trades quite recently, if not actually until their entrance into political life. Mr. Watson, the Prime Minister, is a compositor, and in periods of trade depression has worked at different forms of manual labour in Sydney. Mr. Hughes has pursued his legal studies in the intervals of political campaigns. Mr. McGregor was a bricklayer's assistant. Mr. Mahon and Mr. Batchelor alone had raised them-

selves somewhat above their colleagues by becoming, the former a reporter and the latter a pupil teacher, before courting the suffrages of the electors. The characteristics of the Ministers, indeed of the whole Labour Party, are a serious study of politics and an undeviating devotion to their political ideals. The industry of the members seems inexhaustible, and is, in this respect, they provide a strong contrast with the members of the other Parties. The Labour Member lives on his political honorarium, and surrenders himself entirely to the promotion of his Party's welfare. The Party is, in fact, a group of professional politicians. Unlike the leading members of the opposing groups, the chief Labour representatives are never absent from duty because of the demands on their time of urgent private concerns.

It might be reasonably expected in such circumstances that the affairs of the State would, all things being equal, be better managed in the hands of the Labour representatives than in the hands of the cultured but casual politician of the Opposition. But the personal merits of the Labour Member are largely vitiated by the sinister system under which he is little else than the phonograph of the Labour organisations scattered throughout the several States of the Commonwealth. The Caucus acts as a controlling force during the session, as in the case of the other parties, except that in the Labour Caucus less liberty of action is allowed the Ministers. For instance, before Mr. Watson could include Mr. Higgins, an outsider, in the Cabinet he had to obtain the assent of his Caucus. So that really Caucus Government has been substituted for Cabinet Government. At the conclusion of the session each Labour representative is amenable to the discipline of the Labour organisations outside Parliament, which do not consider themselves necessarily bound by the acts or promises of the party during session. For instance, in order to attract to his support certain of Mr. Deakin's followers, Mr. Watson offered two portfolios to that party after the negotiations between Mr. Reid and Mr. Deakin had proved abortive. But when the Liberals, who were ready to accept the terms and cross the House, asked for an undertaking that at the next general election they would not be opposed by nominees of the Labour organisations in their electorates, Mr. Watson admitted he could not

give any such undertaking. It is perfectly idle to contend in such circumstances that the Labour Ministry is not the representative of a class, nor elected to legislate solely in the interests of that class.

The outlook, consequently, in Australia, as long as the present Ministry remains in office, is that all legislation will prove to be of a narrow and provincial character. The measures contained in the Government programme may be nominally identical with those on the coalition list, but the complexion of the laws will be materially different, and clauses will be construed, not to say tortured, to suit the exigencies of the Labour organisations. For a similar reason the policy of the Ministry will be to persevere on the lines of the legislation that "bailed up" the six British hatters. For although the Cabinet is composed, with but two exceptions, of men born in Great Britain, its watchword is "Australia for the Australians." Mr. Watson declared in his first ministerial pronouncement, that he regarded the naval subsidy as so much waste of money. The Labour organisations, with practical unanimity, believe that Great Britain must, in her own interests, provide for the defence of Australia. For the rest, the mirage of building in the course of time an Australian fleet that shall not be, as the present squadron, at the beck and call of Great Britain in any emergency, fascinates the average Australian working man, who does not count the cost of such a fleet, and does not recognise its inevitable impotence against any foreign naval power. The present Minister of Defence, Senator Dawson, when a member of the Queensland Legislature, opposed the despatch of contingents to South Africa, and declared, in the words of "Hansard," that "every man who went to South Africa was a rank and arrant coward," giving his reasons for that conviction. The vast majority of the Labour organisations expressed themselves in favour of the Boers. Still, however reprehensible we may consider their attitude, it was no worse than the conduct of other citizens in the British Empire; but it does seem somewhat inconsistent, not to say dangerous, for a politician holding such views to be at the head of the Defence Department in the Australian Commonwealth. On the question of preferential trade the ministry will be opposed to the Imperial interests, and in that respect, I believe, will not represent the opinion of the majority in

Australia. Both Mr. Deakin and Mr. Reid have expressed themselves in favour of some form of preference being accorded to the products of the Empire. But as far as the matter has been considered by the Labour organisations the persuasion is that the British producer is as much to be excluded as the foreigner. But there is a split in the party on the Fiscal Question, for some members, not many, it is true, are Free Traders by conviction—Mr. Hughes is the most prominent—and would be inclined to differentiate in favour of British products on some basis of revenue taxation. The question, however, has not yet been placed before the electors in any definite form. What is tolerably certain is that the Labour organisations will not accept any scheme of preference which may seem in any measure detrimental to the Australian workman.

A VICTORIAN.

THE FALLING BIRTH RATE.

THAT the last twenty-five or thirty years have witnessed a singular decline in the birth rate of most civilised nations has become a matter of notoriety; turn where we will the fact stares us in the face. It is more marked in one country, less in another, but it is patent in nearly all. In most cases the death rate has also receded in equal or greater degree, so that the population in these countries is on the whole increasing, or at the worst stagnant, but many regard this merely as a palliative to a state of things commonly reputed as of ill-omen. "The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country," said Adam Smith, "is the increase in the number of inhabitants."

Complete agreement with the current opinion on this matter is not, however, the only possible course; *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, that the popular voice is infallible, is a postulate of which the error has in more than one instance been demonstrated. True, a retrocessive birth rate has preceded national extinction; the *ius trium liberorum* bears witness to the appreciation of its dangers by the first Roman Emperor; the aboriginal Tasmanian is no longer extant; it is in the Happy Hunting Grounds that the Red Indian predominates; to judge by appearances Lord Macaulay's reflective New Zealander will not be of Maori blood. Indeed, it is obvious that a race whose birth rate suffers steady decrease is doomed to perish, unless that leakage should ultimately prove to be counterbalanced by other advan-

tages, and, therefore, in the lapse of time restoration of the natural growth should set in.

Yet it is not altogether impossible that a failure of reproduction may be due to reaction from temporary over-stimulus; the lower average may represent a period of recuperation demanded by nature, effected by varying methods, but not immediately recognisable in its proper bearing by us.

Believers in another doctrine would hold that, as a matter of fact, the total population of the earth is really decreasing, and from this point of view it is not improbable that the reduction, however gradual, would be especially noticeable among the more advanced races of the globe by reason of their greater facilities for the collection of statistics. There can be no doubt that certain animal and human races have actually died out, or are in process of doing so, nor can it be shown in every case that their place in the economy of nature has been filled by survivors more fitted than themselves to her demands. Their extinction has been due rather to their want of adaptation to changes in those demands than to extirpation by races of superior fitness.

Yet to the civilised nations of to-day this doctrine, however well founded it may be in facts, can afford but small consolation. The process of evanescence is but gradual, and long before it is complete we, and all our dearest hold most dear, must inevitably be gathered to the dust, with Father Æneas, with Tullus the Rich, and Ancus. But though the destiny of the race is too vague and intangible to touch us with more than passing thought, to most of us the more immediate future of our own people is matter for serious concern; man's pride is not in his species but in his nation. An illogical attitude, perhaps, but very human.

To the great nations then this is a serious matter. In the East China shows no signs of depopulation; her growth has long since inspired a certain fearful looking forward, theorists are even found to call that growth the Yellow Peril. The suggestion of Mongolian domination as the future of the Western races is, doubtless, unwarranted by the facts, but the events that have taken place during the last few months in Korea and Manchuria may possibly result at no very distant date, in giving to the haft of Chinese wood a lance-head of steel, not, it is true, of European origin,

yet of temper more than European. To oppose this formidable combination the Western nations present to our view a decreasing birth rate.

The fact that this diminution in the number of children born to the great nations of civilisation is deliberate need not of necessity be inconsistent with either theory already suggested. The working of nature is not invariably so direct as to be obvious. Preceding over-production might conceivably react on the consciousness of physical power to support offspring, or on the moral desire to possess offspring, in either case leading to deliberate prevention of reproduction. Apart from religious considerations, that prevention need not necessarily be injurious to the race. Whether it is actually beneficial cannot be decided without the examination of great quantities of properly sifted and analysed evidence. This, unfortunately seems at present not to be available.

The general impression is undoubtedly that the retrocession is unnatural and therefore pernicious to the nation; that this belief is more correct than the alternatives put forward above is not impossible. To name the means employed for the purpose is, however, not the same thing as explaining the reason for their adoption, and various theories have been framed to account for the phenomenon by those that deplore its existence. It has most commonly been attributed to the supersession of religion by secularism, or to the growth of luxury at the expense of diligence. For each of these hypotheses there is doubtless much to be said, yet neither is apparently a sufficient account of the facts.

The growth of the non-religious spirit may, to some small extent contribute to the observed decrease of the birth rate, but it must be remembered that the Christian religion was not in existence when the fifth book *De Rerum Natura* was written, nor later when the *leges de maritandis ordinibus* of B.C. 18, and *Papia Poppæa* of A.D. 9 were promulgated by Augustus to meet the decline of the Roman population through the same causes. Nor must it be forgotten that although the law of self-preservation may be the stronger, one of the primary instincts of man is the desire to leave behind him the likeness of himself, a little Æneas to fill his vacant place. To suppose that religious sanctions can greatly strengthen the natural instinct to propagate the

race—an instinct shared in common with every animal—or that disbelief in those sanctions can greatly weaken it is to ignore the evidence of patent facts.

Again, it is undeniable that luxury has increased in some of the nations affected by this decline, luxury may, therefore, be in some degree responsible as leading women to avoid the penalties, possibly as unfitting them for the function, of motherhood. But that this is the sole cause of the falling birth rate can hardly be maintained in face of the widely-reaching distribution of the decrease. If England, America, and France are pre-eminently losers, Scandinavia, Denmark and Ireland, Spain, Portugal and Italy, Austria, Hungary and Germany are sufferers in varying degrees. Have all these nations so greatly increased in luxury as to lose the intensity of the universal desire for offspring? Has that growth of luxury affected so large a class in these nations as to produce a marked impression on their returns? The solution offered by the spread of luxurious living can hardly be sufficient to account for the facts presented to our notice.

The truth appears to be that the materials for a satisfactory solution are still buried in the statistics. The loss may be going on in all ranks of each community : it may be confined to some definite class or classes. Conjecture, more or less plausible, but apparently based on the bald summaries of the census, is enough, no doubt, to attract attention and to raise the alarm ; it is not likely to provide an adequate explanation of the phenomena, still less is it probable that it can with certainty point to the remedy. A step towards solution might be taken by means of the birth certificates. Where these are kept in the English form the social status of the parent is entered. The task of analysing the decrease from this point of view would be an enormous undertaking, involving, as it would, examination of the statistics for many years of the past, but if the matter is of great importance to each nation, the result would probably repay the cost.

Meanwhile there are facts that seem to point to a provisional conclusion that any serious fall in the birth rate is greatly due to one particular class of the population, that broadly denoted as the Middle Class. The subject falls naturally into two divisions ; a summary of the indications that the responsibility for this decrease

rests primarily on the Middle Classes, and an attempt to ascertain the causes, which, if that allegation is well founded, have produced in that class a disinclination to undertake the duties of parentage. To the expansion of these topics, in the effort to establish a *prima facie* case for investigation, the remainder of the present article will be devoted.

In the United Kingdom the division of the community into Upper, Middle and Lower Classes is somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, nor does it seem possible to arrive at a logical definition or principle of separation; a fact which has been as advantageous to the development of the constitution as it is embarrassing to the present investigation. To confine the term Upper Class to those families whose heads possess the right to sit in the hereditary legislative chamber is to inflict insult on the Scotch and Irish peer, and on that anomalous creation the baronet, to say nothing of the claims of the unennobled county magnate, the leading physician or the judge, the dean, or the wealthy contractor. Between the Middle and the Lower Classes again lies a grey and twilight borderland to which the outcaste persons of the small shopkeeper and the board-school teacher return, like the lamenting ghosts of Lesbos. In truth, as noticed by Macaulay and Guizot, the classes in England shade off into each other without perceptible barriers; no defining line is wholly satisfactory. For the present purpose we may regard the Upper Classes as those that do not work for their living, the Middle as those whose bread depends chiefly on the activity of their brains, whether as financiers, professional men or traders, and the Lower Classes as those that profess to earn their sustenance by manual labour.

To judge by the incessant demand for new board-schools, the last-named section of the community cannot fairly be held responsible for the ominous shortage of young life—for 2,000,000 children that we educated at public expense in 1872, we now have over 5,500,000 on our hands—nor, indeed, has the charge apparently been advanced against that division of the population.

On the other hand it is not improbable that part of the decline is due to the Upper class as defined above. Practical freedom from real responsibility and from the invigorating con-

sequences of the struggle for existence is not *a priori* likely to steel the character of the woman in that class for the discomforts and pains of the reproductive function. The man's desire to effect insurance with fortune by increasing the number of his hostages may well be lessened by that security against juvenile mortality which would naturally result from the power of wealth to maintain the best sanitary conditions in his dwelling. It is not inconceivable, too, that the general tendency to inbreeding prevalent in the class may find a resultant in enfeebled power of reproduction. That the diminution due to this limited division of society is sufficiently great to produce a serious effect on the returns is, however, improbable; whether such an effect would, in any case, result in danger to the prosperity of the nation generally is another question, and too complex for discussion in the present essay.

The Middle Classes remain for consideration. Is there any reason to presume, in the absence of definite proof, that the decrease under examination centres in them?

Associated with decline in the birth rate are found, we are assured, an increase in alcoholism and criminality, the latter especially juvenile, in neurasthenia and lunacy. To these may, perhaps, be added a noticeable and growing disinclination on the part of the Middle Classes to exercise their powers as parliamentary or municipal electors. The phenomena thus indicated are variously regarded as causes, as results, or merely as concomitants of the retrocessive birth rate; except the last named, they may be generally distributed throughout the whole population, or may instead be more or less distinctive of its different sections.

In the case of alcoholism the figures are somewhat remarkable, and, perhaps, instructive. For the twelve years' period, from 1885 to 1897, the consumption of wine per head of the population has been, to all intents and purposes, stationary. Wine is, on the whole, the drink of the Upper and Middle, rather than of the Lower Classes. For the same period the increased use of spirits has been slight; we drank per head in 1897 about a tumbler and a half more spirits in the twelve months than we had used in 1885. Not a very alarming increase when distributed over the 365 days, and not very conclusive either, for it must be

borne in mind that the consumption of spirits in their various forms can hardly be assigned to any one section of the community.

When we turn to beer, which is as typically the drink of the Lower Classes as wine is that of the Upper, the case is altered. Here we find an increase from $27\frac{1}{2}$ to $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per head in the twelve years.

The sums spent on drink bear out the same conclusion; our wine bill amounts to 7s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per head, for spirits we pay £1 3s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., but for beer £2 16s.—the figures refer to England and Wales; for Scotland and Ireland the proportions are not quite the same, but the consumption of wine is not in an increased ratio, in fact, in Ireland it is much lower.

The growth of alcoholism would thus appear to be due, at least in great part, to the beer-drinking members of the population, and those who know the Lower Classes of the Three Kingdoms will not find much difficulty in believing this to be the case.

Again, as regards the increase of criminalism in general and of juvenile criminality in particular, we shall not wrong the Lower Classes by remembering that their temptations are greater, and their power of self-restraint on the whole less developed than those of the ranks more educated and regarded as more wealthy; their children, too, are removed from parental support and discipline at an earlier age than is usual with those of the other grades of society. Causes sufficient to locate the probable source of increased criminalism are not altogether invisible, when to these facts is added the persistent disposition of the adult to scamp his work or to blunder in its performance,—a disposition that must be admitted to be due either to stupidity or to deliberate malfeasance, though it may be regarded as marking a low mental or moral standard of development, rather than actual dishonesty.

But if it is reasonable to point to the demand for primary schools as evidence of the continued expansion of this class, and if, on the other hand, the greater share in the growth of alcoholism and crime is rightly assigned to the same section of the nation, it must follow that these evils are not directly the outcome or the cause of the reduction in the birth rate, although they may be concomitants more or less closely connected with it.

Neurasthenia and lunacy may next claim consideration, the latter being, in some degree, a sequence of the former, though not invariably preceded by it, since a man may become insane not only from nervous breakdown and exhaustion but also as the result of positive lesion. Lunacy, like the consumption of spirits, would, in all probability, be found to be fairly evenly distributed throughout the community; brain-fag would more naturally prevail to a greater extent among the brain-workers, that is practically among the middle classes. The brain-work of the mechanic, the artisan, and the labourer is a quantity as negligible in a broad view as the number of brain-workers among the irresponsible rich; in either case it is like the loaves and fishes: "What are they among so many?"

Now nervous breakdown may quite conceivably be a result of a birth-rate deliberately checked, though before the conclusion can be accepted with complete conviction a comparative examination of the health of the unwedded, the childless wedded, and those that have many children should be instituted on a wide basis in respect of this special question. But it may be admitted that the risks and responsibilities accompanying marriages of natural fertility are more or less conducive to temperance, and that intemperance in this, as in any other matter, is likely to lead to ill-health. On the other hand, the existence of brain-fag, is likely to operate to the disadvantage of the bodily functions in general, including, of course, those upon which the increase of the population depends.

On the whole, then, it would seem that a reasonable case may be made out for further investigation of the question whether the decline in the birth-rate is not chiefly attributable to neurasthenia of the Middle Class population;—a section the most likely to be affected by nervous break-down, and of numbers sufficient to make an impression approximately equal to that recorded on the statistics. We may pass, therefore, to the second part of our enquiry, and ask whether there are any broad considerations on which to base a preliminary theory of the reasons for the prevalence of this disease in that particular group of the community.

In one of his interesting tables Mr. Holt Schooling compares the birth force of the principal European nations in the four years,

1894-1898, with that of the same peoples for the period 1874-1878. Taking the last named quadriennium as representing a birth force of 100, the loss of force twenty years later was as follows:—Norway 4, Denmark and Austria 5, Italy 6, Hungary 9, Germany and Switzerland 10, Holland and Belgium 11, Sweden 12, France 14, United Kingdom 15, England and Wales 17 per cent. respectively. The Russian birth rate, on the other hand, is steadily increasing, as is that of Japan.

Consideration of the order in this list shows that the loss of birth force increases, broadly speaking, with the advance of industrialism; this observation receives some confirmation from the last two entries in particular, while the high, and somewhat unexpected position of Sweden may be due to special circumstances, which fuller investigation would disclose. We have, however, already seen that there is little reason to hold the industrial class directly responsible for the diminution, and that the reduction is more probably to be charged to the account of the Middle Classes. Yet the connection indicated is too obvious and too striking to be altogether fanciful.

The following may be put forward as an hypothesis, but it does not claim to be more than tentative, further analysis of the facts would, no doubt, supply the material needed to prove its truth or the reverse.

The last half century has seen an enormous improvement in the prosperity of the industrial class throughout the world; in no nation has this advance been more marked than in our own. The alteration has not alone taken place in the general conditions of work, *e.g.*, in the shortening of hours, and the improvement of sanitation, but especially in the increase of wages, and this without any counterbalancing rise, but on the contrary, a marked reduction, in the essential costs of living. The demand made on the energy, skill or brain-power of the artizan by his daily work to-day is not greatly increased; the return for such force as he expends is much higher. Doubtless the return was too low before, but the fact remains that it is higher now, without any great improvement in the value of the services rendered. Trade Union restrictions on output have virtually given to the class the advantages of a form of protection, of which the

difficulties, and a considerable share of the benefits, fall on those outside the charmed circle of the Union. The children of this class are educated at the direct expense of the ratepayer; the parents' houses are not infrequently provided by the ratepayer; for London alone the net loss on the Council's Housing schemes is estimated by a friendly expert at approximately £65,000; another £83,000 fell on the rates in 1897-98 for London Baths and Washhouses, while the land required for schools, houses or allotments can be acquired by compulsory purchase,—a polite term to legalize that process of acquisition in which consent on the part of Naboth is waived, and the price is adjusted to the views of Ahab. In a word the numerical or voting strength of the industrial population has been exerted throughout the country with the result that they have secured the position of a fostered class, and this development has taken place at the expense of the rest of the community.

This state of things can have little effect on the irresponsible rich; they grumble, indeed, that rents are lower, but the reduction of their incomes is not too great to leave a reasonable margin for living expenses, even after liberal allowance is made for the maintenance of their social position. With the Middle classes the case is different. They, too, have a certain position to maintain; to demonstrate a general financial improvement in their case at all proportionate to that of the industrial classes would be a task of considerable difficulty. They are heavily rated by Boards and Councils obsessed by a conviction that a change of personnel would be a parochial disaster, and grieving over the Union-fed problem of the unemployed voter. Direct taxes are imposed on them by the Upper Class without the correlative consent of the payer, who is hopelessly outvoted at the polls, municipal and parliamentary alike, by the Lower Class, while every indirect tax hits him with force at least as great as it employs against the relatively wealthy industrial.

For this state of things the Lower classes are by no means to be blamed; on the contrary they rather deserve credit. The increasing severity of the struggle for existence is probably a national advantage; that they should do the best that they can for themselves in that struggle is only in accordance with natural

laws. No doubt errors have arisen in the use of their power; the advantage of the Class has, on occasion, outweighed the advantage of the whole; but they are not omniscient, they are only human. It is possible that the Trade Unions may in reality reduce both employment and, ultimately, wages, by their limitation of output and by an over-estimate of the value of the services rendered by their members to the community, or to the world. Again, the local authorities may be mistaken in maintaining their position by providing employment on unnecessary undertakings, or in selecting only the most valuable land within their jurisdiction for compulsory purchase—for, where second-rate sites are bought, investigation into the personality of the amicable vendors would not infrequently produce startling results. But mortal man is fallible; he can advance only by methods of experiment; meanwhile there can be no doubt that the community as a whole has gained in some degree by the destruction of rookeries, or the municipalization of profitable undertakings, even if such undertakings will less frequently be set on foot by private enterprise, as the individual capitalist becomes more experienced, and consequently more chary of affording support to the inventive or the organizing genius, at the risk of subsequent confiscation. Blame for the alteration in the relative position of the Lower and the Middle classes, except where that change results from numerical inferiority in voting-power, must fall on the latter—on the class, that is, which has failed to organise itself for advance, the class that has shown itself unprepared to meet the new conditions successfully, that has played or slept while others were toiling upward through the night.

According to the hypothesis here advanced the self-permitted pressure upon the Middle Class, due to the Industrial Revolution at the beginning of the last century, has stunted and reduced its reproductive power. Crushed between the upper mill-stone of reckless taxation and the nether mill-stone of exorbitant rates, it dares not bring into the world children that it cannot afford to rear in accordance with its standard of well-being. Meanwhile the Lower Class produces its ever-increasing numbers, and it is hardly possible that among that prolific brood efficient should not occur destined to rise into the class of higher social standing,

and increase the pressure on its already scanty means of life; efficient educated at its expense for its destruction, and fitted by the inheritance of a lower standard, and of generations of physical strength to undersell the struggling body into whose ranks they have rightly forced themselves.

The hypothesis thus formulated receives some support from the notable decrease of interest in culture as distinct from professional knowledge, which is apparently spreading in the class in question. Those that are compelled by the severity of competition to work to the limit of their powers are unlikely to find their recreation in pursuits of a similar nature; literary and artistic matters display too little difference from "shop" to be able to make a forcible appeal to the scanty leisure of men toiling for their lives in labours that demand the expenditure of brain power.

The political apathy already mentioned points in the same direction; where men are hopelessly outvoted it is natural that they should abstain from the polls, and their inferiority of voting strength would be on the whole accentuated by education; the more ignorant will more readily vote together, while the more educated will develop private judgment and consequent disunion.

Lastly it is of interest to note that in Australia, the working man's paradise, where labour politics most nearly approach supremacy, the lowest birth rate and the most rapid decrease prevails, and this although the crying need of the continent is population. While the birth rate for the United Kingdom has fallen from 34·3 per 1,000 in 1874-78 to 29·1 per 1,000 in 1894-98, that of Australia has been reduced from the 37·3 per 1,000 of 1871-75 to 31·5 in 1891-95, and fell further to 27·35 in the four years 1896-1899, giving a loss of birth-force of 29·7 against England's corresponding loss of 17. The New South Wales Commissioners are inclined to attribute this reduction in part to the restrictive regulations on trade designed to abolish competition; we, who have not the fear of a Labour Party before our eyes, may perhaps explain this as meaning that the cessation of a real struggle for existence among the Australian working classes has reacted to the detriment of their Middle Class. The precise inference to be drawn from the statement must, of course, depend on the answer to the question whether the reduction of child-birth

is general throughout the population or is confined to special classes, but, as already urged, the fact that the severity of the decline increases with the advance in industrialism, and, therefore, presumably with the increase in social and political strength of the industrial class, does not, at first sight, seem to indicate the direct responsibility for it of that class. That prosperity should act as a direct check on reproduction would be strange, whatever the effect of luxury or of misery may be ; that the disproportionate prosperity of a large section of the community, however well deserved, should so greatly intensify the struggle for existence on the part of a smaller but closely connected section as to lessen its fertility would be in consonance with evolutionary theory.

It is not easy to believe that such a state of things can be healthy for the nation at large, but the task of discovering adequate remedy is not easier. Efficient brains do not come forth from the ranks in number sufficient to recruit and maintain the strength of the officers on whom the guidance of the body should rest ; it is hardly to be expected that they should do so, yet the fact that they do come in some numbers does but increase the difficulty of the problem.

The political powerlessness of the Middle Classes renders political remedy unlikely, even if the pride that abhors pauperization would permit them to accept the relief from family expenses obtained by the Lower Class, but it may not be impossible that they should form among themselves professional and business unions, comparable to the Trades Unions that have pressed upon them, and designed to secure for their services to the industrial classes, without internecine enhancement of prices among themselves, remuneration adequately proportioned to their value, and to the maintenance of their present standard of life. The withdrawal of Middle Class subscriptions from charity hospitals, which decline to receive the subscribers on whom they live, and from whom as we write they are demanding £2,700,000, followed by their application to the establishment of institutions where the members of their own class could obtain relief at moderate charges is an obvious suggestion. No doubt the charity hospitals would promptly be put upon the rates, instead of making a small charge to their well-to-do clients, whose objection to self-support would

thus escape infringement, but the existence of such Middle Class hospitals would relieve many a member of that body from haunting terror that must impair his energies. To advocate such professional and business unions is, of course, equivalent to advocating an artificial raising of prices for the same amount of brain-work. True, but that increase would only be parallel to a similar increase already accomplished by the existing Unions. What business or professional man expects, without sinking in the scale, to make an income adequate to the support of an old-times family by an eight-hours' day of busy idleness? What artizan or mechanic fails to do so? Yet which has given more capital, in money, brains and years to preparation for his life's work? Is not income the interest on that preparation?

If the Middle or any other class is really effete the prevention of its self-extinction would probably be impossible, but, even if possible, its preservation in effeteness would be a doubtful advantage to the nation that became its saviour. On the other hand, persistent leakage from a working class, whether that class uses chiefly its brains or its hands, cannot but be injurious to the people as a whole, and investigation to the uttermost of the causes of such leakage should well repay the expense involved.

That the theory put forward in the preceding pages will stand the test of fuller investigation is by no means certain, it is at the best but tentative. The recession of the birth rate among European-speaking nations may well be only temporary; that it is injurious is an assumption not, as yet, demonstrable. The emigrant classes are drawn from the most energetic members of the community; they go, in some cases, to natural conditions differing in many ways from those of their native lands, and the injurious effect of such a transplantation on the reproductive powers has been known for fifty years. This may help to account for the depopulation of colonies like Australia, and simultaneously the lesser energy of those that remain at home may tend to explain that of the mother countries. Against this suggestion is, however, the consideration that the population of Australia and of the United States is no longer in its first generation of colonial life, while in each of these cases the birth rate is recessive not

merely stagnant, the decrease, too, is greater in Australia with its small immigration than in the United States, where immigration is much larger in proportion to the total population.

It is also not impossible that variation in the rate of reproduction is of a cyclic nature ; proof or disproof of such a cycle would not be easy to discover in a condition of knowledge so limited, and reaching back so short a distance as that which we at present possess on the problems of birth. But stagnation or even retrogression is not necessarily fatal to the race that suffers it, if we may judge by the record of the people on whose actions all eyes have been turned since the year began, whose birth rate is steadily rising at the present time.

In 1889 the population of Japan was 40,000,000 ; in 1894 it had risen to 41,800,000 ; and in 1898 to 43,760,000, the birth rate varying in the decade 1888 to 1898 from 29.9 to 31.4 per 1,000 of the people. Yet the inhabitants of Japan were almost stationary in numbers from 1723 until 1846, and within that interval of 124 years no less than five periods of actual retrocession found place. Much must, no doubt, turn on the reasons for this irregular reproduction, and on its duration. In Europe the decline has been persistent for a long time, nor does it as yet show signs of coming to an end. A reason for its existence has been suggested in this paper, but, as stated, it is entirely tentative, and rather intended to indicate a possible line for enquiry by more competent investigators, than to claim acceptance on such support as has here been presented. Indeed, one of its objects will have been fulfilled if it should serve to emphasize the fact that discovery of the means adopted to secure a given result, is not of necessity the same thing as explaining the reasons for their adoption.

KARSHISH

PASSING EVENTS.

THE growth of the German navy is a phenomenon not to be regarded with as much indifference as we may show in reference to the breaking or broken power of Russia. If we may estimate the measures that have been taken by the German Government during the last few years with a view of creating a really powerful navy, by reference to the utterances of the German papers and the talk of German society, this undertaking is a direct menace to the future security of England. The bellicose Prussian papers frankly regard their fleet as designed to cope eventually with the naval strength of Great Britain—with a view of facilitating that stupendous operation in military brigandage, the seizure of London. The whole subject has been brought prominently to the front recently, not merely by the King's visit to Kiel, but by the appearance in Plymouth Harbour, on friendly international courtesies intent, of a German squadron consisting of eight battleships and seven cruisers. From one point of view, indeed, it seems extravagant to suggest that any national peril can be associated with manifestations of this kind. Supposing the German Government to be really contemplating the invasion of England, such an attitude of mind on its part would represent, in an age of civilisation, a criminal intention only worthy of brigands in the Middle Ages. The German Emperor embodies a political problem not very easily solved, but, at the same time, one which most observers would be slow to solve by assigning to him a character combining the basest

treachery with the morals of a polar bear. Meanwhile, it is true enough that the military organisation of this country, in the opinion, at all events, of very competent experts, is desperately ill-qualified to meet the strain of really powerful foreign attack. With such naval power as the Germans are accumulating it is becoming impossible to assume with light and airy confidence that the first line of our defences will always remain invulnerable. It is always conceivable that European states may be involved in entanglements but too easily developed into a state of war, and assuredly it is not a healthy condition for an empire like that of Great Britain to rely for its future security on the forbearance and moral integrity of its neighbours.

Is it inconceivable that in presence of hostile Germany, Great Britain should be unable to defend itself successfully? As a broad principle, very few of us will be inclined to adopt that view, as practical observers of current English politics, very few of us will be inclined to trust the Parliamentary factions which alternately gain possession of Downing Street Offices, to exhibit either the lofty and continuous patriotism that would make for effective preparations for defence, or the administrative capacity which such work demands. The truth of the matter is, that whatever genuine peril may be involved in the extraordinary development of German power, it leads us back to the ever present national dangers attending modern developments of Parliamentary faction. The riotous scenes which so often in these days disgrace the House of Commons, are largely traceable to the arrangements for the representation of Ireland themselves; the outcome of the Party antagonism by which the whole strength of Great Britain is paralysed. Every other Government in Europe, except this of ours would have settled the Irish difficulty with success many years ago. If the laws under which we pass our domestic life are crude and stupid in a score of ways, the explanation of these deficiencies followed remorselessly to its roots will be found in the great national curse under which we are not merely losing our own self-respect, but imperilling the future existence of England as a great world power—the curse of the Two-Party system in the House of Commons.

PUBLIC interest is directed with increased intensity to a problem which ought, one might have thought, to have been settled more definitely fifteen years ago, the question whether Mrs. Maybrick was really guilty. The mystery, as some of the papers call it, is not really so mysterious in connection with the question whether or not this unfortunate lady did or did not poison her husband, as with reference to the difficulty plain, straightforward people, must feel in understanding how it has been possible all this time for successive ministers of state to violate what is supposed to be the fundamental principle of English law, the treatment of accused persons as innocent until they have been proved to be guilty. Now, of course, in regard to Mrs. Maybrick, opinions stand in irreconcilable antagonism, and many people are convinced that the evidence brought forward at the trial did prove her to have been guilty. Certainly that conviction must have engaged the minds of the jury, but few close observers of juries' proceedings will be deeply impressed by this as a fact of importance in itself. The scientific evidence as to the cause of Mr. Maybrick's death was undeniably in conflict. The late Professor Tidy was probably the leading expert in matters concerning toxicology, and he distinctly denied that Mr. Maybrick died of arsenical poisoning. Moreover, the man's mania for consuming unwholesome drugs, was shown to have induced him to try the effects of prussic acid, rapine and iridin, morphia, arsenical remedies of sorts, antipyrine, sulphonal, cocaine, and phosphoric acid. On the face of things to pick out one of these reagents as responsible for his death would seem a very rash proceeding from any ordinary point of view, and a deeply significant fact is the well-known conviction of the late Chief Justice, then Sir Charles Russell, Mrs. Maybrick's counsel, that she really was innocent. That conviction was not merely the professional opinion of the advocate, but maintained with passionate earnestness by the judge, and one of the latest injunctions to a friend, which Lord Russell gave out on his death bed, had to do with the urgent duty of still fighting poor Mrs. Maybrick's cause. In view of all this, it is profoundly mysterious that successive Home Secretaries should have allowed themselves to be guided always along the same groove when repeatedly appealed to by eminent believers in Mrs. Maybrick's innocence, to

invoke the only remedy for the gross injustice that had been perpetrated,—the Royal pardon.

The real mystery, therefore, remains. How has it been possible that this fundamental principle of English justice, as it is supposed to be, the principle that no man shall be convicted while there is doubt concerning his guilt, has been so flagrantly violated in the present case? The explanation can only be guessed at. It may have to do with what is continually a source of mischief in the British administration. Parliamentary chiefs are put at the head of each department under the influence of political entanglements which have nothing on earth to do with their qualifications. In carrying on the work of their departments they are necessarily in the hands of the permanent officials; for the practical work of their departments they are in effect, as a rule, subordinate to their subordinates. Who is the permanent official in the Home Office convinced that Mrs. Maybrick was guilty? That there is such a personality somewhere behind the scenes must be regarded as tolerably certain, and his narrow and prejudiced mind has controlled the course of events, and has perpetrated the false imprisonment of a victim of British injustice for the last fourteen years of her unhappy life.

Some flickering excitement has arisen lately in connection with the inconsistent behaviour, as it is commonly supposed to be, of the police authorities in their dealings with fortune-tellers. From time to time, some unlucky witch of the lower classes is dragged before a magistrate for taking sixpences and shillings from servant-girls in the exercise of her profession as a fortune-teller; meanwhile, in handsomely appointed Bond-street drawing-rooms, other professional fortune-tellers, clad in silks and laces, take guineas from eager clients with impunity, apparently for doing the same thing that entangles their humbler sisters in the meshes of the police-court. One of the daily papers has lately been running amuck at these "Bond-street fortune-tellers" as they have been called, and has published a series of abusive articles concerning them, steeped in ignorance, and quite unworthy, as regards their general style, of the spirited and in many respects

admirable journal in which they have appeared. As a counter-blast against these articles, an indignation meeting was called at St. James's Hall in the middle of last month, and several hundred people gathered together in entire sympathy with the speeches deprecating the newspaper attack, and, with various reserves, expressive of sympathy with the persons assailed.

The whole situation, however, is imperfectly understood outside the circle of those who make occult subjects a serious study, and no arrangements had been made, at the meeting referred to, to provide for the systematic illumination of the public mind. The misunderstanding arises in the first instance from ignorance on the part of the cultivated world at large, concerning the range of possibilities connected with the clairvoyant faculty. More than half the world imagines that because any given person declares that looking in a crystal ball or holding a glove he or she can discern the past lives of some given visitor, such a person must necessarily be a liar and an impostor. It is just as certain that such a diagnosis is possible as that the presence of a chemical substance can be discerned in a solution by applying a proper test. And if this had not been a truth of nature we should never have heard of Bond-street fortune tellers. Probably, in reality, there is scarcely one of those who make this sort of thing a profession who is really destitute of the gifts comprehensively described under the term "clairvoyance." Even those who may be partly impostors have probably been drawn into that kind of work in the first instance by possessing some psychic faculties. They have unscrupulously reinforced these faculties when they failed to work, either by reckless guess-work or by fraudulently using secret information.

Perhaps one might almost go so far as to say that few of those who make professional use of their occult gifts are entirely in all cases too scrupulous to embroider their genuine impressions with bits of suggestion either thrown in merely for the sake of flattering a client or in unfair expansion of their really psychic impressions. But the temptation to do this ensues very largely from the stupidity of the clients. These cannot distinguish between the faculties which enable a clairvoyant to become cognisant of circumstances quite outside the range of his ordinary

knowledge, and the peculiar faculties which in some cases may enable him to forecast future probabilities in the way which the progress of events will not infrequently verify. The stupid assailant of the fortune-teller thinks that he has made a point when he catches out some victim in making a prediction which, in the nature of things, it is impossible that events can fulfil. He has done nothing but exhibit his own clumsy incapacity to deal with these problems. In all probability the psychic forces he has unconsciously set in motion have been as fatal to any clairvoyant observation as a deluge of smoke coming down a chimney with a fall of soot, would be to the scent of roses and lilies that might happen to be in the room. The ignorant blunderer of the kind represented by the recent newspaper investigation in connection with the Bond-street fortune-tellers, is no less surrounded himself by psychic emanations than the earnest and sympathetic client. But whereas the emanations of the last-named personage may enable the clairvoyant to see with some approach to success the course of events in which he is drifting, the emanations of the first will fatally cloud out all such prospects, or very likely provoke a series of absolutely false visions. Added to all this, be it remembered, that no forecast of the future can ever be infallible, simply because it can only represent the probabilities arising from an existing body of causes. These may be modified as time goes on, but, be it remembered also, that, in cases which would probably outnumber by ten to one the failures of the Bond Street fortune-tellers, these very people could show, if all their clients told the truth, a procession of successful predictions that would establish certain broad scientific principles on a secure foundation. It is, of course, to be deplored that the progress of super-physical science should be impeded rather than promoted by the activities of professional representatives who cannot, while making their living in this way, be altogether above suspicion. If the cultivated world generally were not so apathetic in reference to the most important developments opening out before human enquiry, the clairvoyants of the time would be gathered together into associations governed and guarded with the utmost possible care, provided for under conditions which would relieve them from all temptation of the kind

to which they now no doubt too often succumb, and the record of their activities would invest with the dignity they deserve, researches which are at present entangled with no little ignominy.

One word in conclusion concerning the law affecting the Bond Street fortune-tellers, idiotic as this may be, it really does not, if properly understood, involve the Bond Street fortune-teller in any peril. In so far as prosecutions under the Vagrants Act are concerned, these cannot be directed against people who have settled abodes and pay rents and taxes; it has also been judicially defined that no such prosecutions can be undertaken unless they set out to prove an intent to deceive. The Bond Street fortune-teller who can easily show, if his clients are honest, that he has abundant reason for believing in his own powers, would be absolutely exempt from the possibility of any attack based on the theory that he is carrying on deliberate imposture.

ONE of the most intricate problems that human experience can present to the student of Nature's unwritten laws, is embodied in such catastrophes as those which befell the *Norge* and the American excursion steamer. What is the meaning of this awful sacrifice of innocent young life,—of all this terrible agony among the mothers and their survivors? The thoughtless multitude calls each transaction of the kind a horrible accident, and proceeds to hunt up the immediate cause as warnings to people who might be careless enough to superinduce similar conditions later on. They assume that by the time everybody is taught to be more careful, such accidents will not happen any more. Again neither the piety which professes to trust the benevolence of Providence absolutely, nor the philosophy which regards all that happens as inevitable, is consistent in dealing with such cases as those before us. Nor is the higher knowledge which investigates the laws of Nature,—still to a large extent "occult," or incompletely revealed,—much better able to deal with such emergencies. Of course, to begin with, mere physical death is not treated as of much importance from the point of view of the higher knowledge. A few momentary pangs and spasms of

terror, and the Soul returns to regions of existence which are for the most part much more enjoyable than this. The occultist knows that such conditions of passing on must (in almost all cases) be the consequence of that particular soul's doings in some former incarnation. Cause and effect on the moral plane work just as invariably as in the laboratory. And so when a single person is killed by what the common people call an accident, the occultist knows that the occurrence has fallen into its place in the programme of that life. But the simultaneous loss of a thousand lives in an accident like that of the American steamer, is not so easily accounted for. Were all the people on board at the time guided to take part in that excursion by controlling agencies of Providence? And all the other people who may have been thinking of doing so, but who did not go as a matter of fact,—were they also warned off unconsciously to themselves by unseen protectors?

We might be rash in hazarding a confident expression of belief either way. Certainly much tends to show that the majority of those who perish together in a great catastrophe do so in accordance with an inevitable necessity which would be ludicrously misunderstood by anyone who treated their fate as a penalty for any wrong-doing on their part. The deaths of children will certainly be sometimes a means of tiding over an inconvenient interval, of postponing to a more desirable season the durable incarnation which their souls are entitled to. But it is certainly very difficult to believe that all the cases involved in such a catastrophe as that before us, can be accounted for that way. If the difficulty is regarded by the occultist as insuperable, he is apt to take refuge in the boundless opportunities available for compensations later on, which Nature holds in reserve. Thinking along these lines is only possible for people who have acquired the all important mental habit of looking at each single life as a mere link in a chain—as a page in the book of lives that constitutes the real life history of any given Ego!

THE developments in Morocco have curiously vindicated some part of the forecast concerning the future of that country thrown

out by Mr. Perdicaris himself in the article from his pen published in BROAD VIEWS for March. He wrote before the adjustment of the recent Convention with France, and suggested that the various European jealousies embarrassing the future of Morocco might be evaded if the United States undertook the protection and control of the moribund Moorish nationality. If the United States "would undertake to maintain order, and also to see that merchants of any nationality should enjoy throughout Morocco equal trade conditions, then, indeed, this thorny problem might be solved with due regard to England's security." The author of this suggestion was destined soon afterwards to become the centre of international anxieties. American men-o'-war were ordered to Tangier to emphasise the demands made in his interest by the American Government, and all Europeans who could forget the bitterness of small international jealousies were agreed that the presence of the American ships had been most beneficial. And he thinks it is America's independence of action which may be bringing the situation in Morocco to a head, and which has caused order to be restored to the country.

We need not entertain any great hope of a restoration of order in Morocco so long as the country remains under any kind of native government. The present disorders have arisen simply from the attempts, however clumsy, of the present Sultan to establish something resembling order as understood beyond the Straits. The chaos that has supervened could only be terminated by a revolution which should once more leave the supreme authority in the hands of some fanatically orthodox Mahomedan. But it may greatly be doubted whether any restoration of order along those lines would conduce to the welfare of the Foreign population of Tangier, or the freedom of trade routes in the interior. A native Moorish government must represent what, from the civilised point of view, constitutes pure and simple barbarism. There are only two ways of dealing with states under barbaric rule. Civilised power must either leave them absolutely alone, or sweep their barbaric institutions aside and govern them by force in accordance with civilised methods. The first plan has in effect been adopted with reference to Morocco by European States. We have traded with them as we might have traded with any

other savage tribes, and the pretences of entering into diplomatic relations with the Sultan have been without effect. But Morocco is too near civilised Europe to be left alone for ever, and the recent convention has defined, as far as the acquiescence of Great Britain is concerned, the nature of the intervention which must be arranged for the future.

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THE ZENANA SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY DR. HELEN BOURCHIER.

THE custom of keeping women in seclusion, shut up in zenanas, or harems, which prevails over a great part of India, owes its origin entirely to the Mahommetan conquest of that country. Although we find Brahmin women in Northern India, and Rajput women in Rajputana conforming, or being forced to conform to this custom, it has no place either in the religion or the traditions of Brahmin or Hindu peoples of India.

This seclusion may, at one time in the history of India, have been a necessary precaution, but there can be no doubt that in the present age it is one of the most serious obstacles to the growth and evolution of the race. There can be no true progress nor development of any people, when one half of it remains in a degraded position of captivity, slavery, and ignorance. It is an established fact that all oppressed, enslaved and captive peoples develop certain evil qualities and vices of the mind, which are not found amongst free born men; they are deceitful, cowardly, crafty and treacherous; their very helplessness teaches them tortuous ways, secret hatreds and cruelties, guile and falsehood. All these moral diseases create an evil and poisonous moral atmosphere in the prison houses of the women of India, where they are brought up in the darkest ignorance, with minds absolutely uncultivated and untrained.

It must not be forgotten that the early years of the children, both boys and girls, are passed in the zenana; that at the most

impressionable age of their lives they are subjected to the influence of this evil atmosphere. And, moreover, every child, boy or girl, on one side of its parentage, is born to the heritage of an enslaved and oppressed race.

The Mahommetans in all countries keep their women in seclusion. And when they conquered and overran India, at the beginning of the great Mogul Empire, they introduced the custom amongst the conquered people, more especially in the central and northern Provinces, which were the most completely dominated by the ruling race, who made Delhi the capital of their Empire.

By this system the women are secluded in a certain part of the house devoted to their use, and shut off from the apartments where the men live and eat, receive their friends and transact their business. They are not allowed to go outside the doors of this zenana or harem into any other part of the house on any pretext whatsoever; their lives are spent entirely within its walls, which no man is permitted to enter, except the husband, the father or the brothers of the ladies who live there. If a man has several wives, and the brother of one of them wishes to pay her a visit, he first sends an announcement of his intention; all the other ladies withdraw to their own separate rooms in the zenana, and shut the doors or draw the curtains as the case may be; the visitor is then conducted by one of the women servants to the room occupied by his sister. As long as he remains, the other ladies are invisible. Having paid his visit, he is conducted out of the zenana as he entered it, having seen no one except his sister. The familiar intercourse of daily life between men and women is a thing absolutely unknown in the households where the zenana system prevails. On the occasions, very rare with most of them, when the ladies go out to visit friends or relations, or to attend a marriage or any other ceremony, the most cumbersome and tiresome details have to be observed to ensure their not being seen by any man during their transit from one zenana to another. A closed conveyance is brought to the house, it may be a carriage or bullock cart, a palanquin or dooley, according to the rank of the lady and the fashion of the province in which she lives. If it is a carriage, it is drawn up at the door of the house, the coachman gets off the box and withdraws to a distance, round a corner if

there is one anywhere near ; if the house is in a street, the servants hold up two sheets between the door of the house and the carriage, making a lane through which the ladies pass, wrapped up in a sheet or shawl, and with their heads covered. As soon as they are in the carriage, with the shutters drawn all round, or the curtains drawn in the case of a bullock cart, the coachman drives them to their destination, where the same tedious process is repeated, the return journey being made in the same manner. When the conveyance is a palanquin, such as I have seen used in Rajputana, it is carried into the zenana by some of the women servants, and the lady gets into it there ; the sliding panel in the side, by which it is entered, is shut, a great wadded covering is wrapped all round it and tied round with ropes ; in some zenanas, notably in that of the Maharajah of Jeypore, the ropes are sealed before the palanquin leaves the zenana. It is then carried out again and handed over to the bearers. As may be supposed, there is little inducement to take the air under these circumstances.

The women in the zenanas in Central India and Rajputana and the Hindustani provinces generally are called *pardah-nashin*, literally women of the curtain. In Madras they are called *gosha* women, which means the same thing.

In the houses of the noblemen the zenana is usually in the interior of the palace, and on an upper floor. *The Rajah of Ramnad*, for instance, a small native State, sixty or seventy miles from Madura, in the Madras Presidency, had a large rambling palace, rather incongruously built, with some very fine, lofty halls in it, and innumerable narrow whitewashed passages. At one time I was attending some of the ladies of his family ; to reach the zenana, I entered first a large court-yard at the back of the palace, from there a narrow whitewashed passage of considerable length led into a large and lofty stone-paved hall, which would be used as a hall of audience or assembly, probably for the Durbar. Through this hall I went on into more narrow, unpaved passages, till I reached a second hall, on one side of which was a high and wide archway, which was the entrance to the zenana. Up to this point I was generally conducted by one or more of the Rajah's male servants, and in all the passages and halls I saw numerous groups of his ragged attendants, who appeared to have no special

duties beyond lounging about in the palace and running after or before the Rajah wherever he went ; but beyond this archway they were not allowed to penetrate, no man but the Rajah ever set foot within the shadow of that archway. On the occasions of my visits I was always met at this point by one of the women attendants, who came down to receive me and conduct me up the forbidden stair. Through the archway the way led up a smooth inclined plane of great width, which at a certain distance became a staircase, and at the head of the staircase was a landing where several corridors met, one leading to the Rajah's private apartments, by which he himself came to the zenana ; one to the smaller zenanas occupied by the widows of the late Rajah ; and one to the principal zenana, where the wives of the reigning Rajah were always installed. Here there was a great square paved court, open to the sky, with a very high wall all round it, so high that nothing but the sky was visible above it ; against the wall, on three sides, there were a number of small dark chambers, open in front, but without windows, which were occupied by the Rajah's two wives, with their numerous retinue of women slaves and attendants, many of whom were also *pardah* women.

The ladies who lived here never went beyond this part of the palace, they slept and ate in the little dark rooms, and took the air in the open court where they could neither see nor be seen.

The reigning Rajah's father had had six wives, who all lived in the palace, each one in her own particular domain, with its tiny courtyard and half-dozen little cells opening out of it. As might be supposed, many of them suffered from an incurable ennui, which is the root of all the gossiping and quarrelling, and most of the hysterical affections, which are the curse of the zenana.

These people were not Mahommetans. The Rajah was a Hindu and hereditary *Saidapati*, a very high dignitary in the religious hierarchy. Whether the zenana system had been adopted by his ancestors in flattering imitation of the then ruling race of Mahommetan conquerors, or for the reason that, under the Mahommetan dynasty, no women were safe outside that seclusion it is impossible to say. A Brahmin of the Central Provinces, whose wife was a *pardah* woman, gave me this reason for the Brahmins of that part of the country having adopted the system

of keeping their women in seclusion. The Mahommetans, he said, were free and licentious in their manners, and if they saw any woman of the conquered races who pleased them they would carry her off to their own harems, but they respected the zenanas, and would never dream of violating their closed doors. And therefore, for protection and security, contrary to their own custom, the women were relegated to this life of practical captivity.

In Madras, as a rule, none of the women are "gosha," except the Mahommetans. The Brahmins go about freely, and may be seen walking on the roads and in the bazaars with uncovered head, and the proud, erect carriage which distinguishes their race. But every Mahommetan woman, whose husband earns a few rupees a month, is kept in a zenana, from Kair Unnissa, Begum Sahiba of the Carnatic, widow of the last Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives in a splendid house in a great park, and gives entertainments to the whole city, down to the wife of the Hospital peon, who lives in a hut, in a tiny enclosure of bamboo matting, in the Hospital compound.

I have been privileged to be a guest in both these zenanas. The Begum sent out beautiful gilded and crested invitation cards to the whole society of Madras, European and native, to an evening entertainment in her grounds. The whole park was beautifully illuminated, with many coloured lamps and Chinese lanterns, and there were gorgeous fireworks; a troupe of Nautch girls danced, and there were performances in native theatres erected in the grounds.

The Begum did not come out to receive or welcome her guests, but she invited the ladies to pay their respects to her in her private apartments. They were taken in, in batches of fifteen or twenty at a time, through a large empty salon to a closed door, on each side of which stood a soldier with a drawn sword, which he held crossed in front of it, guarding the entrance. When we were admitted in our turn, we found a frail, little old lady sitting cross-legged on a divan; she shook hands in a listless way with each of her visitors in turn without saying anything, then one of her women threw a tinsel garland over the head and round the neck of each guest, and presented her with a tiny bottle of

sandal-wood oil. The ladies then withdrew through the guarded door to make room for the next batch. That glimpse of a few moments was all any of the guests saw of their distinguished hostess. And that procession of unknown foreign women was all she herself saw of her own magnificent fête.

On the occasion of my visit to the peon's wife I was the only guest. Mahomed Ghose, who was the peon at the hospital under my charge, had had his pay raised to fifteen rupees a month, and he immediately set about conferring on his wife the honour and dignity of becoming a *Gosha* woman. To this end he set up a rough fence of matting, about eight or nine feet high, round his hut in the hospital compound, enclosing a tiny space of a few feet which was to serve as park and garden for Mrs. Mahomed Ghose. That lady then sent me a polite and humble message to the effect that she was now a *Gosha* woman and that she begged I would do her the honour of going to see her.

She was a pleasant, cheerful little woman, not very young, full of pride in her new seclusion, which, to her, meant a rise in the social scale. She did the honours of the zenana with a pretty shy grace, taking me by the hand to lead me round the little enclosure, and pointing out the creepers which she and Mahomed had planted against the fence; she brought out sherbet for me to drink, and lighted her hookah of which I took a few whiffs. Whether her higher estate, with its loneliness and confinement, palled upon her as time went on, I cannot say, as, not very long after, Mahomed returned to his own village, and I saw his little *gosha* wife no more.

In the Mahommetan houses of the middle and lower classes the zenanas are usually at the back of the house. I remember one in particular, at which I used often to visit, which was rather a typical one. From the road I entered a large courtyard, with the usual little open cells all round it, which constituted the men's quarters, at the furthest side of the court was a door opening into the zenana. The house was occupied by a large family, a father and several sons, and all the ladies had their apartments in the zenana. On the occasion of my first visit the husband of one of them accompanied me when I went in to see his wife. First, one of the women servants ran in front of us to the door

calling "gosha ! gosha !" a warning to all the women inside to hide themselves because a man was coming, then we went through into a long, cool, green garden with a fountain playing in the middle of it, and trees and shrubs growing about it. Down each side of its length were low one-storey buildings, with narrow verandahs, and between the wooden posts of every verandah a *chick* was lowered. About half way up the garden the servant lifted a *chick* and entered the room occupied by the lady I had come to see. It was a square, whitewashed room without any windows, open in front after the fashion of stalls in a stable, and with two smaller rooms opening out of it, one on each side. There was, of course, no furniture, except a string bed or two, and a chair was brought in from the men's part of the house for me to sit on.

When the husband had departed all the *chicks* were pulled up, and the ladies came out into the garden or wandered into each other's apartments, most of them coming to interview me.

On other occasions it often happened that, when I was in one or other of these chambers, the cry "Gosha ! gosha !" sounded at the door and down the garden, and the *chick* was at once pulled down in front of the doorway, and the women and children waited, giggling and whispering and peeping in the semi-darkness behind it until the male intruder had either departed or entered his own particular zenana. If he stayed in his wife's apartments for any length of time the other *chicks* were drawn up, his only remaining closed, and before he could come out again one of the servants had to go before him with her warning cry of "gosha !" so that none of the ladies might be profaned by his glance as he withdrew down the garden.

From a long and careful observation, I have concluded that, mentally, the Mahometan women suffer less from this system than the women of the other races. This may arise from several causes. They are certainly, as a race, less intelligent ; they are naturally more inert and lymphatic than the Brahmins and Hindus and Rajputs ; and they are, many of them, addicted to the use of opium, which renders them in a great measure in-

* A *chick* is a blind, sometimes six or more feet wide, made of long green reeds fastened together like the slats of a venetian blind, and lined with native cloth.

different to the restrictions and the tedium of their lives.

There is also a certain difference in the conditions of life in the Mahommetan households ; there is usually a larger number of women congregated under one roof, who form a society among themselves, in which there is very slight distinction of class. The wives of the masters of the house are not better educated, more cultivated nor more intelligent than the women slaves who wait upon them, who were born in the house, some of whom are probably the husband's mistresses, and some of them his half-sisters, daughters of a slave mother and of the late master. I have called them slaves rather than servants, these women who are born and brought up in the family they serve, for the conditions of their service are more nearly allied to slavery than to the paid employment of free women. They are not considered, nor do they consider themselves, free to leave their service even under circumstances of ill-usage and injustice, neither, on the other hand, would they be dismissed for any cause whatsoever ; they are paid no regular wages, but they are fed and clothed, and they sometimes receive presents in money or in kind.

If there is one member of the zenana who can read and write, it is usually one of the slaves, who has received a certain amount of instruction to enable her to read aloud for the entertainment of her mistresses ; it is a very frequent amusement of the zenana, the books read being love stories and romances of the coarsest and most realistic kind.

It must not be forgotten that, according to the Mahommetan religion, women have no souls ; so that the whole world of the hereafter and the unseen is closed to them. The wide subjects of religion, philosophy, and metaphysics, all the questions that relate to the soul of man, its growth, its development, and its future, are without interest to beings who have no hope of any life beyond the grave.

The wife or wives of a Rajput gentleman are condemned to the same life behind drawn curtains, but they suffer infinitely more from being shut away from the active life of the world. They are, to begin with, of a much more keen, ambitious, stirring temperament. They belong to an active, restless, turbulent race, the men of which are great riders and keen sportsmen, many of them

of great intelligence and culture ; interested in diplomacy and statecraft ; educated in the Western civilization which the English have brought to India. To the daughters of such men as these the inactivity and the monotony of the zenana is nothing less than a martyrdom, which is only rendered more insupportable by the fact that they are not brought up in the dense and childish ignorance of the Mahometan ladies ; they are taught to read and write, they have shrewd, observant minds, and cannot but feel themselves capable of taking a part in the active life of the world.

A Rajput lady lives surrounded by her women, but they are ignorant, uneducated peasants, unable to offer her any real companionship, so that she lives practically a lonely, idle, useless life, with nothing to relieve the emptiness and monotony of the days except the visits of her husband, who comes to see her when he chooses, and stays away when it pleases him.

The cramped life of the zenana presses most heavily of all upon the Brahmin women, daughters of a race that has the most profound and subtle intellect of any race in the world, refined by centuries of cultivation and study of the most complicated and wonderful systems of philosophy that exist. Many of the Brahmin ladies are profoundly read in the mysteries and philosophies of their religious writings. And in the Brahmin traditions it is recorded that one of the greatest of their religious adepts, centuries before Buddha, was a woman.

In those provinces in which the zenana system has never come into force the position of the Brahmin wife is one of great responsibility and importance. The women have always been a great power in the family. At one time, indeed, they seem to have taken matters rather too independently into their own hands. The legend the Brahmins tell of the origin of *Suttee* (the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband) is that at one time in the early history of the race it was a very common practice for wives to poison their husbands when they got tired of them or wished to marry some one else. This fashion became so general and so alarming that the husbands, taking counsel together for their mutual protection, devised the law of *Suttee* to deprive the women in future of any inducement to hasten the

lighting of their husbands' funeral pyre before its time.

Among the really orthodox Brahmins of Southern India there is no such thing as the seclusion of women in the *zenana*. They are free to come and go as they please. And it is not at all an unusual thing for them to spend whole days and nights in learned discussion with the pundits on abstruse and obscure points of Brahminical philosophy.

For women with such an heredity behind them to be shut up within the narrow limits of the *zenana* can be little less than a life-long martyrdom.

All the *zenanas* that I have had the opportunity of entering, whether Mahometan or Hindu, Rajput or Brahmin, had one feature in common: the extraordinary lack of *spring* and vital tone which characterised their inhabitants. It showed in the gentle submissive expression of their dark eyes, and in every graceful, languid movement. I noted it in the lady who was my patient in the Rajah of Ramnad's palace, when she came trailing slowly with a pathetic grace across the court of the *zenana*, and held out a limp hand to me. And in the young Rajput Ranees when she sat for days, hardly speaking, moving her child's toys backwards and forwards before her with a listless hand, sometimes for two or three days refusing to bathe, or eat, or pray.

The same stamp was upon them all, it gave one the impression neither of melancholy nor of ennui, but of minds in which the mainspring was broken.

They do not complain, they do not revolt, they accept the conditions of their life as inevitable, but they take no real interest in anything on the face of the earth. And from generation to generation they are condemned to this death in life until one shall rise up, either among their own people, or among the white rulers, who shall be strong enough and brave enough to break the bonds of this system of merciless captivity.

HELEN BOURCHIER.

THE FUTURE LIFE OF ANIMALS.

WHOEVER—being capable of serious thought—has ever loved and lost a dog, must have more or less earnestly pondered on the possibility that “the poor Indian” of Pope’s essay may have been more wisely inspired than the poet, who seems to scorn his faith when he believed that

“ admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.”

Attention has been specially turned to the problem within the last few weeks by Mr. Rider Haggard’s experience in connection with the tragic death of his own favourite,—an experience which the conventional reader of his letter to the *Times* may have thought strange and remarkable, but which, in truth, from the point of view of a somewhat higher knowledge, is merely an incident falling into its place in a considerable body of similar experiences with which students of super-physical phenomena are familiar. In Mr. Haggard’s case, he had a vision in his sleep of the painful conditions under which his dog was killed, and later investigation showed that the vision corresponded with the facts.

As constituting the text on the basis of which I wish to set forth such knowledge as we really possess in reference to the after life of animals, it may be worth while at the outset to refer a little more in detail to the experience in question. The vision did not embrace all the circumstances of the tragedy. The dog was dashed over a bridge by the engine of a passing train, and died of his injuries on the bank of a little river, or in the water, where he may have

been finally drowned, though the medical evidence was to the effect that he must have been killed instantaneously by the shock of the accident on the railway. His master realised him as dying by the water-side or in the water, but did not cognise the preliminary shock. This omission precisely corresponds with the explanation which probably explains what happened. The vision evidently was the product of the story which the dog himself some hours after his physical death contrived to tell his master, to whom he had naturally returned in his new condition. Such a statement, of course, anticipates the main part of the explanation which has to be given. The fact that a dog may have a new life after the destruction of his physical body can only be understood in the light of a fairly complete comprehension of the principles governing spiritual evolution from the lower forms of conscious existence up to those with which humanity is concerned. And this essay will be directed to the elucidation of that stupendous process so far as may be necessary for the interpretation of the phenomena immediately under notice. But, granting for the moment the return of the dog in his astral body to the master he loved, he would only be able to tell so much of his story as he himself understood. The shock received from the passing train would not have left any definite impressions on his own consciousness, any more than similar shocks are remembered by human beings who experience them. Anyone, for instance, who has been nearly but not quite killed in a gunpowder explosion will remember sensations connected with his recovery of consciousness, but not with the shock itself. The dog, in the same way, was in his normal condition at one moment and the next was lying shattered and dying by the brink of the river. How it came to pass that he was in that state would not have been within his own consciousness, and all that he could communicate to his master was the body of feeling he experienced while dying. This he did communicate very effectually, making his master feel as though he himself were undergoing the sufferings described.

This condition of things, again, corresponds with all similar experiences where only human beings are concerned. Anyone who has "passed on," as the phrase goes, to astral conditions of existence under painful circumstances, and who, with the "Ancient

Mariner's" instinct, desires to pour his story into a sympathetic ear, will lead the person with whom he finds it possible to communicate, to imagine himself going through the experiences described. A case lies within my own experience that illustrates the idea. A psychic friend went through a long series of connected dreams on one occasion, in which she imagined herself to have committed a murder, to have been arrested and tried, to have undergone sentence of death, and to have felt all the agonising terror of such a situation. She had, as a matter of fact, been approached on the astral plane during sleep by one who had actually gone through these experiences in life, and who told her pathetic story but too vividly.

Of course, in the attempt to elucidate experiences of this nature for the benefit of people who have not been used to investigating the phenomena of the unseen worlds around us, such statements as these are apt to be rather bewildering, but for students of the subject—a very considerable number in these days, although, unhappily, a small minority as yet of the cultivated world—the leading characteristics of the unseen world immediately around us are fairly well understood. It must not be supposed that the conditions on this so-called "astral plane" represent the ultimate possibilities of spiritual life. This unseen phase of our own world—however rich in its content, varied in its character, and fascinating in its possibilities—is but the ante-chamber of spiritual regions very much more exalted. But it is not necessary to complicate the present explanation by ascending in imagination to these loftier realms. Although still quite a *terra incognita* for the world at large, this spiritual ante-chamber is well within the range of clairvoyant observation, and its scenery and inhabitants have been very fully described in the literature of occult science, so that although as regards human consciousness of the ordinary type it lies beyond the grave, it by no means shares the condition of that which is indeed "unknowable" for us at present, the ultimate possibilities of spiritual life.

Though much admired in the days of its usefulness, the phrase "unknowable" has contributed in no small degree to mislead modern intelligence. It is apt to represent for each writer who employs it the conditions of nature which are unknown to him.

For others, these may be as familiar as a foreign country frequently explored. Indeed, the more widely exploration is carried out in regions of nature beyond the range of the physical senses, the more profoundly mysterious become the regions or conditions lying still further beyond. An old illustration serves best to convey the idea. From a low level of observation the horizon seems very near, from the point of view of a lofty peak it is enormously more expanded, but the wider the horizon becomes, the wider is the circle of ignorance; and the more profoundly spiritual investigation is pursued, the more deeply is the investigator impressed with the immensities of the universe he is unable to comprehend. The only idea which it is needful to emphasize for the moment is that the horizon line of the unknowable is continually shifting, as the knowledge of mankind approaches its maturity, so that very much which is quite unknown to the plodding conventionalist (and with a conceit commensurate with his ignorance described by him as unknowable) is familiar ground for those who are a little further on in the direction of human maturity than himself.

Now the fact, to begin with, that on the astral plane some animals are recognised as continuing their existence just like human beings as far as that plane is concerned, is absolutely familiar to qualified students of the subject, and although it would not be true to say that every animal who dies off the physical plane continues a conscious existence on the astral, it would be necessary to draw the line rather low down amongst the varied species of the animal kingdom before we could say definitely that below that level no astral survival would be possible. Nature is nowhere fond of hard and fast lines. The colours of the spectrum, serviceable for so many suggestive analogies, will elucidate this amongst many other ideas. There is an undeniable difference between yellow and green, but in looking at a rainbow it is not easy to say at what precise place one colour changes into another. So with the question of the animal future. The intelligent and affectionate dog will be found after physical life on the astral plane as certainly as any human being. The same statement could not be made with the same certainty in regard to a slaughtered sheep or a pig. In truth, such animals do bequeath some-

thing to the astral plane, and influences, which, when the time comes for them to be properly understood, will perhaps induce a future humanity to revise many of its present customs in regard to such creatures. But carrying the conception down far lower again to that level of animal creation represented by lower reptiles or insects, assuredly there is no definite after-state of consciousness embodied in such forms. Even that last statement will require explanation and illustration before the whole story is thoroughly complete, but it may be left to stand as it is till then. Concerning ourselves for the moment merely with animals of the highest type, and especially with the dog as an illustration thereof, let us first inquire what it is in the dog, who enjoys an undeniable hereafter, which distinguishes him from the animal of the lower type whose consciousness has no specific future as such beyond the period of his physical existence. The question is not difficult to answer from the point of view of super-physical knowledge even in its present state, but the answer cannot very easily be rendered intelligible for those to whom the rudiments of such knowledge are unfamiliar without some preliminary explanations.

In its broadest outlines the idea that all animated creatures may be regarded as emanating in some mysterious fashion from the Divine Mind is almost a commonplace of metaphysical speculation. The omnipresence of the Deity is acknowledged throughout the religious world by the language of the lips, though the significance of the familiar phrase is hardly discerned in every case. But to a moderately advanced understanding all vital phenomena, even going down to those of the vegetable kingdom, represent in varying stages what, in oriental philosophy, is called the Descent of Spirit into Matter. That, so far as the deepest insight can enable us to realise, is the phrase which best represents the stupendous enterprise commonly spoken of in the west as "creation." Without attempting so extravagant a theory as one which would pretend to comprehend the ultimate Divine purpose of creation, that which even limited observation enables us to perceive with definite certainty is that the animated life of this world is concerned with processes of spiritual evolution which run side by side with those more familiar to the science commonly called biology, relating to successive developments

of form. Naturally the evolution of consciousness is a more subtle process than that which has to do with the growth, from generation to generation, of improved animal bodies. But for the purposes of the study immediately in hand we need neither attempt to interpret its beginnings nor presume to forecast its ultimate purpose. That which does come within the range of what is definitely knowable for students properly gifted is this state of facts:—that spiritual energy clothes itself, on certain lofty planes of nature, in vehicles of consciousness very varied in their character and design; and that some of these vehicles of consciousness, pouring down their influence on the material world, give rise to a multiplicity of forms, while others of a more highly developed order are related to but one physical being on this plane of life. In other words, there are some volumes of spiritual energy which give rise to, or animate, a considerable number of creatures belonging to the animal world, while other volumes (to use the only phrase that seems available, though it is very ill-adapted to suit the extreme subtlety of the idea) give rise in manifestation on this plane, to human beings whose individuality is maintained throughout the ages and is quite as recognisable (for those who can see) on the one plane as on the other. But the evolutionary process which is going on in the case of those volumes of energy, which animate large groups of animals, has for its purpose—to this extent we may quite confidentially venture to read the designs of nature—the ultimate differentiation of specific portions, so to speak, which shall, when differentiated, enter on an existence in which individuality will never again be lost.

It is so important, with a view to the comprehension of the higher animal life, to understand this process aright that it may be worth while to attempt its exposition in another set of phrases. The soul of a human being is an entity, distinctly recognisable as such on higher planes of nature. From the commonplace point of view, people, unfamiliar with the facts, are fond of asserting that they lie in that favourite region, the Unknowable. Undoubtedly there is much connected with the possibilities of ultimate spiritual development which is unknown at present even by those who possess extensive information concerning the unseen

world. But the conditions of human consciousness immediately succeeding physical dissolution, and even for a considerable range of progress beyond that limit, are absolutely familiar to many people qualified to deal with such researches. Now the consciousness which is the essential attribute of each human soul clothes itself in successive vehicles of subtle matter as it ascends through the various planes of nature, which it is qualified by its development to reach, and always such vehicles are peculiar to itself. The liberated soul is as much an entity on the higher spiritual planes above the astral, as during its existence in the physical body. Its spiritual body is as definite a possession of its own as its flesh and bones were here. But this is not precisely the case with animal consciousness unless, as we shall see directly, that has attained to the very highest levels of its possible development in that kingdom. The animal consciousness may, indeed, and in most cases does, exist in a more or less drowsy fashion for relatively brief periods after the death of the body on the astral plane. But when, in turn, this period of existence is past, the consciousness is not sufficiently evolved, as a rule, to exist in a vehicle of its own on the higher plane. It merges itself in what may be thought of as a spiritual envelope embracing the consciousness of a great many animals of varying types. This spiritual aggregation has often been spoken of in the literature of the subject as the "common-soul" of an animal group, and with the explanation thus given that phrase will probably be intelligible.

Such common-souls have been undergoing a protracted evolution over vast periods of time. It is not necessary for our present purpose to attempt an explanation of their actual origin. In any given case we may recognise them as having been concerned, at earlier periods of the world's history, with the animation of animal forms belonging to the humbler types of that kingdom, but existence even in humble animal forms involves something in the nature of experience, and just as in the case of the human soul all the experience gathered during each life contributes to the enlargement and expansion of faculty and character, so, in their humble way, the contributions that each animal is enabled to make, go to enlarge the possibilities with which the common-soul is endowed, and thus, as the ages roll on, each such common-

soul becomes qualified to animate animals of a higher and higher type. And concurrently with the advance of human civilization and the development of relations between the human and the animal world beyond those of the hunter and the hunted, it comes to pass that the most advanced animals associated with any definite group become gradually more and more individualised. Keeping our attention fixed upon conditions that are intelligible at the present day, we are enabled to observe that such animals as come into close and intimate relations with the higher human order (three kinds especially may be mentioned, the dog, the horse and the cat), become qualified to go through an experience which the earlier varieties of animal existence did not provide for. They become qualified to develop the emotion of love for a being higher in the scale of nature than themselves. This is tantamount to the awakening within them of the greatest potentiality derived from their actual origin as an emanation of Divinity. For this main thought must never be lost sight of in studying the processes of life wherever these are carried on. The Divine influence is ever present, however obscured by conditions or latent—as the possibilities of the plant are latent in the seed. Now, when the differentiation of one of the higher animals in any group has been completely carried out, the volume of consciousness constituting the soul of such an animal is capable of an independent existence on the higher plane, and in that condition has begun its career of individual immortality; has become ready for incarnation in the human form, with all the stupendous possibilities before it which are associated with that condition of existence.

It does not follow that such transition from one kingdom of nature to the other is immediately accomplished. One of the difficulties connected with the presentation of truths concerning the higher activities of nature which stand in the way of rendering them intelligible outside the circle of special students, has to do with the necessity for dealing with enormous periods of time, and with the necessity of recognising that such periods have very different meanings for the different planes of nature on which consciousness may function. It may be that the newly differentiated soul of a dog, too far advanced ever again to inhabit an animal form, will find no opportunity in the present condition of

the world for incarnation in humanity. The lower types of humanity around us in savage conditions are far too low down in their own development to afford opportunities for the progress of such animals as we are thinking of, whose consciousness is filled with a glow of beautiful emotion which the savage would be quite incapable of understanding. But the animal in question could hardly be evolved sufficiently along the lines of mental development to be ripe for an incarnation amongst civilised mankind. He must, therefore, await the opening of a new chapter in the whole human story, and this will not be ready to begin until a very remote period. Meanwhile, that animal soul in question need not be regarded as prejudiced by the delay. It exists in a condition of as much beatitude as its progress will allow of, and, although awaiting further progress until opportunity serves, it may rather be congratulated on its period of rest than pitied on account of its inactivity.

As usual, however, between the two extreme conditions of any process under examination, intermediate possibilities arise. The extremes we have here to deal with are, in the first case, the simple failure of the animal to differentiate, and the return of its consciousness to the common-soul of the animal group to which it has belonged; on the other hand, the actual establishment on the spiritual plane of a new entity ready for human incarnation. It may happen, however, where attachment between the differentiating animal and his own especial human friend has been very intense, that the animal will actually be drawn back into incarnation in a similar animal form in association with the human being either during that life or in the course of another. In this way, some few among our higher domesticated pets may actually be thought of as re-incarnating entities, although it is in a high degree improbable that such re-incarnations would be more than at most once or twice repeated. And again, a possibility arises which has been known to bring about what seems a very wonderful result. Where the tie of affectionate devotion is very close on both sides, as between the animal and his master, it is just possible that the animal will reincarnate as a human being concurrently with the next re-incarnation of the man, in some race sufficiently raised above the mere savage condition to

make it possible for him to find an opening there; and in such cases the intricate influences which control and mould human affairs in accordance with the karmic programme, or let us say the Providential design, will bring the new human entity into personal relations with the older one to whom he owes his humanity. Again, it is just possible that animals below the rank of those few who come most closely into touch with humanity may, by the development in a less perfect way of the love principle amongst themselves, actually become reincarnating entities before it is possible for them to develop an entirely independent vehicle of consciousness on the spiritual plane. Physical analogies which would help to render the idea intelligible are apt to be misleading, but such partially differentiated animals may be thought of as clinging like a bubble to the surface of the subtle envelope of the common-soul, not yet sufficiently developed to fly off on their own account.

I have spoken of three animals familiar to ourselves as amongst those which are capable of differentiation under human influence. There is one other which undeniably belongs to the same rank, the elephant; but he is not sufficiently understood in the West, as a general rule, to be much worth talking about in this connection. He is worth mentioning, however, because such mention will help to emphasise an important consideration to which our attention has not yet been turned. All these vast processes of natural evolution proceed along appropriate lines, so to speak, and the animal soul whose highest achievement, for example, would be the animation of horses, would not also be concerned with the animation of dogs, cats, or elephants. Each of these four animals must be thought of as the head animal of its own series. To trace out the series of which in each case each such animal is the head would be a task of extreme difficulty, and the results of such an effort would seem very bewildering because they would not have any reference whatever to similarity of form. The one thought which it is always necessary to keep clearly in view if we would understand the scheme of nature aright, is the one which unhappily the modern biologist entirely overlooks. The evolution of form proceeds along one line of rails, so to speak, the evolution of spiritual consciousness animating such forms may

follow a course almost at right angles to the other progress, or inclined, at all events, at an angle approximating to that. In other words, the progressing spiritual consciousness may find an appropriate opportunity for gathering experience in one animal form, and next time may find its slightly more advanced opportunity in a form of a totally different character. Just as, in the human case, a soul may incarnate at one period along one line of ancestry, at another find its appropriate habitat in a different part of the world and even a different race.

And now we come to the moral to be deduced from all these observations, a moral which ordinary mankind is at present as little capable of suspecting, as of investigating the phenomena. The cultivation of animal consciousness up to the conditions in which it is capable of advancing along the loftier lines of progress is the task assigned by nature to the human family. It is a task which the human family at present not only fails to accomplish, except in a few cases by accident, but is for the most part offending against and defying in many more ways than one. Animals collectively ought to be regarded by mankind as pupils or apprentices to life. It has not yet been held incompatible with the highest civilisation to regard them, for the most part, as so much material for the exercise of the savage instinct. The sportsman, it is true, who takes pleasure in killing his humbler fellow creatures, and who in doing so is saturating the animal souls to which they belong with an instinct, in reference to humanity, distinctly prejudicial to their evolutionary growth, is not necessarily a criminal. He is simply undeveloped to that extent, incapable of comprehending his place in nature, of the loftier duties attaching to his station. This thought applies to the present condition of mankind in a great many ways. The occult student is painfully aware of the fact that his contemporaries, for the most part, are at a very early stage of their course through the ages. The modern world, so to speak, is streaked with divine rays of intelligence, manifesting themselves in very beautiful action, even on the part of those who in other respects represent a deplorably backward condition, and many offenders against the natural design, as it affects the relation between mankind and the animal world, exhibit in many of their activities, accomplishments of

spiritual progress the value of which they themselves are as yet quite unable to comprehend. But concurrently with such achievements, they do sometimes blunder about, for want of more exact super-physical knowledge, in a very deplorable and extraordinary fashion.

Anyhow, the habit of taking pleasure in the destruction of animal life is amongst the most disgusting, from the occultist's point of view, of those which blot the pages recording the doctrines of current morality. One must equally recognise that the slaughter of animals for food is another bequest from a barbarous age, which must of necessity be abandoned as a practice when human understanding is a little more illuminated. From the point of view of a very imperfect comprehension of the way in which the world is governed, some people to whom these views may be unacceptable will ask why such practices are "allowed" if they interfere with the progress of the whole evolutionary design. They might as well contend that murder and theft are approved of because they also are allowed by Providence to take place. The underlying principle which all study of Nature in its highest aspects enforces on the observation of the occult student is that somehow it is necessary to let mankind blunder on in darkness and ignorance for a time, multiplying its mistakes as it proceeds, bearing their consequences in the shape of manifold suffering, and even distributing superfluous suffering around, the sight of which, for those who can see, is amongst the saddest aspects of the whole drama. But no less certain than the fact that ignorance and stupidity give rise to suffering, is the ultimate prospect of its amelioration in the days to come when wisdom and enlightenment shall reign.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE VERBOSITY OF THE LAW.

EVERY Englishman appreciates,—smiling a little bitterly, perhaps,—Disraeli's gibe concerning the law:—"It is hard to get on, harder to get honour, and hardest to get honest." The danger is that the laugh serves to hinder the due appreciation of the fact that, as things stand at present, the law is administered largely in the interests of the two branches of the legal profession. Let us confine our attention for the moment to one illustration of this melancholy state of things—the manner in which custom has sanctioned the extravagant verbosity of legal documents—the effect of which is not merely to inflate bills of costs to quite an unnecessary extent, but also to disguise, in some cases, the intention of the persons interested, so as actually to defeat the purposes they were endeavouring to carry out.

Lying before us as we write is a volume of some fifty folio pages, resplendent in a cover of official blue. It contains the Memorandum and Articles of Association of a small limited liability company. The subscribed capital is fixed at the modest sum of £3,000. No one could possibly guess the fact from the volume itself, but we happen to know that the company came into being for the sole purpose of placing a preparation of meat extract upon the market. It will scarcely be credited that the clause enumerating the objects of the company is divided into forty-three sub-sections. All could have been expressed in some such sentence as this:—"To carry on the business of meat extract manufacturers and vendors, either wholesale or retail, and of manufacturers of all other things used in connection with the sale

and distribution of meat extracts," to which might have been added the only sub-section in the original memorandum to which not the slightest exception can be raised:—"and to pay dividends in specie." The imagination of the company's solicitors, however, refused to be hampered by the narrow horizon established by this modest aim and the still more limited paid-up capital. They boldly included among the objects for which the company was established the following:—

"To acquire by purchase or otherwise estancias, ranches and sheep farms, to carry on the trades or businesses of cattle rearers and sheep farmers, fellmongering, tanning, and warehousing generally; to erect and build abattoirs and freezing houses. To purchase, charter, hire, build or otherwise acquire, steam and other ships or vessels and to employ the same in the conveyance of passengers, mails and merchandise of all kinds, and to carry on the business of ship owners, barge owners, and lightermen in all its branches."

Truly the uses to which a capital of £3,000 can be put are inexhaustible. Other clauses in the memorandum claim powers for the company to carry on the business of stock and share brokers, to act as ironfounders, mechanical engineers and manufacturers of agricultural implements. They also anticipate the possibility of its clients requiring "To take concessions of or to lease railways, tramways and other undertakings, whether British or foreign, and to construct, contract for, carry out, equip, improve, administer, manage or control railways, tramways, docks, harbours, piers, wharves, canals, reservoirs, embankments, hotels and public buildings, and all other works of public utility, British and foreign." But perhaps the most charming sub-section of all runs as follows: "To provide for the welfare of persons in the employment of the company or formerly in their employment, and the widows and children of such persons and others dependent upon them, by granting money or pensions, providing schools, reading-rooms, houses, places of recreation or otherwise as the company think fit." Faced by such a plethora of words, is not the layman justified in asking whether it is not time to appeal against the practises of a profession "inebriated with the exuberance of its own verbosity."

But it may be objected that, however absurd this verbal redundancy may seem, at any rate every contingency is provided for. Let us see how it works when the Englishman sits down, with the aid of his solicitor, to construct his last will and testament. The task is an unfamiliar one. He does not feel inclined to risk the testamentary barque for the sake of a ha'porth of legal tar. "Anything to avoid litigation." And so, instead of a few business-like phrases such as any man would use in the conduct of every-day affairs, he subscribes his name to the flowing periods of the solicitor-made will. Not a few cases could be quoted to shew that excessive verbiage, and efforts to anticipate every eventuality, may result in a total reversal of the evident intentions of the testator. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind is furnished by the will of Mr. Brown, the founder of the well-known home for animals, known as the Brown Animal Sanatory Institution, London. Mr. Brown's will is dated 1851, before scientific research by vivisectional methods became general. It runs into thousands of words. "Every contingency appears to have been provided for." We shall see how far the plain wishes of the maker of the will have been followed. Mr. Brown was throughout life a lover of animals, and left his fortune, some £20,000, for the following purpose:—"The founding, establishing, and upholding an Institution for investigating, studying, and without charge, beyond immediate expenses, endeavouring to cure maladies, distempers and injuries, any quadrupeds or birds useful to man may be found subject to;" and, continued the testator "I further desire that kindness to the animals committed to its charge shall be a general principle of the Institution to be founded." Nothing could well be clearer. The desire to alleviate the sufferings of animals appears in every line of the will, as it appeared in every act of Mr. Brown's life. Finally, to make matters absolutely secure, the University of London was chosen to carry out the scheme. Yet, despite all these precautions, the Brown Institution is to-day one of the centres of vivisectional research in this country. The Home Secretary has granted the Institute no fewer than eight licenses. Even on the assumption, which many experts deny, that vivisectional experiments may forward the interests of man, their most energetic champions

will scarcely claim that the operating knife and table are conducive to the happiness and well-being of the normal and healthy domestic pet. There can be no doubt about the facts in this case. Indeed, a clause in Mr. Brown's will actually provides that if the provisions are not strictly carried out, all monies shall pass to Trinity College, Dublin. As long ago as 1887 a substantial sum of money was deposited to cover costs, and efforts were made to commence an action, whereby the control of the Brown Trust should be transferred from the University of London to Trinity College, Dublin. Unfortunately the permission of the Attorney-General, in whose name an action against such a Corporation as the University of London must be taken, had to be obtained first. Adopting the strict letter of the will, and ignoring its spirit, the present Lord Chief Justice, then Sir Richard Webster, declined to permit his name to be used. He apparently held that the inclusion of the words "scientific investigation of disease in animals" among the objects of the Institution, justified the authorities in acting as they chose. In other words, the mass of verbiage has resulted in an Institution, the guiding principle of which was to be "kindness to animals," being used for purposes the founder cannot have contemplated, and would, most certainly, have regarded with horror.

But the business which brings an Englishman most continually to his solicitor's office is neither the flotation of public companies nor the making of wills. It is the conveyance of land. Men have been buying and selling land in these islands for a thousand years. It might be supposed that solicitors could at least arrange for its transfer with certainty and expedition. It is, however, common knowledge that the reverse is the case. The complications are innumerable. Even the solicitors themselves do not profess to be able to unravel the mysteries surrounding any except the simplest cases, and the task is handed over to another specially trained class — the conveyancing barristers. The title-deeds of the smallest estate frequently cover yards of space. The examination of the title to the possession of a piece of ground is equally elaborate. Deeds have to be examined, marriage certificates, heirships, wills, mortgages, have to be

scrutinized. These documents are not necessarily in any one place; they may be, and frequently are, hidden away in disused drawers and safes. The solicitor can certainly plead that he does plenty of work for the fees he extracts from his unfortunate client. But the question still remains, is the work necessary? The answer must be an emphatic, No!

It would be unreasonable to expect property in land to be conveyed with the same facility that, say, a shipload of wheat or a block of share certificates can change hands, but is it not equally unreasonable to suggest, as solicitors do, that the present state of affairs is as satisfactory a one as can be devised? If the whole profession honestly desired the maximum of simplicity, the present system of land transfer would not be tolerated for a session. Outside the ranks of the solicitors, the gross absurdity of the complications surrounding the methods of land transfer have been realised for centuries. Even the barristers agree that reform is necessary, and it is noteworthy that the most ardent advocate of change in these days is no less a legal luminary than the Lord Chancellor. Solicitors sneer at him as "no conveyancer," but he has certainly championed the only scheme that has the possibilities of ultimate success in it. Lord Halsbury aims at the establishment of a system of Land Registration such as prevails in Germany and the Australasian Colonies. To quote his own words: "A register of title to all real property is essential to the success of any attempts to simplify the system of conveyancing." As the Lord Chancellor points out, it is not necessary to re-investigate at each dealing with land, and to begin again the work that has been done at great expense a dozen times before. Instead of the old system, whereby each new transfer of land, however minute, involves a fresh investigation into the legal history of the whole property, Lord Halsbury suggests that a reference to the registry should be sufficient to assure the purchaser of land that his title is a good one. When the simplicity of Lord Halsbury's scheme is realised, any man unhampered by professional prejudices will ask why it has not been adopted years ago?

The general system of Land Registration entails the keeping of a Register, consisting of a map of the separate estates, the

names of the persons who can dispose of each, and the encumbrances in order of priority. A "land certificate" is issued to the landowner, containing copies of the register and the plan. In the event of a sale, the vendor produces this certificate, and a transfer, generally on a short printed form issued by the Registry, is prepared and exchanged for the purchase money. When a fresh transaction of this kind occurs the deeds are sent to the Registrar, and alterations and additions to the Register are made. If the estate is sold, the name of the vendor is cancelled and that of the purchaser substituted. If a part of the land only is sold, the original map is marked to shew the piece conveyed, and a new plan is made out, and a fresh register opened for the section which has been disposed of.

Does not an unfortunate owner of land in England, with the memory of past suffering at the hands of his solicitors, envy Germany and Australia the beautiful simplicity of this system? Will he not admit that the increased cost of the first transfer should be more than compensated for by the certainty of freedom from future trouble? Should he not demand a satisfactory answer to the question, "Why is not the Land Registration system satisfactorily established in England?" He will find it is not for lack of advocacy. An agitation with this object has been in progress for centuries. We recently came across a "Humble Proposal" for the establishment of a Land Registry, dated 1678. It prayed:—"That such Register may be bound to keep a large and substantial Book, of the best and strongest sort of Paper, for the entering all Estates, Titles and Incumbrances, in such manner as the party concerned shall direct under his Hand and Seal, testified by two witnesses, to be filed by the Register for his Warrant in so doing."

And again:—"That an office for the Registry may be erected within the Cities of London and Westminster, and in every County of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and in the Isle of Wight and other such like places, to be constantly kept in some certain place within such Cities or Counties."

During the latter part of last century various acts were passed tending to facilitate the proof of title and the conveyance

of real estates—notably that of Lord Cairns—but it was not until 1897 that Lord Halsbury was able to establish a Land Register on the Australian pattern in London. The Bill provided that the system could be extended throughout the country on the initiative of the County Councils, but, as an experiment, the County of London was persuaded to test the scheme for three years. In July, 1898, an Order in Council declared that Registration of Title to land was compulsory on sale, and by 1902 even the City of London suffered itself to be included. £250,000 has been spent on a Registry Office. All types of property have been registered, 46,236 properties being dealt with in 1899, 1900, 1901 and 1902, of a value of upwards £50,000,000.

It would, however, be idle to pretend that the experiment has been an entire success, and at the present moment a strong agitation is afoot, demanding an enquiry into the working of the system. So far it has certainly added to the cost of conveyancing, and little real security has been offered to owners or purchasers. This arises from the fact that the Act permitted the registration of “possessory” titles. These take no account of prior encumbrances, and, consequently, anyone is registered as the owner of an unencumbered fee simple, even if a mortgage upon the property is already in existence. A “possessory” title, in fact, conveys no guarantee, and cannot be of value for many years. Out of 46,236 titles dealt with, only 76 are registered as “absolute.” The authorities, of course, realise the limitation thus placed upon the value of the Act. A recent proposal of the Registrar is that “possessory” titles should become absolute after a lapse of two years, and Lord Halsbury has agreed to the principle, with the stipulation that the period be increased to six years. Whether it will be safe for the State to practically guarantee the correctness of the Registry after so short a time is doubtful. It is, however, to be hoped that should an investigation be granted, the Commission will not be misled by the comparative failure of the scheme. Above all, it is essential that it should not adopt the view of the solicitors, who claim that it is impossible to invent a registration system sufficiently elastic to be workable in this country. It must rather remember that these are the croakings

of interested parties, and bear in mind the words of Lord Halsbury upon the subject that :—

“The efforts of Parliament and a consensus of the most eminent lawyers for generations have been rendered nugatory by the efforts of a comparatively small class, to preserve an endless source of profitable employment for themselves.”

Certainly no one solicitor can be held responsible for his share of the general scandal. The views we have put forward are in no sense an attack upon any solicitor in particular. The individual swims with the current, and cannot reasonably be expected to do otherwise. The root of the difficulty lies much deeper. The individual solicitor is a member of a caste, and has been brought up to regard the interests of his profession as paramount. It is contrary to all the interests of such a caste that its methods should have that crystal clearness which common sense demands. As a caste the profession derives its importance from the very fact that it holds the key to knowledge denied to the ordinary man. True legal reform, then, will begin when a man who is neither judge, nor barrister, nor solicitor grapples with the problem. One of the first aims of such a patriot will be to make the language of the law as clear and concise as the language of every-day business. This, in itself, will make law cases less frequent, shorter, and less costly. If, in addition, he secures that the methods of legal practice shall be equally simplified, one man will have earned the right to inscribe upon his tomb Lord Brougham's great eulogium :—

“He found law dear and left it cheap ; found it a sealed book and left it a living letter ; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor ; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence.”

E. H. SHORT.

OUR SOMALILAND FIASCO.

FROM recent telegrams it would appear that our troubles with the Mullah Muhammad bin Abdullah, or "the Mad Mullah" as he has been called, in Somaliland, are not at an end. For some years we have been at war with him, vainly attempting to hunt him down in the trackless deserts of the "eastern horn" of Africa, and the operations do not redound to the credit of the Foreign Office, by which the Somali Coast Protectorate has been administered during the last six years. The inconclusive little war has been accompanied by a vacillation which has prevented it from achieving any definite end. More than once it has been announced that the campaign was to be concluded only with the death or capture of the Mullah, but the latter is still at large. He has not sought the conflict. On the contrary, he seems rather to have desired to avoid any relations with us. But we had assumed a "Protectorate" over his people, and although we had done nothing to make that Protectorate effective, we expected him to regard it as binding on his side.

Previous to 1898 the country—or rather that portion of it immediately contiguous to the seaports—was administered from India, through an Indian political officer at Aden. The "Protectorate" dates from the withdrawal of the Egyptians from this coast in 1884, in which year Great Britain occupied Zeila, Bulhar and Berbera; and by an Order in Council, dated December 19th, 1889, a Protectorate was proclaimed over the coast extending from Ras Jibuti, at the mouth of the Gulf of Tajura, to Bandar Ziyada. Conventions were concluded with France, Italy and

Abyssinia, by which lines were drawn on the map to separate the British Protectorate from the spheres of influence of those countries.

It must not, of course, be supposed that these conventions gave the respective Powers any rights which were not previously possessed; they were rather in the nature of self-denying ordinances, and merely amounted to an undertaking that each Power would not interfere in the sphere of influence claimed by the other. Any real rights over the tribes and countries could only be obtained by conquest or treaties with the peoples immediately concerned. Treaties were made in 1885 with the Isa, Gadabursi and Habr Awal, tribes in more immediate proximity to the coast, but no effort seems to have been made to extend British influence or responsibility over those further in the interior. It was only considered desirable by the Indian Government to assume control over the commercial outlets. Somaliland was regarded merely as a feeding-ground for the British garrison at Aden, which could thence obtain a plentiful supply of camels and other necessities.

Under the Indian administration friendly relations were maintained with the tribes. Major H. G. C. Swayne, R.E., in his "Seventeen Trips through Somaliland"—a work which has passed through three editions, and is still the best work on the country—relates many instances of the friendliness entertained for the British by the various tribes of the Somali, even as far away as the Webbi Shebeyli, where no Englishman had previously been seen. They looked to the English, he says, as their natural protectors and arbitrators, and in the coast district, or Guban, quarrels and raids had practically ceased, owing to British influence. This was whilst the Coast was still administered by the Indian Government.

Towards the end of 1898, however, the Protectorate was transferred to the direct control of the Foreign Office, and Lieutenant-Colonel James Hayes Sadler, who in the previous year had been appointed consul for the district, became Consul-General. It was not many months before the first rumblings of the storm were heard. In a despatch from Berbera to the Marquis of Salisbury, on April 12th, 1899, Col. Sadler wrote:—

"On my return from Zeyla in the middle of last month I

found conflicting reports current in Berbera regarding the doings of a Mullah, by name Haji Muhammad Abdullah, in the Dolbahanta country, who, it was said, was collecting arms and men with a view to establishing his authority over the south-eastern portion of the Protectorate. It was also freely rumoured that it was his ultimate object, should he find himself strong enough, to head a religious expedition against the Abyssinians."

This Haji Muhammad Abdullah belongs to the Habr Suleiman section of the Ogaden tribe in the South-west of the Somali country, and had married into the Ali Gheri, one of the Dolbahanta tribes further eastward, towards the Indian ocean, among whom he then lived. Marrying into another tribe seems to be a custom to which the Somalis are prone, doubtless on account of their fighting proclivities; not only does it bring fresh blood into a tribe, but it has the additional advantage of extending diplomatic relations. In case of hostilities a man who has married into a tribe is tolerably safe in its territory, and can take shelter there if a fugitive from his own people. Neither the Ogaden nor the Dolbahanta tribe had, up to that time, come into the purview of the British administration, or had any treaty relations with it. Whilst the Dolbahanta appeared on the map as within the British sphere, the Ogaden country had been assigned to the Emperor Menelik by the treaty of 1897.

Haji Muhammad was described by Consul-General Sadler as a man in the prime of life (according to another authority he was then only about 31 years of age), and in person as dark-coloured, tall and thin, with a small goat's beard. He had made four pilgrimages to Mecca, the first when he was only 20 years old, and had attached himself there to the Sheikh Muhammad Salih, supreme Chief of the mysterious confraternity called Tariqa Mahadia, who was so much impressed with him that he kept him by his side and regarded him as his favourite pupil. When the Haji returned to his own country he claimed to be the deputy in Somaliland of Muhammad Salih's sect. This sect preached more regularity in the hour of prayer, stricter attention to the forms of religion, and the interdiction of *kat*—a leaf the Arabs and coast Somalis are much addicted to chewing on account of its strengthening and intoxicating properties.

Muhammad Abdullah had acquired considerable influence over the Habr Toljaala and Dolbahanta tribes, "but hitherto," added Colonel Sadler, "it had always been thought that this influence had been exerted for good; he settled disputes amongst the tribes in his vicinity, kept them from raiding each other, and was generally thought to be on the side of law and order. Several communications had passed between him and the Vice-Consul [at] Berbera, all written in proper terms, and three months ago he sent a prisoner into Berbera, against whom a complaint had been laid of robbery and violence in the interior." All this does not seem to accord with the "madness" with which it soon suited some to credit him. Colonel Sadler quickly came to the conclusion—though he gave no evidence in support of it—that the Haji was at that time (April, 1899) "organizing a religious movement antagonistic to the [British] administration"; and, whilst acknowledging the difficulty of getting accurate information regarding his doings and future intentions, confessedly based his conclusions on hearsay reports.

In these reports, be it noted, there is no evidence of any hostile intentions towards the British administration, which, as a matter of fact, had not hitherto interfered in the affairs of the Dolbahanta country, owing to its distance from the coast. The country had not often been visited by Europeans. The people belong to the Darud group, quite distinct from the more northerly Ishak group of tribes, and occupy the country about the Nogal Valley and to the east of Bohotlé. But the line drawn on the map in the agreements with Italy and Abyssinia brought the Dolbahanta country into the British "Protectorate," and though we had not hitherto exerted our influence there, Consul-General Sadler could not "tolerate such a state of affairs as would follow the establishment of this Mullah's rule." Though it would be a difficult business to seize or disarm him, he suggested that a military promenade should be made through the country to impress the natives with the British power. He prohibited caravans from going to the eastern provinces, and arrested a caravan loaded with provisions for the Mullah's camp, as well as the Arab merchant who had despatched the caravan.

Could it be wondered that such conduct incensed the Mullah

against the English and against tribes who were allied with us? A month or so later Sadler reported that the Mullah had declared himself Mahdi, and had looted the eastern sections of the Habr Yunis tribe in the plains south-west of Burao. These Habr Yunis belong to the Ishak group of tribes under British protection, and the raid was therefore regarded as an act of hostility to the British Government. Sultan Nur, with a portion of the Habr Yunis, was actively supporting the Mullah, but some of the elders, saying that they were dependent on Berbera for their supplies, endeavoured to keep clear of complications, and Abdullah, no doubt, took this way to bring them to book as well as to provide his followers with the food which the British administrators would not let him otherwise obtain.

It is questionable whether it was intended that our Protectorate should involve us in protecting one tribe against another; it was rather directed against European powers. Col. Sadler, however, took a different view, telegraphed to Lord Salisbury that the employment of troops was absolutely necessary, and that the Mullah must be dislodged from Burao and a post established there. He appears to have sent to the Mullah to demand from him the surrender of his arms, for on September 1st he received the following letter from the Mullah:—

“This is to inform you that you have done whatever you have desired, and oppressed our well-known religion without any cause. Further, to inform you that whatever people bring to you they are liars and slanderers. Further, to inform you that Mahomed, your akil, came to ask from us the arms; we, therefore, send you this letter. Now choose for yourself, if you want war we accept it, if you want peace pay the fine. This and salaam.”

As answer to this, Colonel Sadler “proclaimed the Mullah a rebel, and warned all persons by proclamation in the bazaar that all those affording him any assistance and holding any communication with him would be severely punished.” Abdullah, however, had no desire to join issue with the British, and withdrew with his Dolbahanta horsemen to Bohotlé. Turning his attention to the Ogaden tribes to the south-west, which were entirely outside the British Protectorate, he tried to induce them to join him. He was here coming back among his own people. Some of the

Ogaden had been with him from the first, and now more joined his cause, and, his own supplies being cut off by British action, united with his followers in looting Ishak caravans for provisions.

For some years previously the Abyssinians had been particularly aggressive in this direction. Menelik, then King of Shoa, had conquered Harar in January, 1887. Harar had previously been an effective little "buffer State" against Abyssinian encroachments, but it now became a centre from which to carry raids into the Somali country. Whilst the French allowed the Abyssinians to import rifles by scores of thousands, the Somalis were prohibited from obtaining any arms through the British ports. Indeed, the Ogaden made it a grievance against us when Major Swayne visited their country in 1893, that we neither protected them against the Abyssinians, nor enabled them to protect themselves by the importation of arms. They suffered severely from the Abyssinian raids, but did not submit without a struggle.

In November, 1899, an Abyssinian force of 6,000 men, under Dejasmatch Biratu, nephew of Ras Makonen, left Harar with the avowed object of punishing the Rer Ali, Rer Harun and Rer Ughaz divisions of the Ogaden tribe, and of operating against the Mullah should he be in Abyssinian territory. When Muhammad came to them, therefore, it was not unnatural that the Ogaden should look to him as a saviour against their oppressors, and that the whole tribe joined his cause. In February, 1900, another army of 1,200 men, under Garazmatch Banté, Acting-Governor of Harar, started against the Mullah, raided the Rer Ali, and devastated the country to the south-east of Jig Jiga. The Mullah now incited his followers to advance against the Abyssinians, saying that their rifles were harmless against him, and that he would defeat them with spears and bows and arrows only. Leaving 1,000 men with his guns and most of his ponies in zareba at Harradiggit, he sent on 6,000 spearmen, who on March 19th attacked the Abyssinians at Daghabur, recaptured all the cows, sheep, &c., which had been looted, and, although they had not a single rifle, even penetrated the zareba ; but they were eventually beaten off with a loss of 2,650 men.

Menelik had in October, 1899, sent a message to Colonel Sadler offering to co-operate against the Mullah. He now renewed

this offer through Captain Harrington, the British representative in Abyssinia. But the Government was preoccupied with the war in South Africa and did not at that time want to embark in another war in East Africa. So nothing was done until January, 1901, when Colonel Harrington arranged with Menelik for a combined attack to be made on the Mullah. Lieut.-Colonel E. J. E. Swayne raised a levy of the coast Somalis, consisting of 1,500 men—1,000 infantry, 400 horsemen, and 100 camel sowars—all armed with rifles, and advanced from Berbera, whilst a force of Abyssinians, which eventually reached 15,000 men, was sent from Jig Jiga to Gerlogubi, on the western edge of the Haud, with orders to block that side of the country and prevent the Mullah from combining with the Ogaden tribes. Major the Hon. A. Hanbury-Tracy, with Captain R. P. Cobbold, accompanied this force, and his report was published in a Parliamentary Paper (Africa No. 3, 1902). The Abyssinians met with considerable difficulties on account of want of water, but severely punished the Rer Ibrahim tribe, and caused the Mullah to retire again to Bohotlé. The Abyssinians pursued their usual custom of raiding the country in every direction, even looting a quantity of livestock from the Rer Ughaz, a friendly tribe which had for some years paid tribute to the Ras. The country was denuded of people, who fled in terror at the approach of the Abyssinians.

Meanwhile Colonel Swayne established an advanced base at Burao (April, 1901), and, dividing his force into two columns, advanced with the bulk of the mounted troops and about two-thirds of the infantry. The Mullah's stockaded village and former headquarters at Kob Fardod was burnt, some karias of the Jama. Siad tribe, which were powerful supporters of the Mullah, were surprised, and about 3,500 camels, some cattle, and a vast quantity of sheep were captured. To secure these a strong zareba was constructed at Samali, or Sanala, and left in charge of Captain Malcolm McNeill, whilst Swayne pushed on southwards towards Bohotlé in search of the Mullah.

To recover the live stock the Mullah, eluding the advance column under Col. Swayne, fell upon the zariba at Sanala, on June 2nd, with about 500 horse and 1,500 foot. Capt. McNeill's force consisted of slightly under 500 men, of whom, including 20

Punjabi sepoy, 370 were armed with rifles; the rest were Somali spearmen and horsemen. The attacks were successfully repulsed, as was another attack by a largely increased force on the following day. This time the assailants are said to have numbered 5,000, of whom 80 or 100 were armed with rifles. They were finally repulsed and driven off with a loss of from 400 to 500, leaving 141 dead outside the zariba. In retreating to his headquarters at Ano Hadiglé the Mullah had to pass through Odogol, where Swayne's column had now cut him off from his base. Swayne fell upon his scattered force, and the retreat was converted into a rout. Having continual change of horses the Mullah was able to escape with great difficulty after a pursuit carried on night and day for 150 miles from McNeill's zariba. His scattered forces, utterly demoralized and abandoning articles everywhere in the bush, did not stop until they had crossed the waterless Haud desert, many dying of thirst on the way, and many prisoners falling into the hands of the English. The Mullah took refuge at Mudug, with Othman Mahmud, Sultan of the Mijjertain, where he was in the portion of Somaliland regarded as in the Italian sphere. After this decisive action the Dolbahanta saw the wisdom of making their submission to the victors, and the united columns started to punish the Ali Gheri and Arasama tribes. Over 30,000 camels, 1,000 cattle, and 30,000 sheep were captured, and presently, owing to our holding the only watering places on the north of the Haud, the tribes came in and surrendered unconditionally.

The Mullah attempted to come northward again, but Swayne attacked him at Firdiddin, on July 17th, and drove him back into Italian territory with considerable loss, including a number of his relatives. His Dervishes here, as at McNeill's zariba, fought with great bravery; after the others had fled a number of them remained behind to fight to the end, and were shot down as the British advanced. The pursuit was carried on into the bush of the Haud till the enemy scattered in all directions. The Mullah with a small party fled for three days into the bush, many of his men dying of thirst and abandoning livestock on the way.

Col. Swayne had before this received orders from the Foreign Office to cease the operations and return, and although he was strongly of opinion that by remaining he would obtain the

adhesion of the tribes and so deprive the Mullah of his support, he had no option but to withdraw his force to the coast. From a military point of view the campaign was a successful one; the Somalis had proved apt soldiers, and had accomplished much in a difficult and waterless country. But there seems to have been considerable bungling in its organisation by the Foreign Office, and Capt. McNeill tells us in his book, "In Pursuit of the 'Mad' Mullah," how stores and officers were mis-sent to Jubaland, and the force left without medical men. The Government decided to withdraw from the occupation of Burao, in spite of the strong recommendation of Cols. Sadler and Swayne, so that all authority was withdrawn from the interior, and the country was left to the Mullah to consolidate his forces again.

He was not long in profiting by this opportunity. He had succeeded in importing a supply of rifles and ammunition, and in December a number of his mounted riflemen raided the native villages within 30 miles of Burao, announcing that he would punish the tribes which had assisted the English, and would drive the latter out of the country. Accordingly the Foreign Office cast off its cold fit; Lieut.-Colonel Swayne was again sent out with a number of other officers, the native levies were again raised and concentrated at Burao, and a patrol of the coast was organised to prevent the importation of arms. Advancing from Burao in May, 1902, with 2,400 men, Swayne established a fortified post at Bohotlé, and drove the Mullah from Damot into the waterless Haud. He aimed at clearing the eastern Nogal Valley before attempting to follow up the Mullah, and inflicted defeats on parties of the enemy, killing several and capturing large numbers of camels and sheep. In September the force marched south-westward to the Haud country, where it captured 3,000 camels and 10,000 sheep, still, however, without meeting the Mullah. Pushing on towards Mudug, the force was attacked on October 6th, at Erigo, and although the enemy was driven off, the fight proved a disaster to the British force, for Major Phillips, Captain Angus, 56 of the levies and 43 transport spearmen were killed, and 84 wounded. The Somali levies were so demoralised that they would no longer face the enemy, and Colonel Swayne had, therefore, to retire to Bohotlé and telegraph for reinforcements.

Reinforcements were sent out, bringing the force available up to 4,920 men, and General W. H. Manning, Inspector-General of the King's African Rifles, was placed in command. The Mullah, meanwhile, advanced his outposts to within a few miles of Bohotlé, following the British force at a distance of only a day's march, daily occupying the camp vacated by the retiring column, and hovering upon the rear of the retreat throughout the march. At Bohotlé there was an entrenched stone fort, where the little force could await the new arrivals in safety. The Mullah halted near by, and his spies and scouts made daily reconnaissances of the position of the garrison. He did not, however, oppose General Manning, who reached Bohotlé with the relieving column on November 17th.

The loss of the Bohotlé wells was a serious deprivation to the Mullah and his people, and he wrote suggesting the necessity of peace, demanding the cession of a port on the northern coast, the recognition of his sphere of influence, and the removal of the restrictions on the importation of rifles. The answer to this was to make preparations for a more extended campaign, and again to enlist the joint action of the Emperor Menelik. Whilst the troops of the latter prevented the Mullah from going westwards to the Ogaden country, it was proposed to close him in by columns operating from Bohotlé on the north and from the Italian Somali Coast on the south. With the permission of the Italian Government, Obbia was selected for the disembarkation of the southern column; but it proved a most unsuitable place, resulting in a loss of vessels and stores, and a great shortage of supplies and transports to the troops. Difficulties, too, were experienced with Yusuf Ali, Sultan of Obbia, whose obstructive attitude resulted in his being deported to Aden.

The Mullah, placed in great straits for want of water, moved a number of his men south-westwards to the Webbe Shebeyli. Here they were driven back by the Abyssinians, and suffered, it is alleged, a loss of 1,000. Meanwhile General Manning advanced from Obbia with a flying column on Galkayu Wells, in the Mudug district, which he occupied on March 3rd, 1903. The Mullah immediately retreated to Galadi, some 80 miles to the west, where there was water and good grazing. His force was now reduced,

owing, it is said, to his severe treatment of his followers, and also, doubtless, to his adversity, to less than 5,000 spearmen, and 2,000 to 3,000 horsemen. From the north Major Gough pushed forward and occupied Damot, and on March 13th communication was established between the Obbia and Bohotlé flying columns. Engagements were fought with parties of the enemy, and large captures of camels and sheep made. Then, on March 31st, Galadi was occupied after a sharp skirmish with a small force of the Mullah's men, the Mullah himself retreating again westward to Walwal. Colonel Plunkett, with 300 Yaos (King's African Rifles), pushed forward towards Walwal and defeated a body of the enemy, killing 30 and capturing 600 camels and 5,000 sheep; and two days later Colonel Cobbe surprised and dispersed a large party, capturing 1,500 camels and 6,000 sheep. On April 17th, however, Plunkett's little force was attacked at Gumburru, 40 miles west of Galadi, and practically annihilated. It appears that Colonel Plunkett had been sent to support a small reconnoitering party on the road to Walwal, and, having joined it, had, contrary to instructions, pushed on still further to the westward. In so doing, he got surrounded by an overwhelming force of the enemy, estimated at about 2,000 horsemen and 10,000 spearmen. A brave fight was kept up until all the ammunition was expended; then his little column charged with the bayonet and fought until all the officers and 170 men were killed. Only 41 of the Yaos returned to camp, most of whom were wounded. Both the Maxims were captured by the enemy, whose losses were enormous, estimated at 2,000. In consequence of this check, General Manning decided to concentrate his scattered columns at Galadi, and on the news of the reverse being received at home, orders were sent him by the Government to retire to Bohotlé. The Mullah was now in a much more powerful position than before, and had largely increased his force, which was believed to consist of 2,000 to 3,000 well-armed mounted men and 80,000 spearmen. In addition to the Dolbahanta, Mijjertain and Ogaden Somalis, he had enlisted under his banner some Gallas, and about 2,000 Adoné negroes from the Webbe Shebeyli.

To the westward the Abyssinians had been active, though contending with enormous difficulties, on account of the waterless

nature of the country. A force of 5,000 men, armed with Remington rifles, under Fitaurari Gabri, marched down the Webbe Shebeyli, and, in March, reached Bari, finding the country deserted. Leaving the river in the direction of Gerloguby, an important caravan centre commanding the routes to Bohotlé, Mudug and Obbia, it was attacked on April 15th by 1,100 Dervishes of the Hawiya and Rer Hassan tribes, but repulsed them after a gallant fight with a loss of 300 killed, the Abyssinian casualties being 21 killed and 10 wounded. The Abyssinians then moved on Gerloguby, and on May 31, by a series of forced marches, surprised a party of the Mullah's Baggari horse and spearmen at Jeyd, where they had gone for water, and put them to flight. The Mullah's uncle and 1,000 spearmen were reported killed, and the live stock, including 1,000 camels, captured.

Pressed thus on the west, the Mullah, with all his force—estimated now at 6,000 to 7,000 mounted infantry—and live stock, executed a flank march under cover of raids and destruction of telegraph wires, in the direction of the Nogal valley, passing between Bohotlé and Damot about a week before General Manning's force had got back to those places. In the Nogal valley he was in the country of his chief supporters, the Dolbahanta; from this direction, from the north coast at Bosaso, and the east coast at Illig (both in the Italian sphere), he had been importing supplies of rifles.

The attempt to bottle up the Mullah between the Bohotlé and Obbia columns on the one hand and the Abyssinians on the other, had thus entirely failed. Even apart from the disaster to Colonel Plunkett's column, it is very questionable whether General Manning could have prevented him from taking the more northerly route across the Haud desert. In these trackless wastes he and his people are quite at home, and with their knowledge of the district and the whereabouts of the water-holes, can easily cover from 40 to 60 miles a day on their camels. In a communication sent by him during his retreat to the Nogal Valley, after referring to the heavy losses sustained by both sides, he expressed a wish for peace, and offered to exchange the Maxims in his possession for ammunition. A few months later, too, he sent a Mission to Ras Makonen at Harar, declaring that he wanted peace with the

Abyssinians, adding that there had been too much bloodshed between his people and the British for peace to be possible between them. In order to obtain supplies he endeavoured to secure a footing on the coast, and to this end despatched a body of his followers to take possession of Illig, which was, however, recaptured by the English on April 21st, 1904.

By December, our forces were sufficiently strengthened to resume activity. On the 18th a reconnoitering column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kenna, surprised 2,000 Dervishes at Jidballi, north-east of Bohotlé, inflicting a loss of 80 killed and 100 wounded. And on January 10th, 1904, Major-General Sir C. Egerton, who was now in supreme command, with 2,200 regulars and 1,000 irregulars, advanced to Jidballi, which was held by about 5,000 Dervishes, and drove them off, pursuing them for ten miles. The Dervish killed were estimated at 1,200; 215 prisoners were taken, also 350 rifles. The British loss was 3 officers killed, 9 wounded; and 31 rank and file killed and wounded. The Mullah did not take part in the engagement. A week later Colonel Kenna surprised a detached party of Ali Gheri on their way from the southern Haud to join the Mullah, killing 50 of them and capturing 3,000 camels and several thousand sheep. The Mullah now retreated still further northward, to the Sol valley, within about 70 miles of the Gulf of Aden, and just within the British border. This place does not appear ever to have been visited by Englishmen. He then crossed the unsurveyed and unmarked frontier to Baran, 45 miles south of Bosaso, in Italian territory. This disappearance of the Mullah over the intangible line of the frontier, of which he knows nothing, was welcomed as the end of the campaign, and the troops were gradually withdrawn to the coast.

The Mullah was, however, reported to have still in his possession 3 Maxim guns, 370 Lee-Metfords (rapid and single), some 1,200 French rifles and guns of various sorts, and to be still receiving a regular supply of arms and ammunition from ports in Italian territory. According to the latest accounts, he is showing signs of activity again in the Nogal valley.

What is to be the end of this hunting of the Mullah—a Mullah as elusive and ubiquitous as De Wet or Osman Digna?

Are we to despatch another and a still larger and more costly force to follow him across the trackless wastes of East Africa, and add to the lives and the millions that have already been squandered there ? And all for what ? It has not been reported that there are gold and diamonds in those barren lands, as was the case in South Africa. All the wealth we have obtained there has been in the shape of livestock—camels, cattle and sheep—of which we have robbed the Somali nomads wholesale, inflicting untold suffering on them and their women and children, by depriving them of their means of subsistence, and keeping them from the scanty supplies of water which are to be found in that region. This war, or “military operations,” or whatever the Government may like to call it, has been carried on ostensibly for the purpose of protecting certain friendly tribes against other tribes which had attacked them. But why should we interfere in what were but internal quarrels among the Somalis ? The Parliamentary Papers show that the Mullah never sought any quarrel with us. We forced it on him, and by declaring him an enemy and a “rebel” caused the tribes to rally round him against foreigners of an alien religion. He himself has been called “mad” and his followers “fanatics,” because they have been defending their country and their religion. Why should we not now return to the policy which was followed before the Somali Coast Protectorate was transferred to the Foreign Office ? Whilst we may be justified in retaining control of the ports and sea coast, there can be no reason for our policing these deserts hundreds of miles in the interior, and forcing under our “Protectorate” tribes which have never sought it and do not want our interference. Any mischief which might have been done by the Mullah must have been infinitesimal in comparison with that which will result from these repeated campaigns.

FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF SHAKESPEARE.

QUITE independently of all current superstitions concerning the authorship of the Plays called "Shakepeare's", the popular estimate concerning the literary value of these works as a whole is very much misled by the enthusiasm prevailing with reference to the transcendent genius which some of them undoubtedly exhibit. It is true that even among orthodox Shakespearean critics some of the plays are regarded as of doubtful authenticity, and the unbiassed student, dealing with the evidence in an open-minded way, will find the task of deciding which of the plays really emanated from the central genius presiding over the series,—and which have somehow found their way into the canonical collection by strange accidents which we cannot now comprehend,—one of no small difficulty. Like the Bible, the complete volume of the Works of William Shakespeare has generally been held too sacred for honest critical analysis, and the honest, simple-minded reader of the book must sometimes be rather bewildered by finding himself called upon, by conventional traditions, to bow down before, and reverence considerable masses of writing which, if it were not for the hallmark implanted on them, he would hardly be inclined to regard with sentiments of admiration. How far it may be possible for future research to indicate plainly how much of the whole collection may fairly be assigned to the authorship identified with the really sublime passages of Hamlet, Othello, or Romeo and Juliet, is a question for which we can hardly yet forecast an answer. But meanwhile, there is another view of Shakespearean

writing which traditional sentiment on the subject tends generally to obscure. Shakespeare, meaning by that expression the author of the great plays, and leaving aside for the present all controversy concerning the personality which that name represents, bequeathed no model to English literature which would serve for the guidance of dramatists at a later date. Stilted and unnatural as they were, judged by the canons of modern taste, the early French dramatists nevertheless had an illustrious theatrical progeny,—Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Voltaire, La Harpe, Chenier, Beaumarchais, Piron, Lemercier, Victor Hugo, the two Dumas and a host of others that have appeared in Paris since 1830.

No corresponding procession of dramatic writers has trodden in the footsteps of Shakespeare. Can this result be in any way credited to the fact that later writers in England were led astray by the blaze of a genius, which, in fact, bequeathed to them no trustworthy model of dramatic composition.

Shakespeare in fact, however transcendent as a poet, exhibits glaring shortcomings as a dramatist. Digressions constantly interrupt the dramatic progress of his plays, the impulse to improve occasions by irrelevant moral dissertations, is continually apparent. At the beginning of the scene where Hamlet meets his father's ghost, he wanders off into a dissertation on the drunkenness of the Danish people. His hands red with blood, Macbeth dwells beautifully on the many-sided advantages of sleep. Romeo cannot dream of Rosalind without drifting into a metaphysical dissection of the contradictions involved in love. Othello suspends his over-powering anger to discuss the ebb and flow of the tides in the Pontic Sea, and the whole action of Cymbeline is interrupted in the 5th Act to show the astrological significance of the horoscope of Leonatus Posthumus. The irrelevance of these digressions is confessed by the excision of long passages from the acting editions of the plays. The heavy jokes of Polonius are too much for the modern theatre, and even the scene between Hamlet and the grave-diggers might well have shared in the revision bestowed upon the original version of Hamlet, which saw the light some years before the production of the play as we now have it. The earlier version was, indeed, little more than a blood-curdling melodrama not much better than Titus Andronicus, but the author, whom

we must call Shakespeare, clothed the original frame-work with exquisite and immortal poetry, though condescension to the groundlings is clearly perceptible in the melodramatic conclusion which constitutes the Fifth Act.

This falling off in the Fifth Act is observable in most of Shakespeare's plays with the exception of *Othello* and *Macbeth*. The interest in the *Merchant of Venice* ends with the fall of Shylock. In *Romeo and Juliet*, after the heroine takes the potion, the play simply limps along. The death of Queen Catherine, (but this is scarcely Shakespearean,) is an epilogue or anticlimax, the interest of Henry VIII. ceasing with the fall of Wolsey. But for the few lines over Cordelia's dead body, there is nothing in the 5th Act of *King Lear*. With the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius all the interesting action of *Julius Cæsar* terminates, and the duplicated immolation of the two great leaders is, as rendered, scarcely tragic. Antony and Cleopatra is an Act and an half too long, and the heroine, after her lover's demise, seems, like Charles II, an unconscionable time in dying. Worst of all she seems to make her death not the desire to follow her beloved Antony but simply to avoid Octavius' triumph. This robs the end of all its supreme glory.

Mr. Creighton in his volume on "Shakespeare's Story of his Life" dwells advisably on this point and plainly says that the *Merchant of Venice* was rewritten between its first production in 1594 and its publication in 1600. It is most probable that the earliest version was due to a collaborator, as the *Pecorone*, from which the story was so largely derived, was not translated from the Italian in 1594, and it is not easy to believe that Shakespeare read it in the original. This task of amending rough versions, being the providence that shaped the ends, whoever rough-hewed them, is so clear in Edward III (not always ascribed to the immortal bard) that Mr. Creighton falls in with the view that the first two acts are Shakespeare's at all events, though whether he was indebted in the other plays to so many other helpers as our latest critic believes, is a very moot point. Still it is well to have the claims of Marlowe and Southampton so well brought forward, though it must come as a surprise to many to think of Kyd as the principal collaborator.

The hand of one great controlling play-wright is visible in such a number of characters that one is driven to the belief that he who could exploit so many men of supreme ability must have had very high claims of his own. Mr. Creighton will have him typified in Prospero and gives some reasons more interesting than convincing, for thinking that in the various *dramatis personæ* of the Tempest, a very long list of Shakespeare's contemporaries may be easily traced. The abdication of his magic by the regal wizard—what is it but a presentment of Shakespeare's own surrender of London theatrical life? Add, too, that the Tempest, though written last, is put first in the collected edition, and there is in this fact a significance which speaks volumes for Mr. Creighton.

Now, however many helpers Shakespeare had in addition to those mentioned, there is one trait in which the animus of the revising author always peeps out. I refer to his persistent disparagement of the heroes of other countries. Achilles was the hero of ancient Greece, yet in Troilus and Cressida he is represented as somewhat of a fool, and almost an assassin in the way he got rid of Hector. Julius Cæsar was the hero of Rome, but in Shakespeare's play he cuts but a poor, pompous figure beside Brutus and Cassius. Joan of Arc was the heroine of France, and no epithets are too foul for her in Shakespeare's Henry VI. Owen Glendower, the last great chieftain of Wales, is held up to ridicule in Henry IV. Now this trait of persistent vilification of those whom other countries held in esteem, may be consistent with supreme intellectual powers, but speaks little for the elevation of the man's nature. And indeed, it must be conceded that Shakespeare always seemed to relish a descent into buffoonery and grossness. In the midst of some of his sublime tragedies, he will introduce the rankest garbage that was ever flung before the groundlings. Capable of the highest, he also loved to wallow in the lowest. In Romeo and Juliet dissertations of the finest poetry and philosophy are interlarded with a witless and indecent buffoonery that would not be tolerated at the lowest music halls in the East End. We will not quote specimens, for we cannot afford to do so having any regard to the canons of good taste. Now Mr. Creighton will have it, that these things did not proceed from Shakespeare, but from the original author whom he

endeavoured to improve upon. This may be an excuse, though a lame one, for the acted play, but it is no excuse for the folios in which they were given to the world in years long after.

Was it that Shakespeare deliberately descended here and there, or did the fault lie in the rough material he took up and partly polished into excellence? Was the verbiage of King Richard II. in the defective original,—the wordy fustian of Mowbray and Bolingbroke, and the punning speech of John of Gaunt about his own name, really the handiwork of Shakespeare himself? It suits lovers of Shakespeare to see in the utterances of Shakespeare's comic characters a very brilliant and effective wit, but compare the wit and humour of Sheridan's dialogue between the two Absolutes, father and son, with the blundering of Dogberry and Touchstone, or the really keen satire of the Critic, with the best witticisms of Benedick and Beatrice. There is more genuine humour in one scene of Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" than in the very forced fun of the Ass's head scene of the "Midsummer Night's Dream." Rosalind's chaff in "As you Like It" is laboured to a degree and is not nearly as keen as that of Lady Teazle in the "School for Scandal." And as to the comic scenes in the "Merchant of Venice," they are not a whit more taking than that of Helen and Modus in the "Hunchback," or that of Graves and Lady Franklin in Bulwer Lytton's "Money." As to the "Merry Wives of Windsor," well, Shakespeare wrote it and so let it pass for a play,—but in truth it is a farce of a low kind,—not better than the "Taming of the Shrew," which in its modern representation almost approaches pantomime. "Twelfth Night" has some taking lines, but its general humour is strained far more than the best scenes in Moliere's comedies.

As evidence of the defective wit and humour of Shakespeare's comic plays, we notice that, whereas some of his tragedies have received world-wide recognition, none of his comedies are included in continental repertoires. On the other hand, Moliere's comedies are acceptable all over the world wherever good acting prevails.

The Falstaff of Henry IV is perhaps an exception, and lusty Jack deserves the highest recognition. It is a pity he should ever have descended to the level of the poltroon in the "Merry Wives." Falstaff displays a ready wit in the historical play, and his jokes

do not strike one as so worked up and spun out as in the cases of Touchstone, Parolles and other forcible feeble clown characters.

To the Higher Criticism, whether dealing with theological or literary subjects, it appears more evident day by day, that much which has been assigned to individual writers is the work and output of many minds expressive of great currents of thought prevalent at certain epochs. And the notion held by many worshippers of Shakespeare that to him alone should all the genius found in the dramas be reverently ascribed is undermined by every new discovery. Mr. Lee in his latest work shows how wholesale was the appropriation of others' brains by Elizabethan authors, and of a truth, a Shakespeare was not much above the tricks of a Philip Sidney.

H. A. STACKE.

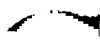
HELLENIC STUDIES IN ENGLAND.

THE twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies was held on July 5th, at Burlington House, under the presidency of Sir Richard Jebb, M.P. A report of the proceedings, as well as a leading article narrating the progress of the Society, appeared in *The Times* of the next day. But the full text of the address, which was delivered by Monsieur J. Gennadius, one of the original founders of the Society, may be of interest as giving a succinct sketch of the origin and utility of Hellenic Studies in England :—

“It is particularly gratifying to be able to address you on this occasion, celebrating, as we now are, a career of success such as we did not anticipate, and could hardly have hoped for, when more than twenty-five years ago (in the summer of 1877) the idea of this Society was conceived in the Chambers of the Greek Legation, in Pall Mall. The rapidity of its growth, the excellence of its work, its present vigour and wide activity, the position to which it has attained among learned bodies, have exceeded by far the expectations we then formed, and now justify our hopes for the future.

“This success is all the more notable as it synchronises with the recrudescence of efforts to circumscribe Greek studies in the university curriculum. And although such attempts are nothing new, having periodically recurred ever since the revival of letters, the attack is now reinforced by the prevalence of more alluring material considerations.

“Without entering upon this vexed question, I would merely draw your attention to the fact that the value of Hellenic studies,



the powerful influence which they exercise on civilisation, their practical necessity, no less than their captivating charm, have been amply demonstrated by the progress and prosperity of this Society. And I venture to hope that it is not the result of any egotism of mine, as a Greek, if to this I add the belief that its success is also due, in a measure, to the whole-hearted appreciation and support which we have received from Greeks everywhere, and from the Hellenic Government itself. But if we are now able to rejoice with just pride over the abundant harvest of twenty-five years' work, it is mainly because of our well-founded conviction, at the outset, that the most highly-cultured intellects in this country would be found eager to co-operate in the cultivation of Greek literature and archæology for their own sake.

"We did not stop to make the prudential inquiry whether it was likely to prove a materially profitable undertaking. On the contrary, several generous donors readily came to our assistance; and we, all of us, devoted our efforts to what is essentially a work of love. But more especially, I think I shall have all those who watched the progress of the Society with me in saying, that no one has given a more brilliant example of unremitting effort and unsparing labour than my valued friend Mr. Macmillan, with whom I had the pleasure of being associated from the very outset. Without his truly Hellenic enthusiasm our progress would have been but slow, if, indeed, we did not remain stationary.

"Well, then, we have some grounds for satisfaction with an undertaking, which, aiming at no material gain, has yielded such rich fruit. We believe that it has merited well of this great country, in which Greek learning—for its own sake, and for the inestimable moral and intellectual advantages it brings with it—has been held in high esteem for thirteen consecutive centuries; from the time when the great Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, first planted it on English soil, to this day, when we claim as our President one of the foremost interpreters of that learning in Europe.

"It may be affirmed without exaggeration that the spirit of freedom which has at all times inspired the Church in England, the conception of a liberty co-ordinate with law which runs through the political history of this country, the peculiar charm

of unaffected simplicity and unconscious grandeur which is so prominent in the best type of English literature—all this is due to the fact that your foremost Churchmen, and Statesmen, and men of letters, baptized, and purified, and qualified themselves for their great task in the invigorating and inspiring waters of Greek learning. They schooled themselves in that language which, in the grand words of Gibbon, “gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.” They grounded their political faith upon the history of a country in which the duties and rights of citizenship were first understood and practised. They formed their taste after the masterpieces of the human mind, which have been achieved once and for all time, never to be surpassed, hardly ever to be equalled. In one word, they imbued themselves with the culture of a people who first clearly conceived and defined that which constitutes a perfect gentleman—not a magnate, not a high functionary, not the titled, or the rich, or the powerful, but the *καλὸς κἀγαθός*.

“And they were careful to derive the full benefit of such search after perfection by going to the very source, by securing it at first hand and unalloyed. If demonstration were needed of the oft-repeated fallacy that all which is of any use or advantage in Greek may be had through translations, conclusive proof has lately been forthcoming from a quarter beyond doubt—from the unconscious avowal of one of the greatest intellects of our time. No one who has experienced the stirring and ennobling effect of the Greek verse of Homer can have perused the strange observations of Herbert Spencer on the *Iliad*—to which he had access only through a translation—without a smile mingled with a sense of regret, on reflecting how much more perfect, how much more penetrating might have been the stupendous labours of the great English philosopher if only he had been able to come into personal contact, so to say, with Plato and Aristotle, with whose teaching he appears to have thought he could well dispense. One is forcibly reminded of Dr. Arnold’s deeply suggestive, though humorously couched, saying, that he felt sure he would have understood Coleridge’s philosophy better if it were expressed in Attic Greek. Had Spencer been acquainted with Greek, his work would have been in a way more humane.

"For it is this, above all, that Greek culture gives. It does not merely instruct and civilise, it humanises. And those who, during the Renaissance, were enchanted and enthralled by the New Learning, justly styled this vehicle which enabled them to emerge from material civilisation to intellectual and ethical regeneration, *Literæ Humaniores*—the Humanities.

"All must admit the immense benefits which the development of natural science and mechanics have conferred upon the world. But undivided attention to material profits may threaten a community with the advent of a coarseness, all the more difficult to stave off because it is so resourceful. Therefore they are not far wrong who think that a society entirely estranged from Greek culture must soon degenerate in intellectual power.

"Of course, Greek, being the choicest intellectual food, is fit only for those who are endowed with delicate and discriminating palates. But it is they who become the salt of the earth, when, at the outset of their career, they make the choice of Herakles, and, instead of the animal contentment of the legendary professor of Louvain,* elect what is most perfect, beautiful, and ennobling, by submitting to that intellectual discipline which, in its subtlety, is beyond all price, and which teaches the one great rule of Greek life—a life ἐν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ, in soberness of mind and in gracious enjoyment.

"It is thus that the twenty-five years' work of this Society, by promoting Hellenic studies and by encouraging archæological research, has contributed powerfully to the maintenance and spread of the best traditions of British scholarship. Its flourishing condition is the strongest evidence of the value and vitality of Greek literature, the best guarantee that the standard of culture in this country will not be lowered. Therefore it behoves them that are proud to be the members of such a body to see that those who come after us find the lamp burning, and have their onward path illuminated by the Light that has no eve."

J. GENNADIUS.

* The Principal of the University of Louvain is made to say to George Primrose, the son of the worthy Vicar of Wakefield:—"You see me, my young man; I never learned Greek, and I don't find I ever missed it. I have had a doctor's cap and gown without Greek; I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and, in short, as I don't know Greek, I don't believe there is any good in it."

THE WOMEN OF THE FUTURE.

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE the appearance in these pages of the article by Mrs. Carmichael Stopes on the "Relations of Women with the State in past and present periods of English history," I have had the offer of many contributions on various aspects of the same subject, few of which, however, seem to embody new or original views of the interesting questions involved. Indeed, from the point of view of thinkers who regard such problems as these in the light of the newer knowledge now dawning on the world with reference to the principles guiding human evolution, it is impossible to estimate the probabilities of future change connected with the position of women in society and the State, without bearing in mind two or three fundamental principles ruling the spiritual development both of women and men. The incomplete conceptions of the whole natural design with which most people have hitherto been content to work, lead to habits of thought according to which the two sexes are regarded as different products of nature, as clearly and permanently separated in constitution, the one from the other, as dogs and cats. In the light of the Reincarnation idea which brings order into the chaos which human affairs present to the mind without it, we are enabled to realise that the permanent spiritual ego of each human being is neither of one sex nor the other, but subject to influences which guide its manifestation in the male or the female form according to what may be

roughly indicated, in the first instance, as the necessities of its growth and progress. The simple truth of the matter, from the point of view of "those who know" is that every human being, in the course of the countless ages provided as the field of human evolution, manifests with approximately equal frequency as man and as woman. There is no man now living on this earth who has not, to put the matter crudely, been a woman during scores of former lives, and no woman exists who has not in the same way been through the experiences of incarnation as man. And another fundamental principle to be borne in mind in order that the problems before us should be correctly appreciated, is this—that whatever intellectual progress is achieved by the ego in any given life is permanently associated therewith for all subsequent time, nothing whatever in the nature of such progress being ever again lost. How is it, then, the superficial enquirer may ask, that we fail to recognise in the present condition of things an absolute equality between the two sexes? For however completely possessed any of us may be with the conviction that women in the future will rise to a very much higher degree of power and influence than they have hitherto possessed, we may all recognise that, as a matter of fact, at the present state of evolution and under the present conditions of social environment, the average intellectual level of woman is somewhat below the average intellectual development of man.

The first answer is, of course, that educational methods contribute to maintain this slight inequality, but this is really a very incomplete answer. The result is much more due to the fact that owing to the long course of oppression to which for four or five thousand years, women have been subject, the female organism itself has become adapted to the conditions in which it finds itself. It has become a somewhat less convenient instrument as compared with the other for the Ego of very advanced intellectual development. No doubt in a vast number of cases this difficulty is borne down by the sheer force of the spiritual entity manifesting itself. And it is hardly necessary to emphasise the obvious truth that enormous numbers of women are enormously superior in intellectual power to enormous numbers of men, but that does not alter the truth of the broad idea just recognised, that the average,

taking all examples of both sexes into account, works out in the way described. If the explanation just given seems to conflict with the previous statement to the effect that no intellectual attainment once welded with the constitution of the Ego can ever be lost, the answer simply is that people who represent advanced levels of progress in our current humanity, may often in truth be greater than their physical plane manifestation appears to suggest. The idea can only be conveyed in language which is symbolical and to a certain extent misleading, but the physical plane vessel, so to speak, may not be qualified to hold all the spiritual consciousness of the Ego, and each life may be a partial manifestation rather than a complete expression of the real individuality. By another mataphor we may think of the physical body as an instrument on which the soul consciousness is playing, and may easily apprehend that the limited range of its notes may forbid the execution of all the musical ideas in the consciousness which makes use of it.

These few sentences fall short of explaining the laws determining the sex of human entities coming into manifestation on the physical plane, but may serve to put something like a new complexion upon the practical problems concerned with the political advancement of women. Taking for the moment a loftier standpoint than that occupied by the mere advocates of Female Suffrage, and looking forward through great stretches of time towards conditions which will no doubt ultimately prevail, we may feel sure not merely that women will come to exercise as much influence in public affairs as men, but will even in the long run, in all probability, attain to a peculiar kind of pre-eminence which the experience of modern life has not yet prepared thinkers of the ordinary type to forecast. By degrees, the sense of justice, already operative in so remarkable a way towards the emancipation of women from restraints which earlier conditions of social life imposed upon them, will still further enlarge their opportunities, and the intellectual disabilities of the female organism referred to above will gradually disappear. Many generations, of course, will be required to bring about the restoration of what may be called physical brain equality, but natural processes, though slow, are obedient in the long run to the influences at

work. The time will come when the old-world superstition—that some natural inferiority inevitably clings to the mentality of women—will disappear. When that disappearance is complete, and Egos coming into incarnation find no impediment to their complete manifestation in the female brain, then it is more than probable that mankind will gradually recognise that, in one respect,—in one detail of great importance,—the female organism evinces a superiority as compared with that of men. That superiority is one belonging to a faculty so little understood at present that its mere existence is hardly suspected by the majority of ordinary thinkers, but every human being of considerable advancement is more or less susceptible of receiving impressions from the spiritual plane, which approach the consciousness in a way that has nothing to do with the familiar five senses. These impressions may come either from other beings of a loftier order, or from what must be vaguely described for the moment as that superior part of the spiritual entity not fully expressed in the incarnation. The faculty of receiving such impressions is that which goes by the name of “intuition.” But the word itself is continually misunderstood, frequently, indeed, taken as a synonym for a tendency to jump to conclusions without adequate reason. Nor, indeed, in the earlier and less vivid manifestations of intuition is it easy to discriminate between the real gift and the tendency just referred to. But the real faculty is one of a very sublime order, ultimately destined to play an enormous part in the activities of the physical world. Now, it seems to be the fact that, with reference at all events to all such problems as we are now considering, the female organism is somewhat better qualified to exercise the faculty of intuition than that of the man. As in the other example quoted above in reference to intellectual development, we have, of course to recognise that enormous numbers of men are more intuitive than enormous numbers of women. But the average law holds good as before. Taking all examples of both sexes into account, it will, as far as experience has hitherto pointed to the probabilities of the future, be found that the average intuitive faculty of women is more delicately sensitive than that of men. And when this comes to be understood, and when the true meaning of intuition itself comes to be understood,

so that people will see how enormously important it is as a guide to human action, then that slight average superiority will tell in the relations of the sexes just in the same way, looking back to more savage conditions of life, as the average muscular superiority of men has told in the relations of the sexes during the barbarous ages of mankind.

Now anyone who appreciates the significance of all these thoughts will see how they bear upon problems connected with the current aspirations and progress of women. In truth, there is a good deal in the actual condition of things around us to justify the antagonism that is exhibited to the movements of which the Female Suffrage agitation may be taken as an example. And, again, from the point of view of those who are ill-disposed to recognise the present democratic constitution of western countries as exhibiting final counsels of perfection in regard to forms of government, the Franchise itself may be regarded with some contempt as a prize hardly worth much fighting for. But, as a means to an end, it may have its value, just as the democratic franchise of men—as a means to an end in connection with the great scheme of spiritual evolution—may have its value and purpose. The exercise of the Female Franchise through many generations would, no doubt, tend to promote that levelling up of intellectual capacity above referred to, and in that way would be conducive to the far larger and more beautiful purposes of Nature held in reserve. As a practical measure of justice, of course, from the standpoint of conventional politics which accepts the Parliamentary system as the expression of supreme wisdom, the refusal of the Franchise to women is the product in probably equal proportion of sexual arrogance and natural stupidity on the part of men. It is tedious to go over and over the elementary reasoning which justifies the demand. Perhaps the only new idea connected with immediate practical activities, which can be thrown into the cauldron of this controversy, has to do with a thought already emphasised in these pages. It is impossible to expect any important improvements in the organisation of the State,—whether we think of commonplace legislation or of new developments like these under discussion,—as long as the energies of Parliament are entirely spent upon the ignoble struggle of rival

office-seekers. The Two-Party system has utterly degraded English public life, and has paralysed the House of Commons as a legislative assembly. The simple reason why the great and important body of enthusiasts gallantly fighting the cause of Female Suffrage at present have so far been entirely unsuccessful in their work, is not to be found in the vigour of the reasoning opposed to theirs, but simply in the indifference of the House of Commons to all proposals which do not directly—in one way or another—affect party interests. The champions of Woman Suffrage argue forcibly enough that in regard to any legislation affecting women generally outside this particular proposal, it is useless to expect justice at the hands of a democratic Parliament until the members thereof are conscious of the fact that they have female votes to reckon with when they come back to their constituencies. As long as they have no such votes to consider the suffrage agitation interests them very little. Ultimately, no doubt, the general conviction concerning the injustice of the existing system will grow more and more intense. Some day or other a ministry may be in power which will even find it pay to play up to this conviction. Then the change will be brought about, and in all probability, for some time to come, will be found to bring no particular result in its train.

Its purpose in evolution lies immeasurably beyond the horizons of most of those who are at present contending for it in the interests of immediate justice. But with reference to the practical aspects of the agitation, it would perhaps be wiser on the part of those engaged to show a more correct appreciation than they exhibit generally of the obstacles which really stand in their way. Individual men, both in and out of the House, will, of course, be always found ready to echo the brutal or stupid prejudices with which we are all familiar. But outside the unwholesome atmosphere of the House of Commons it would probably be difficult to find any considerable group of cultivated men that would fail to yield an enormous majority, if polled, in favour of putting all properly qualified women in a position to exercise the vote if they wish to do so. It is, perhaps, doubtful at present whether the same remark could be made with reference to any corresponding groups of women. Apathy on the subject is very

widely diffused throughout the sex on whose behalf the battle is raging, and in multitudes of cases apathy would be too mild a word to use. But that state of feeling is the product of social tradition, and will disappear in company with many of the traditions guiding the manners and customs of women in the earlier Victorian age. One might easily follow up the view of the subject here put forward by extensive excursions into regions of thought in connection with the future position of women in the world which would perhaps point to the disappearance of traditions too firmly rooted at present to be conveniently discussed. Speculation, illuminated by correct appreciation of the laws governing the whole progress of mankind, may often reach forward to startling conclusions. But these for the present, at all events, may be left aside. As a practical question of the moment, Female Suffrage depends upon the chances of future Party conflict. One or other of the rival commanders may, sooner or later, find it personally profitable to play the card, while, as regards all the really great thoughts which collect around the idea, these can only be appreciated properly in the light of conceptions regarding human progress, compared to which the actual political controversies of the moment are as the dust on the road to be travelled.

OUR EFFETE PARTY-SYSTEM.

AMONG the many blessings enjoyed by Britons, old-fashioned writers were accustomed to reckon our party-system. As a contrast, the evils resulting in foreign countries from the marshalling of the electorate in factions, were enlarged upon with unction. Asked to state the difference between a party and a faction, most people would define the former as an association for the promotion or defence of certain principles, and the latter as a group of persons seeking the interests of one or more of their number.

Like nearly all the political institutions of Great Britain, our two great parties owe their existence to purely historical causes. They were called into being years ago, by political necessities which have no parallel in our own day. They are thus anachronisms, even as are the Corporation of London, the Cinque Ports, and the Earl Marshal. Any people less imbued with reverence for antiquity than the English would long since have recognised that these parties, Conservative and Liberal alike, do not even approximately represent the important shades of public opinion, and that they muffle the nation's voice. The average Briton finds a difficulty in conceiving himself anything but a Conservative or a Liberal. It would be as easy for him to imagine his child aught else than a boy or a girl. Mr. W. S. Gilbert's assurance that every infant must of necessity be a Conservative or a Liberal strikes him as a profound truth. Of late, indeed, amphibious creatures styling themselves Socialists, I.L.P.'s and what not, have flitted across the political horizon ; but these the

Conservative dismisses as exotic growths, and even at that, Radicals in disguise, while the Liberal smiles indulgently, and is inwardly convinced that these are wayward brethren whose return to the true fold is to be hourly expected.

What, then, is the issue which divides the nation into two great camps? Ask members of both parties, and they will name the Licensing Bill, the Education Act, and other matters which were heard of but yesterday. If it is in these problems that the grounds of difference consist, then on their solution we might expect both parties to resolve into their original elements. We know, of course, that nothing of the kind will take place. Yet if a party existed by virtue of certain principles, such would be the only logical course.

At times an uneasy feeling seems to creep over the leaders of parties that the reasons for their existence are not very clear. It is then that we hear illuminating pronouncements, such as "Liberalism is trust in the people qualified, &c.," and of new programmes and platforms. Most astonishing of all we hear that the party is to drop one plank and take up another. Even as railway bridges are renewed plank by plank and girder by girder, till no trace of the original structure remains, so our parties are gradually reconstructed till nothing but the names remain to identify them with their old selves.

The party leader's duty is primarily to arrange an attractive programme for the coming season, and, secondarily, to find some matter of disagreement with the other side. What may be the nature of the bone of contention is not very material. "When," says the Turk in *Hadji Baba* (speaking of the British Parliament), "one cries white, the other cries black"; thus the measure of the one dictates the policy of the other. The members of either party are united only by hostility to the other side.

Tariff reform, the licensing question, &c., divide Conservatives from Liberals to-day. Not so long ago it was Home Rule and the House of Lords; before that the quarrel has been over the franchise and Catholic Emancipation. A year or two hence the issue will be something as unconnected with any of these as with the interior policy of Bolivia.

How many conservatives or Liberals gave a scintilla of thought



to the question of Protection before Mr. Chamberlain sprung it on the nation? But no sooner had he done so than the Tories discovered that they had been believers in Protection all their lives, and, as might have been expected, every Radical found that the defence of Free Trade was the special duty of his party. It would be news to continental Liberals to hear that Protection and Liberalism are incompatible doctrines.

Conservatives residing in Camberwell and Tooting will tell you that theirs is the aristocratic and the Radical the democratic party. As a matter of fact both are democratic or aristocratic as it may suit the purposes of their organisers. We hear, for instance, that the most liberal of all Liberal projects—Women's Suffrage—finds favour on the Government side of the House. I know Radicals who object to manhood suffrage because it would enfranchise many young clerks and others who would vote Tory. Similarly both sides are every ready to take up the grievances of any section of the community, if its support is worth having. Instances will at once occur to those who have followed the course of English politics during the last twenty years.

This labelling Englishmen Conservatives and Liberals is as meaningless as the classification of our street-arabs into "Oxford" and "Cambridge," that takes place every spring. It is as obsolete as the rivalry between York and Lancaster, Cavalier and Roundhead. A party, it cannot be too often insisted upon, exists by reason of its faith in certain principles; if it does not know what its principles are, *ipso facto* it ceases to exist, or becomes—a faction.

Such a result might have been anticipated from the preposterous idea of grouping five or six millions of thinking men into *two* parties. When we consider the number of the questions of which modern intelligence demands the solution, it is ridiculous to hope that half the population of the country should find itself in permanent agreement for scores of years together. Because, say, three millions of Britons advocated Home Rule in 1892, does it follow as a matter of course that they should oppose a Protectionist Tariff in 1904? Such unanimity, on the contrary, suggests insincerity or weakness of the understanding. Wherever an intelligent appreciation of public affairs existed, it would

be reasonable to expect that the discussion of every new question of importance would put an end to the old party boundaries, and bring about a redistribution of the electors on fresh lines. When a million men are able to find themselves in agreement with a certain group of statesmen on every new issue, it is hard to resist the conclusion that they constitute one enormous faction.

Somewhat more regard to consistency is shown in this matter by the other European peoples. On the Continent, Conservatism and Liberalism imply very definite and sharply defined beliefs; and the *raisons d'être* of the other French, German, Dutch and Austrian parties are usually obvious. Except, perhaps, in Belgium (since the effacement of the Liberals) there is no attempt to organise opinion in two divisions and no more. Such a Hobson's choice would be probably repugnant to the intelligence of the electors. Thus in Germany we find not only Liberals and Conservatives, but Socialists, Clericals and Poles; in Austria all these under slightly different names, with Old Czechs, New Czechs, and other national groups. In the United States alone do we find political divisions as purposeless and ambiguous as our own, —the difference between Republican and Democrat being exactly that between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

The mischief of our system is that it tends to strip politics of all interest for thoughtful men, while carelessly-minded people, seeing that nothing material ever results from the endless debates in Parliament, accept the worst abuses and evils of society as irremediable. Since it is the object of both parties to rally to themselves the maximum number of votes, only questions which "have taken with the people," or which afford grounds for assailing the other side, ever figure in the programmes of either. As, too, the main object of the wire-pullers is to keep the party alive, anything likely to excite controversy or create dissension among its adherents, is, as a general principle, to be tabooed. The result is that the majority of questions debated between Conservatives and Liberals to-day are, in stern reality, of only secondary importance. No time is allowed for the discussion of vital issues. The nation is called upon to divide on such a question as the insurance of publicans' licences, and whole sessions will be devoted to the consideration of similar measures. Such topics as Women's

Suffrage, Capital Punishment, Disestablishment, the Secularisation of Schools, Land and Railway Nationalisation, &c., are hardly ever debated, and, if introduced, are always shelved in favour of some project which interests no one but the ingenious promoters. In short, as it has been often said of late, the House of Commons has become a mere arena for the bickerings of two factions. It is rare, indeed, that anybody is a penny the better or a penny the worse for anything that is decided at St. Stephen's. Questions are invented to keep the game going—incapable of interesting any but the players and those who take a sporting view of politics. No wonder that the results of cricket matches are more eagerly awaited by the vast majority of the public than the results of elections. As the subjects of parliamentary controversy are not likely to excite enthusiasm, neither are they difficult of comprehension to any but the meanest intelligence. The average M.P. is a business man, a tolerable lawyer, a substantial country gentleman—anything, in fact, but a statesman. Who could suppose that such an assembly could direct public opinion on any grave issue or appreciate the serious problems which vex humanity? The British Parliament is now a place where inanities are solemnly discussed by mediocre personages intent only on humouring their leaders and keeping their seats.

It must be admitted that the nation has a representative body which is worthy of it. The vast majority of Englishmen are prone to shirk the consideration of serious problems, to shut their eyes to the sufferings of minorities, and to cherish the obsolete and effete. Most of us are so frightened of going too far, that we never start at all. We suffer also from a comparative absence of what the French wittily call the Evangelistic spirit. We may be convinced of the error of our neighbour's view, but we are content to keep the truth to ourselves, and even to witness evil directly resulting from that view, rather than make ourselves obnoxious. An eminent Agnostic, not long deceased, has left on record his astonishment that anyone should endeavour to bring another to his own way of thinking. Civilization would indeed make slow progress if the Socrates, Christs, Mahomets, Colum-buses and Cobdens had thought like this.

Thus the consideration of great human problems is indefinitely

adjourned, and evils are perpetuated because Parliament is unable to spare time for their discussion from its never ending game of Ins and Outs. As I conclude, I am reminded of the hope expressed some time since by a daily paper of the new type, that the House of Commons will eventually become nothing more nor less than a Chamber of Commerce. As if we had reached that beatific stage when nothing remained to be done but regulate our markets and give ear to the grievances of our shopkeepers !

E. B. D'AUVERGNE.

IN A ROMAN PENSION.

BY MAY BATEMAN.

“Men is angels or devils, ma'am, and places likewise, leastwise 'Evin or 'Ell, according to the point of view.”

THE widow of the Indian tea-planter put down her book to join in the discussion.

“People worry us to go first to this church and then to that,” she complained, bitterly. “Ridiculous! When one church is the same as another all the world over!” She returned to her Murray's Guide with the air of one who bore a personal grudge to the author.

Her daughter moved shivering nearer to the fire, and continued peevishly to ring an electric bell, the wire of which had been broken for some months.

An ex-Army doctor who had come to Rome to learn Russian—for some occult reason I was unable to fathom—came to her rescue. The call was answered by the pallid and over-worked third Italian waiter.

“*Lei ha suonata?*”

“Not at all—it's wood we want. Can't you see for yourself the fire is out?” asked the English girl, crossly. “How stupid these foreigners are not to understand a simple order like that! And I'm sure I couldn't have spoken louder, could I?” she demanded of the assembled company.

"Rome is such a hideous disappointment after Paris—the Corso shops can't be compared with the Rue de la Paix ones," said the wife of a Malay Peninsular doctor, who bought her clothes surreptitiously from the "Bon Marché," and then changed their "labels."

"Well, we *have* had a round to-day!" announced a tall, spare spinster, sinking exhaustedly upon a red rep settee. She was dressed à l'*Anglaise* in Scotch plaid, surmounted by a straw hat and a Roman veil, which, if you do not know it, may perhaps be best described as a veil no Roman ever wore. "We've been in the Barberini Gallery for the last two hours—the one with the Beatrice Cenci picture, you know—so interesting. But she didn't look at all like Ellen Terry in the part at the Lyceum. She had a towel round her head—twisted—more like a Turk's head-dress than anything else I could think of." She laughed at the reminiscence. "Odd, how ignorant some people are! The women near us were arguing about Shelley, if you please, as they looked. "*Much Ado about Nothing*," I said to Miss Brown, "and even that didn't give them a hint!"

"Did you notice that red look in the Cenci's eyes?" asked someone in a corner, possibly to break the pause.

The angular spinster looked slightly at sea.

"I never waste much time over the pictures themselves—it's such a tiring way of doing a gallery," she explained. "You should always buy the photographs—it's much more satisfactory. It's dreadfully tiring tramping up and down those long rooms. There's always a big book, and you can tip the *custode* for a chair, and be quite comfortable for half the trouble other people take, and no fatigue!"

"I've been to the Arry Coeli,"* the Dissenting lady proceeded to inform us. "The '*Babuino*'† is on view for the next few days, you know. It's all covered over with jewels—a regular blaze—and they're all real ones too, they say, but then—well, what I always says is, you can never *really* trust a Roman Catholic!"

More than two-thirds of the persons present being of that Faith, there was a significant pause.

* Are.

† Bambino.

The voice of the German lady who was teaching the Servian ex-minister's eldest daughter to speak English here broke in.

"I have a leetle horse which you must come to see—oh! such a dear, sweet leetle horse! I always like zee leetle horses best, don't you?"

"Leetle 'orses—they are what ees called ponies?" asked the Servian. Her face was like a tired rabbit's—and she had pale yellow hair which was dressed just before dinner, and remained in that condition, we had reason to believe, for the next twenty-four hours.

The German lady smiled, superior.

"Not pony—leetle *horse*," she corrected, urbanely. "My leetle horse has four rooms inside—a parlour, eating-room, bedroom and keetchen. But—better that you should talk and I correct, nicht wahr? That way we shall better things do, and you shall the more promptly learn."

"But zee Eenglisch ees so 'ard!" objected the Servian.

"Not at all," said the teacher. "And 'harr-rr-rr-d' you must say, not 'ard. You have been here a long time now, Miss. The sights of Rome you by heart already know, of course?"

The Servian girl became comparatively animated.

"Oh yes, we have deescovered all zee best shops to buy bonbons and gâteaux in, by now! We 'ave tea een a different shop all days. But Latour's in the Corso is zee best, I think."

The pretty English girl who is engaged to the nephew of the late French Ambassador here joined our group.

"What have you been doing since the *collazione*?" I asked, by way of making a diversion.

She threw up her hands with a little acquired gesture of despair.

"Don't ask. I'm dead beat. Eugène and his mother have been taking me to all S. Philip Neri's haunts. It seems he's the patron Saint of Rome, or something—I'd always thought it was S. Peter. My future mother-in-law explained the outing by saying she went to the Oratory when she was in London. But what that has to do with S. Philip Neri——"

"I know!" put in the High School girl eagerly, bursting with knowledge. "S. Philip Neri was the Founder of the

Oratory — and Cardinal Newman's brother—that's it, of course !”

Our latest arrival—a young American—came in at this juncture in a graceful hurry, with three Italian Counts and a stray Prince or two, whom she had collected in the course of her afternoon ramble.

“Well, Rome is Rome, of course, and I'm glad to have seen it, but—my, it's tiring ! If I'd known I was to see nothing but these ancient monuments I'd never have come all the way from the States. Why, we never think of looking at anything over there that's over twenty-five years old !”

“Mademoiselle has still so many years in which to be admired,” remarked our solitary Italian resident, Don Giovanni Sforza, with a gallant bow.

She smiled upon him with an American woman's disconcerting frankness.

“Now, that's real nice of you. Trust an Italian to say pretty things at the right moment ! But all the same these endless ruins of yours are disappointing. Why don't the good Romanists in America start a fund to help you repair them if you're too poor to do it for yourselves ? Poppa would help, I'm sure, though he's no Papist.” She paused dramatically. “But that's not all I have to complain of in Rome. Things aren't what you expect here. For instance,” she stopped again, “I've spent half a day in roaming around, first in S. Peter's and then the Vatican gardens. And yet, look as I might, and enquire as I would, if you'll believe me, I never even caught a glimpse of *one* of the Papal Bulls !”

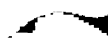
MR. BALFOUR'S SURVEY OF SCIENCE.

MR. BALFOUR is hardly as explicit as he might be, when he pleads, in his address to the British Association, for a more spiritual interpretation of the Universe. The general drift of his essay on the progress of science is quite admirable. His contrasted sketches of the scientific conception as it existed before and since the recognition of the ether as a fact in Nature, are skilfully designed. An enormous advance towards the comprehension of Nature is accomplished when we recognise the world and the planets around us as made out of a universally diffused material, as compared with the former notion that they were made out of sixty or seventy varieties of ponderable matter existing eternally as such, but somehow merely aggregated here and there in space, with vacancy between, in a way that rendered their origin extremely obscure to the thinker.

That new idea—that the material from which worlds can be made is diffused all through space—is, of course, derived from the epoch-making discovery of radium and its attributes. The study of its emanations, and the theory gaining favour that the finest of the particles it emits *are*, in fact, atoms of electricity, identical with the atoms of the ether, has led to the interpretation of the Universe that Mr. Balfour discusses. And it will be seen that he accepts the theory in its fullest significance, or rather, as he is too modest to assume that his acceptance is important, he defines the theory with respect, as now held by some scientific authorities. There are those who think “that the elementary atom of the

chemist, itself far beyond the limits of direct perception, is but a connected system of monads, or sub-atoms, which are not electrified matter, but are electricity itself. . . . It may be, as Prof. Larmor has suggested, that they are but a modification of the universal ether. . . . It seems possible now that it (the ether) may be the stuff out of which the Universe is wholly built." But even this view of the Universe, so much more rational than the earlier conception depending on the fundamental existence of the chemical elements, leaves us no nearer than before to a conception of the guiding principle of the Universe. "There must," says Mr. Balfour, "be a certain inevitable incoherence in any general scheme of thought which is built out of materials provided by natural science alone." However far this may reach, it will never be "a self-sufficing system of belief."

This declaration will be fastened upon no doubt by representatives of conventional religious thinking as equivalent to an admonition to scientific men in favour of a more specific allegiance to the "faith" of the churches. As to the idea Mr. Balfour precisely intended to convey, that can only be a matter of speculation, but his words will at all events bear an interpretation of a more reasonable character. Something more than the physical aspects of Nature must be brought into the grasp of consciousness before a self-sufficing system of belief can be framed, but only as yet by those who have studied the super-physical aspects of Nature in a scientific spirit, can the future course of human belief be forecast. Faith in the sense of affected belief in statements having no foundation in reason or evidence, will play a smaller and smaller part in the intellectual activities of the world as time goes on. But the leaders of thought will arrive eventually, and perhaps at no distant date, at a realisation of the fact that accurate scientific knowledge is to be obtained in reference to the operation of natural laws that lie altogether behind material phenomena. Science is getting very near the boundaries of purely physical knowledge, and no great advance beyond existing achievement will bring observation within reach of super-physical realms. Then it will be realised that the whole range of purely physical phenomena, from the etheric atom up to the most complicated organic structures, is but one aspect of Nature as far from con-



stituting the whole as the single facet of a dodecahedron would constitute the whole of that solid. And concurrently with the discovery that the physical world is interpenetrated by other worlds,—as real, as obedient to their own codes of natural law as this one,—the further discovery will necessarily ensue that these (for the mere physical eye) invisible worlds are peopled with beings representing other states of consciousness differing from those familiar to us at present, some of whom exist on levels of knowledge and power far superior to those as yet attained by ordinary humanity. Even then it may be fairly urged we shall not have reached a completely self-sufficing system of belief, because infinitudes of still higher Consciousness and Power will plainly lie beyond any with which we shall then be in contact. But another enormous stride will have been accomplished. We shall begin to see the direction in which the ultimate self-sufficing system is to be reached, a direction that will not have been even indicated by the earlier fingerposts of mediæval faith.

And then, or perhaps before then, mankind will have seen reason to qualify some of the conceptions with reference to the purely physical phenomena of the world around us embodied in the survey Mr. Balfour attempts concerning the interpretation of the Universe now in favour. The scientific world is getting very near the truth of things in its present estimate of the functions of the ether. But it has gone astray in reference to its conjecture that the smaller atoms emitted from radium *are* atoms of electricity. They are nothing of the kind. They are etheric atoms carrying charges of electricity, the force itself belonging to a higher plane altogether. Nor is the etheric atom itself an ultimate atom. Minute though it be, beyond the grasp of thought almost, it is itself a structure the character of which has been already determined by occult investigation, meaning by that phrase by investigation carried on with the help of faculties so little understood by the world at large as yet, that they can only be regarded as still hidden for the majority. Further, again, it will be ascertained that conjecture just now finding favour with modern physicists in reference to the number of etheric atoms going to the composition of the chemical elements, has outrun the realities of the situation. The undeniable minuteness of the etheric atoms has misled

ordinary scientific students. Their orbital motion within each chemical atom is very great compared to their actual magnitude. The hydrogen atom contains only eighteen etheric atoms. The radium atom (perhaps the most complex) somewhere about four or five thousand. And these are aggregated in groups in such a way that when the radium atom breaks up some groups fly off as such (misleading the ordinary observer into thinking they are larger atoms), while others radiate singly and mislead them into supposing these to be atoms of electricity. None of the phenomena announced within the past year as discovered in connection with radium, have been in any way a surprise to students of occultism, though the ordinary physicists have been so comically deaf to the announcements, in the literature of occult science, which have anticipated such discovery.

Does this language in some ears sound unduly dogmatic? It would be affectation for anyone who has really profited by recent developments of occult knowledge to represent as mere empty speculation, views of Nature that have come definitely within the range of his consciousness. In reality there is no attitude of mind so modest as that of the occult student, because he has just been introduced, so to speak, to the immensities of Nature, and is awed into the most profoundly reverential attitude in reference to these. But he is for that reason incapable of reverence for the much narrower conception of Nature more generally prevalent, however he may appreciate the brilliant superficial polish and splendid mastery of detail within the narrow limits of their mental activity exhibited by its representatives. The really arrogant attitude of mind is that of the man who supposes his own little scraps of information to embrace all that can be known. Not that such a feeling is characteristic of the modern scientific world. Quite the contrary. True men of science are beautifully modest in regard to their acquisitions—witness proverbial sayings of Herschel and others. But, the occultist, perhaps, appreciates rather better than others how very well founded such modesty is, and it is not in reference to the men concerned, but merely with reference to the body of knowledge they at present represent, that he looks on with some amusement and wonder at the conventional sentiment to which it gives rise.

AN OCCULT STUDENT.

SOCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE COLONIST.

Two years ago, when in this country of many sorrows we were still in the throes of hostile invasion and Martial Law, we not infrequently consoled ourselves by declaring, with a complacency not in this instance mistaken, that amid the many depressing features of the South African War, courage might be drawn from the splendid loyalty and devotion manifested by all our Colonies and dependencies, and from the cementing together of all, even the most distant, parts of the Empire.

Happily this was true, nor was it an ephemeral outburst of feeling, to burn itself out with the ardour of its own fire; rather it proved to be a well-founded principle of loyalty, which survived not only the hardships and privations inseparable from all warfare, but also the heart-sickening weariness and delay of an unexpectedly long campaign, followed by months of unnecessary and unsatisfactory police work.

Loyalty survived all these tests, and will survive them again, however often it may be called upon to do so; and it has, so far, survived something else besides—something which at first sight may seem to be fanciful, or at least unimportant, but which, as I hope to show, deserves our serious consideration—I mean the friction, indefinable yet undeniable, that has always existed, that still exists, and that appears to be more or less inevitable, between the Englishman and the Colonial.

But does this friction exist, except in the imagination of a

few touchy and self-important persons? And, if it exists, why should it be unavoidable?

The first question must, I fear, be answered in the affirmative; the instances of its appearance, even those that have come under my own observation, are too numerous to admit of doubt. It is inevitable, I suppose, because as long as men have different natures, different ideas, different surroundings, and a different bringing-up, so long must these differences produce a certain amount of friction between them.

It is surely matter for sincere regret, and for more than mere regret, that the days of adversity and danger, which in the beginning knit together the hearts of all men that were proud to belong to our world-wide Empire, should in these later times have given rise to so much discontent and antipathy. Petty and contemptible as the grounds of offence may often appear to be, the sum total with its results is not negligible; the "little rift within the lute" will silence all the harmony in the end, and the bonds, once loosened, will not easily be renewed.

I must not be understood as even hinting that Colonial loyalty is in any present danger. I am confident that all colonists are as loyal as ever to their country; but, undoubtedly, since the events of the last four years, a large number of them regard the Imperial Government with feelings that are, to say the least, lukewarm, and the Imperial officer with feelings that have no suspicion of warmth about them.

The friction between Imperial officers and Colonial troops during and after the war was not the symptom of a changed disposition; it merely brought into prominence and accentuated a state of feeling that has always existed in greater or less degree. The sudden influx of large numbers of English-born gentry and aristocrats into South Africa, brought them into contact with their Colonial brethren to an extent that had never before been the case. Many of the Imperial officers are drawn from the most exclusive classes at home, and very naturally they carried their traditions of superiority with them—traditions that to the average colonist are quite incomprehensible.

"Most of them seem to be such prigs," said a very gentlemanly colonial lad, speaking of the officers of a regiment which

was quartered in his town, "but I suppose," he added, "that they are in a very high position at home, and expect it to be the same out here."

There are, of course, many Imperial officers who are quite free from false pride and self-importance, who are too truly gentlemen to be insolent to anyone; such men fraternised heartily with their colonial brothers-in-arms, and were deservedly popular with them, but, taking it all round, I fear that the Imperial officer will not be a *persona grata* in any of our colonies until something occurs to bring about improved relations between him and the inhabitants of those countries.

It is not my purpose, however, to dwell only on the friction between English and Colonial soldiers; that is but one aspect of a question which equally affects the civilian population both at home and in the colonies. I speak especially of the Cape, as being the colony with which I am personally familiar, but I imagine that in this respect the condition in our other colonies is not dissimilar.

It seems indeed a pity that there should be so many petty misunderstandings between persons who are all of one race and language, and who are all, at heart, intensely proud of the flag to which they owe allegiance. These misunderstandings are often so trifling that their very triviality hides their real importance, but, as a sufficient number of stones will make a mountain, so the continual heaping up of small discourtesies, petty aggravations and unreasonable prejudices, will in time raise a formidable obstacle to friendly feeling and brotherly goodwill.

The fault, of course, is on both sides. The Englishman cannot easily lay aside his inheritance of tradition and conventionality, while the Colonial is a born democrat, brought up without any conception of an "Upper Ten." The Englishman is apt to confound unconventionality with rudeness, while the Colonist is prone to look out for slights, and to take offence where none is intended. Let us examine the case for both sides, and seek to indicate the remedy, while judging fairly between the two.

It might be supposed that in these modern days, when there is such constant and rapid communication between the Mother-country and the Colonies, and when every second English family

has one or more members living and working in one or other of the latter, that all false and mistaken ideas respecting our colonial brethren would have died a natural death, obliterated by fuller knowledge and by a more tolerant and sensible attitude of mind. I can only regret, speaking from my own experience, that this is not the case. I am English-born myself, and, when I emigrated to this Colony some years ago, I received from a friend the parting injunction: "Do not become Colonial." I have not the least idea whether I have become that reprehensible thing or not; I do know that colonial life has broadened my ideas, and has increased my knowledge and my practical capacity.

It may readily be allowed that there is a marked difference between the home-bred and the colonial-bred; anyone familiar with both can distinguish one from the other without difficulty, but I demur to the proposition that the former is of necessity superior to the latter; quite as often it is the other way. When English people speak of others as being "Colonial," they mean, so far as I can understand, unpolished, uncultured, unrefined; "I was so pleased to find that they were not at all Colonial," wrote an English lady of two South African friends who were paying a visit at home. The naïve criticism amused me greatly, for the two ladies in question were according to my ideas particularly "Colonial," though that did not prevent them from being, at the same time, extremely nice and ladylike.

Many Colonists are, no doubt, wanting in polish and refinement, but many English people share in these defects, and under no circumstances is their deficiency more apparent than when they come out to a Colony possessed with a preconceived notion of their own inherent superiority. When visiting a strange house, it is generally considered the extreme of ill-breeding to criticise everything in it, to find fault with the architecture and the furniture, to complain of the food and to compare it unfavourably with your own. Yet this is the practice of many Englishmen and Englishwomen on coming out to the Colonies, who, nevertheless, pass at least as ladies and gentlemen at home. I know the practice, because I have seen it with my own eyes, and heard it with my own ears. They are constantly running down the country, in the presence of the very Colonists that are entertaining

them with a free-handed hospitality unknown in England; they find fault with the food, the houses, the travelling accommodation, the manner of life, the climate, and compare everything unfavourably with the conditions of life at home. "Fancy not being able to get this, or that." "Fancy having to do this or that for yourself." "I can tell directly that this comes from England; you could never get it out here." Such are the least offensive of the remarks and criticisms which I have myself heard made, to my shame, at the hospitable tables of Colonial ladies and gentlemen, by so-called English ladies and gentlemen. They would not dream of saying such things if they were visitors in an English house at home, but, for some reason, they allow themselves a latitude when they are the guests of a Colonist, which, if they only knew it, their host by no means takes as a compliment. Occasionally, when the latter is provoked into a reply, his pertinent rejoinder to these strictures and lamentations is: "Why do you not return home?" "Why stay in a country you dislike so much?" And, in nine cases out of ten, the answer is: "I cannot live in England on account of my health." Surely, the climate and the mode of life that gives a man the inestimable boon of health demands at least the tribute of a word of gratitude and honest praise.

I know for a fact that many English people think it does not matter how they behave in a Colony, because Colonists do not know any better behaviour; they are greatly mistaken. Colonists do know better; they know a lady or a gentleman when they see one. What would these same English people think if Colonists, on going home, were to find fault in the same way, and criticise everything from their point of view in the presence of those that were extending hospitality to them?

I fear that in spite of foreign travel, enlarged ideas, and a constantly expanding Empire, there is still a good deal of the old Adam of insular arrogance and exclusiveness to be expelled from the English character; still the innate and predominant idea of the necessary superiority of everything English to everything that emanates from another country, even when that country is a British Colony, peopled with British subjects.

On the other hand, Colonists, as I have said, are apt to be

over-sensitive in the matter of equality. They do not make allowance for the fact that persons who come from England have been brought up from babyhood in the traditions of caste, which are so unfamiliar to themselves, neither do they realise that class distinctions sometimes have advantages as well as drawbacks. Again, besides this deeply-rooted democratic principle, there is the independence of character so early fostered in Colonial men and women; a Colonial boy of thirteen or fourteen years of age has a great deal more liberty, and is supposed to be equal to a great deal more responsibility than falls to the lot of an English school-boy, who is frequently "under tutors and governors" until he is of age. The Colonial lad, as often as not, is his own master by the time he is nineteen or twenty years old, and he is not very ready to acknowledge any other control. This kind of training has its good and its bad sides. It gives to Colonial boys and girls a self-reliance, independence, and practical capacity not often found in English-born boys and girls of the same age. Its drawback is that they are apt to despise the small conventionalities that sometimes have their uses, and that they do not learn to realise the value of restraint and discipline.

The education of a Colonist is, as a rule, thoroughly practical, and such as will fit him for the exigencies of his career; little time, for instance, is given to the acquisition of dead languages, or even of modern languages not spoken in the Colony. Book-learning is not regarded as an end in itself, and the Colonist is inclined to under-value any study that does not tend to an issue immediately practical. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, for genuine courtesy, for true refinement of feeling, for the kindness of heart and sincerity which characterise the real gentleman and the real lady, I am ready to uphold the average Colonist any day as the equal of the average Englishman.

Just as it is little things and trivial circumstances that cause aggravation and misunderstanding, so it is only small efforts and simple consideration that are required to smooth them away. Civility is one of the few things that cost nothing, yet bring a rich reward; an arrogant and contemptuous attitude is unworthy of a gentleman in any walk of life, and sometimes entails far more serious consequences than could possibly be foreseen. If every

Englishman coming out to one of the Colonies would make up his mind to lay aside his prejudices and his traditions of place or position, and to adapt himself to his surroundings, with a genuine desire to understand and enter into Colonial life and character, he would find, as I have found, that he is met half way with readiness and cordiality. The Colonist, on the other hand, must learn to make allowances for a point of view entirely different from his own, and to realise that class distinctions and social conventions are not always vain and foolish, but are often necessary and desirable.

Let not these few words of warning be regarded as fanciful and over-strained. The loyal affection of Colonists has been severely tested, both in the past and in the present; it will stand the test—it will stand any test—as long as Colonists can see that there is no caprice, no wilful blindness, no contemptuous neglect on the part of those that impose the test. I think it may fairly be said that Colonists are ready to bear their share of the burden of Empire, nay more, that they have already borne it, but, in the countries which they have rescued from barbarism, which they have toiled with hand and brain to render habitable, for which they have fought and died so willingly,—in the countries which are alike their home and their grave,—they will not submit to be treated as men of an inferior type, on whom courtesy and refinement would be wasted, and whose claims to consideration can always be left to the last.

ANNA HOWARTH.

PASSING EVENTS.

RUSSIANS are not so apt to appear ridiculous in the sight of the civilised world, as to offend its sentiment in more serious ways, but the behaviour of all classes, from the Czar downwards, on the occasion of the recent birth of a son in the Imperial family is so utterly senseless that laughter is the only appropriate criticism. The traditions of Russia as regards the succession to the throne are not hampered by any silly Salic law. The most glorious periods of Russian history are those during which Empresses reigned, even though in some cases the Empresses in question were little better than successful usurpers. For some time past the political situation in Russia,—a death struggle between tyranny and assassination,—cannot have been regarded by interested observers as altogether a happy one. The accession of an Empress next time the Crown should pass, might, one would have thought, have been a welcome possibility for all parties, and there stood the four daughters of the Czar ready to guarantee the security of such a succession. But harking back to the instincts of purely savage races, the Russians despised the idea of being ruled by a “squaw.” Prayers have been going up all over the country that the expected child might be a boy. The Empress is said to have bathed in some holy well to promote this result. When the stupendous announcement was made St. Petersburg broke out into genuine manifestations of joy. The Czar is reported to have declared himself better pleased at the birth of a son than he would have been at a victory won by his troops.

Now, moreover, it is alleged the Empress will acquire a prestige that will exalt her influence above that of the Dowager Empress Dagmar. She is the mother of a man-child ! The imbecility of it all is amusing in one way to the looker on but discouraging to any residual hopes of Russian progress towards improved conditions of social and political development.

In former ages Peter the Great, who in some respects was a ruler well suited to a semi-savage community, bequeathed an edict to his successors which they were not advanced enough to appreciate. He ordained that each Sovereign in turn should select his successor from among the members of the Imperial Family without regard to any rules of primogeniture. The beauty of this arrangement will, perhaps, be more generally recognised some day. The principle might be the best solution available for embarrassments that arise everywhere from too wooden and unintelligent an application of the hereditary rule. It claims serious attention on its own absolute merits independently altogether of Russian politics. But, anyhow, the Russians failed to understand it, and Paul (son of Catherine the Great) reverted to the simple, dull-witted rule of primogeniture, with preference for male heirs. In doing so, indeed, he emphasised the principle that there can be no principle in the Russian succession ; because each Sovereign, by his own example, is shown to be entitled to evolve a new law of succession. If the present Czar had reverted to the idea of Peter the Great, and had declared the Grand Duchess Olga heiress to the throne irrespective even of any future little brothers, the traditions of the country would have given that decree as much validity as could attach to any other on the subject. And then, also, the Russian people might have reflected that in a few years more, for Olga has now attained the advanced age of nine, the Czar would be supported by an heiress old enough to wield the sceptre, if he himself should lose his life to the Nihilists. As it is, the birth of the infant who has already, regardless of humour, been made a Colonel of Hussars, will merely guarantee the evils of a long regency in that far from impossible event.

The Emperor Paul who proclaimed by the edict referred to his attachment to the most rigid view of the hereditary principle,

was the son of Catherine the Great who disliked him and tried to disinherit him, but his friends contrived to destroy her will; so he enjoyed (?) a short and troubled reign for five years, and was then assassinated like his "father"—as in courtesy contemporaries described the deplorable creature Peter III. *His* only service to Russia was that he served as a stepping stone between insignificance and the throne, for his wife, the wonderful Catherine, so competent as a ruler, and so very far from being a saint. The only thing certain about the parentage of her children is that Peter was not really related to them in any way. And, as she was a German, the notion of regarding the later Czars as Romanoffs is very quaint,—as, in a peculiar degree, is the fact that the severity of the hereditary rule, with preference for the male representative of the family, should have been established in Russia by her son.

For the rest, as regards any possible complications that may embarrass this country in connection with flagrant breaches of international law by the Russians, the one comfort we have is that Parliament is no longer sitting. As every other consideration is subordinate, while it does sit, to the importance, from the Opposition point of view, of embarrassing the Government, it is always to be feared, when the House of Commons is in full activity, that the interests of the country may somehow get sacrificed to the supreme necessity of annoying Mr. Balfour.

TERRIBLE discoveries have been brought to light by the investigation of the circumstances attending the dreadful miscarriage of justice in the case of Mr. Adolf Beck. It was bad enough to learn in the first instance that an innocent man had been condemned to seven years penal servitude, and had actually gone through that frightful ordeal. But looking back to the details of his trial, these, in the light of subsequent events, reveal behaviour on the part of the judicial authorities concerned that is an even graver scandal. The Treasury authorities, as though they were carrying on the prosecution of Beck with the sole object of getting a conviction, suppressed evidence that made it

certain Beck was not guilty. It was proved beyond question that he was in Peru in 1880. It was in process of proof that the offences with which he was charged must have been committed by a certain John Smith, in prison in 1880. If this had been clearly set forth to the jury all suspicious circumstances against Beck would have been swept aside as of no consequence. But Mr. Ivory, the Treasury barrister, objected to the evidence being taken, and it is bewildering to find that the Judge (now Sir Forrest Fulton) supported him in this objection. That ruling by the Judge had the effect of sending an innocent man to seven years penal servitude. And the situation is the more shameful, because while denied the opportunity of proving that he was not John Smith, Beck received a crushing sentence on the assumption that he was !

It is an awful thought that such judicial mistakes can be made with impunity. No less shocking to everyone with a capacity to appreciate the sacredness of justice, is the present revelation of the spirit in which at all events sometimes the work of the Public Prosecutor's department is carried on. Criminal courts and magistrates are but too ready to assume that a public prosecution is all but equivalent to proof of guilt in advance. The counsel representing such prosecutions have a comparatively easy task. It is supposed that they have gone into any case they take up in the interests of the community, with no hostility to the accused, and have arrived at good reasons for regarding him as guilty. The counsel for the defence has to contend from the beginning with a strong presumption against the prisoner. All this would not matter if the theory on which the prevailing idea depends were well founded. But frequent experience has shown that it is not well founded. Sometimes, in spite of all the advantages, in the unholy game he plays, that the Treasury barrister enjoys, the prisoner he attacks is proved at last to be innocent. In how many cases where he wins his game and "gets a conviction" (the prize of victory from his point of view) may the result be an outrage on, instead of a vindication of justice ?

If the work of the Public Prosecutor is habitually carried on in the spirit shown in the Adolf Beck case, then the department

over which he presides is a curse to the community instead of a shield and a weapon of defence.

The crimes of which Beck stood charged were of a kind that no one will want to palliate, but the offence committed by the authorities appointed to administer justice when they give rise to such a hideous result as that which the Beck case exhibits is infinitely worse. The blame lies partly with the Public Prosecutor's department, the mental atmosphere of which, its whole methods and system, seem to be gravely in fault, and partly with the system or traditions which have surrounded the judicial function with a kind of sanctity that experience does not justify at all. The Judge is the only public official who is entirely exempt from all penalties for blundering. In old days his irresponsibility was supposed to be a popular defence against the tyranny of the Crown. Now that fear of such tyranny is as much out of date as the fear of the Danes that troubled England in King Alfred's time, it is absurd to go on guarding ourselves from a non-existent peril at the cost of such occurrences as those which the Beck trial exemplified.

Now that we are about to turn over a new leaf in connection with the system of National Education in this country, peculiar interest attaches to the record of work done by the London School Board up to date since its establishment in 1870. The story is well told in a new book entitled "London at School," by Mr. Hugh B. Philpott (published by Fisher Unwin). The writer is an enthusiast for progress, for improving and developing the board schools, and for sparing no expense in educating the children of the lower classes up to the highest levels that can be reached with the help of Evening and Continuation schools, gymnasiums, practical science classes, infant schools for the youngest children, and scholarships for the eldest, conducting them, if possible, to the loftier influence of the Universities. People who dwell with gloomy discontent on the fact that while, for the first two years of the school board system the cost thereof was defrayed by a rate amounting to only a fraction of a penny in the pound, now the

corresponding rate is nearly 1s. 4d., are scorned by Mr. Philpott as obscurantists. The grudging refusal of the Education Department to provide grants for teaching the people French, Algebra, and Science, leads to the remark that the inadequacy of the machinery allowed "is too obvious to need pointing out. Whatever else has been done by the London School Board in the direction of higher education has been done without government encouragement and support, and entirely at the cost of the ratepayers." Whether the ratepayer is satisfied that it should be so done is a question Mr. Philpott leaves aside as quite unimportant.

The record before us will hardly guide the enthusiasm of all its readers into the channels along which that of the writer flows so freely. If it were possible to imagine the people of England all endowed with a rich volume of literary culture, and following pursuits in life appropriate to men and women of culture, that would be a very beautiful state of things. But whatever we spend upon the education of the people the broad necessity still remains that most of them will have to get their living by humble manual work of one kind or another, and it seems very doubtful whether their happiness in that state of life to which it has pleased Providence to call them, will be greatly accentuated by teaching which can hardly fail to have the effect of enabling them to realise how very preferable other states of life might be. Practically, if we may trust observers of life in the East of London, much less mischief than might have been expected to arise from it is actually done to the people by their over education, for the simple reason, that after they escape from the Board Schools they rarely see a book of any kind, or feel the smallest inclination to exercise any of the accomplishments acquired during their compulsory service of the Muses. The factory routine absorbs them as it absorbed the previous generations, and the attitude of mind in which they contemplate their destinies does not seem to be poisoned by any new infection of discontent. But the elaborate systems of the School Boards are not substantially justified by the fact—if that be the fact—that the teaching imposed with so much trouble to all parties concerned is shuffled off the minds of the recipients without doing them any harm as soon as they are enabled to evade its further operation.

The Act of 1870 was based upon a principle that no one will now want to quarrel with. Half the children of the country at that date, as special investigation showed, were growing up unable to read or write. It did seem a national duty to correct that state of things. And at first the new Act did not seem to aim at much more than the provision of reasonable opportunities for children whose parents wished them to be taught. Certainly compulsion was provided for from the first, but in the beginning it was exercised with great moderation. The first school board in London put the act in force in accordance with the spirit in which it was conceived. Later boards have developed the original idea enormously. The system of public education now prevailing was not foreshadowed to any appreciable extent by the Act of 1870. It has been a later growth that no formal decision of the Legislature has ever sanctioned. Other people besides the motorists might perhaps be accused of furious driving.

THE efficacy of blue light as an anæsthetic is among the most interesting discoveries announced during the last few weeks. Dr. Camille Redard, of Geneva, is the author of this method, and a correspondent of the *Daily Mail* heroically tested the blue light effect by having a tooth extracted under its influence. He lay back in a long chair, and an electric light of sixteen candle power in a blue glass bulb was adjusted within about eight inches of his eyes. A sensation of coolness round the eyeballs gradually supervened, then a feeling of restfulness but no unconsciousness. In due time the doctor signed to him to open his mouth. "I felt the instrument grasp the tooth and watched the doctor pull. The next instant I saw the molar before me not having felt the slightest pain."

That story opens the door to a great many reflections. Of course the only people who continue to disbelieve in the subtler, finer forces of Nature,—the heirs of those who persecuted the early mesmerists and denied the reality of clairvoyance,—are those who preserve their opinions by guarding their ignorance with great care. As regards this matter of suppressing pain,

every person claiming in these days to be educated ought to know that surgical operations of all kinds have been performed painlessly on patients rendered insensible by no other anæsthetic than mesmerism. But that method is not universally applicable. Probably the majority of people at the present day would be unaffected by mesmeric processes. The influence is as real as Charing Cross, but it must find a receptive organism before it can bring about results. That renders chloroform a much more valuable anæsthetic than mesmerism. But it has its disadvantages, insignificant as these may be, compared to the blessings it has conferred upon mankind. Now it is just possible that the blue light method may lie midway between the ultra delicacy of the mesmeric method, and the ultra physical character of the familiar anæsthetics.

Meanwhile, the effects of coloured light on animals and plants in states of health and disease are as yet very imperfectly understood. Some medical specialists have devoted themselves to the "light-cure" as such, irrespective of colour, conceiving good results to ensue from simple bathing in the brilliant light of innumerable electric lamps enclosed in a structure like a portable Turkish bath. And other enthusiasts have long been proclaiming the virtues of blue light, whether applied to the human organism or as a stimulus to the growth of plants. But the abstract probabilities of the matter seem to point to the idea that different coloured lights would act very differently with different people or different plants. So subtle a test as taste in colour is not to be altogether despised. Some people think some shade of blue the prettiest among the colours. Others prefer some variety of red, or pink, or green, and others again profess a preference for the subdued shades that were especially fashionable a few years ago for decorative purposes. These preferences are not meaningless, but their meaning has not yet been catalogued. In the same way, however, it is more than likely that for the same ailment in different people different coloured lights would be the appropriate remedies. We must not run away with the idea that blue is the only light to swear by.

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"THE TIMES" COMPETITION.

BY THE FIRST PRIZE-WINNER.

THE examination on the subject-matter of the Encyclopædia Britannica conducted by *The Times* during a great part of the year 1903, came in for a good deal of derision from the fashionable and the journalistic world. That a serious examination, such as this unquestionably was, should be so treated can hardly fail to suggest the inference of jealousy on the part of the scoffers. The farce by which the lowest boys in each class are at present selected as cadets for the Royal Navy secured innumerable journalistic pattings for the backs of its worthy inventors; the stimulus to self-education provided by *The Times* elicited sneers from the same journals and from the after-dinner orator. "They had not, fortunately for themselves," said one of these brilliant flouters, "gone in for the competition. They had been informed since the competition ended that the less they knew about matters generally the more chance they had of succeeding in the competition. They could be very glad that they did not take the trouble to go in for it, because they knew too much to recover any of the prizes." *Nigræ sucus loliginis*; had the orator tried and failed?

That the opinion of the really learned about this examination differed from the acidities excogitated after the event by the merely flippant for the consolation of the merely smart, may be gathered from a remark made to me by a brilliant Fellow of one of the older Universities on the character of the examination from an educational point of view. "We lag behind," he said, "Fellowships ought not to be given for answers to papers set in the

Examination Hall, but for essays and research done out of Hall." Now this is just what *The Times* Examination required; independent research on indicated lines, and essays, in some cases, composed under conditions of artificial difficulty. It was a test of the ability to collect facts, to trace clues, to weigh and criticise evidence, draw inferences, and express all in clear, accurate and concise terms. The disadvantage under which general knowledge laboured consisted in its temptation to omit demonstration of well-known but essential points—as our after-dinner orator suppressed per invidiam the fact that candidates were warned of that disadvantage before entry,—but this temptation is one that culture, as distinguished from the omniscient flippancy of the advocate, would, I think, tend to correct.

The subject-matter of the Examination was, admittedly, not such specialized knowledge as the University don should acquire; it was more varied and more popular, yet within a limited area of research, but it was of specialization and range sufficient to interest the man of average culture. I have had experience of many examinations—as examinee in some of the most difficult at the Universities, and as teacher for the most severe test imposed by the Civil Service Commission; I have been an examiner myself—and I am clear that the examination conducted by *The Times* was of a kind beyond all comparison more likely to bring out the best work, and to enable the examinee to do himself justice, than any other I have encountered. The competition may be recognised as a huge and most brilliantly conceived advertisement, without on that account sinking dignity in the expression of jealousy at its success.

Similar indication of the opinion formed about this examination by the learned may be gathered from the fact that the name of a Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, appears in the list of prize-winners, and from the position of that gentleman's name in the list a further inference might be drawn as to the real difficulty and value of the examination.

Large grants have occasionally been made by the State in return for investigations that have proved of great practical value, but rarely, if ever before, has so large a sum as £1,000 (with 92 prizes of smaller amount), been offered as an encouragement—for

whatever reason—to research itself. At one bound, self-education in England (*quia tanti quantum habeas sis*), rose almost to the dignity of the Derby.

The interest and importance of the examination is not a little increased by the gigantic scale on which it was conducted. More than 11,000 candidates entered for the Competition ; nearly 6,000 completed the three papers of twenty questions each. Thus, on the doctrine of averages, no less than 122 University dons, past or present, would seem to have competed, and I have heard that strong syndicates were started at the Universities and the Public Schools to tackle the papers. So, too, I have reason to believe that Convents entered for the Competition ; doubtless newspaper staffs followed their example. Nor do I think it was beneath the dignity of such bodies to attempt to secure by honest, if somewhat unconventional work, a prize so substantial as £1,000.

These 11,000 competitors must have been chiefly men and women of fair education. If at least 120 college dons competed, similar reasoning by the law of averages gives an estimate sufficiently accurate for the case, and shows that about 2,000 school-masters, 1,600 doctors, 1,400 clergy, and 1,100 lawyers must have entered—a fair proportion of the "learned professions." That delightful brochure "Wisdom on the Hire System" does, indeed, chronicle with admirable gravity entries from call-boys and chiripodists, burglars and bargees, but it may be questioned with equal gravity how many of these "enterprising gentlemen" possessed the Encyclopædia (or hired it for the occasion) ; it is not a work likely to appeal much, even for purposes of the Competition, to many of them. The authors, themselves, admit that some of these applicants withdrew after receiving the papers.

The numbers named above, 6,000 papers of 60 answers each, give a further idea of the enormous scale of the Competition ; a simple sum in multiplication will show that something like 360,000 solutions must have been submitted to the examiners for correction, apart from the incomplete papers of the remaining 5,000.

But in spite of the enormous number of answers, I am convinced that scrupulous care was employed in the examination of the papers, and that the impartiality of that examination was strictly worthy of *The Times*. "I am more pleased than I can

say," one of the examiners remarked to me in an interview after the result had been announced, "that you were a man totally unknown to me; I had never heard your name until it headed the list." Similarly an examiner told me that he had known that a friend of his own had entered the Competition, but so determined was he to prevent any personal connection from influencing the result that he had banished himself from his friend's circle for the three months during which the papers were being worked, lest any chance remark should unwittingly throw a light on the problems of the Examination. Some idea of the care shown in examining may be gained from a striking alteration in the position of one competitor—I think a prize-winner—due to the opinion of his papers formed by one particular examiner; after this examiner's consultation with his colleagues the candidate in question gained twenty places on the list. I have reason, too, to believe that my own papers were not unanimously held to be the best on first reading, but that their ultimate success was due to the final conference. I may add that, after the result, when preparing my book of answers for publication, I was courteously permitted to see my own marked papers, with a view to checking my duplicate in one or two places; I can, therefore, testify to the thoughtful consideration given to numerous details of one or another kind by the examiners. Here are a few typical notes made by them on my papers: "Too many references and explained at unnecessary length." But, in another hand, on Question 59 (The Importance of Sea-Power for England), "An exceptionally good answer, add 5." "This candidate gives more references than are needed. They are not, however, given at random, but so elaborately explained that no marks for style on that account are deducted. . . . To be decided later. Very full paper throughout." As a matter of fact, I lost 15 marks on "Irrelevant Matter," but that was a natural result of the theory on which I worked the papers, as will be shown later. On Question 43 is noted: "Loses one clue." On Question 58b (a Review of Recent Vatican Policy), is: "Better than marks we allow for; give 1 [mark]," and so on. Errors may, of course, have occurred from time to time, on the part of the examiners; if I recollect aright, I lost

some marks for the omission of a point which I had most carefully brought out in the important answer on the recent development of Japan (Question 51), and, in another case I got no credit for a detail that the examiners thought I had omitted, although I considered that it was duly indicated. Such slips must inevitably occur in any examination: they are part of the fortune of war, and I have no doubt that I lost as much on them as did anyone else.

In this, as in all similar competitions, competitors bound themselves by the act of entry to accept the decision of the judges as final, but the system of the Examination was such that trifling errors of the kind I have noticed could have made little real difference in the results. It is evident that a task of such magnitude must have been simplified in some way; to have examined all the papers with the minute care given to those of the best candidates would have been an impossibility, physical and mental. But I have no reason to doubt that all complete sets of papers sent in were examined adequately, unless, indeed, the writing of the competitor was illegible.

Judging by letters that I received after the publication of my book of answers, some candidates imagine that the style and form in which my work was submitted had an important, and, in their view, an illegitimate influence on the examiners' decision. One correspondent writes:—"The examiners gave most marks for a material departure from the 'holding-out' of the prospectus." Another says:—"Your answers ran counter to both the letter and the spirit of Rule 8." I think that these writers are in error on both points, at least so far as direct influence is concerned; I admit the possibility of an indirect influence as the result of my "form." The nature of that indirect influence I shall shew in the sequel.

The mistake that these critics make is due, I think, to a misunderstanding on their part, not on mine, of this Rule 8, which runs as follows:—

"Each answer must begin with the number of the corresponding question, and end with a list of the volume numbers, page numbers and page letters of every passage in the E. B. in which the competitor found information embodied in the answer. For instance, imagine that an answer is:—

"No. 9. Yes. Vol. 33, p. 241a; Vol. 18, p. 802b."

“‘9’ is the number of the question, ‘Yes’ is the answer, and the two passages in the E.B. indicated by the references give all the information which the competitor used, and justify the answer. Each page is divided for the purposes of the index into four sections. ‘a’ stands for the upper half of the first two columns on the page,” etc.

My correspondents seem to have supposed that the specimen here given of the form in which the answer was to be arranged and referenced was intended also to serve as a guide to the amount of substance required in the answer itself. What is the fact? “Suppose,” *The Times* says, “That your complete answer is no more than ‘Yes.’ Then you must display it thus.” This does not, I think, preclude the complete answer from being more than ‘Yes;’ it does not confine the competitor to a categorical answer. *The Times* chose to illustrate by the shortest and most non-committal of words, just because no answer could have consisted of that word. Yet this example of form was evidently taken also as a model of substance. The competitors were, perhaps fortified in their opinion by the notices attached to the later papers. “The answer should be given as briefly as is consistent with accuracy.” (Paper II.) and, “Several of these questions ask the competitor to state concisely the facts. . . . Questions of this sort might be supposed to require answers displaying literary finish. . . . [But] in examining the answers the marks will be awarded for the exhibition of common sense and clear judgment.” (Paper III.)

I must admit that, though I had given much consideration to the form in which I had decided to cast my answers, I was at first a good deal disturbed by the N.B. to Paper II. Yet on further reflection this notice seemed to me to convey nothing at all, except a reminder that “gas” was not desired; it was, in fact, an excellent illustration of the value of words for concealing thoughts. Now I knew that, although my answer to Question 20 (Paper I.) had run to ten pages, I had, nevertheless, not written “gas,” but had aimed at the utmost conciseness, a quality not necessarily identical with brevity, though, I think, fairly equivalent to “as briefly as is consistent with accuracy.” (N.B. Paper II.) Besides, the die was already cast, and I was not prepared, in deference to any threats, to change the method I had deliberately adopted. *Vester,*

Camena, navita Bosporum tentabo. If *The Times* chose to disallow my conception of concise accuracy so much the worse for me from a monetary point of view; my own sense of the style in which the questions deserved to be treated enabled me to make my answers, (at least to myself), in some small measure a work of art, and gave additional interest to working the papers.

The criticism of my correspondents turns chiefly on the presence of clues in my answers and of the running explanation shewing their connection. Writers that sent in the bare categorical answer and neglected to furnish clues (though I know that in some cases they had worked them out for their own satisfaction) are not unnaturally disappointed to find that their interpretation of Rule 8 was erroneous. Of course, their complaint is not so much a criticism of my method as an accusation against *The Times* of having misled them by the specimen answer and the notices.

I do not think that there was justification for their view, at least in the Rule; the notices attached to the second and third papers, although enjoining conciseness, ought not, I think, to have led any serious competitor to alter a method that he had deliberately adopted and had used for the first paper. The notices certainly made me take greater care than before to cut out every word not absolutely essential to my plan of answering; they did not lead me to change my plan. What the examiners thought on the subject has been stated above.

In point of fact, indication had already been given sufficient to permit of a correct judgment on this point. It is true that the "specimen answer" quoted above is the only "model answer" that *The Times* put forth by way of guidance. But it would be incorrect to say that no other guidance was vouchsafed; to every competitor *The Times* forwarded a grey pamphlet in which questions similar to those of the papers were printed and examples given of the way in which the answers could be worked out from the Encyclopædia. I quote the first specimen, and the essentials of the solution-method as given by the pamphlet:—

"In the eighteenth century, a young commander in the British Navy broke from the line of battle, without orders, to engage one of the enemy's ships. The enemy's vessel struck her colours, but, notwithstanding his success, the commander was dismissed the Service for

his breach of discipline. Another commander, defending Jamaica, did the same thing and was so highly praised for his enterprise that a controversy arose as to whether he was really entitled to the credit of having 'originated this manœuvre.' Yet an interval of less than forty years separated the two incidents, and one of these officers had actually served under the other. Name the two officers."

Omitting unnecessary explanations, this question is worked out as follows :—

"The clue here is the defence of Jamaica, probably in the 18th century. Turning to the index entry, 'Jamaica,' we are referred to Vol. 13, p. 548d., where we find the article 'Jamaica,' in the historical section of which, on p. 551a, are these words:

" 'The other principal event in the general history of Jamaica was the threatened invasion in 1782 by the combined fleets under De Grasse. It was saved by the victory of Hood and Rodney off Dominica.'

"Following up this, we look at the index entry 'Rodney,' On page 618b, we find a description of Rodney's victory off Dominica, and the statement: 'A long and wearisome controversy exists as to the originator, &c.'

"The same article gives the name of Haddock, Hawke, and Boscawen, as officers under whom Rodney served. Pursuing these clues, we find in the article 'Hawke,' this story, which forms the final link in the chain.

" 'In the engagement off Toulon in 1744, he broke the line of battle in order to engage the "Poder," and, although he succeeded in causing her to strike her colours, his breach of discipline was punished by dismissal from the service.' "

From this example the inference is, I think, clear that the answers were to be traced out by clues, and that those clues might be shown, though without unnecessary explanations. If, then, "clueing" was at least legitimate, even if not actually demanded, had the candidate any reason to expect that it would be to his advantage to give the clues? I think that there was ample reason for such a belief.

The advertisements of the Examination began on or about April 1st, 1903; in my own case my application was answered by my number on April 10th. That number was 557, giving an average of about 56 entries per diem. It was obvious that the Competition was a huge advertisement, and that *The Times* would therefore keep the lists open for at least a month or so. Hence it might be expected that some thousands of competitors would enter, and each entry presumably meant 60 answers for the examiners to handle; some wholesale means of reducing this accumulation would clearly be a necessity.

Different conceptions were, no doubt, formed of the system of elimination likely to be employed by the examiners; as my own theory was what first decided the form in which I expressed my answers, I shall proceed to explain it, adding a description of the method actually used.

I argued that, as some virtually mechanical means would be necessary for primary selection, the papers would first be passed to a body of clerks, provided with the correct solutions of those questions that admitted of categorical answers, and instructed to reject any set that failed to answer all such questions correctly, or that omitted an attempt to answer any question whatsoever. This belief accounts for the short categorical answer prefixed, wherever possible, to the "traced" answer; it was for the benefit of the mechanical sorters, and this, with an identifying reference attached, is evidently what many competitors thought sufficient. Such an answer any smart boy or girl could have given to almost any of the questions, although that is not precisely what *The Times* stated in those words of the grey pamphlet which have been frequently quoted as a railing accusation by the disappointed. But I am at a loss to understand how any sane man could imagine that a prize which *The Times* had pledged itself not to divide could possibly have been awarded, at least with any justice, in return for merely categorical answers to questions that "any bright lad or girl, sixteen years old" could have solved. No possible elimination of a single winner could have been made on that principle.

A second mechanical sorting seemed to me to be likely. The prizes were for research in the Encyclopædia. Presumably the second test would be applied by insisting that a minimum number of correct and apposite references should appear; a test equally capable of mechanical application. To make sure of not missing any that the examiners might have marked, I gave all that I could find, subject to my being able to work them honestly into connection with the question. In doing this I began to realise that "clueing" opened the way to the insertion of a good many references not otherwise available. Then the fascination of the Competition (from the Sherlock Holmes point of view) came upon me, and I threw my answers into the "step-by-step" form as far as possible. Here, for instance, is my answer to Question 5.

Question: "Name the diplomat—whose monument is in Eton College—who defined an ambassador as an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country."

Answer: Sir Henry Wotton.

The statutes, mentioned in the Art. "Eton" as being in the school, are those of Sir Henry Wotton and the royal founder (King Henry VI.)

Sir H. Wotton was one of the favourite diplomatists of King James I. of England. Two of his witticisms are immortal—his definition of an ambassador as an "honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country," &c.

The 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of the answer form the "tracing." The 2nd deals with the primary clue (the parenthesis of the question). This is inconclusive by excess, hence the (referenced) word "royal" before "founder" is not otiose, but is intended to exclude Henry VI., kings not usually acting as their own diplomatists. The 3rd paragraph justifies the categorical answer, by completing the demonstration that Sir Henry Wotton fulfils all the conditions of the question.

So much for clues; I think I have shown that *The Times* expected them, and that competitors might fairly have inferred that expectation; the running explanation in my answers is, however, another matter. As regards this point I can only say that I took the risk, and that the examiners ratified my decision. As the clues were to appear, I thought that I should be more likely to gain by adding the words needed to explain their connection than by leaving that connection to be inferred by a human examiner working very probably against time. Still I tried to minimize the risk by giving the categorical answer first where it was possible to do so. I might have lost marks for irrelevance, if the explanations had been adjudged unnecessary, but I stood to gain by the certainty that my clues and answers would be intelligible, and the method itself led to greater thoroughness and minuteness in my work.

Though I am now inclined to think that the examiners disregarded, as a rule, any clues that they had not themselves anticipated, yet I am fairly certain that they allowed for any important clue or point that had escaped their notice in setting the papers. Now, on the prescribed system of referencing, such a clue could only have

been indicated as occurring in a given half-column of the Encyclopædia, and an examiner, even if he turned up the reference, might well have missed its point, if no more than the bare reference had been given. But the running explanation made the point obvious without even involving a search in the Encyclopædia. The examiner might not consider the point important, and, if so, it doubtless scored no marks, or cost some, but it might, on the other hand, bring out some matter of interest, and thus gain a mark or two. The remark on my answer on Vatican Policy, quoted above, shows that such gains were not impossible.

Similarly in my answer on Anti-Semitism, I show grounds for believing that the Prussian State-debt to Bleichröder was probably unpaid in 1871. This point, I think, was not anticipated. The answer reads thus: "Although Austria paid an indemnity (3.140d), yet, as war with France was known to be inevitable (26.266a) it is unlikely that the debt to Bleichröder had been discharged before 1871." If I had not explained my reasoning as I went along, the answer might have taken this form: "The debt to Bleichröder was still unpaid; *vide* the two references." Even this would have been open to attack on the strict theory of the non-explainers, but what chance would the examiner have had of grasping the point in the second form? He would, have been obliged to look up the two references, read the two half-columns, and in all probability would even then have failed to pick out the particular two and two that made my four, and would, therefore, have deducted marks for the apparent irrelevance of a reference which, in reality, supplied confirmatory evidence of the proposition under demonstration.

Again, my rule of explaining the clues probably led me to discover points that I might otherwise have missed. Question 13 reads: "Going as far as possible from the chief port of Peru, we find ourselves in a country where, etc." Many competitors gave China as the country in question—one did so on the strength of Johnson's well-known lines:—

"Let observation, with extensive view.
Survey mankind from China to Peru."

Personally, I felt bound to reason out my clue that the most distant point from Callao would be its antipodes, and accordingly,

arrived quite correctly at Rovac, just inside the boundary of Siam.

It is in these ways, I think, that my method may have had an indirect influence on the examiners. If the clues and references had not been as exhaustive as I could make them, I might have missed points of importance; if they had not been explained, the examiners might have missed their significance. But I know from what I have seen of the marking of my own papers that the explanatory style did not, in itself, score marks.

Thus the following answers would have received the same marks, so far as explanation is concerned, in solution of Question 14. "What famous Anglican hymn was written during the second quarter of the last century in an orange boat off the Corsican coast?"

(1) "Lead, kindly Light." 12.595d. 31.158b.

(2) "Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom."

"This is mentioned as among the remarkable hymns of the first half of the nineteenth century, and is referred to its author, J. H. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman. (12.595d.)

'In June, 1833 (second quarter of the nineteenth century), Newman was becalmed in an orange boat in the Strait of Bonifaccio (31.158b), between Corsica and Sardinia (34.18.M.12), and here he wrote the verses: "Lead, Kindly Light," which later became popular as a hymn. (31.158b.)'

Yet the first answer explains nothing; the second shows the tracing completely. It is not impossible, however, that No. 1 might have lost a point for omitting to state, and No. 2 have gained it for proving by the Atlas reference (34, &c.) that the Straits of Bonifaccio are "off the coast of Corsica." And here the indirect influence of my method came in, but, as stated above, I might easily have lost marks by this method, and, in point of fact, I did lose some, from applying it unnecessarily.

Question 42, for instance, begins: "A city, captured after a great battle in 1620, etc." I went to the trouble of carefully tracing on these lines: "1620 is within the reign of James I. of England, suggesting, through the Princess Elizabeth, the Thirty Years' War, in which the battle of White Hill, in 1620, &c." This, unlike the answer to Henry VIII. (41. A.), was not a case of setting up a

system of clues to account for an answer already known, but represents the actual process of tracing by which, in this case, I arrived at the answer. Unfortunately, a reference to the article "Chronology" would have given me the battle of White Hill under 1620, without the superfluous tracing by clues. On these grounds five references went out, and with them, I think, 10 marks.

But though this special application of the method was wrong, the method itself was right, and though my special theory of the means of elimination was wrong, it served me in good stead of a correct theory. I am permitted to state that the actual elimination of the unsatisfactory candidates was effected by setting eight questions of special difficulty in each paper; failure to answer any of these questions meant exclusion from the prize-list. The papers of those that survived this test were subjected to a complete and thorough scrutiny, and it would have been in this scrutiny that the importance of clues and references would have had effect. Lastly, in each paper a certain number of questions occurred that did not admit much chance of absolutely equal answers; for any two persons to have answered the whole of these questions without presenting means of discrimination would have been practically impossible. Such were Question 20 (first paper), requiring a concise description of "the social progress and increase of comfort due to the advance made by science during the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century," a subject of great interest, but one on which no two persons were at all likely to submit precisely the same matter. The examiners' note on my own work, which was, of course, in essay form, was: "Very full answer; leaves absolutely no stone unturned." It ought not to have left many unturned, for its composition occupied the best part of three weeks. I am proud, too, of a wish expressed by one of my correspondents that it could be substituted for the articles on the subject in the *Encyclopædia*. Its scope, however, was totally different from that of those articles.

But the questions were not all of a nature to admit of clueing. In some cases the article of the *Encyclopædia* required was obvious without such treatment; in others, as a part of the test, the number of words allowed for the answer was limited. In the latter case, there were no words to spare for detailing clues;

fifty words were all too few to describe the "revolutionary development in artistic history marked by the criticism: 'Every attitude will portray a situation . . . every part will please, because the whole will be a true and faithful imitation of nature.'" To insert clues in this answer was impossible; the only course open was to find the quotation in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and summarise the revolution described.

Yet, curiously enough, in this particular case the examiners evidently at first expected a clue; the note on my answer reads: "No clue here, but the words conceivably send one straight to the answer." The words did nothing of the kind in my case; I searched for the quotation under every artistic head I could think of, and spent the best part of a week in doing so. Ultimately I found it by the very simple, but rather uninteresting method of reading the contents table of each of the New Volumes, and turning up every likely article for further examination. Happily the quotation was in an early volume. As a matter of fact, this question is mentioned by *The Times* in its announcement of the results as one of those that caused special difficulty to competitors.

Among the questions some were merely tests of diligent work, but others led to information of considerable interest. Such, for instance, was the question (No. 12) "At what maximum distances above and below the level from which they start, are kites used?" The interest turns on "below," and I think the answer will surprise anyone who looks it up. Again the pathetic story of the "Little Magician" whose gratitude led him at six years old to promise marriage to the future Queen of France: "You are very kind; when I grow up I will marry you;" the account of the naïve cupidity of the Thibetan monks, or of Valmiki's jealousy of Hanuman were interesting, and, to me, at least, new. In composing the summaries on Sea-power (Question 59), on Japan (Question 51), on recent developments in strategy and tactics (Question 54), and on Anti-Semitism (Question 40), much valuable knowledge was acquired. In some cases, again, the tracing process had a fascination of its own, as Question 26 on the fore-runners of "Gulliver," or Question 39, involving a criticism of the action and *mise en scène* of a French "Living Picture," or that on kites already named.

A delightful misprint occurs on the first page of the questions, (which the manager of *The Times* kindly permitted me to reprint in my book of answers.) It reads:—“At a dinner partly given in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.” What a banquet the Lytton-Disraeli dinner must have been, if it was only “partly” given in a quarter of a century!

I hope to return in another article to some criticisms that have been made on individual questions, as distinguished from those on the general conduct of the Examination, but I cannot close this instalment without expressing my belief that this Examination was absolutely without precedent in at least one respect; I mean in the number and the generous chivalry of the congratulations received by the first Prizeman from his disappointed fellow-competitors, and, indeed, from the public at large, not only on the first announcement of the result, but subsequently on the publication of the answers in book form. In the latter case there were, of course, sundry criticisms, but these were couched in language so courteous that nothing but the great number of my correspondents prevented my writing separate letters in reply to each. The present article and its successor will, I trust, in some measure atone for my failure in that respect.

LESLIE ASHE.

THE PURPOSE OF KNOWLEDGE.

THE occupation of Cambridge this year by the British Association has given rise to some revival of the never-ending dispute concerning the relative value of classical and scientific knowledge. A clever journalist has reflected in the columns of the *Daily Mail* the scornful opinions concerning "the awful jargon" of the scientific magnates entertained by a venerable professor devoted to the classics, the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, of St. John's. In the proceedings of the Association he could find "neither pleasure or understanding." He considered the exponents of science "incapable of expressing themselves in language intelligible to educated men. . . . I really think they ought to make it their business, in the interests of science—which we must suppose exists for humanity,—to express themselves in such a fashion as scholars at least can understand."

The complaint, of course, will be exceedingly amusing to the men of science, who will regard the scholar's inability to understand them as a brilliant illustration of the worthlessness of the mental culture to which he has been devoted; and if he is fairly represented by his interviewer, his position is unsound to the outer limits of absurdity. He seems to fancy that a growing disbelief in the supreme importance of Latin and Greek is due simply to a desire that boys may be taught French and German instead. He has not begun to perceive that it is due to a vague feeling that the comprehension of Nature—of the laws controlling human life and guiding the evolution of the world around us—is becoming supremely important, for generations now enabled to

approach that comprehension much more nearly than was possible for their predecessors during the last dozen centuries. The earlier theory of mental culture rested on the belief that the study of language, *per se*, and the intricacies of grammar, enlarged and developed the powers of the mind, while familiarity with the two great languages of antiquity introduced the student to magnificent schemes of philosophical thought, that could not be neglected by the aspirant to genuine culture. While scientific knowledge was still in its infancy that theory held the field. Only those who were impelled by inner forces they did not yet understand, were induced to throw aside the records of ancient wisdom and concentrate their efforts on the interrogation of Nature by experimental methods. For them the mere grammarian was a blear-eyed "dry-as-dust," an ignoramus in spite of his boasted "scholarship," blind to the glimmer of the new light shining through the crevices of the curtain concealing true knowledge. The thinkers of the past were fossil remnants of an age gone by. In so far as it might be worth while to absorb the fruit of their thinking, unripe as this could not but be by reason of the backward state of natural science at the Grecian period, it was always possible to drain ancient wisdom dry with the help of translations. If the so-called "scholars" scoffed at translations they were unconsciously condemning their own scholarship. What could that be worth if it did not enable the possessors to make accurate translations.

The champions of classical culture meanwhile, had all the advantages accruing from the solidity of the citadel they defended. Only a few rebels against constituted authority had insolently assaulted the virgin fortress; no one had dreamed of questioning its invulnerable character. Classical scholarship was the only mental furniture that could be identified with true education. The scholar regarded all other kinds as on a level with the tricks of a performing poodle. By dint of repeating the creed of the colleges,—I believe in Greek and Latin as the only mental food productive of intellectual culture—he induced many innocent people to accept it for gospel, and all the vested interests of the scholastic profession were enlisted on his side. But the assailants of the fortress were constantly gaining reinforcements; the weapons of

attack were constantly exhibiting improvement, the walls crumbling before their attack could never be strengthened. The garrison had no fresh material to use for repairing the breaches. If the attacking force had cared to persevere there could only have been one result to chronicle. But they became a host in themselves, satisfied with the cities in their own occupation and with the allegiance of the country people. We may drop the metaphor. The conflict between science and the classics in the domain of education has subsided because science has gained all it cared to win,—abundant opportunity for its own expansion, and the respect of the world. The scholar is politely left in his own retirement, content with the admiration he bestows on his own image in the glass.

But in truth the representatives of the newer culture are in danger of developing a new bigotry, and, foolish as the fancy may be which tends to disparage the effect of scientific study as an influence for the enlargement of the mind and understanding, ridiculous as the assumption may be which affects to recognise this influence as emanating from the study of classical languages alone, the modern scientific student is often as little illuminated as the Greek professor whom he would think of as a fossil, by any guiding principle in the pursuit of knowledge. He may quite unconsciously have been driven forward by an evolutionary law compelling him to pave the way for successors of more enlightened purpose, but it is perfectly true that, fascinating as it may be to its devotees, detailed knowledge concerning the attributes of physical matter, however invigorating its pursuit may be to the mind of the pursuer, does not in itself conduce to any final result comparable in dignity with those aimed at, however vainly, by the metaphysicians of the ancient world. The Cambridge professor whose incapacity to understand the "jargon" of the British Association is so amusing, despises the activity of the scientist—if he is correctly reported—because (with the arrogance so characteristic of defective information) he declares "there will be no satisfying life's mystery until the awakening of death," so he thinks that science had better give up all further attempts to penetrate the secrets of Nature, and be content with the humble tranquility of the Christian faith.

The idea embodied in these few words is as unsound as any which language could frame, but the deeply seated fallacy in the argument is, perhaps, overlooked by many of those (obeying a healthy impulse without knowing why) whom the classical professor endeavours to annihilate. Unless, indeed, there were hope of unveiling "Life's Mystery" by the ceaseless and indefatigable interrogation of Nature—then, indeed, physical science would be a barren and unprofitable pursuit. But the assertion that the mystery never will be unveiled by scientific effort is no less ludicrous in the sight of those who have already to some extent been enabled to lift the veil, than the Professor's calm assumption that "the awakening of death" will invest the man who "passes on" with a full comprehension of the mysteries in question. His charge against the scientists has, indeed, a sharper point than he supposes. That with which he thinks to wound them is not a point at all, but many of them are unaware of the possibilities that really give importance to scientific research. Just because that will in the long run inevitably bring them into touch with the solutions of some among life's mysteries, their pursuits are the most important with which the present generation can be engaged.

And now, parting company with the antiquated controversy concerning the relative merits of classical and scientific culture as merely rival methods of educating the understanding, let us see if it is possible to frame a real theory concerning the purpose of knowledge from the point of view of the ulterior results. Some of the platitudes of primitive religious thinking may, indeed, cast light on the inquiry. The humble faith of the Christian, at all events, points to the continuity of life in some ill-comprehended condition after the "awakening of death." And the only surprising fact in that connection that we have to consider is the extraordinary neglect of that belief which the humble Christian, as a general rule, exhibits in his daily life. If the faith were held in a tenacious grasp the interests of a brief life of a few decades would sink into insignificance beside the preparation for that larger life assumed to be eternal in duration, but the conditions of which are also assumed to be depending a good deal on such preparation. By some Christians, indeed, the answer would be that they do not depend upon

action in this life but merely on Divine grace, to be procured by lip-service and declarations of belief. But this theory does not really find any logical support in experience, because those who profess it most earnestly are certainly amongst those who seek by good lives here to prepare themselves for beatitude hereafter. If they believed what they say, the effort to lead good lives would be wasted trouble. The illogicality of the others is too glaring to need comment. But with how many is the professed faith in a future life really held? Their conduct in a huge majority of cases seems to imply that a grievous doubt on the subject paralyses their behaviour, leading to the practical compromise so many people make with their consciences, making the best of circumstances while the physical life lasts, and putting in a sort of insurance against the risks of immortality by moderate concessions to the higher dictates of religion. The devotees of science, on the other hand, may be divided into two great classes—those who combine with scientific study pursued from the mere love of intellectual activity, the Christianity-and-water just described, and those who are frankly agnostic—who, if they go to church at all, do so simply on the same principle which leads them to wear frock coats in London—the impulse to do so being no more worthy of respect than that which leads the ladies of their families to follow the prevailing fashion in the drapery of their limbs.

These varied attitudes of mind are one and all as unhealthy as ignorance can render them. If it should be possible for a later generation, looking back upon this age from a level of human development illuminated by true knowledge concerning the ultimate destinies of humanity, to shape their course in life by the light of such knowledge, they will wonder at the marvellous apathy shown by our contemporaries as a rule in reference to possibilities of acquiring the all important knowledge scintillating around us. For knowledge as such to an immortal being is of no value at all unless it has some bearing on the conditions and prospects of his immortality. That does not mean that the sensible course to pursue is to neglect whatever knowledge may be available, and to be content with a faith which has no definite outlines, and is proved by the experience of the world at large to be inoperative as a rule of life,—but it means that any fragments

of knowledge which really have a direct bearing on the problems of the future are more precious than any abundance of other knowledge relating merely to transient interests, that will be for all of us as though they had never troubled us, a hundred years hence.

Have any fragments of such knowledge yet come into our possession? If so, what kind of effort and research will be best conducive to their expansion? If not, what activities of the intellect will afford the best hope of reaching to such knowledge eventually?

Of course, it would be affectation to suppress the conviction entertained by the present writer and by large numbers of people engaged in similar pursuits, to the effect that no mere fragments, but a very considerable volume of such knowledge is already in our possession. To begin with, there are, as everyone knows, many millions of people in this country and America who are absolutely satisfied by personal experience that friends and relations of theirs who have "died" are able still to communicate with them, and eager to maintain that, far from being dead, really, they are more alive than ever. The stupid herd of outsiders who ridicule these assurances are as little worthy of attention as the cattle booing in a field. The multitudes of the intervening class who have had no personal experience, but are capable of appreciating the force of evidence and reason, could easily satisfy themselves that the convictions referred to are well founded by reading a few books on the subject. But although there is a great gulf between those who *know* that the future life is a reality, and those—the pupils of the churches,—who merely attempt to insure against the possibility that it may be so,—the familiar methods of popular inquiry into the conditions of the life to come, have been painfully unsuccessful as regards the evolution of any view of the future that can be treated as a "self-sufficing system of belief," to quote Mr. Balfour's phrase. The Spiritualists have established with a certainty that the world at large is far as yet from appreciating the fact that human consciousness survives the change called death in all cases. But only by a small body as yet, the *élite* of the Spiritualistic world (for the occultist only differs from the ordinary Spiritualist in knowing a

little more) have the conditions of that after state been studied in the way which leads to extended knowledge, concerning not merely the fact of survival, but the laws which govern survival, and the developments of the life hereafter. It is only the occultist so far who has been able to survey the scheme of human evolution as a whole, to comprehend its origins, and foresee the potentialities of its ultimate progress, and it is only *this* knowledge that really at last begins to cast a clear light on the road to be travelled, which effectually links the activities of this life with their consequences in others, and puts the human being for the first time in touch with ideas that may vitally determine his destinies, and darken or brighten his future.

It is not necessary for the elucidation of the present argument to embody in this essay a complete exposition of the great scheme of human evolution which occult study has enabled some of us to comprehend in outline. But it may be possible to say enough concerning the broad design of that evolution to cover the purpose immediately in hand,—the definition of the real motives which, apart from the gratification of the moment, render the acquisition of knowledge desirable. “The gratification of the moment,” in the sense of the phrase just used, is all that the average man of culture of our own time—whether he be scientist or scholar—is in the habit of thinking of. The “moment” is his current physical life—but a moment in his existence if he be really an immortal being. And who among either scientists or scholars stop to ask themselves how far the knowledge they spend so much pains in acquiring will help on their progress in another state of existence. The unintellectual, humble-minded devotee, however unconscious of the laws he is invoking, is by one degree more sensible, for his life does take cognisance of the future as something to be thought about in advance, however little his thoughts may divine its programme correctly.

To begin with, the fundamental oversight which leads the ordinary cultured world astray is the neglect of the root idea of natural evolution,—the continued growth, under the law of Reincarnation, of the spiritual ego of each human being. The whole subject must be made a study in itself before the absolute truth and certainty that human evolution is carried on

by the method of repeated immersion in physical life, is borne in on the understanding. But once firmly lodged there, the all important deductions swiftly follow. The development of the civilised from the savage races becomes a process clearly visible to the mind's eye. And the certainty that the great process of development has not yet touched its final possibilities becomes no less glaringly obvious. Imagination puts no limit on the ultimate design of Nature with respect to human progress,—meaning by that phrase not a mere appearance on the earth at some future date of a race far superior to our own, but the improvement of *ourselves* in later incarnations in a manner which may render us beings as much higher in the scale of existence than our present selves, as we are already higher than the humblest savage we can think of.

But it will, perhaps, be suggested,—if we have been brought forward by the great forces of natural evolution from the condition of the lowest savage to that at which we now stand, the admiration of all beholders, why cannot we comfortably trust those same forces to complete the great work and invest us with the sublime characteristics which should be possessed by the advanced humanity of the future? The answer correctly appreciated embodies the conclusion towards which all these reflections have been tending. The characteristics that have been developed in humanity so far, however highly we may estimate them, when we look on at the most gifted men of science for example, or even the most accomplished scholars, are of a humble order compared to those which still await development. They all have to do with the growth of the brain as an instrument of thought, they have little or nothing to do with the development of higher vehicles of consciousness that must work with the brain in the more advanced mankind of the future, nothing to do with the senses that take cognisance of higher regions of consciousness of which the physical senses cannot take note. The improved man of the future must not only possess those mental faculties which we look at now as characteristics of the intellect, he must train and develop an entirely new set of faculties as well, those which will enable him during physical life to take cognisance of the loftier planes of nature with which at present he has some acquaintance-

ship during the intervals between his physical incarnations, but of which he has remained quite unconscious hitherto, while *in* incarnation,—because he has never struggled to obtain the control of his higher senses. And to be fit to take his place in the improved humanity of the future, he must enjoy—besides the mental fruit of a highly cultivated intellect,—the interior resources which will make him clairvoyant in regard to all that passes in any part of the earth—that will give him a clear insight into the character and state of evolution of anyone at whom he looks, just as his physical sight now enables him to see through glass or water that is perfectly transparent. Nor are such faculties more than the mere external trifles that will accrue to the man of the future,—foreshadowed in their nature by the imperfect faculties of that kind already manifesting here and there amongst people endowed with psychic qualifications. The loftier growth of mental consciousness will have to do with the comprehension of Divine mysteries (as most people regard them now), which must cease to be mysteries for the perfected humanity destined to reign on earth one day.

Spiritual growth of the kind here faintly sketched is not to be imposed on a conscious being by the pressure of an external law, as the improvement of animal forms is worked out by forces guiding physical evolution. Up to the level (roughly speaking) at which civilised humanity now stands, nature has, so to speak, driven her children along an appointed path. Before they can go much further—or any further at all—they must begin to exert themselves so as to co-operate intelligently with the natural influence. They can only do this if they understand the scheme of evolution as a whole. They can only exert themselves to any good effect if they set the goal plainly before the eye of imagination. Unless a considerable volume of that knowledge which is now accumulating on the hands of occult students becomes pretty widely diffused among the advance guard of humanity, humanity will make no further progress worth speaking of.

Nor is this a mere dogmatic assertion claiming to be the result of information or reasoning held in reserve. It is an appreciation of natural principles that can easily be comprehended. In saying that the law of evolution has brought humanity up to the

levels on which we stand now, without any conscious help from the entities concerned, we express the exact truth. But the entities concerned have been helping, nevertheless, though unconsciously. The human Ego—the permanent spiritual being that grows during successive incarnations—never acquires any attribute that it does not aspire to. But the mere experience and circumstances of the physical life prompt the aspirations that make for the progress of the physical intellect. The savage who studies the spoor of the animals he hunts, is training or beginning to train his intelligence, and his permanent Ego—himself—profits by such training. The greatest intellects amongst us are the consequences of intellectual effort in former lives. The finest artistic genius is the product of causes set in motion by the possessor at a previous stage of his progress,—as definitely and simply as the cloud is the consequence of certain conditions connected with temperature and moisture. And our straightforward desires in the ordinary life, for the gratification of the moment, lead us to set in motion, by effort and aspiration, the causes which give rise to such progress as can be represented in the capacities of the physical brain. In this way we have unwittingly co-operated with Nature in accomplishing that element in spiritual growth which has to do with the capacities of the mind as directed to material objects.

But we cannot provide such co-operation in reference to the kind of spiritual growth which transcends the objects of material sense unless we begin with an intellectual appreciation of the progress to be desired; and as yet it is only among a few—compared with the majority of the cultured world—that enough is known concerning even the psychic (not to speak of the spiritual) possibilities of human growth to engender the specific desires and aspirations that can alone promote such growth. The science of the subject is well appreciated by the few in question. Those who already possess psychic qualifications are the very few who in lives passed ages ago were already inspired with a belief that it was possible to penetrate the mysteries of nature beyond the range of the physical senses, who made efforts (within the scope of such knowledge as they then possessed) to get in this way behind the scenes of the material world. Such efforts may not have been successful at the

time, but in themselves they constituted a force that promoted evolution along those lines, and have in some such cases given rise to endowments in the present period, the ultimate value of which, as indicating the commencement of a higher evolution, is beyond the reach of exaggeration. It is true, indeed, that where the *motive* in a former life that has prompted any such persons to seek abnormal faculties or powers has been of an unworthy order the psychic faculties so acquired may almost be a snare in their path. Loftiness of aim must accompany aspiration, or the results may acquire an evil colouring, but to follow out that idea at full length would lead to a digression that would needlessly complicate the main argument. And, at all events, at present the attitude of mind most common in the educated world is one which exempts people from the danger of entering on unholy paths of occult development, inasmuch as the existence of any such paths, unholy or otherwise, has been nearly forgotten. The lesson the world needs chiefly is that which has to do with the possibility of accomplishing progress by definite desire, and the acquisition, as an intellectual process, of knowledge to the effect that spiritual growth is possible to an extent which may eventually quite eclipse the achievements of the intellect alone. Such knowledge is already floating about the world in abundance, in greater abundance within the last twenty years than at any previous period of this world's history. There has been no period, indeed, at which it has been altogether wanting. Some few have possessed it always ; but in our day, for the first time, it has been publicly disseminated to an extent that no previous period has witnessed. Multitudes around us are still too dull-witted to appreciate it, too deeply enthralled by conventional methods of thought to recognise the importance of what the more advanced observers perceive to be a new revelation. But the ranks of those who do, are being continually reinforced ; and an ever increasing minority are learning to realise the great truth these pages have been designed to emphasise, that mental culture of the kind that has hitherto commanded the reverence and inspired the enthusiasm of students engaged in any sort of intellectual activity, is of value only so far as it is held to be a preparation for the higher studies, which may enable us to comprehend

the designs of Nature as they affect ourselves,—that may put us in the way of rendering Nature that intelligent help without which no single individual of the human race can attain the summit levels of his potential destiny,—that may in a comprehensive phrase so illuminate our understanding as to show us at last the True Purpose of Knowledge.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.*

BY WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E.

THE Indian National Congress is already in the twentieth year of its existence, and now controls and administers the largest volume of extra-governmental opinion in the Empire. It has no official voice in the ruling of India, but its resolutions are the voice of the entire educated Indian public. Whether, therefore, as critic or defender, the observer cannot fail to recognise the importance of the Congress and the significance of its opinions. From the Viceroy's Council and from the Secretary of State for India we learn the intentions of the rulers and the means they employ to carry them into action; it is from the Congress that we learn their effect on the general mass of the people.

The Congress has had to meet many dangers and to overcome still greater difficulties. Prejudices have not yet died down, the most persistent being the view that it has no right to meet at all; that such an assembly is a tacit insult to the Government of India, even though it should agree enthusiastically to all that the Indian Government has done. This opinion will hardly bear examination, for the movement was the inevitable consequence of modern English civilisation. Modern knowledge breeds, of neces-

* The movement that has given birth to the Indian National Congress is the subject of highly varied criticism. Some Indian experts regard it as mischievous and deplorable. Mr. Digby is well known as its earnest supporter. Later on we shall give publicity to views diametrically opposed to his, but meanwhile the reader will be better prepared to arrive at definite conclusions on the subject if he is provided with a statement of the case in favour of the Congress. No one can be better qualified to put this forward than the writer of the present article.

sity, a virile public opinion, and the vastness of the population focuses such opinion into organisations more or less representative. The establishment of the Congress was thus a necessary stage in the development of the Indian people; its existence is a result of the beneficent aspects of English rule. By example and by precept we have educated the Indian; in the Congress movement he is transferring our lessons from theory into practice.

The Indian National Congress was not formed in the usual way by the amalgamation of numerous provincial assemblies, working in the same direction, but on a smaller scale. It commenced as a body co-extensive with India, and the provincial assemblies are due to the necessity for dealing with local matters that the Congress could not attempt. Its inception lies between two great famine periods, when the prolonged dearths of the "seventies" had passed away, and the still more terrible famines of the "nineties" were yet to come. In this patch of short-lived sunshine India began to pluck up hope and energy. This condition alone would not have proved sufficient to crystallise the educated classes in India into an organised body. What a relative prosperity could not do unaided, the events of 1883 were able to accomplish. In that year, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, the Ilbert Bill was drafted and laid before the Supreme Council. The Bill provided that the criminal law should be placed upon an absolutely equal basis without prejudice to race or colour. Hitherto an Indian judge was not allowed to try Englishmen for criminal offences. The Bill was intended to remove this anomaly. It met with short shrift from the Anglo-Indian community. A bitter and recklessly determined agitation stormed against the withdrawal of this unjust privilege, and in the teeth of the outcry the measure fell through. Lord Ripon was astonished at the depth of feeling displayed, and the Indian people were equally amazed. As the quarrel deepened, bitterness on one side bred bitterness on the other, and all over the continent educated Indians became united as they had never been united before. Lord Ripon became a national hero, at whose shrine they worshipped irrespective of caste or religion. Two years later this solidarity had developed a feeling which materially aided the Congress movement.

After Lord Ripon had departed amid unprecedented evidences of respect, the Governor-Generalship fell to the late Lord Dufferin, under whom the work that was unwittingly begun by his predecessor was consciously completed. It may seem almost incredible to those who know to-day the deep gulf fixed between Government and the Congress, yet it is true, nevertheless, that the movement was suggested and initiated by Lord Dufferin. The Marquis recognised that the government of the Indian Empire could never be conducted satisfactorily without some means of discovering how the people in general were affected by the actions of the State. In conference with certain officials, and with Mr. A. O. Hume, a retired civilian, he projected an annual assembly, to be attended by the chief officials of the various provinces, and representatives of all classes of the community. Several capable ministers already saw, and declared, that India was changing and that the administration must change with the times. Sir Auckland Colvin, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, wrote to the *Pioneer*, in 1884, under the title, "If it be true, what does it mean?" urging that there was as much difference between the India of Ellenborough (1840) and the India of Ripon, as there was between the London of Queen Anne and the London of Victoria. He further expressed his opinion thus:—

"While the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times . . . the Indian mind has been marching on eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action, and to do what it, for its own part, has to do. Rapidly maturing under the influence of great facilities for communication, stimulated by more frequent contact with England, and encouraged by opportunities afforded during successive years of profound peace, it has succeeded in awaking to the consciousness of its own powers and the assurance of its own success. The breath has come into the bones, and they are about to live and stand upon their feet."

Strange language this, for the Financial Member of the Supreme Council. Within two years Lord Dufferin, Sir Auckland Colvin, and the other officials had fallen away from the work they had aided. Their scheme was well conceived and its details

well worked out. Unhappily, when inviting the opinion of the nation on the actions of the Government, they forgot that that opinion must be often adverse; in a zealous yet loyal opposition they saw a factitious and mischievous treachery. Hence Government and the Congress drifted apart.

Mr. Hume was selected by Lord Dufferin to prepare the plans and to discuss the new scheme with prominent Indian gentlemen. In pursuance of changes in the Viceroy's idea, the assembly was not to be summoned by the Government, but, at least for the first few years, was to remain extra-official. The Viceroy's keen interest was shown by the fact that the resolutions discussed were shown to him before the meeting; upon these he passed no direct veto. The more important resolutions of the first session advised:—

I. The appointment of a Royal Commission, India being directly represented, to enquire into the working of the administration.

II. The abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as then constituted.

III. The presence of elected members in the Supreme and Local Councils, with right of interpellation; also the erection of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider the protests of a majority in any Council against the exercise of the Executive's right to overrule their decisions.

IV. The simultaneous holding in England and India of competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service.

V. That the proposed increase in military expenditure was unnecessary and excessive.

VI. That even if financial retrenchment were not adopted, the license tax should be extended to the official and professional classes,—becoming thereby an income tax.

VII. That the annexation of Upper Burma was a mistake, and that that country should become a Crown Colony.

Poona was chosen by the Congress for its first meeting in December, 1885. An ominous misfortune took place, however, a day or two before the assembly and compelled a sudden change of plan; a case of cholera was reported in the town. The attack might be sporadic or might presage an epidemic. Great risk

would be run by tired delegates who had travelled distances of, in some cases, two thousand miles. The rendezvous was hastily altered to Bombay. The Congress was on a small scale; scarcely a hundred delegates attended, but those who came were not from any one locality. Bombay, of course, was well represented; Bengal and Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Umballa sent delegates. The English population of Bombay exhibited interest, and among the visitors were a number of officials. In his inaugural speech, the native President explained that the aims of the Congress were to promote intimacy and friendship between workers in the Empire; to eradicate racial, religious, and provincial prejudices, "consolidating those sentiments of national unity which had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever-memorable reign"; to provide an authentic record of the matured opinion of the educated classes of India on pressing questions of the day; and to determine the lines and methods on which Indian politicians should labour in the public interest.

The second Congress was held at Calcutta; twelve months had converted an experiment into an assured success. In 1885 people had to be entreated to come; in 1886 everybody wanted to attend. The early delegates had left for Bombay without creating any great stir, and the interest was only slightly increased when they returned. A year later the choosing of the delegates was an important ceremony, the departures taking place amid public rejoicings. While the attitude of the Indian public had changed in one direction, the attitude of the Englishmen in Calcutta was a change in the other. There was no opposition, but the lack of sympathy was very noticeable. As regards the representatives themselves, one or two things may be remarked. There was an almost entire abstention of the old aristocracy, though considerable subscriptions were given by some of the Maharajahs. The higher commercial classes and the legal profession were numerous. Shopkeepers were absent, and the Agriculturist Associations sent but few delegates. The religions included Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Brahmo, Parsee, and a few Mussulmans.

Held at Madras in 1887, the third Congress was of little note, save that it witnessed a steady growth in numbers and influence. There were no evidences of the great storm which was to sweep

upon the movement in the following year. The European and Eurasian elements were particularly well disposed. Even Mr. J. T. Atkins, an Englishman, who had shown vehement feeling against the Ilbert Bill, was among the friendly spectators.

But in 1888 the opposition of Government officials reached a sudden height. The General Secretary, Mr. Hume, as the son of a Radical M.P., had no prejudices against an orderly and strenuous opposition. When, therefore, he found that the conference was not going to fulfil its expected rôle of gentle commendation and scanty blame, he did not withdraw, but worked with greater energy and determination for its success. The suspicions of the Europeans, and the reckless charges of Sir Syed Ahmed, led Lord Dufferin's advisers to scent treason in the most innocent resolutions. If a given sentence did not directly incite towards crime it was held apparently that its authors might be expected to drift into crime in company with the Congress crew of fellow desperadoes. Sir Auckland Colvin, then Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces, denounced the methods and measures of the Congress. On the eve of his departure from India Lord Dufferin delivered a Parthian shot. He declared that the Congress represented a "microscopic minority" of the people of India, and characterised many of the speeches and writings as seditious. It is difficult to see how he could read sedition into its temperately conceived and moderately worded plans. Of actual treason there was none; if he discovered constructive treason he rivalled the exploits of the legal Ministers of King Henry VIII. Even Mr. Hume's confidential letter to the Congress committees in 1892, in which he solemnly predicted a revolution among the peasantry if their lot were not improved, was not treason. He was not the first to predict it; ten years earlier the *Spectator* had written, that if no improvement were made there would be either revolution or continuous famine. The alternative was needed. We have not had revolution in India, but we have almost reached a condition of practically continuous famine.

The feeling displayed by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant Governor was emulated by the Civil Service. The authorities put every hindrance in the way of the Allahabad meeting; three times a site was chosen, each choice had to be surrendered. In one

case, even, where the land belonged to the Government, rent paid in advance was returned with an intimation that the arrangement could not be adhered to. At last the Congress officials, nearly at their wits' end, heard that a house, belonging to a Nabob in Lucknow, was for sale in the Civil Station. They acted promptly on the information. A secret trip was made to Lucknow, and the purchase was concluded before the Government could exert pressure on the owner. The property, which bore the title of "Lowther Castle," occupied a central position for the Congress deliberations; curiously enough it was next door to Government House!

It is not altogether a pleasant nor a safe proceeding to set oneself entirely against the Government in a country such as India, where the Head Constable of a district is also the Presiding Magistrate. Punishment for certain offences is apt to follow arrest too monotonously to be exciting. Many of the lesser supporters of the Congress were, therefore, afraid to express their sympathy openly. After dark men went to "Lowther Castle" with bags of money as their subscriptions, but asking that their names should not be made public. It is testimony at once to their good intentions, and to the unpleasant weakness of their will, that, in some cases, the evening visitors had prominent places in the lists of members of anti-congress associations. As a sufficient reply to the charge of treason, Mr. George Yule, a well-known English resident of Calcutta, accepted the Presidency of the Congress, and during the proceedings there were numerous references to the hostile attitude of the Government. In speaking upon a resolution concerning simultaneous examinations, Mr. Eardley Norton, an English barrister from Madras, reminded their opponents that Lord Lytton had recently stated that the people of India had been "cheated" in the matter of Government appointments. Pandit Ajodhia Nath, a Kashmiri Brahmin of legal note in the N.W. Provinces, who had hesitated for two years before joining the Congress, but became a member shortly before the treason outcry of the Viceroy, declared that the Congress aimed at furthering a more perfect union of England and India. Perhaps the best retort was made by Mr. K. T. Telang who recalled the definition of a crab as a red fish which walked back-

wards, an admirable definition save that each element was wrong Mr. Telang continued :—

“Now I say that Lord Dufferin’s criticism is perfectly correct, except that we have not asked for democratic government; we have not asked for Parliamentary institutions, which England has only obtained after many centuries of discipline; we have not asked for the power of the purse, and we have not asked that the British Executive should be brought under subjection to us. . . . We have explicitly declared that the right of interpellation which we ask for must not extend to questions military or political.”

This is a statement that merits careful attention. “We have not asked for democratic government . . . Parliamentary institutions . . . power of the purse . . . power over the Executive.” Official criticism fades before this categorical denial. What was it, then, that the Congress had demanded ?

The resolutions passed at the first six Congresses are concerned with twenty-five distinct departments of administration. They are not of equal importance, and attention may be directed to those which are more fundamental, and which illustrate Mr. Telang’s statement. Among them there is not one which contradicts him. The Congress at that time desired—as it still desires—a more direct participation of the people of India in the government of their own country. But it recognised that such change must not be too sudden nor too sweeping, and that the supremacy of the British Executive must be preserved. Before the passage of Lord Cross’s Act of 1892, the Supreme Council of India—which consists usually of six members—was always increased for the purpose of legislation by the addition of not more than twelve members, at least one half of whom were non-official. The Provincial Legislatures had similar arrangements. Under such conditions there was little or no connection between the Government and the people. The rights of the additional members were severely circumscribed, and they were nominated by the Viceroy. As a measure of reform the Congress proposed that the numbers and powers of the additional members should be largely increased, and that an elective element should be introduced. At Bombay, in 1885, a resolution was introduced

in general terms, and more detailed proposals were made in the following year. In 1890 Mr. Bradlaugh, in conference with the Congress, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill embodying these recommendations. About this time another measure, granting some small relief by extending the Councils, was promoted by the Indian authorities. The activity of the Government, though accelerated by the action of the Congress, was not due solely to it. The view that had led Lord Dufferin to extend his aid to the early Congress still existed, but the misunderstandings of 1888 had caused the authorities to whittle this reform down to the minimum of possible alteration. Two years of Parliamentary delay brought the contestants into 1892, and nothing had been done. The official bill proposed to increase the minimum number of additional members from six to eight, while the maximum was raised from twelve to sixteen. Five were to be appointed on the nomination of various public bodies; five were to be chosen at the discretion of the Viceroy; and six were to be officials. Criticism on the annual Financial Statement was to be permitted. The Congress proposed a scheme more robust than this halting suggestion at reform. In place of less than twenty-five members of Council they desired eighty members in all—twenty official, twenty nominated, and forty elected. The last body (not selected, as in England, by direct election, but by secondary assemblies chosen by popular vote in the main divisions of India), would represent the various provinces in the proportion of one member to every 5,000,000 of the population. The provincial Governments were dealt with in a similar manner. Such a constitution would have exposed the British Executive to the constant risk of a direct veto upon its most important schemes, the turnover of one or more nominated members giving the elected members an easy majority. Plans so readily adaptable to mere obstruction would have justified the attacks of critics. But Indian reformers did not desire that the elective members of the Legislative Council should have this easy power of over-riding the intentions of the Executive. They expressly stipulated that the Viceroy should have the power to ignore the decision of the majority. In such cases, however, the full proceedings were to be laid before a Standing Committee of the House of Commons for decision, either for or against the

Executive. Thus the Viceroy's actions would not be delayed, though they might ultimately be swept away by an adverse decision of Imperial Parliament. The Congress did not propose to place the British Executive under the control of an Indian majority. It desired only to give an official standing to the deliberately expressed opinion of the Indian people. It refused to claim any right to interpellate upon military and political questions, since such a power might at times conceivably embarrass the Government. Like Clive in the treasure house at Murshidabad, the Congress, comparing its reputation among the Anglo-Indians with its actual desires, might almost have stood aghast at its own moderation. There was never very much doubt as to the result of the contest; the official bill with its scanty increase of membership became law towards the end of 1892.

Other Congress proposals were equally unfortunate in their fate. Separation of the judicial and executive functions has been urged in vain since 1886. The holding of Indian Civil Service examinations simultaneously in England and in India has remained a dream. Indian volunteers do not exist. The Arms Act has not been extended to give efficient protection against wild animals. Military expenditure is as reckless as ever. The Government has not fostered technical education. The Permanent Settlement does not extend outside Bengal. A proposal was made to revive the periodical Commission, which examined Indian affairs once in twenty years when "John Company" was in power. Lord Randolph Churchill was ready to adopt the suggestion when he was in the Cabinet, but the Liberal party succeeded to office shortly after, and let the matter drop. The Currency legislation of 1893 was passed in spite of Congress opposition. Of the more important resolutions only two have been acceded to, and that after fifteen years agitation. Last year the Salt Tax was reduced, and the limit of income for taxation was raised from £33 to £66 a year. One example may be given of the reality of the grievances which the Congress deplores. Since 1889 it has complained of the police administration. Yet it was not until thirteen years later that the Executive took any steps to ascertain how far this complaint was well founded. Lord Curzon appointed a Commission which reported, after exhaustive

enquiries, that the lower police force was tempted into crime by wretched pay, while the higher posts had provided a "haven of refuge for the failures of influential Anglo-Indian families!" Even the *Times* was compelled to admit that, "this report furnishes a disconcerting contrast to the narratives, periodically published, about administrative progress in the Indian Empire." When the Indian Government proceeds to investigate a few more of the Congress grievances, it will probably find some other "disconcerting contrasts."

During the first few months of the Congress a frequent reproach was made against the delegates that they did not discuss the reform of certain social customs, which are certainly as harmful as any political disability. But in the 1886 Congress, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji pointed out that the assembly was composed of men of all castes and creeds, and that it would, therefore, be simply impossible for them to decide what social reforms were needed in each individual class. Messrs. Malabari and Chandavarkar, however, expressed themselves in favour of the discussion of social subjects. As a result, in the following year a Social Conference was held in conjunction with the Congress meetings, though its organisation was kept wisely distinct. This beneficent gathering has since been held annually. The education of women, the relaxation of penances for journeys to England, and the reform of caste intermarriages, have been among the subjects discussed. More good has been done by a separate meeting than could have been accomplished in Congress where the issues of social reform would have confused the broader appeals of political unity. Another, but more closely connected, body, which owes its existence to the Congress, is the British Committee, which carries on the work of Indian reform in England. Its predecessor, the Indian Political Agency, organised a Congress deputation to England in 1885. Many meetings were held in London and the Provinces, and Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose unsuccessfully contested Deptford in the general election of that year.

Suggestions that a limited number of delegates should hold the Congress of 1892 in London fell through owing to financial difficulties. Recently the proposal has been revived, and the

decreasing cost of travel may enable a Congress to be held there. The British Committee now forms in London a centre for Indians and Anglo-Indians who sympathise with the Congress movement ; in addition to other work it produces a weekly journal called "India," which has been in existence since 1890, and circulates both in India and England.

During recent years the Congress has settled into a round of quiet and uneventful work. Perhaps there has been some slackening of zeal. But this was to be expected, since a fresh movement, by its very novelty, will evoke enthusiasm and opposition, which lose their first brightness after a few years. Government antipathy is passive where it was once active, and Mahommedan ill-feeling is hardly perceptible. There is a tendency, looking back upon the nineteen years of the labour, to compare the little that has been done with the much that was attempted. Hence the old leaders sometimes lose hope, seeing the apparent lack of progress in reform. In part the reaction which they see is real, and has its origin in the famines which have desolated India in the last ten years; no purely national organisation could emerge unharmed from that long period of misfortune. The poverty problem, that great difficulty lurking at the back of all Indian questions, has gradually assumed greater prominence in the deliberations of the Congress, which has recognised that all the detailed grievances have their origin in, or are contributory to, the causes of Indian poverty. In 1886 the Congress "viewed with the gravest apprehension the increasing poverty of the vast population of India." As the years passed this apprehension became keener, and the schemes suggested to cope with it became increasingly definite. The terrible degradation of the people is due, Congress declares, to a decline in arts and manufactures, to the drain of wealth to England, and to the excessive taxation and over-assessment of land. This should be met by a broad and enlightened policy of reform. Agricultural banks and technical schools should be established. The Permanent Settlement should be extended throughout India to stop the continual enhancement of the land revenue. Finally, the drain of wealth should be checked by the freer employment of Indians in all administrative and judicial positions. These weighty suggestions have been practically ignored with the small

exception that the Government is feeling its way slowly towards the establishment of agricultural banks. With respect to the other proposals official action is either stationary or retrograde. The governing class is completely out of touch with the population it rules; it does not recognise, nor seek to estimate, the destitution of the people of India. Only a few officials here and there have a suspicion of the extent of that destitution; still fewer detect its only remedy. The late Director General of Statistics, Mr. J. E. O'Connor, by no means a sympathiser with the "brawling judgments"—as he terms them—of the Congress, admitted in a paper which he read in London early this summer that the Indian wage-earner, not merely the unskilled labourer, but the artisan, lives in "a condition compared with which that of a work-house inmate in England is unimaginable luxury." This utter lack of the things which mostly make life worth living is noticeable throughout all Indian society. The knowledge of its existence keeps the Congress to its continual rôle of non-official criticism through long periods of national destitution, when no great blame could have attached to it if it had, in despair, surrendered all hope of progress.

For the future of the Congress one may make a few tentative prophecies. As the year 1888 marked the culmination of the first enthusiasm, so the years from 1895 to the end of the century showed the ebb. The agitation is now developing fresh energy. The Industrial Exhibitions were a good sign, and since their foundation two events have happened outside the Great Peninsula which will exert the profoundest effect upon the growth of the national ideal. The first is the rise of Japan with its striking example of all that can be attained by a continuous endeavour directed with wide forethought. The second is the American settlement of the Philippine Islands, by which those Spanish-backward pirate-infested lands have been promised a democratic constitution in 1905 or 1906, with a minimum of American guidance and control. The first is an example of Asiatic worthiness, while the second indicates the newest Anglo-Saxon method of shouldering the "White Man's Burden," without producing the disappointment and deterioration which must always attend an irremovable bureaucratic government. Not only will the work-

ing of the two policies impress Indians ; they cannot fail to affect the attitude of the English people. This is a time, then, when it is best for the Congress to cease complaining of detailed grievances. Such intricacies merely puzzle the statesmen and electorate of England, who must leave the details of Indian administration in the hands of those in whom they have reposed their trust. One bold issue—a clear demand for a greater share in government—would stand on a different footing. With Japan and the Philippines before them, and a strenuous India unanimously behind, the English people could not be many years before they came within near distance of granting the moderate and reasonable desires thus advocated. There seems considerable chance that the Congress will adopt this view of the situation. It was first advanced by a well-known leader in England, and has been welcomed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

There is no sedition in the aims of the educated classes of India. They do not want to sever their connection with the Empire ; they only desire to possess a less ignominious status. The President of the first Congress declared “our desire to be governed according to the ideas of government prevalent in Europe is in no way incompatible with our thorough loyalty to the British Government.” This is true to-day, as it was true in 1885. Bred in the tradition of English culture, educated India does not want upheaval or cataclysm ; it is too inherently conservative to desire any break in the intimate connection with the British Empire, that has persisted now for close upon a hundred and fifty years.

THE INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF ANIMALS.

BY THE EDITOR.

SOME striking stories have been current in the papers within the last few months concerning dogs and horses showing an unusual degree of intelligence, and no one who has been amused during the last few years with watching the performances of trained animals on the stage can have been otherwise than struck by the feeling that something must be going on in the animal world corresponding to the growth of human intelligence so conspicuous during the last few generations. Studies connected with human evolution, which must for convenience be referred to as lying within the domain of occult science, although there is really nothing hidden or melodramatic about them, have thrown many sidelights on the evolution of the animal kingdom, which, of course, in reality links itself with that of the human race in a manner which ordinary biologists do not yet exactly understand, but in a way which ordinary biology will, to a certain extent, prepare the mind for comprehending. Before dealing, however, with any abstract conclusions derived from scientific study, it may be well to recall the reader's attention to the striking cases which have lately attracted notice, and to describe the circumstances connected with one other within the writer's knowledge, which has not yet been the subject of public notoriety. The dog whose achievements have been specially attracting notice in America is known as "Bozzie," and her owner, Mr. Clason, resides at Chicago. The dog is described as being able to count, solve mental problems in addition, multiplication and subtraction, to tell the time correctly

and spell various words. Bozzie, if asked, when several people have come to witness her performances, "How many are present?" will glance round the room and indicate the number by a series of short barks. On one occasion someone asked her what was the result of $3 - 1 \times 2$, and, after a moment's pause, she barked four times. Letters of the alphabet scattered on the ground enable Bozzie to answer questions in spelling, and emphatic assurance is given by those who have witnessed her powers that Mr. Clason does not communicate with the dog by any signals to indicate what her answer should be. Indeed, Bozzie answers mental questions, and we read in one account of her doings, that Mr. Clason wrote on a piece of paper, "Mentally tell Bozzie to bring this morning's paper," and passed the slip to a visitor. The man looked at the dog for a few minutes and mentally made the demand. Bozzie wagged her tail knowingly, and soon returned with the morning's paper. In reference to this, writers commenting on the story, and exhibiting as they do so a complete misapprehension of the phenomenon under observation, regard this final claim that the dog is a mind reader as more absurd and extravagant than any other. For those who know a little more about the working of animal consciousness, mind-reading is a very much simpler performance than arithmetical calculation. We will come back to that idea in dealing with another dog nearer home.

Meanwhile Berlin has been excited by the doings of a horse named "Hans," the property of a certain Herr von Osten. He, it is alleged, can count up to one hundred, giving the required number of stamps with his fore-foot. He can recognise people by their portraits, and has a musical ear, being able to recognise various melodies. He also, like Bozzie the dog, spells out names with paste-board letters. The conventional critic, always eager to account for anything he does not understand, by the assumption that somebody is cheating, has, of course, declared that Herr von Osten has a series of signals by means of which he controls the action of his horse. Correspondents, however, writing from Berlin on the subject, declare that Hans has been able to reply to the questions of strangers even in the absence of his owner.

We come now to the consideration of the intellectual progress exhibited by a little fox terrier called "Bob," whose per-

formances have been witnessed by a personal friend of the writer. Bob resides with the ladies who belong to him, at a place in Normandy, from which, having once crossed the water with Bob, it is impossible they can return. That would involve the subjection of Bob to the ignominies of quarantine. On the face of things, Bob can do sums in arithmetic, spell any name he is asked for, and exhibit a general knowledge of public affairs made manifest in this way. A number of cards on which are written the names of the principal cities of Europe are thrown at random on the floor. Bob is asked "Where is the Louvre?" or where is Westminster Abbey?" or "Where do the Moujiks come from?" and so on, whereupon he rushes always with eager confidence to the card belonging to the name of the appropriate city, pawing it with enthusiasm accompanied with vocal demonstrations which show the excitement of his own mind. His feats of spelling indicate quite plainly the method by which he works. He does not spell a name by quite the same method as that which a human being would employ, because he does not even require to hear the sound of the word. For example, in the case of the lady from whom we derive first-hand testimony on the subject, he was asked by his mistress, "What is this lady's name," and immediately proceeded to spell a Christian name—*i.e.*, its usual diminutive—employed in her family. In another case a man had called to interview Bob and had sent in his card. Bob's mistress held the card in her hand when the visitor had entered and simply asked Bob "What is this gentleman's name?" Bob proceeded to spell it, and it was a long name, quite correctly.

All this, of course, shows the student of psychological mysteries that the dog works by picking up the idea in his mistress's mind by virtue of that faculty which it is the fashion now to call "mind reading," but is merely in truth one of the manifestations of the clairvoyant power so irregularly distributed as yet among the living inhabitants of this world. People who represent conventional ignorance in its purest form may disbelieve in the existence of the faculty of clairvoyance, but such an attitude of mind is unworthy of serious attention on the part

of those who are better educated. In various ways the existence of the faculty has been demonstrated hundreds of times in connection with studies having to do with mesmerism and its allied phenomena. The work of Dr. Gregory fifty years ago ought to be convincing in itself. The well-recorded examples of clairvoyance exhibited by the Frenchman, Alexis, and the voluminous literature of the French mesmerists generally may be referred to by anyone honestly requiring to investigate the problems concerned. But all students of the subject are aware that within the limits of their intelligence, animals frequently exhibit the clairvoyant faculty, and, indeed, many such observers have been inclined to suppose that all animals possess it in a greater or less degree. Horses exhibit it very frequently, and will shy at objects invisible to ordinary sight, as human clairvoyants with them at the time in such cases have often declared. But a closer examination of the subject will show that the faculty is irregularly distributed in the animal kingdom even as amongst human creatures, although, in all probability it is more generally diffused to a crude and imperfect extent in the animal kingdom than amongst human kind. As an illustration of the fact that some dogs possess it and some do not, I may mention the case of a clairvoyant friend in whose house an astral appearance representing a former owner is frequently to be seen by those who are adequately gifted. This appearance can hardly be described as a ghost, because it is not visible to ordinary eye-sight, but, as I say, it is quite visible to the master of the house who, I need hardly mention, is no more disturbed by it than by the passing of a cloud across the sky. The only people who are frightened of such appearances are those who are ignorant enough to pretend that they disbelieve in them. Well, my friend has two big dogs always about the house and one of these will always show by getting up and looking in the right direction, sometimes also by a little bristling of his hair, that he also sees the semi-visible ghost. But the other dog does not, and will walk through it perfectly unconcerned. Now, the clairvoyant faculty that would enable the dog to see some of the appearances around us, generally invisible to commonplace people, would, if that faculty were associated with a somewhat unusual degree of brain

intelligence, become a mind-reading dog like Bozzie or Bob. In human life, a person who would be able to see an astral appearance would in very many cases be also able to read a thought in another person's mind, and the mind-reading explanation of Bob's performances is immeasurably the most simple, besides being the only one which fits the facts.

But a thought may arise in connection with these pretty little stories of animal intelligence which is more interesting than the mere idea that animals exhibit the clairvoyant gift. That alone would not enable Messrs. Bozzie and Bob to perform their feats if they had not at the same time evolved an unusual degree of brain intelligence. Now the fact in the "Bob" case, at all events, which goes to support this part of the idea is that his performances, to use the sympathetic language of his human friends, "take it out of Bob" too much to allow of their very frequent repetition. His eyes become blood-shot as a consequence of the mental strain, and a letter just received from his mistress while we are writing says: "I hasten to answer your note about Bob, who, I am happy to say, is well, though we have to keep him quiet, and not exercise his brain." Incidentally, however, in the same letter, his mistress remarks: "After the Hotel du Palais was burned at Biarritz, I mixed up the letters comprising 'incendie' and said, 'Bob, spell the French word for 'fire,' and he did it correctly." That, of course, was a direct achievement of mind-reading, but at the same time, these instances show a state of consciousness on the dog's part bracketting the shape of the letters on the card-board slips with the thoughts in his mistress's mind, which represent an intellectual exercise enormously in advance of those which have in the darker ages of animal and human intelligence been supposed to represent all that an animal could accomplish.

The real truth of the matter is this, that just as the intelligence of the human species, plus higher faculties that exist with them as yet in little better than the germ state, are going through a steady process of growth and development, so, in a precisely corresponding way are the higher representatives of the animal kingdom following in their footsteps. If we carry the retrospect back to earlier periods of this earth's condition, to those, for example,

which corresponded with the presence on earth of the huge and shapeless "antediluvian" beasts, we shall in imagination see a world in which the men were little better than brutes and the animals no better at all events, than the reptiles of our own period. A modern dog is as great an advance on a dinosaurus as a senior wrangler on such men as bequeathed their skulls to the tertiary formation. Can any observer of nature be so dull-witted as to suppose that the processes of improvement that have thus been going on for the last "x" number of millenniums has reached its culmination or come to a premature standstill? Of course, it is still in activity,—this process of animal improvement,—and those who can read the future by the light of a somewhat better comprehension of the present than is generally diffused around us, look forward with entire confidence to a time in which the higher animals at some future date will be capable, shall we say, of serving an advanced humanity with as much intelligence as at present is exhibited by the less intelligent of our domestic servants at the present day. We need not rely merely on such cases as those of Bozzie and Bob or of Hans the horse, in support of this conjecture. Wherever animals are now trained to go through performances on the stage, their capacity to respond to training seems an ever-growing wonder. Within recent years, a troop of dogs practically acted a little play amongst themselves, on the stage of a London theatre, quite without guidance from human beings. Thick-headed observers, no doubt, put all these performances down to the credit of the trainer who, no doubt, is fairly entitled to some part thereof. But it is quite certain that he would not have succeeded equally with all dogs alike. In the course of his work he will have discerned great differences of aptitude amongst his canine pupils, probably giving up some as unteachable, that is to say, as having been insufficiently endowed with those characteristics of brain whatever they may be, which represent the advance of the great evolutionary wave.

Of course there are morals to be derived from the observation of such interesting cases as those that have passed under review in these pages. Morals are always cropping up when we contemplate the facts of nature in the light of a little better understanding than is generally as yet diffused around us. But the moral in

this case will hardly be intelligible without a good deal of explanation which would perhaps be out of place just here. Enough to say, that the care and affection bestowed upon such animals as these under notice contribute directly to promote the purpose of nature in regard to the evolution of the animal kingdom. The growing intelligence of the dog is the response to the sympathy directed towards him by his human belongings. No effort to cultivate his intelligence is wasted in the long run ; no such efforts should be regarded as simply giving rise to an amusing trick. Their consequences may be as far-reaching as those of the spoken or written word amongst ourselves. " I shot an arrow into the air," says Longfellow, in connection with a precisely similar thought, and everyone knows the simple moral of the verses which that line begins, the same which may be attached to the spoken word of those who put forward their thoughts with an earnest purpose. The same moral may be derived from the study of animal intelligence directed even by the thoughtless impulse of those who, for the most part, have been concerned with animal training, but likely to assume a much more important aspect when the evolutionary consequences,—or what it is, perhaps, hardly an exaggeration to say, the spiritual results,—of such efforts come to be properly understood.

JACOB BOEHME.

By MRS. A. P. SINNETT.

THERE is probably no name in history better known to students of philosophical literature than that which heads the present article. It would be difficult to find among the educated classes of the present day anyone who has not heard of Jacob Boehme, who is unaware of the broad facts that, while a shoemaker by trade, he was none the less the author of deeply impressive writings on exalted spiritual themes. But although his name is so familiar, his writings are now but rarely read, and his philosophy is regarded for the most part as out of date and too obscure to be attractive. He has had many biographers in the past, and numbers of men distinguished in the world of literature have written books in elucidation of his religious views, but as these are also a little out of fashion and not always available for the general reader, a slight survey of the principal events in his life, and a glance at the salient points of his philosophy may be of interest to some of the readers of this REVIEW.

Jacob Boehme was born in a small market town in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1575, of quite humble people, though well to do of their class. His education was of the very simplest description, and previous to its commencement he, with other boys of the hamlet, tended the cattle during the day. At the age of ten he was sent to the school of Alt-Seidenberg, the place where his parents lived, where he learnt to read and write and cypher. There is one small anecdote related of his childhood which

appears to foreshadow to some extent the possession of the psychic faculties, which as he grew to manhood, illuminated his mind and understanding, and enabled him to give to the world, through his writings, a spiritual impulse and guidance the value of which can hardly be overestimated. It was during the heat of a summer's day while he was with the other boys watching the cattle on the mountain side, that he strolled away from his companions to a place called the Land's Crown, no great distance away, where the natural situation of the rock had made what appeared to be an enclosure of some part of the hill. He found a kind of vault-like entrance made of four red stones. He went in, and to his great surprise saw a large wooden bowl filled with money. He was overwhelmed both with astonishment and fear, and at once rushed back in great haste to the other boys without waiting to touch the gold or carry any of it away. When he related to his playmates what he had seen, they all went back together to the place to search for and carry away the treasure. The entrance, however, was no longer visible, and neither then nor afterwards could they ever again find it. Years afterwards, Boehme says, that one whom he calls a "foreign artist skilled in finding out magical treasures," came to the place, and by his knowledge or art discovered the money, carried it away, and was greatly enriched thereby.

He attended the school to which he was sent till he was in his 14th year, when, as he was thought to be too delicate for rough work, he was apprenticed by his parents to a shoemaker. It was during the early part of his apprenticeship that a curious incident occurred which gave him his first impulse towards the serious study of life and religion, and which had such far reaching and extraordinary results.

One day, his master and mistress being both out, a man, who was a stranger, entered the shop. He was of venerable appearance, and simply dressed. He asked the price of a pair of shoes which he wished to buy. The boy was afraid of selling anything on his own account lest, through ignorance, he should ask either too little or too much, as he was quite new in his service. He, therefore, hesitated and shrank from naming a price. The man, however, was persistent, and would have the shoes, so

at last Jacob named so high a sum that he was sure he would be free from blame if the transaction should be completed. The stranger paid the money and went away, but before he had gone more than a few steps from the door, he turned round and called out with earnestness, "Jacob, Jacob, come forth." The boy, hearing himself called, went outside in some alarm, and in greater astonishment wondering how a stranger should know and call him by his Christian name. The man, with a very solemn but friendly face, fixed his eyes upon him, which were bright and exceedingly penetrating, took his right hand and said to him: "Jacob, thou art little, but shalt be great and become a man at whom the world shall wonder; therefore be pious, fear God, and reverence His word. Read diligently the Holy Scriptures wherein you will find comfort and instruction, for thou must endure much misery and poverty, and suffer persecution, but be courageous and persevere for God loves and is gracious to you." Therewith, and pressing his hand, he looked with bright eyes fixed intently and earnestly on his face and departed.

This remarkable interview made a deep impression on Boehme's mind. He followed the advice thus impressively bestowed upon him, and ever after ruled his thoughts, speech, and actions after the teachings of Jesus. He read the Bible, attended public worship, and says he "bent all his energies and desires to the attainment of the promise of Jesus given in Luke—'My Father, which is in Heaven, will give the Spirit to him that asks it.'" As time went on he became very devout and strict in his life. He would remonstrate gently with those around him who were apt to be intemperate and blasphemous in their speech. He became eventually such a nuisance to his master, by reason of the restraint his presence put upon the freedom of speech in the workroom, that he set Jacob free of his apprenticeship before it had fully expired, and permitted him to take work with another master shoemaker.

It was at the time he was away with this new master on the business of their trade, that Boehme had his first great experience of spiritual vision. He felt himself, as he describes the occurrence, "surrounded with a divine light, and stood in the highest contemplation and kingdom of joys." This condition

lasted for seven days, during which time he was, as it were, enveloped in an atmosphere of spiritual glory, which, strange to say, in no way impeded him in his daily manual labour, but, he says, "The triumph that was then in my soul I can neither tell nor describe. I can only liken it to a resurrection from the dead." He returned with his master to Görlitz, a town about two miles distant from the place of his birth, and in 1599 became a master shoemaker, having four years previously married the daughter of a tradesman, with whom he lived happily until he died. It was not until the year 1600, about five years after his first vision, that he had another spiritual experience, which is described as follows by Dr. Hans Larsen Martinsen in his interesting Biography of Jacob Boehme:—"Sitting one day in his room his eye fell upon a burnished pewter dish which reflected the sunshine with such marvellous splendour that he fell into an inward ecstasy, and it seemed to him as if he could now look into the principles and deepest foundations of things. He believed it was only a fancy, and in order to banish it from his mind he went out upon the green. But here he remarked that he gazed into the very heart of things, the very herbs and grass, and that actual nature harmonised with what he had inwardly seen. He said nothing about this to anyone, but praised and thanked God in silence."

Ten years more elapsed before he was again visited by these interior illuminations. This third revelation gave him as a coherent whole, what up to that time had been but fragmentary and incomplete. He now got a clear comprehension of evolutionary processes, and with this came a strong, urging impulse to write down all or some of the ideas that were surging through his brain and consciousness. In regard to this third experience, which occurred after a long period of much interior struggle, of great depression of spirits, and of a passionate desire for light on the many difficulties that beset him in trying to arrive at a right understanding of pain, evil, and the inequalities which seemed to be inherent in nature and life, he says: "Finding that in all things there was evil and good as well in the elements as in creatures, and that it went as well in this world with the wicked as with the virtuous and honest and godly, I was thereupon very

melancholy, perplexed, and exceedingly troubled. No Scripture could comfort me or satisfy me, though I was very well acquainted and versed therein. At which time the Devil would by no means stand by idle, but was often beating into me many heathenish thoughts. I wrapped up my whole heart and mind, as also all my thoughts and whole will and resolution incessantly to wrestle with the love and mercy of God, and not to give over unless He blessed me, that is to say, unless He enlightened me with His Holy Spirit whereby I might understand His will and be rid of my sadness. And then the spirit did break through, the gate was opened to me, so that in one quarter of an hour I saw and knew more than if I had been many years together at a university, for I saw and knew the eternal generation of the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Trinity, and the descent and origin of the world, and of all creatures through the divine wisdom. I knew and saw in myself all the three worlds, the divine, the angelical, and the paradisaical and the dark world; and then, thirdly, the external visible world, being a procreation or external birth from both the internal and spiritual worlds. And I saw and knew the whole working essence in the evil and good, and the original existence of each of them, and likewise how the fruitful bearing womb of eternity brought forth. But the greatness of the exaltation that was in the spirit I cannot express, either in speaking or writing, neither can it be compared to anything whatever."

It was after this third illumination that Boehme began to put into writing some of the transcendental knowledge he had thus acquired. He wrote it, not for publication, but as a "Memorial" for himself, and lest he should later on be unable, as it were, to recall the philosophy obtained so abnormally and at such rare intervals. So in the early hours of the morning, before he commenced his daily work of shoemaking, and in the evening when his labours were over, he by degrees wrote his first book, which he called "The Aurora, or the Morning Redness." Before it was quite finished one of his friends, Carl von Endern, when at his house one day, saw the MSS. and asked to be allowed to read and make a copy of it for himself. He took it away, and was so delighted with it and impressed by its value and importance, that at his own expense he had several copies made, which he dis-

tributed among the people whom he thought it would interest. Eventually one of these copies fell into the hands of Gregorius Richter, the Pastor of Görlitz. He was Boehme's greatest enemy through life. He seems to have come into personal contact with Boehme in the first place through a very petty cause quite unconnected with the church or religion. The Pastor had lent to a young baker of the town a dollar with which to buy materials for making Easter cakes. At the end of two weeks the cakes having all been sold, and one large one sent to the Pastor as a thank-offering—the baker went to pay back the dollar, and the interview is thus related :—"But this, it seems, satisfied him not. The minister in high rage curses the man with little less than damnation to his soul ; upon which he (the man), despairing of his salvation, falls into a deep melancholy, and being almost distracted, his wife gets her kinsman, Jacob Boehme, to issue and confer with him." In the end Jacob goes himself to the Pastor to explain the condition into which his friend has fallen, and asks him to forgive him. The only result of this visit is to turn the Pastor's fury upon Jacob, whom he abuses most roughly, and even throws his slipper at him in his passion. Nor is this the end of the trouble. The following Sunday Richter from his pulpit made a violent attack upon Boehme by name, who was present in the church, and threatened the Senate that if they did not expel him from their territories, God in his wrath would sink their city ; that he was not only a heretic who wrote blasphemous books, but he had also dared to visit a minister in his own house. Jacob waited patiently till the congregation had all left the building, the Pastor among the last. He followed him into the churchyard, "and there told him he was grieved to hear himself so publicly, and, as he thought, without cause defamed, and requested that he would then and there, in the presence of his reverend Chaplain, let him privately know his offence, and it should be amended. The meeker Jacob was, the more irritated the Pastor became ; and at last he turned upon him and cried : "Get thee behind me, Satan ! Avaunt, thou turbulent, unquiet spirit, to thy abyss of hell. Dost thou still persist, without all respect for my function, to molest and disgrace me ?" . . . "Yes, reverend sir, I only entreat you, for your own and your function's honour, which engages you not to

trample upon a submissive offender, much less one that is innocent, to tell me candidly where my fault lies." He then turned to the Chaplain, who was standing by his chief, to intercede for him and to pray the minister not to further incense the magistrate against him. All the Chaplain could, however, do was to dissuade the Pastor from then and there sending his servant for the Town Serjeant to carry Jacob off straightway to prison.

The following morning Jacob was cited to appear in the Council House to be examined about his life, and the scandal that had arisen from his visit to the Pastor. He pleaded absolute ignorance of any cause of offence, and asked that Richter should be sent for to declare of what it was he was accused. This the Senate thought to be a just demand, and accordingly they sent two men of quality of the town to him to desire him either to come and personally make known his grievances to the Court, or at least to tell those they had sent to him for that purpose. This moderate request aroused once more his ungovernable rage. "He said he had nothing to do with the Council House; what he had to say he would speak in his council throne, the pulpit; what he there dictated they must obey without contradiction, and without more ado disable this wicked heretic from further opposing the ministerial function by banishing him their city, else the curse of Abiram, Korah and Dathan would alight on them all." The Senate frightened at the threat, and also fearing the preacher's malice, for he had power at the Duke of Saxony's Court, after much consideration decided that Boehme must be banished from the town. He of course submitted, but prayed that he might first return to his house to settle his humble affairs, and if possible take his family with him, or at all events bid them farewell. Even this slight grace was not permitted, and he went straightway out of the town walking about the country the rest of the day, and how or where he passed the night is not stated. The Senate met again the next morning and reconsidered their sentence, sent to seek out their innocent exile, and brought him back with honour. The Pastor, however, kept up such an incessant clamour against his presence, that eventually they once more sent for Jacob, and asked him as a favour and out of his love for the city and its peace, to find himself a habitation elsewhere, and upon this he left the town.

Some time after this trouble with the Pastor and his banishment from Görlitz, Jacob Boehme was summoned to Dresden, there once more to answer for himself, but this time before the Elector of Saxony, to questions as to his belief put to him by some of the most celebrated doctors, clergy and learned men of the day—nine in all, two of whom were professors of mathematics. The result of this examination was wholly in his favour, and having answered all the questions on divinity, philosophy and mathematics with “meekness of spirit, depth of knowledge and fulness of matter, not one of those doctors and professors returned one word of dislike or contradiction.” When, having answered all their questions to him, he then proposed some questions to them, “they returned answers with much modesty, and, as it were, amazed that they should (so much beyond their expectation) hear from a man of that mean quality and education such mysterious depths as were beyond the reach of their comprehension.”

Dr. Meisner and Dr. Gerhard, two of those who examined Boehme, in talking of him afterwards said how greatly they admired the continued harmony of scriptures produced by him, and that they would not for all the world have served his enemies' malice by censuring him. The Elector took him aside at the end of his examination and talked in a friendly way with Boehme, telling him that he had been much edified by what he had heard and was satisfied with the result, and dismissed him courteously. Although his reception had been so unexpectedly favourable, he had been forbidden by the Council of his own town to write any more books, and he did not dare to disobey this command. He had to content himself with continuing his studies in private, without putting down the outcome of them in writing. It was a time, however, of mental distress to Boehme, as he felt the strongest desire to give to others the knowledge stored up in his mind. It seemed to him that he was “denying his Lord” through fear of the anger of man. He endured these torments as best he could for about five or six years, when, happily, he was visited by one more vision. This, the last of these illuminations as far as his biographers tell, gave such a powerful impetus to his spiritual nature that it swept away all scruples and fears.

It was from that time up to the period of his death that the great body of his writing was produced, and with the exception of torrents of abuse, at intervals from G. Richter and other divines of the same character, he escaped any real injury.

He died as he had lived in quite humble circumstances and surroundings, earning, to some extent, his daily bread by the work of his hands, but he received also, from some of his wealthy friends, enough to keep him from want. He had made many friends among the educated and well-born men with whom he corresponded, and who visited and looked up to him with affection as a teacher of unbounded resources on psychical and philosophical subjects. Among his followers were many alchemists and students of the "occult sciences." From these he picked up the Latin terms and alchemical symbology present in many of his writings.

Such are the main incidents in the life of this remarkable man and religious teacher. He lived so simply, moved about so little, asserted himself so rarely, was so poor and of such humble birth, that in glancing back at the course of events the wonder is that either his writings or his personality should have ever emerged from the obscurity in which they had their origin. The explanation may probably be found in the fact that four centuries ago, as now, the man or woman whose psychic faculties were developed was sure of becoming the centre around which gathered followers, admirers, friends and enemies. Jacob was, however, no wonder-worker in the ordinary acceptation of the term. He had nothing to say to practical or ceremonial magic, and, although most of his friends were drawn from among the alchemists and students of occultism, he did not traffic in retorts, crucibles, or in the effort to extract gold from the baser metals. He was rightly named, by his early biographers, the "Teutonic Theosophist," for his philosophy is best expressed by that word. His life was spent in searching for union with God, and the understanding of His laws. He says: "I can write nothing of myself but as a child which neither knows nor understands anything, which neither has ever been learnt, but only that which the Lord vouchsafes to know in me according to the measure as Himself manifests in me. For I never desired to know anything of the Divine Mystery, much less

understood I the way to seek and find it. . . . I sought only after the heart of Jesus Christ that I might hide myself therein. . . . And I besought the Lord earnestly for His holy Spirit and His grace that He would please to bless and guide me to Him and take that away from me which turned me from Him, and I resigned myself wholly to Him that I might not live to my own will but His, and that He only might lead and direct me to the end I might be His child in His Son Jesus Christ." When his inner vision opened, in speaking of it, he says:—"I did not only greatly wonder at it but did also exceedingly rejoice. . . . I saw it as in a great deep in the internal. . . . For I had a thorough view of the universe as in a chaos, wherein all things are couched and wrapped up, but it was impossible for me to explain the same. . . . Yet, however, I must begin to labour in these great mysteries as a child that goes to school." Again, he says, speaking of his writing:—"Art has not wrote here, neither was there any time to consider how to set it punctually down according to the right understanding of the letters, but all was ordered according to the direction of the spirit, which often went in haste; so that in many words letters may be wanting, and in some places a capital letter for a word, so that the penman's hand, by reason he was not accustomed to it, did often shake. And though I could have wrote in a more accurate, fair, and plain manner, yet the reason was this, that the burning fire often forced forward with speed, and the hand and pen must hasten directly after it, for it *comes and goes as a sudden shower.*"

The period in which Boehme lived was one of the most intense and bitter religious intolerance, the priests and churches had almost supreme power, and any person who ventured to express opinions that differed from those of his church or pastor ran no small risk of persecution, from which appeal was useless, no matter how unmerited the accusation might be. With all these grave obstacles to contend against, Boehme succeeded in putting before the world a philosophy that has won the admiration of many learned men, whose names stand high in the estimation of the world. Hegel was among those who thought most highly of his genius, and placed him at the head of modern philosophy. F. Baader, Hamberger, Fechner, Peip, Harless, and others made

his writings a subject of study, and interpreted them in bulky volumes. Spinoza, Schelling, Schlegel, and Schopenhauer were all influenced and impressed by his wonderful comprehension of metaphysical conditions. A quotation from the latter author is given by Dr. Hartmann in his very appreciative life of Boehme, which is worth reproducing here. Schopenhauer, in discussing Schelling's works, and says: "They are almost nothing, except a remodelling of Jacob Boehme's '*Mysterium Magnum*,' in which almost every sentence of Hegel's book is represented. But why are in Hegel's writings the same figures and forms insupportable and ridiculous to me, which in Boehme's works fill me with admiration and awe? It is because in Boehme's writings the recognition of eternal truth speaks from every page, whilst Schelling takes from him what he is able to grasp. He uses the same figures of speech, but he evidently mistakes the shell for the fruit, or, at least, he does not know how to separate them from each other." Claude St. Martin, so well known as an author at the time of the French Revolution, in his correspondence with the Baron Kirchberger, says: "Speaking of the '*Threefold Life*,' this book is a treasure box, wherein all wisdom has been hidden from the eyes of the fool, but for the children of light it is always open. No one will clearly understand it unless he has the key necessary for that purpose . . . He who has that key will be able to open the door and enter and see the mysteries of divinity, divine magic, angelic cabala, and natural philosophy. That key opens the doors, and, like a lightning flash, it lightens the darkness of material conditions, for its imperishable spirit is contained within all things. . . . I find in his works such a profundity and exaltation of thought, such a simple and delicious nutriment, that I would consider it a waste of time to seek for such things in any other place." Pages could be filled up by quotations drawn from the writings of his many followers and grateful admirers, but, although the appreciation and veneration of philosophers and learned men is of interest, and carries a certain amount of weight, it is to the works themselves that the thoughtful reader must appeal.

Jacob Boehme's writings bear no trace of scholarship or erudition, they owe nothing to the language in which they are

clothed ; the reader is not carried away by the grace or charm of the style, nor by any richness of expression. Above all they do not work out any theory of human existence on the ordinary lines of argument or logical sequence, but they simply give in very homely language a conception of the evolution of the universe entirely free from the theological absurdities current in the churches then as now, and emphasise the spiritual origin of all manifestation. The strength of the writing lies in the fact that there is no building up slowly or with elaboration a theory or scheme of evolution by intellectual effort. There is only an endeavour to express what Boehme knows of his own interior knowledge, and his difficulty is to make his readers see as clearly as he himself is conscious of having realised in his visions the spiritual genesis of the visible universe. With the metaphysicians of his and other days the case is quite otherwise. They by downright hard study and years of application produce their theories of the origin of consciousness and the worlds of space, and their conclusions and systems are rendered as lucid and attractive as language, erudition and culture can make them. But Jacob studied not at all, he read nothing, had neither education nor scholarship, but he had a grasp of and insight into the inner working of nature, and of God's laws, that far surpass that of any of the purely intellectual authors of his or later generations.

It is sometimes asserted that Boehme in his ideas was influenced by other writers who preceded him, but this is quite contrary to what he many times expressly states. Over and over again he says that he owes none of his ideas either to books or men. The one book he really studied was the Bible, and, as he calls it, his "own book of three leaves," for he followed the well-known Hermetic saying, "Man, know thyself." There is also another advantage that Boehme's works can claim over those of more cultured metaphysicians, and this is that in the books of the latter their readers will find no guidance that enables them to realise for themselves that the theories are true. Boehme, on the other hand, lays down a system of life which he says emphatically, and which many of his disciples confirm his declaration, is calculated to bring the student to a conscious realisation of the God within him.

This higher consciousness once attained, the hidden truths of Nature, become, as it were, an open book. "Let anyone enter into himself (his divine self) and labour to be a righteous man, and fear God and do right . . . and realise that he stands every moment before the face of God, and that all his works shall follow after him, and then the Lily of God springs and grows, and the world stands in its *seculum*." The soul must hold itself in, and yet out of the world. The man who wishes to reach his own divine self must follow his earthly life, and whatever his work may be, whether dignified or the most humble, he must perform it with diligence. "Let the art or following be what it will, it is God's work, but the man must not make a mammon of his work, he must not allow his worldly ambitions to enter therein." Boehme gives some very clear and precise directions to disciples in the course they must follow for the attainment of the "Pearl of Great Price" or the "Philosopher's Stone," and if these directions do not seem to be laid down quite in the scientific method of the old Eastern Sanscrit teachers, any student of occultism will recognise that essentially they are the same, and are intended to lead to the same results. Concentration of thought, together with the moral purification of the whole nature, are what the neophyte has to acquire if he wishes to reach union with his divine self. Boehme's philosophy put into few words is, that there is within every man and woman and child a centre of divine consciousness which renders them potentially one with God. This, when brought into activity, enables him to solve all the problems and mysteries of life, of good and evil, of evolution, and of cosmic laws. His own experiences show him that this divine centre is latent in every member of the human family. He brings its illuminating power to bear upon all the difficult questions that beset the thinking mind, and this spiritual condition of consciousness endows him with a comprehension of the whole process of evolution, both natural and divine. This idea is the mainspring of all Boehme's writings. The titles of his books and treatises vary, but the essence of the teaching running through them all is practically the same.

Whether he is dealing with cosmogony, the allegories of the Old Testament, or with the deeply occult words of Jesus, the

Apostles, or the Revelations, he draws from these the like conclusions, and these are—that if man wishes to understand the mysteries of life, death, heaven, hell, evolutionary laws, and God's purpose generally, he must, by effort, break away from the attractions and desires of the world, and free himself absolutely from egotism. He must “love God with all his heart and his neighbour as himself.” And in order to rightly appreciate Jacob Boehme, and to understand his philosophy, it is necessary to accept him as a student and teacher of occult and divine science. To describe him as a Christian mystic is to label him quite incorrectly, if to the word mystic is ascribed a merely vague belief in certain conditions of soul existence which are normally unrealised, theoretic rather than positive. Certainly, Boehme was a Christian in the true meaning of that word, inasmuch as he ruled his thoughts and actions as far as possible on the teachings of Jesus.

But he was no bigoted adherent of that religion. His writings are not vague and undefined expressions of admiration for conventional Christianity. They are on the contrary, decisive and clear statements of the reality of the soul's existence after the death of the body, and of the true way in which men and women may come to know this while still in the physical body whether they be members of a Christian church or country or not. Turks, Jews, or any others who have neither heard the name of Jesus, or who having so heard still do not believe are, according to Boehme, received of God if they do His will, he says: “The law of God, and also the way to life is *written in our hearts*; it lies in no man's supposition and knowing, nor in any historical opinion, but in a good will and well doing. The will leadeth us to God or to the Devil; it availeth not whether thou hast the name of Christian, salvation doth not consist therein. A heathen or a Turk is as near to God as thou who art under the name of Christ if thou bringest forth a false, ungodly will in thy deeds. . . . If a Turk seek to God with earnestness, tho' he walketh in blindness, yet he is of the number of those that are children without understanding, and he reacheth to God with the children which do not yet know what they speak; for it lies not in the knowing but in the will.” He is very thorough in his onslaught on ecclesiasticism, the churches, and, above all, on the clergy of all denominations

who, by virtue of their office, claim power and authority and knowledge in the exercise of their so-called holy functions, while, in reality, they are, as a rule, both ignorant of spiritual conditions and unchristian in their lives. The fact that Boehme, in his first book especially, uses the Christian symbology may have led some people to think that his philosophy was based on the literal words of the Old and New Testaments. This is very far from being the case. He was deeply reverential to the Bible, and to the words of Jesus, and the Apostles, but he treats the Old Testament as mainly allegorical, sweeping away many of the characters as personalities, and interpreting them as symbols of ideas and evolutionary processes. His various treatises dealing with Election, Regeneration and Atonement, etc., are replete with the wisdom that he drew from his own interior occult source, and in them he by no means accepts the interpretation put upon those much debated points of doctrine by the many denominations included within the Christian fold as essential to salvation. Every man must work out his own salvation, and the way lies in his utter abandonment of self-willing and self-thinking, and in this respect he speaks with the certainty of one who has experience in the results of his methods. When urged by an earnest follower to know what he must do in order to attain to the higher consciousness so as to be able to hear the inner voice and reach that blissful condition of soul vision so continually written about by the Apostles and others, Boehme says "When thou standest still from thinking of self and the willing-self, when both thy intellect and will are quiet and passive to the impressions of the eternal word and spirit; and when the soul is winged up, and above that which is temporal, the outward senses, and the imagination being locked up by holy abstraction, then the eternal hearing, seeing, and speaking will be revealed in thee, and so God heareth and seeth through thee, being now the organ of *his* spirit; and so God speaketh in *thee* and *whispereth* to thy spirit, and thy spirit heareth his voice. Blessed art thou therefore if that thou canst stand still from self-thinking and self-willing, and canst stop the wheel of thy imagination and senses (from working); forasmuch as hereby thou mayest arrive at length to see the great salvation of

God, being made capable of all manner of divine sensations and heavenly communications. Since it is nought indeed but thine own hearing and willing that do hinder thee so that thou dost not see and hear God." And when the disciple further asks how he is to get his body into subjection so as to be able to maintain this desirable condition, he says, "There is no other way that I know but to present the body whereof thou complainest (which is the beast to be sacrificed) *a living sacrifice holy and acceptable unto God* let it be *transformed* by the renewing of the mind which renewed mind is to have dominion over the body that so thou mayest prove, both in mind and body, what is the perfect will of God whereupon the body and the animal life would, being thus offered up, begin to die both from *without* and from *within*. From without it would be an utter enemy to all the pomps of the world and to all the gaudery, pageantry, pride, ambition, and haughtiness therein. From within it would get a mind and will wholly new for its government and management, being now made subject to the spirit, which would, continually be directed to God, and so, consequently, that which is subject to it. And thus thy very body is become the temple of God and of His spirit in imitation of thy Lord's body."

These quotations, and a hundred others which might be brought forward, give the true philosophy contained in his books. Like the teachings to be found in all the great religions of the world, the ideal presented is practically, for the present, beyond the reach of the many. For the few who are beginning to realise that other planes of nature and existence far transcend the attractions of this physical life, the literal directions to be found in Jacob Boehme's books have to be accepted and adhered to if union with the divine centre inherent in man is to be attained.

PATIENCE SINNETT.

POLITICAL JUDGESHIPS.

EVERY lawyer knows one of Lord Bowen's famous jokes, but as I hope laymen will read these lines I venture to repeat it. When the judges were deliberating on the terms of an address to her late Majesty, on the jubilee of 1887, the phrase "conscious as we are of our infirmities," or "failings" (or some equally modest word), was suggested. Some debate having arisen on the appropriateness of any such expression, various ideas for amendment were put forward; at last Bowen said, "Couldn't we say Conscious as we are of one another's infirmities'?"

If the story be true I believe its significance lies in the fact that for a very long time such a jest would have been impossible, but that in 1887 it was—has since been—a palpable hit. No doubt *in camera* judges unbend as much as other people and "score off" each other when they can. But for centuries, so far as I know, it would not have occurred to the profession that any member of the Bench could be the target of serious public criticism—that, in fact, certain given appointments ought not to have been made. Such criticism has been increasing of late years. The old "judge-olatry," if I may use the expression, is disappearing—not, in some cases, without reason. I think this is much to be lamented, for it was a valuable asset in the administration of British justice, and British justice is, I believe, the most valuable asset in British prosperity. We all know that before the Revolution some judges were downright bad men—cruel, wicked, corrupt. Since then, speaking broadly, I cannot find a single appointment known to be bad or condemned by the profession till recent times. The divinity which hedged the judge till then was universally

accepted by lawyers and laymen, and the judge always sustained the part. He was, and is, on a pedestal, and the elevation became him. He was dignified, learned, patient, scholarly (as a rule), "not slothful in business," unconscious almost that there was such a thing as popularity. A little human irascibility was the worst allegation against some. Most of them, in some way or another, were great men—certainly, none were little men.

This tradition was, I believe, unbroken; I do not know a single instance when the profession pronounced the promotion improper, or merely due to political favouritism. Campbell was hated, but it was never suggested that he ought not to have been made a judge. There was a joke once about a son or kinsman of a great Court doctor, who was raised to the bench through his relative's influence, that he was a judge by *prescription*, but who could resist uttering such a *mot* if it occurred? (If, by the way, it referred to Sir Soulden Lawrence, 1794-1812, he was an admirable judge, and always held in high esteem). In 1859 there was an outcry at the appointment of Mr. Blackburn, then little known, but afterwards famous. It is worth while to reproduce some comments of the *Law Times* (July 9th, 1859), especially as the tone of the legal press of fifty years ago seems to be more dignified than that of some journals to-day. "As for political claims, we abjure them altogether. Lord Campbell is entitled to the thanks of the profession and of the public for having left them wholly out of his thoughts. Judicial offices should never be permitted to be the rewards of political services, for the practice produces a double evil: aspirants pursue politics instead of law, which is a loss to the learning of the Bar; and they pursue politics professionally, which is a loss to the public service, for men who make politics a stepping-stone to the judgment-seat will assuredly hold principles in little respect and take up and hold their principles loosely, with calculations of interest only and without regard for truth and right. Instead of being a recommendation, party claims ought to be a disqualification. We would effectually destroy them by enacting that no M.P., except only the Attorney and Solicitor-General, shall be admissible to any judgeship while he is a member of the parliament or for two years afterwards. . . . That Lord Campbell should have had the courage to set political

claims at defiance and select a lawyer upon his own merits as a lawyer, is a subject not for censure but for hearty commendation."

Now it is a striking illustration of the view here expressed, that of recent years criticism of the occupants of the bench has been almost exclusively confined to judges who have been party politicians, and who are supposed to owe their elevation to the gratitude of the minister of a grateful party. The result is that the only bad judge from the professional point of view is the purely political judge, *i.e.*, the one recommended solely by his politics. (There is no such thing as a political judge in the sense of one who talks politics; he does not exist.) A great many judges have been House of Commons partisans, and serious, hard-working, sometimes brilliant lawyers at the same time; when they left the House for the bench they dropped the partisanship, and the business-like practitioner remained; the others drop the former, too, but then nothing else remains.

This is not the place to point out exactly where the shoe pinches; the evil is notorious throughout the profession. On difficult, especially on unsettled points of law, even real students of the law may differ; there is an academic discussion, and if the judge takes a leading part as *primus inter pares* the mere fact that he is overruled by a superior court neither detracts from his reputation or his authority; every one is satisfied, even the loser, with the business judge. But the ex-politician is not genuinely interested in the law, and unless it be set forth explicitly in a text book, he does not know the law. The lawyers are dissatisfied, the victor because he has no guarantee that he will keep his victory, the loser because he has an uneasy sense that with another judge he ought to have succeeded. Clients are harassed with a number of applications or appeals suggested by the inevitable doubt as to the correctness of his rulings and frequently submit to what they are advised is an injustice rather than risk further loss, and counsel and solicitor are associated in their mind with failure. Perhaps, indeed, it is not too much to say that sometimes the brunt of a judge's mistake falls on the junior counsel. The point is that whether he turn out right or wrong there is no confidence in his decision.

This want of confidence in the political judge marks a real practical difference between his case and that of the "business" judge—even the losers before the latter begin to think they are wrong. For he—i.e., the man who has won his place professionally—is a very different being. He is not perpetually straining to justify himself, or to "score," or even to joke; he does not make up his mind and then find in the fact that he has done so an extra reason for having done it; he is strong enough to admit a mistake and eager to rectify it; he is not obsequious to King's Counsel and rude to juniors; he is careful, especially if there is a jury, not to show by innumerable trifling indications of demeanour which way his sympathy inclines; he is scrupulously careful to abstain from moral platitudes or sententious hints on passing events or controversies, and he knows how to handle that lethal weapon, the summing-up, otherwise than as a gladiator-advocate. What an instrument of torture that can be in incapable hands has, I believe, come to be more and more recognised of late years (not only in this country, by the way). Perhaps my knowledge is at fault, but I believe that this institution has not been discussed, except as a purely technical enquiry into the doctrine of "direction" till recent times, but, in my humble opinion, it ought now to be formally regulated by considerations of equity. It is not, however, an easy question and cannot be pursued here. But I believe it would be generally agreed that the fairest summers up are the non-political judges. Finally, the "business" judge, off the Bench, neither does nor writes anything sensational or comic, but he often writes learnedly before he gets there.

In Walpole's day political bribery was universal and avowed. That practice and that spirit have long since passed away. Ministers, no doubt, still reward fidelity with places and honours. But the only surviving anomaly of patronage at all comparable to those of the worst traditions, is the distribution of judgeships among Members of Parliament, who have been called to the Bar, and have safe seats.

A PRACTISING BARRISTER.

RHODESIA.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

SALISBURY, August.

THE wave of depression that has overwhelmed this sub-continent for the last few years has been more acutely felt in Rhodesia than in any other colony. For years past the cost of administration has exceeded the revenue, but while the credit of the company was good in London, the deficit has been easily made up. Now, however, the subscribing public will not advance any further capital, or to have anything to say to a country which shows so little prospect of an adequate return in reasonable time. It has been stated over and over again that Rhodesian prosperity is an echo of Transvaal prosperity. That is to say, when the Rand "boomed" Rhodesia "boomed." That may have been true in the past, but does not seem so now. The Transvaal (the Rand) is beginning to recuperate. The coming of the Chinaman has had a distinctly bracing effect on things in general, for all the outcry raised in London against his introduction. Mr. Schumacher, recently speaking on this subject, stated that Eckstein's were perfectly satisfied with the result of the experiment, and that they were prepared to take up the full number of coolies on their groups. Coming from such a man, this statement is the more convincing, and foreshadows the introduction of further consignments of willing workers from China.

The success of Chinamen on the Rand indirectly affects the situation in Rhodesia, insomuch as it will set free a larger number of native labourers for the mines. Kaffirs who formerly went to Johannesburg will now be free to seek work nearer home, and this brings us back to the inevitable question, what is the reason of Rhodesia's stagnation, and what are the best means of dispelling it?

In search of the answer we must open up ancient history. In 1899 the present constitution was given to this country, but the people's representatives were, and are, in a minority. The consequence was that they had no voice in the expenditure of the revenue, and the Company was able to do as it liked with the money. From that day to this the expenditure continued to be in excess of the revenue, but the Company continued to find capital, the capital necessary to carry on the administration of the country. While money continued to flow into the Company's coffers there was no trouble, but directly this stream showed signs of drying up,—while the excess of expenditure over revenue continued to grow, and private companies found the investing public beginning to fight shy of advancing money to carry on mining industries,—mines began to close down, trade diminished, and stagnation was the order of the day.

This being the case, the Company cast about to find some remedy, and eventually Sir George Goldie visited the country. After travelling through it, and due investigation, he returned to London, and finally brought out a scheme by which the credit of Rhodesia could be once more established on a firm, business-like footing. This scheme was submitted to the colonists who indignantly repudiated it. Public meetings were called, and the matter discussed at length. The next step was taken by the members of the Legislative Council, and they held a conference with the legal representatives of the people and delegates from all the communities in Rhodesia. This conference, however, was wrecked by the members of an extreme section pledged to oust the Company entirely. By their uncompromising attitude they forced the moderate section to withdraw. Notwithstanding the absence of the majority of the members of the Council, the very people who invited the

conference, delegates were chosen from among the extremists to proceed to London to confer with the Chartered Company and the Imperial Government with a view to arranging a *modus vivendi*. The result has yet to be learned. In the meantime, the question is still being discussed, and occasionally one side or the other puts forward its views as to the best means of coming to an equitable arrangement. Recently the moderate section embodied their views in a letter to the *Rhodesian Times*, but before going into these it may be well to describe the scheme propounded by Sir George Goldie.

In a letter addressed to the representative members of the Council, Sir George said there was no reason to doubt the progressive prosperity of Southern Rhodesia provided a sound policy was consistently followed. With such a policy the country, in a few years, should be fully stocked with sheep and immune cattle; the tobacco and general agricultural industry, and, possibly, the cotton industry would be firmly established, and a largely increased white population would be settled here. He divided his scheme into five heads: The debt of the country to the Chartered Company, the manner in which this debt is to be treated, the management of the money, its allocation, and the method of procedure. Taking these heads in order, Sir G. Goldie proposes that the amount of the debt must be ascertained in London. "It may interest you," he says, "to know that after examining the books and figures with which the Company have furnished me, after eliminating items which might be contested by the representatives of Southern Rhodesia, after roughly apportioning other items between administrative and commercial expenditure, and after allowing annual interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on all advances which do not appear to be open to dispute, I should say that the total indebtedness to the Company exceeds £8,000,000."

Under the second heading the suggestion is that this amount should be funded, and that the Chartered Company should retain £5,000,000 as a Private Fund, and the balance be given by the Company to a Trust Fund for the benefit of Southern Rhodesia, both to bear interest. On the Private Fund this interest would not be actually payable until the cessation of Chartered Government, "unless there is previously a sufficient surplus of revenue;"

it would meanwhile be added year by year as a matter of account to the capital sum of the Private Fund. The interest on any money raised (for the development of the country) on the security of the Trust Fund would have to be paid out of the Trust Fund, or out of the surpluses of the administrative revenue, if any. Once this debt is fixed by Act of the Legislative Council, there would be no difficulty in raising money to the full extent of the Trust Fund and on its security.

As to the management of the Trust Fund this would of necessity lie in the hands of the governing body, while the money raised on the security of this Fund would be used for the development of the country.

Such, shortly, is the scheme which raised a storm of protest throughout Southern Rhodesia. Taken as a whole, the people of the country repudiated the idea of any debt to the Chartered Company, and it was on this that the whole matter turned. Reverting to the views of the moderate section, who, though repudiating the amount mentioned by Sir George, accepted the principle, their scheme amounted to this, that the Colonists should agree to assume as a debt on the country a portion of the past expenditure of the Company. In the event of their agreeing to this they should obtain as a *quid pro quo* certain lands, public buildings, &c., together with a reduction in the Company's interest in the gold-mining industry from 30 per cent. of the holding to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. royalty on the *gold won*. Further, that the constitution be altered to two Houses of Parliament, in one of which popular representation should be in the majority, and which should control the Revenue and Expenditure; in the other, or the Upper House, the Company should have the majority, their duty being to carry into effect the laws passed by the Lower House, but with the power to veto any measure passed by the Lower House, the latter, however, to have the power of appealing to the Secretary of State for a final decision. With reference to financial matters, the Chartered Company should continue to find funds to meet the deficits in administration, and raise money for the development of the country. These amounts to be added to the debt assumed, as also all interest accruing on debt, deficits, and

loan until such time as the country is in a position to assume responsible Government.

In support of this scheme the authors affirm that it would benefit both the colonists and the Chartered Company, but it must be remembered that lands will rapidly advance in value as the population increases. As a matter of fact, the best land, that is the land which will be the first to rise in value under favourable conditions, is already concessioned to private companies. With regard to the reduction of the mining clause from 30 per cent. of the holding to $2\frac{1}{2}$ royalty on gold won, this belongs to the commercial side of the company and not to the administrative. Under the present conditions there are many holdings which are not worked because of this clause, and it would be impossible for the Company, as it stands, to pass a law compelling the working of the auriferous holdings under pain of abandonment. So far the extremists, who favour the abrogation of the Charter, have some claim for support, for a new administration could impose such taxation as to compel the surrender, or working, of the holdings. All these holdings must either be worked or abandoned before any satisfactory agreement can be arranged between the colonists and the Chartered Company. The mere reduction of the royalty alone may, and probably will, have the effect of opening up some new workings, but the whole will have to become active before real prosperity comes to the country.

Railway rates have next to be considered. Anyone living in a new country with a forward railway policy, would be horrified at the rates charged on the line to Rhodesia's natural port, Beira. Controlled by a private company, the railway is run, not for the benefit of the country, but for the benefit of the shareholders. This sounds fair, but when the fact is taken into consideration that the railway was built to open up the country, and not to pay dividends, then the effect of this policy is evident. Before 1895, when Rhodesia first came into being, it was seen at once that railway construction was essential to a country which anticipated a large mining industry; besides this, the extension of the existing railway belonging to the Cape Government fell in with the late Mr. Rhodes' great scheme of a transcontinental line, consequently this was extended from

Vryburg, *via* Mafeking to Bulawayo, and later to Gwelo. Notwithstanding this extension, Salisbury, the capital of the country, was still isolated, the only means of obtaining goods from the port of Beira was by rail to Chimoio, on the Portuguese frontier, transhipment to waggons, and thence by a long trek to Salisbury. All this meant excessive freights, and the cost of goods landed at the capital was outrageous. In view of this, an agitation was set on foot to remedy this drawback which culminated in 1895. Four years later the narrow guage line which had been constructed was replaced by the standard guage now working. At the first blush it would seem that the country, having obtained what it wanted, would be in a position to take its place among the producing colonies of the Empire, but when the policy of the new line is taken into account it will be seen why Rhodesia, a country teeming with minerals of every description, with agricultural prospects unrivalled throughout the world, with a climate in every way favourable to a white population, has remained stagnant. With the gift of the Beira and Mashonaland Railway such conditions were imposed that trade was strangled at birth.

The consequence was that the rates charged on the Beira to Gwelo section equalised the rates from Cape Town to Gwelo, the distances being 492 miles and 1,475 miles respectively. In short the rulers of the Beira line, the Rhodesia Railways Trust, took such a stand as to nullify the whole purpose of the line, with the effect that the cost of living has been forced up, and the importation of stock, machinery, and agricultural necessities has been a matter of great expense with no commensurate return. The two main reasons for the present unsatisfactory condition of the mining industry may briefly be stated as being the mining law of the territory whereby the Chartered Company claim 30 per cent. of the total holding, and the excessive railway rates. But this has nothing to say to an equally valuable asset of Rhodesia, its agricultural possibilities.

During the last few years this colony has been stripped of its stock by rinderpest and African coast fever, and the farmer has been, and still is, severely handicapped by the railways. He is unable to import blood-stock, machinery, or any of the necessities whereby he can improve his farm.

Various agricultural experts have visited the country and have in each case been impressed by the vast possibilities of the territory, mainly in the grain-growing and cattle and sheep raising branches. In the latter, however, it was found that farmers were crossing good stock with native animals, thus deteriorating their stock, the explanation being ever the same—cost of importation too excessive. Now, however, the Government is beginning to take more interest in agriculture, and the Agricultural Department has inaugurated, with some success, the production of tobacco and cotton. Throughout Mashonaland these crops have been tried with varying success, some districts proving more suitable for tobacco, some for cotton. Samples of the latter have been sent home and reported on favourably by the Liverpool Cotton Spinners' Association, and with reduced railway rates this may grow to be one of the principal cotton-producing states of the Empire. Tobacco, though at present in its infancy, is giving promise of sturdy growth, and the reports from Cape Town and the Transvaal on the samples submitted are as favourable as those on the cotton.

All this is most satisfactory, and seems to suggest that prosperity is not far off, but it only brings us back to the starting point—the question as to whether the Chartered Company is to remain in power, or whether it is to be removed, and some other form of Government substituted. Taking a strictly impartial view of the present position, there is much to be said for and against the question of the day. Undoubtedly the Chartered Company has done much for the country, more, indeed, than the Imperial Government would have done had this been a Crown colony from the beginning. It, the Company, has brought more capital into Rhodesia than the Imperial authorities would or could have brought; it has borne the burden of administration for many years, and during that period has put down a rebellion and subjugated as savage a tribe as could be found anywhere in the sub-continent. On the other hand the Company is a hybrid, it is a governing body and a commercial company, the latter bound to consider the interests of its shareholders, and as such it has been forced to levy certain taxes, for it is what they amount to, on one of the principal industries of the country, and at first these taxes were excessive. It has largely been responsible

for the stagnation of the mining industry by not considering the small prospector. This country is a small man's country, it will never be a Rand with huge groups of mines able to support large offices in London. The profits obtained legitimately will not carry such burdens, but given a small mill on small properties worked by two or three men paying small royalties on the gold won to the governing body, then the country would be in the fair way to prosperity. Another point against the Chartered Company has to do with the railways. They ought to have seen from the first that it would have paid both them and the railways better to insist on reasonable rates from Beira, even though the line were run at a loss. In Uganda, another new country, the railway authorities see the primary fact that they live by traffic, and by traffic alone, not by excessive rates.

Bearing these facts in mind, the question remains, would the country do better to cast down the Chartered Company and resign itself to the tender mercies of Downing Street, or would they do better to come to some arrangement with the much maligned Company, some modification of the Goldie scheme whereby the Company would remain in power and retain their undoubted power of raising money. The great capitalists of London are interested, as well as thousands upon thousands of shareholders scattered over the whole of Europe. With some tangible security money could be raised which would place Rhodesia in the position to which she is undoubtedly entitled, as one of the brightest jewels in the brilliant galaxy of the Empire.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

THE decision of the House of Lords Committee on the administration of the Chantry bequest, has not been altogether complimentary to the manner in which the Royal Academy has fulfilled its obligations to the Trust. The Committee reports that the Royal Academy has spent the Chantry money too exclusively on the contents of its own exhibitions, with the result that the collection is not by any means what it ought to be. The recommendations of the Committee, however, would leave the administration of the Trust still in the hands of the Royal Academicians, although the responsibility would be centred on a committee of three, consisting of the President, one R.A., nominated by the Council, and one A.R.A. nominated by the body of associates. The Committee also proposes that the more important artistic societies of England and Scotland should be invited to report to this Committee in reference to pictures other than those accepted at the Academy, which in their opinion were entitled to admission to the Chantry collection. Further detailed recommendations are also made in reference to the rules to guide future purchases, but no public statement has yet been made in reference to the course which, either with the willing co-operation of the Academicians or in accordance with action taken in Parliament, may ultimately be decided upon.

Meanwhile, in all probability, the general interest of the public in the whole question will be directed more towards the Royal Academy itself as an institution, than to the specific enquiry with

which the Lords Committee was concerned. Very few people would venture to say that they understand the constitution of the Royal Academy. No public reports are ever made concerning its inner organisation, its accounts are subject to no possible criticism, it holds itself as free from the liability to consult the public in regard to any of its doings as though it were in all respects what in one respect it claims to be, a private club. But while that may be really its character as regards legal obligations, it has drifted into a position of such curious supremacy in the artistic world of this country that many people are inclined to think its quasi-official authority should be accompanied by something in the nature of public responsibility. Grumblers may argue:—no matter how the Academy came into existence, that which we see at the present is a small, irresponsible society that has somehow, without paying for it, come into possession of a vast site in the heart of London, where land is almost sold by the square foot. On the premises erected there it collects every year the artistic harvest of the whole country, pleasing itself as to what it will accept and what it will reject, and when all these pictures which it pays nothing to obtain, are hanging upon its walls, it permits the public to enter at a shilling a head, and with the enormous volume of shillings thus flowing into its possession every year, does exactly what it likes. Some few it may possibly spend in maintaining schools of art. Very considerable sums, according to impressions generally prevailing, are converted in one way or another to the use of members.

Of course this happy condition of things has arisen by virtue of the eminent talent for business displayed by the Royal Academicians throughout their varied history, and men who manage their affairs with sagacity may naturally expect undisturbed possession of the profits. But, at the same time, when a private undertaking by virtue of circumstances unforeseen at its outset acquires a quasi-official character, it may not be altogether unreasonable to suggest the propriety of adopting new rules and regulations which would fall into line, as it were, with the unforeseen developments of the enterprise. It is notorious that artists outside the walls which protect the members of the Royal Academy, are continually levelling abuse against the garrison inside

the fortress. The influence that the Academy can bring to bear upon the fortunes of any artist is undoubtedly considerable, so much so that, at all events, many artists conceive that no private self-elected body ought to possess power of so overwhelming a kind. Anyhow no sound opinion on the subject can possibly be reached without full consideration of the circumstances under which the Academy came into existence in the beginning and has gradually acquired the supreme artistic authority which it now enjoys.

In a recent number of an artistic publication called the *Studio*, the facts connected with the institution and growth of the Academy are set forth with some approach to satisfactory completeness. The germs of the present association may apparently be traced to an artistic school opened by the historical painter of George I.'s reign, Sir James Thornhill, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. As a development of this school, William Hogarth seems to have organised a small society of artists anxious for self-improvement, and out of this proposal in some way, there seems to have arisen a small association calling itself the Society of Dilletanti which, in 1753 contrived to establish itself somewhere in Cavendish Square. It is not necessary here to trace the entangled relations of this with some other similar societies, and with the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in Great Britain, established in 1754. In 1765, an artistic society developed from all these beginnings received a charter of incorporation, took a house in Pall Mall, to which effects formerly belonging to one of the societies in St. Martin's Lane, were removed, and over the door was inscribed for the first time, the designation which has since become so famous, "The Royal Academy." The King patronised this association, and gave one hundred pounds to its funds. Then the society was split up by internal quarrels, but though some secessions took place the King still patronised the society known as the Royal Academy, and continued from time to time to feed it with gifts of money. Sir Joshua Reynolds, its first President, seems to have received his knighthood in honour of the opening of its first school, and the first regular Royal Academy Exhibition seems to have been held

in Pall Mall in 1769. 136 pictures were exhibited, 80 of which were contributed by the members of the association, and though the receipts of the exhibition amounted to about £700, the expenses of the Academy so far exceeded its receipts that the King, its illustrious patron, supplemented these by a gift of £900. Next year the exhibition was more prosperous, and the King's subsidy was reduced. In 1771, by his command, rooms were assigned to the Academy in Somerset House, at that time one of the royal palaces. A few years later, by which time the total sums received by the Academy from its royal patron amounted to over £5,000, the Academy attained a position in which it was able to pay its way without further assistance.

And now began the series of changes which have exhibited in so remarkable a degree the skill of the academicians in driving bargains. Somerset House was taken over from the Crown by the Government to be converted into public offices. The Academy successfully put in a claim for compensation on being evicted. It retained a place in the new building, gaining greatly by the change, and came into possession of magnificent apartments facing the Strand, in which, for the next 57 years its exhibitions were held. During this period it drifted into the position it has since maintained, a position of undefined supremacy in the artistic world. But in 1837, Government having decided that the whole of Somerset House must be devoted to public offices, the Academy was richly compensated for this eviction by establishment in the new National Gallery, which had then been built in Trafalgar Square. But it was once more destined to enjoy the good fortune of being turned out even from these premises. When all the rooms were required for the National Gallery, the rights of the Royal Academy were submitted to the consideration of a Royal Commission, which reported that, though the Academy had no legal, still it had a moral claim to apartments at the public expense. Proposals were made in Parliament that it ought to be satisfied with a gift of £40,000, but the Academicians again exhibited their talent in the conduct of affairs. They loftily declined the money, they would be contented with a site on which they could build their own galleries. So in 1867 they secured the site of Burlington House,

at a peppercorn rent for 999 years. On the improvements and partial restoration of the building the Academy is said to have spent £160,000, its ability to do this being an interesting proof of the signal success with which it had carried on the showman business for the previous half century. Certainly the conditions of this business had been favourable to profit. Any theatrical manager would prosper on similar terms. Provided with a theatre at the public expense and with a *corps dramatique* requiring no salaries, it would not be difficult for him to ensure a satisfactory profit and loss account. We need not doubt that the £160,000 has been invested to admirable advantage, but on the later incidents of the Academy's progress, no light can at present be thrown. The curtain comes down in regard to the narrative from which we have derived this sketch, from the commencement of the Burlington House period. In their present luxurious home we may be quite sure the academicians have been thriving, financially, however incompletely they may have succeeded in satisfying the artistic world with reference to the influence they exercise over the fortunes of artists at large.

Of course, it is solely on account of the manner in which it has come to exercise this influence that the public has any right to criticise its doings. We all have an undeniable right each year when we pay our shillings and look at the collection of pictures to declare, as people so often declare in private life, whatever courtly guests may say at Academy dinners, that the show this year is worse than ever and more full of rubbish than usual. But such discontent on our part does not in the least degree lessen the certainty that next year we shall contribute our shillings again to the ever-growing profits of the Academy, while the complaints from the artists for whose pictures no room is found on the walls, are equally ineffective in preventing the accumulation, the following year, of pictures in abundance from which the academicians can construct their next annual show. From some points of view the whole situation is amusing, and it is undeniable that everyone in London is delighted to spend a shilling in visiting the show. He gets abundantly his money's worth, but at the same time there seems a mysterious element of unhealthiness in the undesigned developments which have drifted the great

artistic institution into its present supremacy, and if the somewhat indiscreet favour which it has shown to itself in connection with the administration of the Chantry bequest, shall have induced Government or Parliament or the forces of public opinion to look more closely into the rights and obligations which the Academy has acquired or assumed, perhaps it will be recognised that for the first time in its history, the academicians have been less far-sighted and sagacious in the conduct of their business than at all the other turning points in their prosperous career.

JEANNE D'ARC.

BY T. DOUGLAS MURRAY.

DURING my visit to Rome last Easter, I had the honour of being received in private audience by the Pope, in order that I might present to His Holiness a copy of my book concerning Jeanne D'Arc, Maid of Orleans, to which I see that reference has been made in the course of recent articles published in *BROAD VIEWS*. Rome was gay with colour and filled with life and sunshine when I arrived on Easter Sunday. The usual ceremonies and services were in progress in St. Peter's and elsewhere, and the Pincian was crowded in the afternoon with carriages and a great assembly of people. On the following Sunday, at the great church of St. Paul's, outside the walls, a service of Gregorian music was given, and on Monday, April 11th, the Pope passed in procession through St. Peter's, attended by more than a thousand choristers chanting Gregorian music. By the Pope's command, Gregorian music at present seems to replace all other kinds in connection with the great services in Rome.

I found my Catholic friends who had read "Jeanne d'Arc" deeply interested in the subject, and shortly after my arrival I received an intimation to the effect that the Pope would be pleased to give me a private audience, and through the kind offices of Cardinal Merry Del Val this took place on Saturday, April 30th. The Cardinal directs the internal arrangements of the Vatican, besides being Papal Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In anticipation of my interview with the Pope I had a conversation with him on the 29th. He expressed an earnest desire that my book should be widely read. He had already received letters from many

people who, nurtured on historical fallacies, doubted the fitness of the "Maid" for canonisation. As she is first on the list for admission to saintly rank, the Cardinal felt it important that the story of her life and death as attested on oath and set forth in the original documents, should be translated as far as possible, and that the truth as given in this work should be known to the Catholic world in particular. On the occasion of my interview with the Pope, he addressed me in a Latin oration of much eloquence, the drift of which was identical with the views already expressed by the Cardinal. I subsequently received from the Cardinal the following letter:—

Copy of translation approved by Cardinal Merry del Val :

Sir (Illmo Signore),

The homage you paid the Holy Father, in offering him your book, entitled, "Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans," was deeply appreciated.

His Holiness rejoices that you have been impelled to make researches in the Archives of France, and that your patient efforts have brought to light really important facts. The documents you have recovered not only throw new light on a subject attractive in itself and much discussed, but they receive an increased value from the fact that you bring to their examination a mind free from prejudice and desiring only to discover Truth in its integrity.

The August Pontiff hopes earnestly that your book, which must receive commendation from all learned men and just critics of history, will be translated into other tongues, that it may thereby become more widely known and win the universal admiration it merits.

But above all the Holy Father wishes to emphasize his great satisfaction in the important contribution you bring to the history of Jeanne d'Arc and her times, and to convey to you his sincere thanks for the volume you have offered him. Obeying this revered command with much pleasure, I beg to add my own cordial thanks for the copy you have given me and the assurance of my esteem.

(Signed) R. CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL.

Roma, 5 May, 1904.

Illmo. Signore T. Douglas Murray.

PASSING EVENTS.

FOR those who have long been students of Oriental Religion and of the various intricate metaphysical theories involved in the Northern Buddhism of Tibet, it is very amusing to find the London newspapers beginning to concern themselves with the relative dignities of the Dalai and Teshu Lamas, and with such terms as "Amitabha" and "Avaloketishvara," which crop up in a leading article in *The Times*, of September the 19th, and in the letters of that great journal's correspondent in Tibet. But it is not surprising to find that the unfamiliar terms in question are comically misused. The special occasion for their misuse arose from the telegram, dated Lhasa, September the 15th, which informed us that the Chinese Amban at Lhasa had posted up a proclamation issued under the authority of the Emperor of China, appointing the Teshu Lama to succeed to the dignities of the Dalai Lama,—absent without leave, so to speak. Like the Dalai Lama, the "Tashi" Lama—says *The Times*—spelling the title in an unusual way, but that is of no consequence—"is a reincarnation, and he has, indeed, in this respect a certain spiritual precedent of the Lhasan Pontiff, since whereas the Dalai Lama re-embodies the divine pupil of Amitabha, the Tashi Lama re-embodies Amitabha or 'the Boundless Light' himself." And then we are told that partly owing to this circumstance, and partly to the way in which the absorption of political power by the Dalai Lama hitherto has left the "Tashi" Lama more free to acquire merit by an unremitting pursuit of holy exercises, the latter is said to be regarded with almost greater awe by the Tibetan people than the Lhasan ruler himself.

All this represents the confusion of mind naturally associated with very recently acquired knowledge, and the statement con-

cerning the reincarnations of the two Lamas is evidently derived from the explanations given in a letter by the correspondent in Tibet dated Chumbi, February 6th, which was published some months ago. There we were told (among other fragments of information, some of them fairly accurate and some very wide of the mark), that the "Tashe" Lama (as this authority spells him) "is a perpetual reincarnation of Manju-sri or Amitabha, while the Dalai Lama is the reincarnation of "Avaloketishvara" the pupil of Amitabha." It would not be easy to frame an imaginary statement concerning personages with whom English readers are familiar, that should fully represent the entanglement of ideas here exhibited. But suppose we endeavoured to explain to a Tibetan listener, that whereas the Prime Minister of Great Britain derives his authority from the Archangel Michael, the Bishop of London derives his from the Archangel's son, or the Lord Metaphysics,—we should then be suggesting the kind of confusion into which *The Times* has fallen in its first excursion into the realms of Buddhist theology. Neither Amitabha nor Avaloketishvara are entities. The first expression gives a name to the divine influence manifesting in the world through the personality of Gautama Buddha. The meaning of the term Avaloketishvara is a problem on which students of northern Buddhism have spent a great deal of time and mental effort. Rys Davids defines it as meaning "the Lord who looks down from on high," but more subtle exponents of eastern metaphysics have described it as "the divine self perceived by self." This interpretation, of course, rests on the assumption (not confined to Buddhist theology) that the innermost spirit of man partakes of the divine nature, however terribly this may be generally obscured, and that the highest achievement of spirituality is to become conscious of the divinity within oneself. But, anyhow, the notion of treating these ideas as entities that can specifically incarnate in definite individualities would be extremely ludicrous to the cultured Buddhist mind. As for the common people of Tibet, they would be no more capable of defining Avaloketishvara than the average British ploughman would be capable of deciding the current controversies concerning the origin of the Athanasian Creed.

As for the theories that actually prevail in Tibet concerning

the two great Lamas, the first thing to be remembered is that in the belief of those who represent Northern Buddhism intelligently, everyone is a reincarnation of somebody; but in Buddhist ears it would be a grotesque blasphemy which one need not endeavour to parallel by inventing an imaginary corresponding thought in connexion with European theology, to suggest that the Teshu Lama even (very holy personage, as he undoubtedly is in Tibetan opinion) is a reincarnation of Gautama Buddha himself, and that would be a theory one step short of describing him as an incarnation of Amitabha Buddha, as the divine influence in the background is sometimes called.

Coming now to the actual facts of the case, and addressing readers who may be alive to the connection that exists between Tibet and certain representatives of advanced occult knowledge, it may be as well to explain that *The Times* has correctly hit the mark in representing the Teshu Lama as commanding a greater degree of reverence amongst the people than the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In this connection, we have to handle ideas that are quite unfamiliar to the European world at large,—more's the pity. The present Teshu Lama is known to be advanced to some extent (outside the circles of initiation no one can exactly say to what extent), along the path leading to what is known to the students of occultism as adeptship. So little is known concerning the meaning of that term in the European world at large, that we frequently find references to the Lama fraternity indiscriminately, as though they all belonged or claimed to belong to some advanced condition of spiritual evolution. That is very far from being the case, and the great multitude of Tibetan Lamas are no more endowed with any spiritual distinction than the monks of any European monastery. But, though the loftier spiritual achievements may be rarely found even in Tibet, the people there are to this extent advanced beyond the European world in so far as they all know that such achievements are possible, and in a general way we know in particular cases that such and such persons represent that kind of achievement. Quite independently of the evidence embodied in modern Theosophical literature, any reader, either of the Abbé Huc's account of his journeys in Tibet or of the narrative published by Messrs. Bogle &

Manning, who visited the country on a political mission in the time of Warren Hastings, will be aware of the fact that here and there amongst the Tibetan Lamaseries some few men have already been met with whose faculties and psychic endowments are of so peculiar an order that commonplace thinkers amongst ourselves take refuge in disbelieving the stories told concerning them. But for those whose intuitions are more intelligently alive, it may be worth while to explain that it has rarely happened, as far as our imperfect information enables us to probe the mystery, that both the Teshu and Dalai Lamas of any given period have both of them been on the path of occult progress. One or other has always been so distinguished, and in the present case, it is the Teshu Lama who represents occult development. Hitherto, whenever this condition of things has prevailed, the Dalai Lama has appreciated it sufficiently to accept the guidance of his more advanced colleague. Unhappily, within the last few years, the present Dalai Lama has got out of hand under the pestilential influence of his Russian friend. He has neglected the guidance of the more enlightened potentate, with the painful results that have ensued. This is the real explanation of the fact, correctly appreciated by *The Times* correspondent, that the Teshu Lama, all through these recent operations has been by no means unfriendly to the British intervention. Probably he has deeply regretted its necessity, but has recognised that necessity none the less.

A strange reference to another matter which has hitherto interested none but the very closest students of eastern occultism is mentioned by *The Times* correspondent in the letter from Chumbi already referred to. He quotes one of the native Indian emissaries who has visited Tibet in disguise within the last few years, as mentioning "a curious legend to the effect that the end of Lamaism in Tibet will be marked by the withdrawal of the 'Tashe,' not the Dalai Lama, to Shambala, the Utopia of the Buddhists." We should have to plunge very deeply into the inner mysteries of occultism to explain the full significance of this legend, and that for the moment seems hardly worth while. But if the prophecy prevails amongst the Tibetan people, it affords a curious illustration of the way in which those quaint and unattractive savages, as they are for the most part, are nevertheless in

some sort of touch with great natural mysteries having to do with the spiritual government of this planet,—mysteries with even the outermost fringes of which modern civilisation has hardly yet concerned itself.

THE great miscarriage of justice in the Beck case is still a living topic in the papers, but a new incident has arisen which seems to suggest that the intensity of feeling as regards the world at large in that matter, has been due, rather to the efforts of the *Daily Mail*, than to any genuine development of public horror at the thought of injustice done. A case, almost on parallel lines with that of Adolf Beck, has been the subject of a few casual paragraphs in the papers. A man, named Isaac Da Costa, sentenced in April last, at the Devon Quarter Sessions, to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour for obtaining money by false pretences, was set free in the middle of the month just past, after having endured five months of wrongful torment, by virtue of later discoveries, which have shown conclusively that he was not the person in fault. The case appears to have been again one of mistaken identity, and apparently his friends, though less conspicuous in the world than those of Mr. Beck, were successful in collecting evidence after his conviction which conclusively proved that he was far away from the scene of the alleged offence at the time; and although the minor circumstances have never been published in the papers, he was duly released from prison by an order from the Home Office, and so far no public excitement has surrounded the occurrence. Again, in another case at Kidderminster during the past month, certain charges were made against a man described by the police as having been betting in some illegal way at some place devoted to athletic sports. Several police officers supported the charge, and declared that it was impossible to be mistaken as to the identity of the prisoner, but in this case a cloud of witnesses came forward in time to establish beyond dispute that the man arrested was not the culprit, and thus the magistrate dismissed the charge before the victim of false arrest had incurred the fate of Da Costa.

While the enquiry is going on in connection with the Beck case, public discussion of the circumstances con-

cerning that event has been lulled for a time to rest. But though it may be well to await the report of the committee before drawing any further morals from the particular miscarriage of justice under investigation, there are some broad questions of policy which the Da Costa incident as much as the other brings to the front, on which it is more than desirable that attention should still be turned. An article in the current number of this review by a practising barrister deals with the dissatisfaction arising in the profession from some recent judicial appointments held to have been made rather with reference to the political than to the legal claims of the persons so appointed. But this article represents the strictly professional view of the subject. The independent critic of judicial proceedings will care little whether criminal courts in which the hideous offence of convicting innocent persons is certainly from time to time committed, are presided over by judges who have earned their dignity at the Bar or in the House of Commons. The important principle to establish from the point of view of those who are simply desirous of averting the possibility of such horrors in the future, has to do with the obviously supreme necessity of imposing penalties of some sort or kind on judges who allow this sort of iniquity to be perpetrated under their own superintendence. Judges and juries alike, as we have them at present, are a product in some respects of antiquated tradition now quite out of date, and of course the jury system, is a mass of anomalies, which require drastic revision, but stupid as juries may be, judges have so much practical control over their proceedings, that the first responsibility for serious miscarriages of justice undoubtedly must settle on the Bench. And so long as the judge is the one public officer who incurs no disagreeable consequences, however carelessly or clumsily he may perform his duty, cases like those which have created so much painful feeling within the last few years will inevitably recur in the future.

WITH great regret, just as this Review is going to press, we learn that Mr. Digby, the author of the Article on the Indian National Congress, passed away from this life on the night of September 24th.

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NO. II.

THE CLERICAL HEADMASTERS.

A NATIONAL DANGER.

It may be safely said that the Upper and Middle Classes of England are at the present moment the most ignorant persons of their rank, opportunities and means in any civilised State. It is also quite clear that they do not compensate, by self sacrifice or higher moral or religious tone, for their scandalous intellectual deficiencies. They abhor knowledge and they depreciate its professors, but they also are absolutely indifferent to religion, they do not affect any interest in its services, even on Sundays, and as for "character," they do not even cherish their own children or set a good example from the point of view of military exercise or healthy habits of life to the poorer members of our community. They care more for their golf or their dogs than for their brains, and think more of success at card tables than about the immortality of the soul.

Yet their education has been entrusted to clerical pedagogues whether they go to public schools or universities. Enormous sums of money are at the disposal of the clerical headmasters, whose salaries are much higher than those of general officers; who have splendid chapels in each school, and whose brains are not exhausted with hard toil, as they have shorter hours of work than any other professional men, and longer vacations and more frequent holidays than even the judicial bench, the holidays of both being a public scandal of the gravest description.

It is pretended that denominational and so-called religious instruction by divines is essential for the working classes; let us see what it has done for the richer, the idle and titled classes.

The military men are the very best representatives in every way of the richer classes, as they must prove that they have some education, and they are ever ready to risk excessive toil, hunger, mutilation or death for their country. However, in their case a desperate effort has been made to limit the selection of officers to candidates from certain fashionable schools and universities, and it is openly admitted that the Cabinet and War Office authorities would prefer wealthy idlers who would display hopeless incapacity in time of war from fashionable boarding schools, rather than an able man from a day school or private tuition. The excuse is "gentlemanly tone," though in point of fact the decay of manners is as striking in what is called society as is the utter fatuity of its conversation and the worthlessness of its aims. A Tipperary peasant has far better manners than a fashionable millionaire.

After exposing the neglect of military history, which tends to render our officers useless, however brave they may be, the *Times*, of September 16th, directly lays the failures of our army on the shoulders of clerical schoolmasters.

"Where we fail is in our general system of national education, confided for generations to the hands of clerics, so far as the upper classes are concerned, resulting in the spread of a veneer of a classical education, which should be the exclusive privilege of idle men. Worst of all, the unsurpassable beauties of the English language, and of English literature, remain sealed books to the greater part of the younger generation until they have shaken off the shackles of their schooling days."

English literature and history were included in the course of education, preliminary to being gazetted to cadetships for many years, and were only obliterated at the urgent request of the public schoolmasters by a Cabinet largely composed of their pupils, in spite of the warnings of Lord Salisbury.

But to turn from the officers to the mass of the wealthier classes, many writers of all ranks have recently emphasized the idleness and ignorance of the richer young merchants, their devotion to sport, their eagerness for titles, their ignoble worship

of mere wealth and their social dulness. Our Consular reports point out that in every particular they were being beaten by foreign rivals. A "Captain of Industry" has described the lack of efficient candidates of English birth for valuable and responsible situations in connection with the management of works, the public school boy being useless as compared with Scotchmen, Germans, and Americans of the same age and opportunities. Sir R. Tangye declares that thousands of parents of the Middle Classes have reason to curse the day when they sent their sons to public schools managed by boys and devoted to games; schools which unfit their victims for success in any walk of life in the present age of industrial competition. Professor Dewar asserts that in technical knowledge and zeal for progress we are two generations behind Germany, and the British Association in 1902 unanimously came to the conclusion that our secondary and University education is a danger to the State, while the Bishop of Hereford proved at the meeting of the same Association this year, that their intellectual and moral results were most deplorable. Dr. Percival had been Head Master of Clifton and of Rugby.

My own experience is that the education of the majority of their pupils even in Ancient Classics is worthless. Colonel Maude's views were accepted unanimously at the Royal United Service Institute, when he denounced their pupils as being incapable of serious thought. But one of the most serious indictments against their system and its consequences, is contained in Mr. A. C. Benson's "Schoolmaster." Mr. Benson is an Eton master.

"It must be frankly admitted that the intellectual standard maintained at the English public schools is low; and what is more serious, I do not see any evidence that it is tending to become higher." Yet it is controlled by clergymen.

. . . . "What should be aimed at is that people should have interests, views, subjects; that indoor life should not be a series of tedious hours to be beguiled with billiards, bridge, or with anticipations or recollections of open-air amusements." . . .

"My own belief is that a good many young boys have the germ of intellectual life in them, but that in many cases it dies a natural death from mere inanition. They find themselves in a

society like a public school, where their path in life is clearly indicated, and where public feeling is very urgent and very precise. They find that they have a good deal of work to do, to which no particular intellectual interest attaches. Out of school there are games and talk about games; and unless a boy is very keenly interested in intellectual things, his interest is not likely to survive in an atmosphere which is all alive, indeed, but where intellectual things are, to put it frankly, unfashionable. If his home is one where intellect is valued, he has a fair chance keeping interest up in a timid and secluded way."

It is therefore very clear that the pampered clerical heads and dons, who are as liberally paid as their assistant teachers are disgracefully sweated, give the public no proper return for their emoluments, and, indeed, are a blight on the intellectual life of our nation.

The Mosely Commission on Education in the United States, reports that whereas the keenest zeal on behalf of the acquisition of knowledge prevails in the United States, where every class is equally solicitous for brain power, in England snobbery and games take the place of intellectual life. Mr. Parkin reports that the English public school boy is useless as an immigrant to Canada; he is too fond of play.

Wherever the son of a "genteel" Englishman goes he is beaten forthwith by the son of a poor Irish or Scotch or German farmer or shopkeeper, who had the good luck to be educated in the day school of his father's town.

To come to Religion and Morality.

Dr. Percival is of opinion that the tone of the luxurious and ignorant richer classes, is low to a degree, and that the whole tendency of our upper classes is sordid and debasing.

Lord Hugh Cecil reproaches them for their lack of interest in theology and religious life and conversation, and declares that the humbler classes are their superiors from this point of view, and wishes to start a crusade to awaken the rich to some interest in even the history and theory of religion.

The Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley, in the course of an interview with the *Daily News* representative, protested against the the luxury, ostentation, gambling and ignorance, bold and

unabashed of the frequenters of the Ascot and Goodwood races, and pleads for a crusade against the evil enjoyments and base ignorance of their worthless lives. He asserted that at Eton and Harrow they learned nothing about Christianity or any other religion from clerical "Heads."

I had much experience of the richer classes and of politicians when I devoted my leisure to lecturing for various political and patriotic associations, and I have been positively shocked at their ignorance of literature, history, politics, theology, or any worthy human interest. Serious conversation bores them, they want to be entertained, and hoary-headed "gentlefolk" would prefer pornography to a discussion of the causes of the Act of Union with Ireland, even during the Home Rule Campaign. Cricket and football or partridge or grouse shooting interest them far more than the present momentous crisis in the Far East, or the disorganisation of our Army.

I had occasion to protest to the Army Council against the fantastic folly of the advisory "Board of Dons and Schoolmasters," as Lord Roberts called them in a published letter full of contempt, and in my protest which appeared in military papers occurred these paragraphs:—

"The ordinary product of the English fashionable Universities and Public Schools is the most uninteresting and ignorant man of his position from Tokio to Buda-Pesth and thence to San Francisco. He has no intellectual curiosity, he is a mere devotee of a 'good time' and a watcher of games. He delights in reading sporting papers, he is morbidly jealous of worth among his social inferiors, whom he would, if allowed, keep as ignorant as he is himself. He grudges every penny spent on a tutor or a governess. He sweats all employees except butlers, jockeys, and gamekeepers. He never reads a book of any value. His conversation is about animals and schoolboy recreations. He would foist his son on the public by way of 'direct commission' or otherwise, even if the result were to risk of the lad's life or to ruin his career, if he could thereby save money for costlier dinners or for a trip to the Riviera or for the hiring of a shooting box. A very considerable number of landed gentlemen and merchants, and scores of M.P.'s have not been ashamed to admit

to myself that such are their views of life, and that they object to the promulgation of knowledge, as 'to educate the working classes is to ruin their society.' I repeat that the soldiers with all their faults are far too good for the 'Society' politicians who slaughter them, and for the Music Hall patriots who do not pay them a living wage. It may be noted that not one in ten of our leading soldiers or sailors was educated in any fashionable school or university. These schools did not contribute in any appreciable degree to the fabric of our Empire.

"In my opinion the sooner English society is impregnated by force, if need be, with Japanese, German, or American intellectual ideals the better for us all. The English ruling classes are not fit to govern intelligent Scotchmen, Irishmen, or Colonials. I was assured even by Orangemen at a big meeting in Belfast that they despised their 'English rulers.' The mismanagement of the Boer war was a powerful argument in favour of Home Rule.

"In point of fact, the infection of English gambling and games is corrupting the Colonies. The last 'test' cricket match in Australia was consociated with blackguardism pure and simple. The invasion of so-called sportsmen will do Australia more harm than would be effected by the immigration of industrious and clever yellow races. I observed with dread on a recent visit to Belfast, that even in Ireland, skilled workmen were beginning to read English sporting papers, and, as a result, were wasting time and money on the basest forms of gambling."

Games and sports are sedulously cherished by clerical heads.

It is time that the heart of the centre of our Empire, which is England, should beat true. The masses of our people want efficient, zealous, self denying leaders in this crisis of the world's history. The majority of our Peers and Commoners are quite unfit to be efficient leaders, because they were not properly trained by the guardians of their youth, or even permitted to train themselves by contact with the world at large, seeking for knowledge in company with their less fortunate fellow countrymen. They were forced to play games instead of working.

Referring to the gross defects of the education of our gilded youth in "Sermons on Social Subjects," the Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley says, pages 55 and 56.

"Why is it that so many young men grow up with narrow views of life, reproducing the selfish philosophy of their fathers and grandfathers, repeating the shibboleths of a past generation about property and politics, blind to the possibilities of a social reformation! cynical, warped, sceptical, stupid? Must Mr. Gilbert's assertion continue true for ever, that 'Every child that's born alive is either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative?' Could not some be independent of party whips? Could not some venture to have an opinion that did not necessarily change according to the nearness or farness of a general election? Is it necessary that the great gulf should remain for ever fixed between Dives and Lazarus? Must each generation of employers spring up with the same suspicions of its employés? Must self-interest, and rent-squeezing, and pleasure-seeking be for ever the axiomatic aims of the smart set? Why is it that only the few, the very few among our landlords ever embark in any enterprise which has for its object the welfare of tenants first, and additional income last? Why is it that Christian employers in most cases wait until the law compels them before they trouble themselves about providing sanitary conditions for their employés to work under? Would the Housing Problem or the Temperance Problem be a problem at all at the present time, if the land-lords and beer-lords believed in brotherhood and justice before pleasure and profits? Is there not something grimly sad about agitations for parliamentary dealing with these problems? Have we not been told again and again in regard to the Housing Question, that there are at this moment enough laws in the Statute Book of England to prevent any insanitary buildings, and to abolish every slum, if only they were carried out? It is in the carrying out of the laws that the real problem arises, and here we touch at once on the moral sore. The man is not in the street, but he owns the street, he lives on the profits of the street, but he does not love the street, nor his brothers and sisters who live in it."*

"But where are these men of faith? Do we find them among our Statesmen and Politicians? Scarcely. Are they among the business men? The Cadburys and the Harmels and

* Sermons on Social Subjects. Pages 55 and 56.

the Levers are the exception, not the rule. Are they among the landlords? Here and there a scheme of co-operative farming is started, but the motive of such enterprises can hardly be called by so holy a name as faith. Are they among the clergy? Yes, a few perhaps, but even here conventionalism too often obscures the vision and suppresses the ideal.

“In all these cases there is more or less separation from the masses of men, a fatal aloofness from the multitude. After all our University Settlements and College Mission work of the last twenty years it is remarkable how strangely separated the classes and masses in London still remain. One has only to go amongst the upper classes, and the upper middle classes, and talk about the problems of poverty, to see how foreign the whole matter still remains to them.

“During the ‘unemployed’ agitation last year, for example, some strange ideas were found still to be current among the ‘upper ten.’ How difficult it is to get up any interest in the ‘unemployed,’ except amid snowstorms and street processions.”*

I may say that a very considerable portion of our officers not only agree with Mr. Adderley, but go further, and do not hesitate to express their utter contempt for the lack of patriotism and folly of the members of both Houses of Parliament, for the Park-lane Magnates, and for the frauds called public schools. It is very clear that the products of clerical education are most unsatisfactory.

Why do I quote Bishop Percival and Mr. Adderley? Because they are clergymen speaking about clerical products.

THE CHARACTER FARCE.

There is no “character” and no spirit developed in English public schools equal to the character and spirit to be found in the Scotch manses, or among the Irish farmers who send their sons to Medical schools and worship learning, or in the homes of German professors, or in the Armstrong works, or in Birmingham factories or among Welsh non-conformists.

A man who prefers routine games to knowledge at the age of 21 can have no grit. A gentleman’s son who is more ignorant than his groom’s son has no grit, and his gentility is only nominal.

The reports of the speeches by Professors Dewar, Armstrong,

* Sermons on Social Subjects. Page 57.

and Perry, and other wise men at the British Association, which have been accepted by every person outside fashionable schools as bare truth, are startling revelations of the incapacity of the ruling classes of England, who in an evil hour for us all, are the rulers of the Empire, which the Scotch and the Irish and English poorer classes helped to build up far more than did the English public school classes.

These upper classes have, as Lord Salisbury proved in 1884, made their education and the education of the Empire subservient to the whims of clerical schoolmasters who opposed the teaching of any English literature or of modern history, or of social or political economy or hygiene, or even gymnastics or riding, and repudiated every branch of science except pure mathematics. The English upper and middle classes, in spite of the protests of Scotch and Irish and Colonial folk, and of every practical man in England itself, hearkened to these schoolmasters. They thus sowed the wind, and we are all reaping the whirlwind.

It may be asked: In what one respect is the public or private "character or spirit" of a Carnegie or a Strathcona inferior to that of any scions of Eton-bred folk, without the least desire to disparage these?

In what respect was the "character or spirit" of the Captains of Industry commemorated by Smiles when they were boys inferior to the character and spirit of their grandsons in Eton and in Harrow?

This particular kind of "character" farce is the one greatest of the many social impostures of our time.

A recent champion of the fashionable schools says that they "lick the sons of rich traders into shape," whatever that means. But the dimensions of their pupils—and I have seen most of them—are not finer or more compact, and their "shapes are not more true" than those of the sons of Belfast traders, I am very certain; and the only traders in our recent Cabinets have been as superior to their non-trading colleagues as is pure gold to adulterated silver.

But do these schools encourage patriotism?

I quote the Dr. H. Gray, of Bradfield, the only clerical head of the least originality, and one who does not trust to endowment,

and whose open air Greek plays are worthy to be called classical culture, as distinct from mere prosody and parsing.

"What I am more immediately concerned about in the matter is that this cult of athletics has lowered and limited the ideals which might otherwise animate the minds of the young. Patriotism has become for them, quite unconsciously, limited to the four walls of the public schools of which they are for a few brief years members. Except in times of public stir and national peril, such as that through which we passed in the closing months of 1899, boys are bored rather than moved by appeals to patriotism in a wider sense. Such, at least, has been the experience of many schoolmasters.

"And a sentiment which is not stirred during the impressionable time of youth, when the character is plastic and all generous impulses are easily moved, is not likely to find a lodgment in the more prosaic days of manhood when the mind is fully formed, the principles fixed, and the routine of the business of life has taken the edge off unselfish ideals."—*Navy League Journal*, January, 1902.

The *Westminster Gazette* declares that the lazy clerical heads allow school boys to control their schools.

I see from the *Schoolmasters' Year Book* that at least fifty Heads of the so-called Public Schools are in Holy Orders.

Now I propose to prove, from the Ordination Service, that the whole lives of clerical dons and Heads are a fraud on the Church and on society. I ask my readers what business have these clerical "Heads" and several scores of clerical assistants to be teachers of Classics and Mathematics, and Physics or Modern Languages? Why are they entitled to the use of the prefix Reverend? What does it mean? Let any public school boy read the Ordination Service for himself; it is at least as edifying as the journey of Horace to Brundisium.

There was no mention of flogging boys, catering for dinners, composing Latin verses, or drawing geometrical figures in their Ordination Service. Were they not devoted body and soul to the service of religion for all their lives? Were they not ordained to teach the Gospels and Epistles, and to guide the sons of dis-

honour and the daughters of shame upward from the abysmal darkness of a degraded and bestial civilisation to the homes of sanctity and light. Were they not to be guides to weary wandering travellers from the dens of vice and deceit to the House of Mercy, where dwell not only "that seemly matron" but also her goodly daughters three, Fidelia, Speranza and Charissa.

If they forget their Bibles and Prayer Books, have they not Chaucer and Goldsmith in their libraries? If the "Laying on" of Episcopal hands "close by the Holy Table" produced no effect on them, might they not have hearkened to the voice of the first great English poet, who says of his "Persoun," his "Pore man of Religioun,"—"Christes lore and his apostles twelve He taught, but first he followed it himselve."

And the Irish poet thus immortalised his ideal clergyman:—

"And as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies
He tried each art, rebuked each dull delay
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

What has become of the vows of the clerical Schoolmasters and Dons, "these blind leaders of the blind," who have conducted the modern English into an educational Slough of Despond, the English being the only modern civilised race whose schools and colleges are void of light, where Knowledge and Capacity are sacrificed to games!

Were these clergy consecrated to earn money by compelling boys, however disinclined, to waste hours over tedious grammatical intricacies, inditing miserable imitations of the verses of Anacreon, and in the earnest contemplation of the amorous poetry of Ovid, the frivolity of Lucian, or the sensual selfishness of Horace.

Was the Sermon on the Mount anticipated by Sappho and annotated by Juvenal? From the loves of the Gods and their paramours, skilfully and wantonly detailed in many an ancient epic and lyric and in prurient dictionaries, can our youth be best "formed in all godly discipline"? Is this the Wisdom of the Ancients in which the ministers of Christ should become absorbed when free from games of ball. Should they become absolutely indifferent to our worse than pagan world of sin and sorrow?

I say—away with them and their aorists and optative moods

and digammas, their new fangled boats, their processions, and entertainments, and ball play.

Rather than wear the garb of the English Churchmen when thus earning money for themselves, it were better far for "God's glory and Man's estate" that they should pass from us "disguised in the robes of Francis," or, if still spared, play tambourines and blow trombones in the Salvation Army, whose humblest lieutenants have reached a far higher standard of duty and self-sacrifice.

Meanwhile, let them go into "retreat" and get some ruined "Crammer," whose leisure hitherto has been spent in assimilating the masterpieces of our National Literature, to help them to "find peace for their souls." He will read to these clerical folk thus at length awakened to their true and awful responsibility, Spenser's "Faerie Queene," Milton's "Paradise Lost" and "Ode to the Nativity," and the "Temple" of "holy" George Herbert, and the "Soul's Errand," "Holy Living," the "Ode to Duty," "The Grave," and the "Saint's Rest." Then they might emerge from their retreats fit for their profession and qualified to join in a crusade against the shameless luxury and degeneracy of the English upper and richer classes—their pupils almost to a man. They would then cry aloud against gambling and gluttony, and the worship of sport and the love of games and the neglect of culture of manners and of religion which are becoming characteristic of the men whom an evil fate sent to drawl away their youth in fashionable schools and colleges, and whose only Ritual is the most unblushing Worship of Mammon that has yet debased any portion of the human race.

Let the clerical heads hand over their emoluments to laymen, who can, without hypocrisy, look after classes for science and modern languages, history and geography, and cricket and boat racing, and the "breaking up" of hares. Moreover, if ancient literature must be forced upon our reluctant youth, laymen can with more propriety expound the mysterious transformations of Jove and the loves of Vulcan and Venus to boys of tender years, and describe the rage of the "Stern Achilles" and the ruffianly peregrinations of "pious Eneas" and the wiles of Ulysses.

As for them they are Clergymen, they wear a sacred garb:—as Deacons they devoted their lives "to the Father, the Son, and

the Holy Ghost," and, terrible thought! some of them are Priests!

These vowed, when being ordained in the presence of the congregation by their Bishops, after serving as Deacons, "to forsake and set aside all worldly cares and studies for 'their weighty work pertaining to the Salvation of Man,' and 'to apply themselves solely to this one thing.'"*

Alas! Can it be that they took Holy Orders so as to get promotion as instructors in lay subjects like ancient classics. It is said many did. If so they are quite unfit for their posts in every way.

Let them forthwith eschew Mammon, and fear God and fulfil their vows. I warn them of their danger—they have well nigh reached the end of their impious tether—

"That two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more."

T. MILLER MAGUIRE.

* The Ordering of Priests.—*The Book of Common Prayer.*

PROFESSIONAL OCCULTISM.

ON the face of things, the trial of certain professional palmists at the Clerkenwell Sessions has been surrounded by an atmosphere of such profound stupidity that people who have any real knowledge concerning the mysteries of Nature—more or less faintly concerned with the vaticinations of palmistry,—cannot but be disgusted with the whole body of proceedings from A to Z. The climax of absurdity was reached when the judge, in delivering sentence, said that it was “time the country should know the opinion of a British jury with regard to persons carrying on the business you have been carrying on in the west-end of London.” The idea of regarding with respect the opinion concerning intricate problems in occult science, entertained by a dozen (probably illiterate) tradesmen constituting the jury of a criminal court, is so ludicrous that we can only suppose the judge who claims respect for it is on the same intellectual level, in regard to the consideration of such mysteries, as the dozen randomly selected householders driven into the jury box. The impropriety of cutting blocks with a razor is proverbially recognised, but those who regard the Clerkenwell Sessions as an arena in which delicate psychological problems, in advance even of current science, can properly be discussed, are inverting the teaching of the proverb and recommending us to shave with a hatchet. Exactly as appropriate as the hatchet would be to the barber's chair, so the judge at the Clerkenwell Sessions and the jury representing the average stupidity of their period, are appropriate to determining

the question whether palmistry is or is not an art which may legitimately be pursued for profit.

As to whether it is decent to allow private individuals to institute a prosecution of this nature when public authority holds itself uncalled upon to do so, the fact that in Mr. Loveland-Loveland's opinion Sir Alfred Harmsworth adopted a meritorious course, need hardly have a feather's weight in the mind of any thoughtful critic. As a private prosecution may be dictated by motives of personal enmity, one can hardly fail to regard the state of the law permitting such revengeful activities, with other feeling than those of contempt and detestation. And when it is needless to suppose that personal enmity enters into the question, antagonistic feeling incited by mere bigotry in a matter of opinion seems hardly a better justification for a private prosecution than personal revenge. But a further consideration of that point would carry us into general questions concerning the fatuity which characterises so many of our legal methods, and the peculiar varieties of fatuity which the recent trial has pressed especially on our attention, are quite sufficiently intricate in themselves to engage attention without leading us into digressions.

To begin with, of course, the primary question before the tribunal at Clerkenwell involved the determination of many intricate mysteries connected with the operation of unseen forces around us. If a carefully selected body of men,—who all of them, for example, should be members of the Royal Society as a guarantee for their general intellectual capacity,—had been called together to investigate this question; had been carefully weeded of any amongst them whose *amour propre* was especially compromised in the matter, and if evidence had been collected from all parts of the world with a view of ascertaining what was the personal experience of those who had been concerned either with palmistry, crystal-gazing, clairvoyance or attempts to foretell future events,—should such an investigation have been carried on for many months, it might have been possible that the report of such a committee would have been worth the attention of the educated world. And no one who has even a moderate acquaintance with the subjects to which that investigation would

have related, would entertain the least doubt as to what the general character of that report would have been. Unhappily, of course, there are still large numbers of people belonging distinctly to the educated world, who are quite ignorant concerning the enormous progress that has been accomplished during the last quarter of a century in all departments of psychic research; but for all except those who are blankly ignorant of the facts, certain broad principles are as well established now as the law of gravitation, although the natural forces concerned with the manifestation of extra-physical phenomena are as little understood as yet in the world at large as the law of gravitation itself. *That* remains so far the insoluble mystery of physics, and the fact that human consciousness is sometimes illuminated by knowledge derived through other channels than those of the senses, is as difficult to explain as gravitation but no less certainly a fact.

Now, it is just possible that a good many persons who, gifted perhaps in some degree with the faculties that give rise to clairvoyance, or making a close study of the mysteries somehow connecting lines in the hand with circumstances in the life,—a connection ill-understood as yet but undeniably existing,—have first of all been tempted into what serious occult students cannot but condemn,—the exercise of these faculties for payment as a profession. And then, inevitably tempted by the embarrassments of such a profession, many of them, probably, have from time to time supplemented their genuine impressions by imposture. Most likely the element of imposture in all this work is of smaller magnitude than the casual observer would suppose, even allowing such an observer an intelligence in the matter considerably in advance of that which has been manifested by the judge and jury of the Clerkenwell sessions. The fact that a person professing to exercise clairvoyance should make predictions which turn out to be wrong, is no evidence whatever of an intention on his part to impose on his clients by inventing stories at random. Clairvoyance, as every student of the matter knows, may be perfectly genuine and profoundly misleading. The difference between a clairvoyant vision that may be relied upon, and one that is quite likely to be delusive, may be faintly suggested by the difference between the visual impressions of a person who has always been

gifted with normal sight, and those of one who, blind from infancy, has been suddenly invested with sight in mature life. Such persons, as interesting examples have shown, are wholly unable to appreciate distance. They will attempt to touch far-off objects, and would run against others without realising that they are near. When the study of clairvoyance shall have been developed to an extent corresponding, for example, with the development of chemistry since the days of Queen Elizabeth, those who exercise it will probably be in a position to avoid the simplest of the mistakes by which their observation is now confused. But recognising all these sources of error in the present state of the art, it is none the less true that even the professional exponents of the clairvoyant faculty have to their credit hundreds of verified visions which absolutely establish the fact that their practices include the exercise of a genuine gift, profoundly interesting and instructive.

Everyone whose inquiring impulses have led him to try experiments with the professed clairvoyants, will be able to relate cases in which future events have been foretold, even by them, with astonishing accuracy. One can hardly do justice to the situation by quoting examples, as they must be so few compared to the volumes which might be brought together; but within the knowledge of the present writer, there is a case in which a lady was told eighteen months in advance that she would receive somewhere in the country a telegraphic message, brought by a boy whose actual appearance was described, which should lead her to make hurried preparations for a journey, the conditions of which even were described, and certain events which would attend its conclusion, forecast. The prophecy was written down at the time, no period was assigned for its fulfilment; in due course it was forgotten, until it was realised to the minutest detail, even to those which had to do with the personal appearance of the telegraph boy who brought the message. In a group of half a dozen cases, also within the writer's knowledge, a professional clairvoyant, not one of those recently persecuted, has correctly diagnosed the life conditions of a series of persons going to her as absolute strangers, venturing also into forecasts of the future which, as far as I know, have generally been erroneous.

No one but a fool could suppose them on that account mere fraudulent guess-work, when the clairvoyant diagnoses of current events was rigidly accurate. It would not be difficult to throw light upon the conditions which probably rendered them inaccurate, but this would involve the consideration of very much deeper problems than those which lie on the surface.

Besides all the familiar historical evidence connected with the clairvoyance of Zschokke, the German novelist, of Alexis, the famous French clairvoyant, of Cazotte, who foretold so much concerning the French revolution, of Swedenborg, whose vision of his house burning at Stockholm while he was at Gottenburg is so authentically recorded, we have in recent literature a good many examples, some of them associated with the experiences of Lawrence Oliphant, in which future events have been foretold down to their minute and exact details with entire accuracy. Such experiences are apt to alarm investigators at the first glance, seeming to show that our affairs are subject to the control of fate in a manner which tends to paralyse our individual energies. A deeper knowledge of the subject clears away this embarrassment in turn, but there is much to be said still concerning the rights and wrongs of the situation developed by the recent prosecution.

The grotesque absurdity of this enterprise, of the verdict to which it gave rise, and of the comments bestowed upon it from the Bench, leaves no feature incomplete. The idea of simultaneously prosecuting a twentieth century fortune teller for getting money under false pretences in professing to be a fortune teller, and also under the Witchcraft Act for carrying on practices held by that Act to be so terribly real that they require penal repression, is to begin with one which renders the whole undertaking appropriate rather to the comic stage than to a court pretending to be concerned with justice. If false pretences in *that* connection, by the way, were rendered subject to prosecution, we should indeed inaugurate a new era of activity for the lawyers. But the mental confusion in which all these proceedings are involved, is enhanced by the consideration that in the midst of the folly and ignorance surrounding the trial, its result, if it tends rather to repress than encourage the practice of professional fortune telling, will not be altogether one that we must regret. Just because there is no

false pretence in the matter, because multitudes of the people who go to professional fortune tellers are seriously impressed by what they hear, however liable what they hear may be to reflect erroneous impressions, people are sometimes drawn into taking an unhealthy view of life and of their responsibilities, and may even be paralysed in efforts they would otherwise make to follow some path they ought to pursue, by the belief that fate has ordained such and such consequences, whether they attempt to combat them or not. So intricate, indeed, are all considerations having to do with occult mysteries at this stage of average human knowledge, that the moment this is said, certain qualifications necessarily arise. Provided the clairvoyants engaged were really trustworthy, it would not by any means be undesirable that people involved in some of the difficulties by which life is often beset, should get a clairvoyant glimpse of what would take place if no fresh causes were interposed to vary the consequences of those already in existence. That simple sentence embodies the conclusions to be derived from very elaborate study of the circumstances under which human life is guided.

What really is the explanation of the undeniable fact that in many cases, like those few to which allusion has casually been made above, events work themselves out in precise accordance with clairvoyant prevision? Because clairvoyant prevision, in its real perfection, be it understood, perceives the consequences which will ensue from the body of influences then in operation. It does not preclude the possibility that new causes will be interpolated before the event. Unhappily the close study of even what we know concerning higher conditions of human consciousness is so unusual as yet that many readers will miss the point of what has just been said. On a certain plane of human consciousness to which, if the clairvoyance be genuine the consciousness of the Seer is raised, a perception of what will ensue from existing causes is not a matter of working out anything by virtue of reason, but of perceiving a picture. That phrase, of course, is but metaphorically suggestive, because a clairvoyant perception full of life, colour and movement, is so unlike anything we think of as a picture. But it is rather that than a process of reasoning. The clairvoyant does not know how he reaches his conclusion, but he

reaches it by virtue of being for the moment on a higher plane of existence. Nor in reference to ordinary people is it in the least degree likely that any further causes will be interpolated to vary the realisation of the appointed programme. For although free will is as certain a characteristic of human life as consciousness, it is exercised as yet by humanity in the very crude state of development familiar around us,—so obvious, for example, at the Clerkenwell Sessions,—that people in effect are much more automata as regards their action in presence of all the circumstances of their training and experience, than spiritual beings competent to import, from a higher plane of Nature, influences capable of varying the stream of events.

The idea may best be conveyed to the mind by contemplating the extremes of human condition. The mere ploughman, the average juryman, is floating down the stream of events like a straw on the surface of a river, with no more conscious power of controlling these events than the straw would have of controlling its course. The events of each life which he leads in turn, for of course, no intelligent view of any human phenomenon is possible without taking the succession of lives into account,—in each life he leads in turn, the events are the product of his previous activities, themselves, indeed, the product of still further antecedent activities, but modified in their effect by the attitude of mind in which he has encountered them. This is the only way in which the undeveloped man, like the lower millions around us, does exercise the inherent attribute of free will. His interior thinking, however crude it may be, *is a force*, intensifying or moderating the consequences of the external acts into which he has been unconsciously driven. But look at the other end of human condition. Take the case of a man whose spiritual nature has been so highly evolved that his consciousness is no less active on higher planes of Nature than on those of physical life, who comprehends the working of subtle natural laws affecting the moral universe as those of physics control visible matter, and such a man is in a position to guide his action quite independently of the impulses which come to him from the experiences of his last physical life. In reference to such a man, no clairvoyant on earth could be otherwise than wrong in attempting to interpret

his future. It depends, not upon the causes which the clairvoyant would see in operation, but on the Will of the enlightened man. Incidentally one may remark that of course the vast multitude of people in the ordinary stage of human development are as ignorant concerning the existence of such men as are here described, as of the higher planes of Nature on which their activity is exercised, but nevertheless they exist.

Now, between the two extremes which imagination has here suggested, there lie all possible varieties of human development, so that some amongst us are capable now and then of importing into the programme of our lives some influences from higher planes in connection with which it is unnecessary to do more for the moment than point out that a clairvoyant forecast concerning what is likely to happen to us if we merely drift, may itself constitute the importation of such an extra-physical cause into our lives. Thus, could it be always guaranteed that clairvoyant perception would be infallibly right, that is to say, be free absolutely from the liability to mere errors of perception which necessarily cloud the vision of all but a few clairvoyants in the present day,—one would not by any means discountenance the idea that valuable hints in regard to their action might be justifiably sought by seriously-minded people. Such people would have to be seriously minded in order to run no risks, because if they get the spiritual help in question and neglect its warnings they might merely intensify any evil consequences threatened, but this again is a complication into which it is hardly necessary to enter at length. For the most part, the pursuit of information concerning the future by any of the means offered to the guinea client by the professional clairvoyant is to be discountenanced, because of the extreme probability that the visions arising, however *bona fide*, will be misleading. And there is just another point connected with this branch of the subject which ought to be touched upon. The professional occultists themselves are hardly to be blamed in most cases for trying,—if the circumstances of their lives render this a temptation,—to turn their gifts to some pecuniary account. They may feel these gifts to be genuine, they may have every intention of acting quite fairly by their clients, and yet unconsciously they are immersing themselves in activities

of a kind but little calculated to advance,—as their lives progress,—the spiritual evolution which their faculties, such as they may be, faintly foreshadow as possible. For those who correctly estimate researches of this kind, there is nothing in life more important than the faculties which begin to enable mankind to rise above the level of the grovelling material life to which the vast majority of the race at present are devoted. Pursued with a lofty purpose, nothing can be more directly conducive to the exaltation of anyone thus qualified than the earnest prosecution of inquiry and experiment having to do with a dawning consciousness of expansive perceptions. But there is a seamy side to the most beautiful picture, as well as a silver lining to every cloud, and the person who misuses a psychic faculty is much more to be pitied than those who have none.

And this last suggestion carrying us up into the loftiest regions of thought connected with the subject, throws back light on the concession made above to natural human interest in the investigation of the future, which even itself requires some qualification. The truth broadly is, that no one in a position to exercise clairvoyant faculties in perfection, that is to say, who has, on higher planes of consciousness, been regularly trained in their exercise, will be willing, or as we might put it, allowed, to make use of those faculties in subservience to any purely worldly interest. The vast majority of our fellow creatures at present who, outside a few vague professions of religious belief, regard all their interests as involved in the affairs of this world, will not be able to readily comprehend the idea. From the point of view of those who exercise unseen and important spiritual influence on the affairs of this world, temporary material interests are held to be, as a general rule, outside the legitimate range of such influence for two reasons. The first, and in some respects the most important can only be explained by referring to principles unfamiliar to the majority, but nevertheless as real for those who know, as the laws of heat and electricity. The action of each individual in successive lives sets up a body of causes which must sooner or later work themselves out in the shape of effect. Sometimes the effect may be disagreeable to the person concerned. Supposing that by the exercise of what may be called an intervention from the spiritual

plane (and mere knowledge derived from the spiritual plane might be in the nature of an intervention), such intervention enabled him to avert a disagreeable consequence, whatever it might be, he would no more have extinguished that body of causation threatening it than we can extinguish a natural force by diverting it into a new channel. The great law called in physics "the conservation of energy," is in fact, a law operative on what may be called the moral plane as invariably as on the physical.

Thus it is of no use to seek extra physical assistance with a view to averting physical consequences in life as they arise. Their operation, merely postponed, would be liable, in the estimation of the loftiest philosophy, to prove still more embarrassing at later periods, and, indeed, the supremely enlightened philosopher is so much more deeply engrossed with expectations concerning what may roughly be called his spiritual growth, than with the desire to make the current life agreeable for the moment, that he would distinctly shrink from averting disagreeables which must sooner or later be borne—would prefer to endure them at once and be rid of the annoying debt. And even if any given representative of a lower stage of culture would wearily seek relief from present discomfort or suffering, at the expense even of some undefined evil in the future, the exponent of really exalted clairvoyant faculties would be reluctant to give him this injurious help. So we get back by another road to the first position, that even if the clairvoyance available for those who seek it in the market were infinitely better worth having than it is, it would still not be worth while for the purchasers to have it. It is an unhealthy pursuit this thirst for diving into the future, in so far as it is pursued with a desire to secure personal advantage.

The manner in which it is eminently desirable to pursue even that kind of inquiry, within limits that may be lofty and right, has to do, of course, with the general advancement of human knowledge. Mankind in the mass will not be able to advance along the pathways of the loftiest civilisation much further than the stage which has already been attained, until they do begin to comprehend the working of unseen forces around us; until they realise that the physical life, which, for most of them, engrosses their whole body of aspiration, is a relatively unimportant ex-

perience compared to those which await them if all goes well,—in this world as well as in others,—if they know how to prepare for the higher destinies available. As contributing to raise the common understanding above the grovelling and contemptible level represented by those who pour conventional ridicule on problems like those presented by clairvoyance, even in its humblest form, by spiritualistic inquiry, or even by palmistry, the study of any of these imperfectly understood indices pointing to the possibilities of a loftier knowledge than is generally possessed, is about the most important that human intelligence can at present be engaged upon. The researches of physical science have been pursued to the uttermost confines of possibility, or have nearly approached these confines, in regard to the characteristics of Matter as distinct from Consciousness. The magnificent intelligence which has attended its progress is the vindication of its value in a far higher degree than the contributions it makes to the comforts of modern life. But the world around us is, so to speak, a compound of matter and consciousness, and so far the phenomena of consciousness—the infinitely more important factor of the two, that which will endure after Matter shall have been disintegrated in space, like the cloud-capped towers of the poet's vision,—the factor of consciousness, far from disintegrating with it, will assume an inconceivably greater importance in the surviving Cosmos. And the mental activities of generations to come, whose advent is being heralded even now by the appearance of a few amongst us, will be directed towards the study of the laws governing the factor of consciousness with such supreme intensity, that the earlier studies will be looked back upon by them as almost belonging to the childhood of the race,—as bearing the same relation to those future studies that Galvani's experiments with the frog's leg bore to the electrical engineering of the present day.

And a corresponding relation will be seen to exist between the activities of such persons as the persecuted professional occultists of to-day, and the later activities of our sublimely-to-be-illuminated successors. For, be it remembered, it is only those amongst us now who are most completely ignorant of the truth in the matter, by whom such pursuits as palmistry and crystal-

gazing are treated as though they were the foolish crazes of a credulous multitude prompted by the conscious imposture of rogues. As certain as the fact that cranial development of a certain kind must be exhibited by a human being if he is to exercise normal intelligence, so certain also is it, though much less accurately comprehended, that the formation of the hand, and even the lines on its palm, are found in practice to correspond not merely with the character and intellectual bent of the persons concerned, but even, however imperfectly this branch of the subject has been explored, with leading events in their lives. A very voluminous literature, representing the activities of many earnest and qualified students, is devoted to the subject of palmistry, and it is undeniable that striking results are sometimes developed from the mere study of lines and finger forms, independently of the possibility that in the case of many people who make palmistry a profession, a certain amount of clairvoyant perception, the nature of which they themselves may hardly understand, becomes involved in their diagnoses. Again, of course, in this matter of crystal-gazing, in reference to which so many undeveloped people think it clever to scoff, it is certain that a reasonable percentage even of ordinary humanity will be found, if the experiment is conscientiously carried out, to see visions of one kind or another, trivial though most of them may be, when induced to gaze fixedly in the right way into a ball of polished quartz, or even for that matter, as so many travellers in eastern countries have verified, into a glass of water or a pool of ink. The fact seems to be that for those whose capacity is highly developed in this direction, any object which centres their attention for a moment, and diverts it from other thoughts will do equally well. Where there is no potential faculty at all, pointing in the direction of psychic achievement, the purest crystal in the world will be destitute of meaning, but there is an intermediate stage of qualification at which the genuine crystal tends to stimulate the seeing faculty in a slightly greater degree than a mere ball of glass or a glass of water. And, again, along another line of enquiry which the grotesque proceedings suggesting these remarks have not impinged upon—in connection with the study of that discredited art entitled Astrology—another

glimpse of possibilities awaiting the later progress of human intelligence along the lines of super-physical research may be obtained. There again we have to do with a class of professional occultists who may not have regarded without concern the consequences of the recent prosecution. By the world at large the subject is, perhaps, even less comprehended than those departments of professional occultism lately under discussion. But it is as certainly a fact as yesterday's sun-rise, that astrological calculations worked out even along the lines of the very imperfect guidance which the modern astrologer as yet possesses, do, in a number of cases which put the possibility of coincidence completely out of court, correspond with the events in human lives. The subject is far too intricate to deal with in this connection more than by a passing reference, but the passing reference is appropriate, because astrology has been so especially the butt of ignorant and conceited scorn during the intellectual progress of the 19th century, and is, at the same time, so certainly entangled with some of nature's loftiest and least understood mysteries. The Royal Society, when founded,—as some people think, or when its germ was planted,—by Francis Bacon, would have been amazed, indeed, if any hint could have been given as to the nature of the studies with which it would be concerned in the 20th century. And the Royal Society of the 20th century, as regards most of its members, no doubt, will smile contemptuously at the idea, but, nevertheless, those who can see a little in advance of the dust raised by their contemporaries on the path of human progress, will all be perfectly sure that the Royal Society at some not very distant period in the future will be the most important arena in which such pursuits as those in reference to which recent judicial proceedings have established a record of absurdity, will be studied with an ardour that will quite eclipse the zeal then to be expended upon purely material investigation.

A. P. SINNETT.

THE HOUSING QUESTION.

EVEN in Queen Elizabeth's time,—though maps of the period show us St. Martin's Church the limit of the town in that direction, while a country lane bordered with trees leads northward to St. Gile's-in-the-Fields,—London was thought to be outgrowing reasonable dimensions, and it was enacted that no new houses were to be built beyond certain boundaries. Some already outside these limits were to be demolished. An attempt to draw a firm line between the Court and the commercial class, rapidly increasing in wealth, was, no doubt, the motive for this enactment. To live over his shop was considered the duty of a merchant in Elizabeth's day, and birth had no desire to be neighbours with mere money.

Since then many things have happened. Wealth has wedded birth, merchants have become peers, and the man whose family tree has its roots in a shop of the Elizabethan period has a very respectable ancestry; while to fix the boundaries of London to-day would be a difficult task indeed. If settled to-day, to-morrow they would have to be extended, so rapid is the growth, so inexorable the octopus-like grasp of bricks and mortar upon the green fields which once lay far enough away from the great city. The jerry builder is pushing his way outward; green lanes become streets; woods disappear leaving isolated trees in back gardens many sizes too small for them; villages are swallowed up; and the train and electric tram make communication with the city so easy that, where only a few years ago harvests ripened and cattle found pasture, a motley crowd settles into little houses, and for a few months imagines itself in the country. And soon what was once the fringe of the country becomes one of the nearer suburbs. This is not all. To make room for this crowd somebody must be driven out, so the old mansions, with their stately grounds, are sold and cut up into building lots, while the owners retreat farther away from the ever-growing town. In

whose interest is this enormous extension taking place? Speaking generally, in that of the upper and lower working classes, the clerks and the artisans.

From five o'clock to seven in the evening there is a fight for places in the trains and trams which convey them to their homes in the suburban outskirts. Inhabitants of the better class count for nothing beside them, and neighbourhood after neighbourhood is being spoilt because it has been decreed that the working man must live away from his work, must enjoy fresh air, and have healthy surroundings. But does this method of housing the working classes work out satisfactorily? Are they any better off in their crowded suburbs than they would be in London itself? At once we are asked, why propound such a question when there is no room for them in London? Exactly, here lies the key of the whole matter. Make room for them.

That the necessity of making room for them has been realised as the first step towards the solution of the problem, is shown by the wording of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890. It is stated therein that any scheme of improvement in the County of London shall provide accommodation for at least as many persons as are displaced by such improvement, *and that such provision shall be within the same area, or in the vicinity thereof.* It is to be presumed that the latter part of this clause was made in the interests of the worker, to insure that he should not be driven from the scene of his labour; and since the Act was the consolidation of three sets of previous Acts, it is to be inferred that experience had shown the necessity for such a distinct provision.

Previous experiments of a private or semi-private nature evidently dictated this enactment. So long ago as 1846 the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes" had taken in hand the bettering, or rather the superceding, of the common lodging houses, which were the only available residences for the friendless single man whose work brought him to London, and were often nothing more than hotbeds of vice and disease. The Society began by taking two or three existing houses in Drury Lane, and transforming them into decent abodes for decent men, and soon afterwards began to

build model dwellings. The one in George Street, Bloomsbury, was constructed for 104 tenants, and other dwellings quickly followed, their plan of construction being altered and amplified as experience dictated.

In 1864 the first of the Peabody buildings, built out of the sum—£500,000 in all—which George Peabody gave to the City of London for the benefit of the poor, was opened in Whitechapel, and since that date the trustees of the fund have erected some eighteen blocks in various parts of the Metropolis at a cost of about £1,500,000.

Then there are the Rowton Houses, the poor man's hotels as they have been called; the houses built under the Guinness Trust, and others, all of which are attempts, and in a measure successful attempts, to deal with this difficult problem.

The same may be said of the model village of Port Sunlight, established by the Lever Brothers, and the estate of Bourneville, Birmingham, placed in the hands of trustees by Mr. George Cadbury. An attempt on even a larger scale has been conceived by Mr. Ebenezer Howard in his book "To-morrow," published in 1898, no less an idea than a garden city, with its own shops, its own amusements, and altogether complete in itself. A "Garden City Association" was founded in 1899, and in 1902 a limited company was formed to carry out Mr. Ebenezer Howard's idea.

From these we must turn to the work being done by the London County Council in the same direction. To March, 1902, areas had been cleared displacing some 8,700 persons, and others were being dealt with which will displace 7,900 more, or 16,500 persons in all, at a cost of £1,100,000 in round figures. As against this displacement the Council had provided for 15,000 persons at a cost of £880,000, and provision is being made for 74,000 more at a cost of £3,445,000.

Clearly the problem cannot be dealt with by private enterprise; the Council's work towards its solution is a step in the right direction, but, at present at any rate, it is doubtful whether it meets the emergency. When companies re-house after displacement they are required by the Home Office to let at a rent which is often below the commercial value, the rent being fixed, not with reference to the cost of the buildings, but

with regard to the ability to pay of those who are to inhabit them, such ability being based upon the rent they were paying before displacement. On the face of it, this is only fair. It is obviously no good building residences for the poor which the poor cannot afford to live in. The London County Council, however, is not bound by this restriction, but can let at an economic rate, and the consequence is that, instead of these buildings being inhabited by the people who have been displaced, a better class of tenant is attracted, and those for whom they were primarily intended are driven to seek residence elsewhere. Quick means of transit have made, not only the near suburbs, but the more outlying ones, possible for them, and the result is the enormous extension we see on all sides which operates to the disadvantage of vast numbers of the better class, who have rights as well as the working community, and, as we think, to the disadvantage of the Metropolis itself.

London is a strange, nightmare city as it stands to-day. There are a few moderately good streets, though none comparable to many in the continental cities; some really fine parks and open spaces; and vast areas of squalid, or semi-squalid, houses which require nothing so much as wiping out of existence. Once get beyond the business quarters or the limits of the fashionable world, and you have miles on miles of narrow, mean streets, whose inhabitants might be of a different nationality for all we know about them. There are dens of iniquity which are gradually being swept away, and there are whole districts of sloth where existence is merely picked up, and the living made from hand to mouth, not because the inhabitants cannot find work, but because so long as they can scrape along without it they will.

Think of the huge tracks which are now, in the sense in which we speak, waste ground, in Wandsworth, Battersea, Brixton, Kennington, Vauxhall, Southwark, Bermondsey, Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Haggerston, Hoxton, Islington, St. Pancras, Pentonville, Paddington, Marylebone, and Fulham. Square miles of ground in these districts are cumbered with mean and disreputable thoroughfares which ought to be devoted to a more useful purpose.

As the wealth of London has increased so have wages in-

creased, and what were once luxuries have become necessities. This makes for decadence, and it is almost vain to hope that any direct hardening process will be tolerated. We have lost the power of being able to go without. But, at least, let us grasp the fact that new conditions require new methods. If we are members of the greatest city in the world we must contrive to make that city hold us. The problem is not a new one. Other cities have had to face it, and in one form or another the block system has been adopted. It works successfully elsewhere, why should it not be successful in London?

It has been said that English people generally dislike flats, that this mode of living is unsuited to English ideas and tastes. This may or may not be true, but it is certainly beside the question. We have got to bow to necessity. And will not a little reflection show us that the necessity is, after all, a blessing in disguise? Where huge masses of squalid houses are now, there might rise blocks of dwellings capable of holding from 500 to 1,000 persons. They would be well built, with good airy rooms, fitted with every convenience the housewife may require, and approached by clean, wide streets. Each block, or system of blocks, would contain its own baths and wash-houses, its own library, reading, and recreation rooms, and its crèche for the little children of those mothers who had to go out to work. There would be, in short, a maximum of comfort at a minimum expense, instead of a minimum of comfort at a maximum of expense as is so often the case now. The saving of space would be enormous, the inhabitants would be cleanly and compactly housed, instead of being spread over an indefinite area of mean streets, and time and money would be saved by proximity to the scene of daily labour. The question of rent should present no difficulty. These blocks would be for the upper and lower working classes generally, and different blocks would vary in rentals as different floors in the same block vary, for amongst the upper working classes we include the very large body of small salaried clerks. The clerks have received much less attention than they deserve. Theirs, in the great majority of cases, is not skilled labour, and their very numbers naturally tend to keep salaries low, much lower in proportion than the wages of

the ordinary working man. Yet our social system demands that the clerk shall keep up a certain position which taxes his resources to the utmost, of which we have ample proof every day. To make ends meet he has constantly to take a lodger into his tiny suburban dwelling, an arrangement which bears heavily on his wife very often, and which he would gladly do without if he could. To such men a block system, such as we are advocating, should be of immense value. It would be cheaper, it would dispense with long hours spent in travelling to and from his work, it would be good for him mentally and physically in the long run, for the atmosphere of Suburbia is, in nine cases out of ten, miserably depressing. Indeed, we have little doubt that the block system would gradually extend to all classes of the community whose business chained them to London, the prices ranging, of course, to suit all pockets.

And having provided the people with healthy homes to live in, it would only remain to insure that they were kept healthy, that the inhabitants led a clean and respectable existence. Any system of inspection is, of course, repellant to the ideas of a free born Briton, but whether he likes it or no he has to put up with it as it is. He is looked after with regard to sending his children to school, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children exists to see that he treats them properly. In a large number of cases no more serious system of inspection would be needed. The respectable neighbours, taking a pride in themselves, would take care that those about them lived respectably. It cannot be denied that the working classes to-day have advantages which they have never had in time past, and with these advantages must come the attendant restraints. Having been given the means to live decently, they must do their part and live so, or be dealt with like any other vagabonds or law breakers. The working man's club, at the present time, is the public house, and having seen some of the houses he is expected to go home to and enjoy in the evening, we feel no surprise that he should prefer his club. With respectable surroundings, with his recreation and reading rooms, which should be made as attractive as possible, in his own building, he would be gradually weaned from the public-house. A would not go there, and B would begin to find that he lost caste by going there,

and would give it up. Presently he would discover that all his special friends were to be met in the recreation rooms, and one of the great social questions would be on the fair road to solution. You will never make men sober by Act of Parliament, but by community of interest, by establishing a standard amongst themselves, you will check the waste of money, and the frittering away of health and strength for which the open doors of the gin palaces are responsible. Amongst the upper classes excess is becoming every day more of a disgrace, and the same spirit should be encouraged amongst the lower classes as well.

Such changes as these, the sweeping away of old straggling districts, and the building of healthy, respectable blocks of dwellings, cannot be done in a moment, and will entail enormous expense. The change must be gradual but sure; and the expense is not a thing to be unduly alarmed at when we remember that, in the space of some thirty years, the London School Board has managed to raise and expend between sixty and seventy millions of money upon education. Healthy living is as important an object as education, and there is small doubt that the scheme once systematically taken in hand the money would be forthcoming. Besides such money would not be spent but invested, and would be a source of revenue in the future.

And in that future we should have a more compact and manageable city. We should have a clean, healthy, temperate population, the weaker stimulated by the stronger; we should have a check placed upon the growing decadence of the nation, which, persisted in, must inevitably take us along that road to ruin, which so many mighty nations of old have travelled; we should have added to the prosperity of our great Metropolis by keeping the more wealthy in touch with it instead of driving them farther and farther away with the bricks and mortar and rubbish of the jerry builder; and we should have a concentration of power and interest which would be invaluable in days of stress and storm, which, in the nature of things, must sweep over us from time to time.

PERCY J. BREBNER.

GAMBLING.

I.

A NATIONAL CURSE.

WHAT England wants is strong speaking where there is deep feeling. Only men who do not care a straw one way or the other, choose to rise to that intellectual coign of vantage, whence, as the cant phrase goes, "one can see both sides of the question." There is no need to waste words in justification of a vice that is gnawing at the vitals of English social life—the craze for betting and gambling. Few of us at present are troubled to discover how deeply the vice is rooted, how immensely wide are its ramifications. There is no strong public opinion on the subject. A drunkard is ashamed of his weakness. The public are ashamed of a drunkard. Vices of another kind can only boast of their conquests in low-minded society. But is an Englishman ashamed of gambling? Not a bit! He may regret his losses, that is all; and what is worse, public opinion does not expect him to be ashamed. Betting and gambling are vices at which it chooses to wink.

There is some excuse for the prevailing laxity of judgment upon this question. Public opinion depends largely upon observations formed by a comparatively small number of people. These do not draw their facts from a wide area, and their view is practically confined to the doings of what we term the middle and upper circles. Now it is certain that neither gambling nor betting are as general among the upper classes as they were. Gigantic

bets by owners of thoroughbreds are no longer fashionable. A 20th century Lord Hastings would find it difficult to win a fortune on a single race. What has happened is that the vice, having spent itself in the upper strata of society, has descended to the lower.

Conversation with any large employer of factory hands or artisans, or still better with some of the workers themselves, would soon convince the greatest doubter. Most convincing of all would be a personal visit to a large working class centre, for instance, the square outside the Arsenal at Woolwich at the mid-day dinner hour. Here any candid critic would be enabled to estimate the constancy of the temptation, and to form some opinion as to where, when and how a remedy might be best applied. In the first place he would see the sharks waiting for their prey. Many of them are factory hands who have made a little money betting, and have been able to start on their own account as bookmakers. They know all the weaknesses of their former mates, and easily beguile them to speculate with a few shillings. Again, several large bookmakers have five or six agents in the different factories who take bets from their fellow workers. The tobacconist, the news vendor, the barber may, and frequently do, all act as agents.

Nor are temptations put before the men only. In the last few years there has been a marked increase of betting among women. Here, too, the facilities offered are tremendous. The bookmaker's agent will actually call at the house. Ostensibly his purpose is to collect the weekly instalment due upon the furniture or the bicycle. But he is also open to book bets on behalf of his master at "starting prices." Usually, even this cloak is discarded. We can give a typical example sworn to by the chief constable of Manchester. The bookmaker appeared in a working class street. He did not shout or advertise his presence in any way. Within a few seconds a woman ran out with a slip of paper in her hands. On it was written her name and that of her "fancy" for a race to be run that afternoon. Wrapped in the paper was 8s. She was only an artisan's wife, but she was risking 8s. out of her husband's small wage. If the evening papers had told her that her horse had won she would have gone to a public-house to receive her winnings.

In this particular instance, and, in fact, in all artizan and factory hand betting and gambling, the evil consequences are not directly apparent. No crime follows. These men are not tempted to embezzle, as they never handle other people's money. Their families are the only sufferers. In the case of the men and youths of the clerkly class, direct crime often follows in the wake of betting and gambling. The stamp box and the petty cash offer an easy opportunity of replacing money that has been lost in backing a succession of losers. Mr. Horace Smith, the Metropolitan Magistrate, has stated publicly that it is scarcely an exaggeration to attribute 99 out of every 100 cases of embezzlement to betting. If this represents anything like the truth, the alarming spread of the vice in the offices of our large cities must be a fact of vital consequence. Nothing is more striking in this connection than the way in which the seeds of the habit spread when once they have been sown. Often a particular office will be free for years. A parent might put his boy just leaving school into its atmosphere, and feel certain that no particular temptation would be set in his path from this source, at any rate. Then one member of the staff will start. The news of his winnings—no one speaks of betting or gambling losses—spreads, and one after another joins in until all are engaged, from head clerk to messenger boy.

Here is a typical instance of how the craze starts within the writer's own experience. A man with some real inner knowledge of turf matters found himself in possession of one of those tips which come up every six months or so, and which are often really valuable. He was anxious to do the staff of an office, which had obliged him frequently, a good turn, and as the offer of a monetary gift was out of the question, he made them a present of his information. The hint was taken, and in this instance some £45 was divided among half a dozen officials. Surely it needs no great knowledge of human nature to realise the demoralising influence of such an incident. Is it not natural that after earning money so easily, the men should wonder if what was done once could not be done again? So instead of once a year it becomes once a week, and finally a daily affair. In such a case money is sometimes won, more often it is lost. Those with good salaries are

possibly never really inconvenienced. But the junior members of the staff are not in this happy position. Five shillings lost in an afternoon means a large hole in a salary of 30s. or £2 a week, and so, when the temptation comes, they fall and another character is lost.

But let us trace the consequences of the vice a little further. The passion for gambling, once acquired, needs continual indulgence. Soon a few shillings upon a horse in the afternoon is not enough to allay the craving, and the youth is taken by a friend to his "club," not a West End establishment, such as may occasionally figure in a sensational novel, but such an East End gambling den as those which Mr. Charles Booth describes. The time is a quarter before one at night. Entering from the street one comes through a heavy curtain into a passage in which a porter stands, watching for the police. A door leads to a large dancing room, with a piano, seats, small tables and a bar. Here are to be found about eight young women of the "unfortunate" class, with several young clerks. Upstairs is another large room, with a tape machine ticking away in the corner. There are some sixty men present, most of the elders being tradesmen. They are playing chemin de fer, the stakes varying from 1/- to a pound. Not one of the inducements to a thoroughly vicious life is wanting, under that roof. It is true that such a haunt is not likely to have a long lease of life. Every now and again it will be raided, but it will spring up again gaily in the next street. Surely the most bigoted advocate of the liberties of the people must admit that something should be done to meet such cases. The law cannot do everything, but at least it should aim at making it easy to do right and hard to do wrong.

This brings us to the question, what is being done to stop the evil? Street betting, for instance, is illegal. Why are not such cases as those we have enumerated impossible? The answer is that the penalties imposed by the law are hopelessly inadequate. The clause relating to street betting runs generally in this form:—

"Every person playing or betting by way of wagering or gaming in any street, road, highway, or other open and public place, at or with any table or instrument of gaming, or any coin,

card, token or other article used as an instrument of gaming, shall be deemed a rogue and a vagabond, and may be punished accordingly, or in lieu of such punishment fined 40/- for first offence and £5 for any such second or subsequent offence." The police are constantly on the watch for offenders and prosecutions are of daily occurrence. At a Metropolitan Police Court £200 is often taken in fines in a week. At West Ham—"the Bookmaker's Paradise" as it is called—£100 has been taken in an afternoon. It is estimated that in the 14 police courts of the Metropolitan area, the bookmakers' fines total £52,000 per annum. But the street bookmaker regards his fines as an incidental expense, analogous to rent. One of the class was able to boast of having been convicted twenty-seven times in four years. His fines amounted to £134 7s. Another bookmaker was fined twenty-five times. A third fourteen times in a single year, during which time he paid £75 16s. 6d. in fines and costs. The penalties in such cases are at least twenty times too small. They are no deterrent at all. And as it is with the street bookmaker, so it is with the keeper of a betting house. The penalty for this offence is £100. Yet the premises of a Manchester betting house keeper were recently raided, and it was proved that he made £5,846 in five months. The business was run by two men and three girls, and he never went near the premises at all. £100 was, of course, nothing to a man who was living at the rate of £10,000 a year in the suburbs of the Cotton City.

In its estimate of the causes of the spread of the evil, the Betting Commission of 1902, spoke with no uncertain voice. With reference to the influence of the newspapers for good or for bad, Clauses five, six and seven of its report read as follows:—

"The Committee consider that the increased prevalence of betting throughout the Country, is largely due to the great facilities offered by the press, and to the inducements to bet offered by means of bookmaker's circulars and tipsters' advertisements. In support of this opinion, the Committee point to the great increase of newspapers devoted entirely to sporting matters, and to the publication of articles upon racing news and of sporting tips or prophecies. There can be little doubt that the almost universal practise of publishing in newspapers what are known as "Starting

Price Odds" greatly facilitates betting." Nothing is more certain than that the publication of the "starting price" is at the very root of the evil. It enables those who know nothing of the horses to bet, for the odds are fixed by the judgment of others. Moreover, as a rule, men and women will not risk their money unless they have some guarantee as to what they will receive in the event of winning. They will trust the bookmaker with their coin, but they will not allow him to fix the odds. The publication of these "starting prices" by leading newspapers gives just the security that is needed to encourage betting. Three quarters of the evil could be stamped out at once if the representatives of the newspapers of Great Britain would only agree to discontinue the inclusion of betting odds among their news. Early in the following Session the House of Commons would gladly prohibit the publication of the small rags that would, no doubt, spring up to supply the deficiency their public spirited action had created. Nor can we see any reason why this should not be done. Surely it is not too hopeful a view of the situation. Huge fortunes are made by newspapers. Baronies and baronetcies are conferred upon their owners. Their editors and leading writers are made knights of the realm. Why should they not be asked to sacrifice a few thousand extra pennies or half pennies derived from the publication of "starting price odds," or the few pounds a day paid for "tipster's" advertisements.

VIGILANS.

GAMBLING.

II.

BETTING AND THE BOOKMAKER.

LORD DAVEY'S "Street Betting Bill" was one of the many abortive measures of last session. It passed the House of Lords, but the Commons had no time to spend upon it. What their decision would have been can only be surmised. Many people are deeply impressed with the necessity of suppressing the "betting evil," and approve of every attempt to harass, if they cannot suppress, the bookmaker. Others, who believe in the liberty of the subject, even though that subject be a bookmaker, fail to understand why, if betting be an evil, betting is not directly suppressed by legislative enactment, instead of by attempting to harass persons engaged in an occupation that, whatever it be, is not in its essentials contrary to law. Of course there is a third class not so vociferous as the opponents of betting, which bets, and only wants to be let alone.

I may at once say that I am fully alive to the unsavoury features connected with betting, as, indeed, with all forms of gambling. It is not an ideal pastime for anyone, male or female, and probably if gambling of all kinds could be eliminated from our planet, the world would be a far better place. Unfortunately we must take human nature as it is, not as it ought to or might be, and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the undoubted fact, that amongst all nations, and in regard to most persons, the gambling instinct in one form or another is ingrained. Thus a temperate

consideration of the questions connected with betting and the persons who take bets, usually called "bookmakers," from a common sense point of view instead of from the standpoint of the faddist, may assist those whose views in the matter are nebulous, to arrive at a right conclusion.

The bookmaker is a favourite theme for imaginative rhetoric. I heard a preacher in a city church last year hold up to the opprobrium of his congregation a bookmaker who had "induced" 1,000 work girls in some manufacturing town, on a certain day, to back horses with him, each depositing sixpence, the inference being that these 1,000 more or less mythical work girls had lost their 1,000 sixpences and that the bookmaker had placed the accruing £25 to the credit of that inflated banking account which bookmakers are, quite erroneously, supposed to possess. If the 1,000 work girls in question had made the 1,000 alleged bets, it is quite possible that the bookmaker may have been a substantial loser. This same preacher told his congregation that betting was almost, if not altogether, due to the fact that workmen and others are waylaid by bookmakers at the gates of the establishments where they are employed and persuaded to back some old crocks which the wily bookmaker knows have not a ghost of a chance, but which he leads his dupes to believe are certain to win. Now I hold no brief for bookmakers. Many of them, I admit, are undesirable persons, a fact easily accounted for. On the other hand so long as people will bet, bookmakers are a necessity, and they are at the least entitled not to have their methods misrepresented. I do not believe that any street bookmaker ever "induces" anyone to bet, and I am positive he never waylays any person, workman, work girl or anyone else for that purpose. He has no need to. Wherever the bookmaker exists, provided his financial status is, or is supposed to be, satisfactory, he has no lack of customers, and he has, consequently, no need to seek them. The innuendo of the speakers and writers on betting that the man or woman who backs horses is an egregious simpleton, the dupe of a wily bookmaker, is puerile nonsense. The bookmaking business—the Starting Price business, that is, in regard to which bookmakers cannot by any possibility make a book, although I have heard unconscientious clergymen ignorantly assert that these

persons "always make a book to win"—is now-a-days a very precarious livelihood. The man who backs horses is far from being a simpleton. The backer is now well supplied with information. The daily and sporting papers keep him *au courant* as to what is going on respecting trials, etc., etc., and he is very far from buying a pig in a poke when he backs a horse. It may interest the anti-gambling league and others to learn that week after week starting price bookmakers are smashed—cleaned out by their clients, the ignorant dupes whom one is always being told the bookmaker beguiles into betting knowing they are bound to lose.

The clerical speaker on betting is fond of ridiculing the impudence and ignorance of the turf prophets. That these persons who "tip" winners in the daily and weekly press should not invariably be right, seems to the clerical speaker on betting, proof positive of the folly and enormity of backing horses. In reality the sporting writers who venture to anticipate the judge's verdict in regard to the winners of particular races, lay no claim to infallibility. They merely state what horse on public form and information that may have reached them, appears to them to be a likely winner of a particular event. From a long study of the forecasts of most of the principal turf writers, I feel bound to say that their judgment is excellent, and that the number of winners they give is marvellous in view of the many uncertain factors in connection with horse-racing.

To a man of logical mind it would appear that if betting be wrong it should be suppressed by direct legislative enactment, not only in street, public house or office but in the ring at race meetings. On the other hand, if it is not considered wrong, the persons who take part in it, whether as backers or layers, may very well claim not to be everlastingly harassed and punished for something not in itself illegal. Every day one reads in the papers of bookmakers being haled before magistrates for street betting, and fined the maximum penalty of £5. As a rule the magistrate also reads the bookmaker a lecture on the heinousness of betting. Now, as a matter of fact, the bookmaker is not from a legal point of view punished for betting at all. He is punished for the obstruction deemed to be caused by two or more persons

congregating with him in the public street for the purpose of making bets. Anyone who knows anything of the matter knows perfectly well that this technical offence seldom if ever takes place. The bookmaker who stands in the street, stands there because the law forbids him to use an office. The would be backer comes along, slips a paper in the former's hand containing his bet and his money, and walks on. The street bookmaker never "congregates" with two or more persons, and, accordingly, he never technically obstructs. In the metropolis, however, the bookmakers and the police seem to have arrived at a tacit understanding in the matter. The bookmaker never raises any technical plea, and the police only periodically summon him. He pays his fine and returns to his pitch to continue his business for a further period of about six months. I know a bookmaker who carries on his business in a busy by-street not a mile from the law courts. He has been there for eight years, and he has a large connection. Twice a year he is informed by the police that he will be wanted next day. And so he is, he is taken to the station, charged with betting thereby creating an obstruction, fined £5 and lectured, and he is at his post again ten minutes after he is fined. The dignity of the law, in my opinion, suffers from proceedings and procedure of this nature, but they are the outcome of the present unsatisfactory acts of parliament on the subject. The police could easily suppress this street betting, were betting in itself an offence. It goes on under their eyes and they know every bookmaker in London. But they know equally well that the law under which the bookmaker is convicted is a farce, and they consequently, perhaps with wisdom, but certainly not with dignity, compromise the matter, the bookmaker consents to remain dumb when he is fined and lectured twice a year on condition of being left alone during the rest of the twelve months.

As a matter of fact many if not most of the evils connected with betting as it is to-day, arise from the efforts of those who, no doubt conscientiously, opposed to betting, seek to harass the persons connected therewith. The bookmaker is, as I have said, in the street simply because he is debarred from carrying on his trade in an office. That he is not always a desirable person is due to the fact that harassing legislation has lessened competition,

and, the demand for bookmakers being great, many very undesirable persons set up as such. The success of a generally backed horse for a big event usually means that in the poorer districts of the metropolis some street bookmakers do not put in an appearance at settlement time. So long as the bookmaker is harassed, impeded and held up to public execration as a double dyed villain that profession is certain to be tabooed by men of substance and to be carried on by undesirables who have little or nothing to lose. Moreover the impediments put in the way of ready money betting, and the degradation which any person who wants to make a bet feels in furtively walking up a street and slipping a piece of paper into a man's hand has, naturally enough, led to an enormous increase of "betting on the nod." Most men who back horses, if they have or can affect any position, have weekly accounts with persons who style themselves "commission agents," and pretend to be merely middle men. As a matter of fact they are not agents but bookmakers under another name, have offices and carry on an undisguised betting business on the principle of weekly settlements. Now, most persons who would think twice before making a ready money bet of a sovereign on a horse, will have little hesitation in wiring it, especially when they have a week's run for their money. When they lose during the first day or two they usually plunge to recover their losses. This "betting on the nod" is far more dangerous and hurtful than cash transactions with the street bookmaker. As the commission agent, despite his name and pretence, has a difficulty in recovering his debts at law, he usually finds it expedient to employ a collector who is that kind of person whom one frequently hears euphemistically described as "a man who will stand no nonsense." He is, in fact, a bully, and his office is to recover or attempt to recover money by bringing pressure to bear on his employer's debtor in various forms. The man in a bank or office or other employment dreads exposure, and especially an exposure of the fact that he has been backing horses, and he too frequently in a weak moment commits fraud, or does something irregular or illegal in order to pay off the bookmaker, in the vain hope that future success will enable him to retrieve his losses and make good his defalcations.

My experience leads me to believe that when betting has induced crime, the bets have been made, not with the street bookmaker on ready money principles, but, "on the nod," and that the crime is too often due to the commission agent's bully's threats of exposure. Be that as it may, what possible difference, moral or otherwise, is there between A who accepts a ready money bet of ten shillings on a certain horse, and B who accepts a wire, backing the same horse for the same amount? Old Father Antic, the law, or the administrators thereof, see a very material difference however, and while the former is treated as a rogue and a vagabond the latter is deemed to be a highly respectable member of society. Under the circumstances the ready money bookmaker seems to me to have considerable cause for thinking that he is harshly treated.

In regard to betting one cannot help sympathising with those who would like to see it suppressed. As I have said before, I repeat it is at best a sordid pastime, no doubt productive of many evils. Nor are the people directly or indirectly connected with betting, precisely what one would desire the ideal citizen of the world to be. It is only necessary to visit Waterloo Station on a big race day and view what the sporting papers call "the turf army," en route to or returning from the fray, to conclude that these are not men with whose manners and methods one can have much sympathy. A long experience of life has, however, convinced me that the well meaning people in this world unconsciously do a vast amount of harm. Drunkenness, gambling, immorality are all terrible evils, and in regard to each of them I am firmly convinced that the efforts of those who most fully comprehend the evil, and, comprehending it, desire to exterminate it, have merely accentuated it. They have done this for the simple reason that though they desire to improve human nature they do not adequately understand it. They disdain, as they say, to parley with evil, and, so thinking, they have wrought even greater evil. They decline to recognise vice, and, so declining, they refuse to regulate it. They shut their eyes to facts, and prefer to live in a fool's paradise rather than face the stern realities of life. Hence the crusade against betting has merely accentuated the evil. If betting were regulated and the bookmaker were placed under

restrictions, recognised, and legalised, we should get rid of many of the evils connected with betting. But the anti-gambling people seemingly prefer any evil, any increase of betting, rather than the recognition and regulation of the bookmaker. And so it comes about that betting increases week by week, that bookmakers multiply, while the social and financial status of the bookmaker continues to deteriorate.

The existing state of things in regard to betting is in every way to be deplored. It brings the law and the administrators of the law into contempt. It confirms "the lower orders" in the belief, that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. It effects nothing whatever in the direction of reducing the practice at which it is aimed. No man in London to-day, and, no doubt, the same is true of other large towns, has any difficulty whatever in making a bet. If betting is to be suppressed it must be attacked at the fountain head. The street and other bookmakers will be effectually put down, and the bettor will be unable to back his fancy whenever *betting on race courses* is put down, and the starting prices of horses are no longer returned to the public press, from the fact that there will be no starting prices to record. Meanwhile, why should those who cannot afford to go to a race meeting, but want to have a wager on events in which they are interested, be precluded from doing precisely the same thing that members of the Houses of Parliament and many men of light and leading are doing on the course?

ANTI-FADDIST.

GAMBLING.

III.

MODERATE PLAY v. TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

I UNDERSTAND that other contributors to the little series of articles of which this will be one, may be relied upon to deal, from the point of view of a lofty morality, with the failings of human nature which give rise to the terrible tragedies of gambling. And while entirely in sympathy with the idea that this world would be a much better place to live in if no one cared to do anything but practise the noblest virtues, and if mere selfish enjoyments had no attractions for any of us, I represent an impression perhaps pretty widely diffused amongst people of common sense, that while perfection and saintship are the attributes of only a few amongst us, it is wise to be gentle with the failings of the vast majority, wise to guide them if possible into comparatively harmless channels of activity, instead of attempting to anticipate the results of a future evolution by punishing the undeveloped multitude whenever, even at this stage of their progress, they fall short of realising the ideals of the future. And, applying this broad principle to the great variety of proceedings which are all grouped together by purists as "gambling," it may become possible to draw certain lines of distinction, on the one side of which the widespread desire to win something by good luck may have scope for comparatively innocent manifestation ; while, on the other side, we can range in an index of forbidden pursuits, those which are really dangerous to

the welfare of a civilised community. On the whole, it is probable that exaggerated nonsense talked by purists in this connection is more responsible for keeping up really evil and mischievous practices than any action taken by those whom the purists drive into an antagonistic attitude.

We all know, to begin with, that in thousands of English homes games like Whist, or its modern substitute, Bridge, have been and are being played for moderate stakes in a manner which gives rise to an enormous volume of perfectly innocent pleasure, although such habits are denounced by furious anti-gamblers in the same spirit which leads the teetotaller to revile the behaviour of his neighbour who drinks a glass or two of claret at dinner and never perhaps has been the worse for liquor in his life. Assuming it to be granted that in ordinary middle-class life Bridge, at a shilling or half-a-crown a hundred is a form of amusement and not a vice, the question to be decided is, of course, how far habits of that kind can be allowed to expand in the direction of more serious play before they drift into regions which are distinctly unwholesome and pestilential. The difficulty is that the line of demarcation varies for every person who may be concerned. Play for stakes which, whether won or lost, cannot make any real difference in the pecuniary welfare or manner of life of the person concerned, can never be seriously denounced as an abomination. Everyone must be a law unto himself in this matter, and, of course, it is impossible to deny that the frailties of human nature lead people very often to sin against the law that in the first instance they enact for themselves. That applies to a great many other pursuits besides those connected with the card-table. But there is one principle which might be recognised more generally than hitherto, one which would help each of us to observe the law he is unto himself, although foolish prejudices are apt to press in the exactly opposite direction. If an invariable rule were maintained, wherever cards are played for money, that no one should play for more than he could put on the table in specie before leaving the room, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that nineteen-twentieths of the evil connected with card-playing would disappear as by magic. The real danger for people who have a love for this amusement turns upon the many opportunities which

arise in the course of ordinary life, more especially at clubs and military messes, for playing on credit. The purist is apt to regard money on the table with a kind of shudder. The real truth of the matter is that money on the table, if that were a rule which could never be disregarded wherever play of any sort is carried on, would be the best safeguard that could be imagined against the weakness which induces some people to incur debts of honour by which their general worldly welfare and that perhaps of those dependent on them are compromised.

Now the situation into which gambling in this country has been allowed to drift is one in which this sound principle is not merely disregarded but absolutely discouraged. The games which necessarily involve the use of money on the table, like, for instance, roulette, which is regarded with so much horror by those who discuss gambling from the point of view of ignorance of the whole subject, are furiously forbidden by English law and custom, while betting on horse-races by means of telegrams to the bookmaker with whom one may have dealings, is so definitely legalised a pursuit that important firms carry on business at well-known offices with no more need to disguise their trade than that which applies to the philanthropic tea-merchant or the universal provider. No statistics can be put together to show us how often under the operation of this system men—or women, too, for that matter—may be involved in miserable embarrassments and led on from one folly to another until the depths of ruin are sounded. But while betting on horse-races is the only form of public gambling permitted in this country, and the only form which public opinion has somehow learned to tolerate, it is mere nonsense to talk of schemes for its absolute suppression without providing an outlet for the instincts of play so universal throughout all varieties of mankind familiar either to historical or contemporary observation up to the present date. Nor is it only in England that the misdirected zeal of those who would endeavour to render their fellow-creatures virtuous by Act of Parliament is so conspicuously manifest. Until the other day in several Belgian towns, roulette was tolerated at tables which were public gambling-houses in all except the name. The *Cercles des Étrangers* at such places as Ostend and Spa were clubs of such lenient rules and regulations that no candidate is

ever known to have been told that the ballot, formally taken to determine his acceptance or rejection as a member, had been otherwise than favourable. It is possible that during the activity of the play-rooms in question desperate gamblers may, from time to time, have attempted a final wrestle with fortune, and, losing their last resources, have added to the gloomy list of tragedies associated with such catastrophes. But practical observation will have shown any frequenter of such rooms that in the enormous majority of cases the people crowding around the roulette tables were playing for modest stakes with 5 franc pieces in a manner which, taking their general appearance into account, could only have represented what was practically an innocent pastime,—the more innocent indeed just because the place in which it was carried on was what the purist regards with such horror,—“a public gambling house,” to all intents and purposes. The charm of such places to the innocent play-lover is that if he wins he has not the disagreeable consciousness of doing so at the expense of friends. That, in spite of all that can be said in defence of moderate card-playing, is the objectionable feature of the domestic arrangement. It may be pleasant to win, but if real good feeling prevails all round it is not pleasant to know that your winnings mean exactly so much definite loss for your friends. At the public establishment “the Bank” is not a personality at all. Sympathy with its losses, if you happen to win on any given occasion, would be entirely misplaced. Winning of it is a pure pleasure for the player, and losing to it,—the fortune of war, for which he was fully prepared. And in the cheerful spirit of Thackeray’s Drummer he will disregard his wounds (as well as his grammar) and troll out the philosophical lines:

——— ’tis no use to be glum, boys,
 It was written since fighting begun,
 That sometimes we fight and we conquer,
 And sometimes we fight and we run.

Meanwhile, having got into a tangle of unhealthy and unintelligent regulations in all matters connected with the kind of play that is only gambling in its extreme developments, we have all been forbidden in this country to have anything to do with “Banks,” and are compelled by law if we play at all, to play a

"cut-throat" game and take our winnings if we win from the suffering pockets of our companions.

In Belgium, as everybody knows, puritanical zeal has at last triumphed over the system that was sound in principle however ill-regulated even that may have been, and within the last year or two have succeeded in suppressing the *Cercles des Étrangers* at which roulette was played, with what result? That other *cercles* have taken their places at which the game of baccarat is permitted, and this year at Ostend, for example, crowds might have been seen playing that relatively dreary game for large sums of money, thus affording the real gambler à *outrance* as good an opportunity of coming to serious grief as he ever enjoyed in the days of old. How has this illogical result been brought about? By virtue of the superstition which prevails among people who know nothing of the subject in its true inwardness, to the effect that wickedness lies in allowing some persons or syndicate to make a profit out of other people's play. "If people like to play among themselves, well and good," says the well-meaning blunderer; "but stop the doings of the sharks who batten on the follies of their neighbours." It would be as wise to talk about the sharks who keep restaurants and batten on the hunger of their neighbours. The trade of the gambling-house keeper is certainly one that requires to be quite as carefully regulated as that of the licensed victualler, but it is, at all events, no more wicked in its essence. It may be a pity that any human creatures, who might be living merely for the realization of moral ideals, should want either strong drink or excitement of other kinds, but if we give up the hope of compelling them all to think of none but moral ideals, might it not be well to infuse a little common sense into the rules we frame for their government in worldly matters?

So far legislation on the subject has been the sport of fanciful caprice, dictated by the occasional success of the purist, the occasional triumph of the gambler. If a bank were established to do business in connection with any game on terms which afforded it a margin of profit on the turnover of the table, like that obtained through the operation of the zero in roulette, all persons connected with such an organization would incur serious penal consequences. And yet, supposing such an establishment on any

scale you like to think of was organised in London, surrounded by careful regulation, and rendered accessible by rules which could easily be devised only by persons in such a worldly position as would render it improbable that the scale of play allowed would involve them in serious disaster, might it not be just conceivable that such an establishment would meet the needs of a large proportion of those who at present indulge in far more dangerous gambling through the medium of the authorised bookmakers, while it would certainly be found possible to raise up, by such means, a very considerable revenue for the benefit of the State. Are we, the indignant democrat would say, to have one law for the rich and another for the poor? For that matter in connection with a tendency of human nature as widely spread perhaps as the impulse to play for money, the tendency to drink strong drinks, it has been found necessary to have one law for the poor and another, or, rather, none at all, for the rich. The regulations of the public-house do not apply, for the simple reason that they are not necessary, in a Pall Mall club. Regulations concerning gambling might be found necessary in any of the forms which it could assume among the working classes that would not be necessary in national roulette rooms situated, for example, in Piccadilly. Whether there should be penny roulette for Whitechapel might be a problem for future experience to determine.

And it is quite possible that all the fantastic suggestions embodied in the last few sentences might in turn be altogether condemned by experience if they should be practically tried; but the one conclusion to which we may fairly cling is that, at all events, rules and regulations affecting gambling at the present stage of national progress in this country are senseless, capricious and injurious to the public welfare in a very high degree. Can we all be cured by law of our thirst for more or less unhealthy pleasures? Could we by any restraints be rendered so sober a nation that a drunkard would be a criminal exciting universal horror? Could we all be turned by judicious advice (with or without the jam) into model husbands and wives, into young men and maidens thirsting for no indulgence more thrilling than the Cinderella dance? That is a problem on which the thought of optimistic philosophy will continuously be turned in a more or less helpful

fashion. Nor would the present writer for one moment be held to suggest the idea that the moral growth of mankind in many directions may not be reasonably anticipated as generations advance; but meanwhile the laws that mere Parliaments can enact are designed for the conditions around us, and it does seem a solemn truth that more good might be done at present by the judicious regulation and guidance of the gambling instinct than by extravagant and fanatical attempts to suppress it altogether, whether such a policy be attempted honestly and sincerely, or hypocritically or idiotically as in the world around us. For the prohibition of roulette and trente-et-quarante, even under stringent regulations, while a vast system for the encouragement of betting on horse-races is tolerated by the law and eagerly supported by the newspapers, and while the hugest gambling house in Europe, the London Stock Exchange, is an honoured institution, is either hypocritical or too contemptibly foolish to be described in any terms of moderation.

MODUS IN REBUS.

GAMBLING.

IV.

AUTHORISED GAMBLING IN FRANCE.

THE manner in which the French Government endeavours to effect a compromise with the gambling instincts of the people, is worth close attention, if we are sufficiently free from fanaticism in the matter to consider practical devices for minimizing the evils of gambling as regards the individual, while turning their propensities to the best account as regards the State.

It must not be supposed that the French Government is in any doubt as to the dangers attaching to the encouragement of the gambling spirit. On the contrary, it is just because the dangers *are* recognised that legislation has confined the lottery system to a sphere where it is supposed to work more good than harm.

The Credit Foncier de France is a Government institution with functions akin to the Irish Estates Commissioners, established by Mr. Wyndham's recent Irish Land Bill. The Credit Foncier grants loans to farmers, and on the 30th of June, last, had lent out some 2,047,967,000 francs. This money had been borrowed from the public at something less than three per cent., the rate of interest charged to farmers being 4·3 per cent. After deducting working expenses, the difference between these rates permits the Credit Foncier to offer the subscribing public very substantial monetary prizes in addition to their interest. These are divided by a modification of the lottery system. A first prize is usually a 100,000 francs, a second 25,000 francs, and a third,

say, 10,000 francs. These prizes, moreover, are offered, not once, but at regular intervals over a long period of years. A similar system is in vogue throughout France, and any municipality desirous of raising money for public purposes, can apply to the French Government for permission to issue these "lottery" bonds.

The practical working of the system will be more clearly realised if we take a single issue of stock. For instance, the Communal loan of 250 million francs was issued in 1899, in half a million bonds of 500 francs each. The interest on these was 2·6 per cent. During the last few years, however, a public lottery has taken place in connection with the issue every two months. On an appointed day, and in the presence of the interested public, a wheel connected with any of the half million numbers is turned. The winning figure, indicated by the wheel's stopping place, appears on the face of the machine and informs the holder of the corresponding bond, that he or she has won the first prize of 100,000 francs. Second, third and other prizes have been awarded in similar fashion. In all, one million francs has been distributed annually among 210 bonds, and a similar amount will be divided each year until the first twenty years are ended. During the following twenty five years, when, owing to redemptions, there will be fewer bonds to be ballotted for, four drawings a year will take place. In these 700,000 francs will be distributed annually to 140 winning numbers. Finally during each of the next 30 years, 350,000 francs will be divided among 70 bonds, by means of two drawings a year.

We have said that the bonds are usually for 500 francs. For the benefit of smaller subscribers, however, the Credit Foncier has split its bonds up into 100 franc lots. The French working man is thus able to subscribe; or, the servant girls who are putting by their few pounds a year towards the marriage *dot*. Nor is it necessary that these humble citizens should possess large batches of bonds to have a share of one of the big prizes in the lottery. Smaller, unofficial societies, such as the "Bee" or the "Golden Grain" have been formed to buy up parcels of such bonds. When any of their purchases gain a prize it is subdivided among the shareholders of the smaller concerns. By this means

considerable additions are made at frequent intervals to the fixed interest, which are none the less welcome for being in the nature of a surprise.

Of course, this is all delightfully illogical. Why does not the French investor take a higher interest straight away?—asks the stolid English Chancellor of the Exchequer who issues Consols in bonds worth £100. But in spite of reason, the fact remains that the French system tempts the small investor, and the English system does not.

In France, meanwhile, the State condescends to deal not merely with the gambling instinct as concerned with the chances of the lottery, but also with the opportunities of the turf. The "Totalisator" to a large extent replaces the bookmaker on the other side of the channel. The backer of horses bets with a machine instead of a man. Consequently the small bettor has absolutely fair play. He cannot be defrauded, for there are no welshers. Nor is there any of that shouting of "odds" which converts the average English racecourse into a veritable pandemonium. At meetings where the system has been adopted, those at Auteuil, Chantilly or Longchamps, for instance, the "Totalisator" has abolished all disorder.

To make the system intelligible, we will assume for a moment that half-a-dozen machines have been erected upon Newmarket Heath. Moreover, we will suppose our reader to have run down from town to witness the recent race for the Cesarewitch Stakes," which, as all England knows, was decided during [the middle of last month. He has approached the "Totalisator" in the Grand Stand, and found that the horses have been numbered. War Wolf is 1; Wargrave 2; Foundling 3; Dean Swift 4, and so on. Noticing that the unit on this machine is, say, 5s., he determines to invest £1 upon "Wargrave." The process of obtaining a ticket relating to any horse in the running, exactly resembles that at a railway station. Our reader names "Wargrave." The operator presses a button marked 2 and in doing so prints the ticket number, the number of the horse, and the number of the race. Finally, a large disc is automatically thrown up showing that the race is the "Cesarewitch," and that the horse upon which the wager has been laid is "Wargrave."

The operation has been the work of a second, and, at each press of the button, the figures in the various columns have been automatically added up. The whole process is in full view of the public.

A moment later the flag drops and the machine refuses to accept any further bets.

When the race has been decided, the calculation of the amounts due to the winners has to be made. The totals from all the machines on the course are added together and will be distributed pro rata among those who have been fortunate enough to choose "Wargrave." Our reader approaches the "pay box" a few minutes after the race and finds the dividend posted up. The share represented by his four five shilling tickets is handed to him and he moves away, to bet, if he so desires, upon the next race.

In France between six and seven million pounds sterling, is invested in the "Totalisator" or "Pari Mutuel," as it is called, annually. The amounts risked upon a single race can be judged from the fact that £36,360 was invested at the betting booths at Longchamps, when Major Loder's Pretty Polly lost the Prix du Conseil Municipal the other day. These figures prove that a ready means of taxing betting is at hand. The French Treasury has not failed to take advantage of the opportunity. From the public stakes, the first amount deducted is four per cent. This has been found to practically cover the working expenses of the "Pari Mutuel." If there is any difference it is handed over to increase the value of the prizes at the race meetings. Then the Minister of Agriculture claims one per cent. which he uses for the purchase of stallions, the breeding of army remounts, and the general encouragement of horse breeding. Finally, the public charities benefit to the extent of two per cent. It will, therefore, be noticed that seven per cent. in all is deducted before the total invested is distributed among the winners. In the Australasian States the proportion is rather larger, ten per cent. of the receipts being retained, of which five are handed over to various charities. No Frenchman or Colonial has ever been found to grumble at this tax, and in these days, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is always on the look out for a fresh source of revenue, he might do far worse than follow the French and Colonial example.

PARI MUTUEL.

A CONVERSATION CONCERNING MARRIAGE.

SCENE :—*A Country House near London.*

CONVERSERS :—*A Week-end Party.*

TIME :—*Saturday Evening after Dinner.*

OUR HOST :

I think we shall all be better off if we adjourn to the Hall for our cigars. There are plenty of armchairs there, and it's no use sitting round this table if you won't drink.

THE VICAR :

Well, perhaps, one glass of port. One is slow in giving up old customs altogether.

THE JOURNALIST :

A tardiness to be earnestly encouraged, Vicar. Is it not?

THE VICAR :

In the interest chiefly, do you think, of the church or of the laity?

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Or of the ladies?

THE JOURNALIST :

The ladies, poor things, are more atrociously the victims of old custom than even the long-suffering laity.

THE PSYCHIC RESEARCHER :

Their time will come. Superiority must tell in the long run. They are far more spiritually minded than men, and before

long Vicars will gracefully retire in their favour, and when women are in the pulpits churches will be full again.

THE VICAR :

St. Paul forbid !

THE JOURNALIST :

They didn't know everything down in Judee.

OUR HOST :

St. Paul forbade, didn't he ? Or was it only about their hats that he concerned himself ?

THE JOURNALIST :

How did the experiment answer when some fashionable parson invited ladies to come to evening service on Sundays in evening dress on their way to dinner ?

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

An intellectual substitute for sherry and bitters. No doubt it gave them an appetite.

OUR HOST :

Our friend is frivolous. It was an excellent idea. Why should women be denied the consolations of religion because they have social duties to fulfil ?

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Why, indeed ? But they sometimes prefer the consolations of Bridge.

THE JOURNALIST :

They are entitled to all consolations that can help them to forget the oppression to which they are subject under the present theory of marriage.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Our system must be burdensome for them. How much better they manage things in Turkey. The sweet simplicity of the harem emancipates matrimony from all its handicaps.

THE VICAR :

One of the great charms of modern conversations resides in the conviction one has that the real thoughts of our friends are so much purer and nobler than the language in which they are disguised.

THE JOURNALIST :

I appreciate the charitable beauty of that remark, and only regret that it is quite ill-founded. The real thoughts of men, at all events, are worse even than their words, or else the present conditions of marriage could not be allowed to continue.

OUR HOST :

This time I am earnest in my declaration that armchairs and cigars are essential to a fair consideration of the marriage problem, if that is now the order of the day to which we pass.

The conversers adjourn to the Hall, and while arranging themselves round the fire, enter OUR HOSTESS, accompanied by her friends, THE DISTINGUISHED LADY DOCTOR and THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Oh, Lady Blank, this is, indeed, providential. You have come just in time to save us from plunging into an improving conversation on the first principles of Marriage.

OUR HOSTESS :

And why should we not share the improvement? This is neutral territory. If you smoke here you must put up with our presence, and we must put up with your random talk about things you do not understand. Besides Dr. Harriet requires a cigarette.

OUR HOST :

Vicar! There are other people besides our Man-about-Town who use language to disguise their thoughts. My wife says it is Dr. Harriet who wants a cigarette, and she really means that I should offer her this box.

THE JOURNALIST (*reflectively*) :

It is certainly very thin, but still it *is* the thin end of the wedge.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

Thank you, I will have one, of course. But if this innocent roll of tobacco is his thin end, I should like our Journalist to tell us what he supposes will be contained in the thick end of his wedge.

THE JOURNALIST :

I fear I shall be restrained by foolish conventions from saying more than half what I mean on that subject.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

Half will do. Half sayings may sometimes be more pungent than whole ones, and much more easily understood. Go on. We are all comfortably settled and can sleep if your conversation becomes unfit for our ears.

THE PSYCHIC RESEARCHER :

It will be amusing to hear a man discussing human relationships without understanding anything of their inner spiritual significance. We shall all be entertained.

THE JOURNALIST :

Man's conceit,—I am not referring to what has just been said, though you might have supposed so,—has always prompted him to imagine the institutions to which he is used, founded upon Divine sanction. In that way people have assumed that the regulations with which, at any given time, they have surrounded the relations of the sexes, were dignified by that sanction. The theory has no foundation in fact, and the regulations of marriage have been invented by churchmen with the view of enabling them to get control over the private lives of the people.

THE VICAR :

I thought something was once said with what most of us recognise as divine authority, concerning the conditions under which a man might or might not put away his wife.

THE JOURNALIST :

Some *obiter dicta* of that sort are to be found in the Bible, but they are too slight to constitute a matrimonial code.

OUR HOST :

What I don't understand is why the hollow and entertaining superstition to the effect that I have authority over my wife, should invest the Vicar with the practical mastery of this establishment.

THE JOURNALIST :

The Vicar represents a recent change in religious fashions.

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My remark referred to the action of the Roman Catholic clergy before Protestants were invented.

THE VICAR :

But did not marriage prevail among Romans before even any Romans were Roman Catholics ?

THE JOURNALIST :

And before the Romans, among all savage nations of antiquity, which fact merely supports my first position that nothing in the Bible, which for the modern world is the fountain of Divine authority, initiates the barbarous custom of chaining two people together for life before they have the least reason, or rather, before they have more than the least and most insufficient reasons for supposing that they will suit one another. Even the Romans, who were brutal to women in many ways, left them much more at liberty to escape from chains that galled them than the laws which I lean to think our Vicar supports.

OUR HOST :

Roman marriage was sometimes quite as indissoluble as our own, but there were more kinds of marriage amongst the Romans than one.

THE JOURNALIST :

That fact is illustrative of a point which I am always anxious to enforce. It is ridiculous to impose one form of contract on all the couples that desire to try the matrimonial experiment. Every other contract that can be entered into is adapted to the circumstances of the contracting parties. The marriage contract is the only Procrustian bed which the British law maintains.

OUR HOSTESS :

Are you working up to the horrible proposal of leasehold marriages ?

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

No, he is going to be subtle, or he would not have warned us to listen between the words. The George Meredith plan is of elementary clumsiness.

THE JOURNALIST :

I am much obliged. The Meredith system in condemning

unsuitable pairs to remain together for ten years is offensive to the implest understanding. Ten days would sometimes be oppressive.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

But a great deal might sometimes happen in ten days.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

How luminous a half-saying ! and how fatal to our hopes of freedom !

THE JOURNALIST :

Any dozen intelligent solicitors,—even a committee of the House of Commons,—could foresee, in the course of a week's work, all the contingencies that could arise, and provide for them, if prepossessions and delusions concerning divine sanctions and so on, were once cleared out of the way.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

But it is so expensive to provide for contingencies. The boys want schooling, and girls' tailors are so exorbitant.

THE JOURNALIST :

But if you were in a Siberian prison and were offered a ticket by the railway to get home, would you refuse it because it was expensive ?

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

My good friend, careful men do not get into Siberian prisons. As you know I am a bachelor.

THE JOURNALIST :

You may divide the shame with the laws of your country.

THE VICAR :

But, my dear reformer, is there no limit to your excursion in the direction of license, at which *you* would begin to be ashamed.

THE JOURNALIST :

My sincerely respected mediævalist, I start with being ashamed of the institutions amidst which I find myself. Of the thought to begin with that innumerable poor women misled into marriage with men whom they find unbearable at close quarters, are doomed by the stupidity of our laws to life-long misery ; that men who make the mistake of supposing a girl whose external charms attract them, has a character, a temperament that will

harmonise with their own, but who soon discover the impossibility of such harmony, should be forbidden even at any sacrifice to recover their freedom, and to face still more idiotic provisions of the senseless chaos we call the law, I am ashamed beyond words to remember that even when both parties to an ill-designed union are eager to separate and are embarrassed by no worldly considerations, a creature in the semblance of a human being known in that department of Bedlam called the Divorce Court as the King's Proctor, will assuredly jump up and deny them relief.

OUR HOST :

In that matter, at all events, the ancient practise supports our friend's protest. Divorce by mutual consent was always recognised in Rome.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

This is beginning to be interesting. Won't you tell us more in detail how the Roman system worked ?

OUR HOST :

That would be rather a long story. They had originally two sorts of marriage in Rome ; one for the Patricians and one for the Plebeians.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Doesn't that still apply ? Wealth and rank among us afford so many facilities for varying the practical effect of the marriage contract. It is only the respectable middle-class that cannot afford the collateral compensations.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

Another word for the faithlessness of men. But don't interrupt Our Host. I want to hear all about ancient marriage customs.

OUR HOST :

That demand would carry us much further back than to Roman times. In Homeric ages the Greeks set what our reformer would consider a far better example than any to be found in Rome. They obeyed their wives in everything, reckoned pedigrees through the mothers only, and bequeathed all property to the daughters.

THE VICAR :

Was not that rather an insult to the ladies, in disguise ? The custom, if ever it really existed, arose I fancy from the recognised uncertainty of the paternal parentage in all cases.

THE JOURNALIST :

It does not matter in the least what the custom arose from. As a custom it first of all recognised a great natural truth, that the child takes more from the mother than from the father ; so that to understand human characteristics one ought to trace pedigrees through the female line. It is idiotic the way people neglect to do this. How many people, for instance, could tell us who was Queen Victoria's great-great-grandmother through the female line ? You can trace her male ancestry, for what that is worth to Alfred the Great !

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

Who was the Queen's great-great-grandmother ?

THE JOURNALIST :

You can dig out the fact if you take pains. She was a lady of the House of Erbach-Schoenberg, and, I believe, a Jewess, or, if she was not, her immediate female forebears were. Then the Queen's great-grandmother became a Countess of Reus-Ebersdorf, and her daughter was the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeldt, in whom one can recognise a reasonable progenitor of our good and great Queen, if we cast aside as ridiculous the attempt to account for her by reference to the abominable crew of Georges.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

Really, among you all we are unexpectedly picking up interesting information, but I do wish you would let Our Host finish his historical narrative.

OUR HOST :

You do me too much honour. The only point I wanted to make was that marriage was arranged in Rome more or less according to the taste of the contracting parties. The rite of *Confarreatio* gave the lady into the *manus*, or power, of her husband, while that of *Coemptio* left both parties at liberty to dissolve the bond at pleasure. That was originally the Plebeian rite, but

the Patrician ladies of Rome preferred it to the other, which gradually fell into disuetude.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST:

But tell us more about the Greeks who obeyed their wives. Is the system still kept up at Athens?

OUR HOST:

It never prevailed at Athens, nor anywhere in historic times with that complete simplicity. But in Sparta the women, certainly in historic times, had enormously greater weight in domestic life than in other parts of Greece, and were the owners of the landed property to a very great extent.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST:

So that explains the bravery of the Spartan men! The women kept them up to the mark!

THE VICAR:

And may it not be just possible that our system explains the virtues of the English women? They may have lost the right to command, but have developed much nobler attributes.

THE JOURNALIST:

Kept up to the mark by our men-about-town! I should like to hear Dr. Harriet's opinion on that point?

OUR HOST:

My dear Dr. Harriet do contribute to this interesting conversation.

THE DISTINGUISHED LADY DOCTOR:

I am only waiting till it begins to relate to marriage. So far it seems to me to have been concerned merely with our friend's benevolent desire to provide his fellow creatures with easy sensual gratification.

THE JOURNALIST:

If we are to set out with the theory that marriage is merely an arrangement to enable each given couple to go to parties together, to dine occasionally in company with each other, and to talk of the blessed saints, then there is only one course for the average man to pursue, to avoid it,

THE DISTINGUISHED LADY DOCTOR :

And probably women who are wise will avoid the average man. I admit that they are too often foolish, but they, happily, are all but always endowed with the capacity of being mothers, and in presence of the interests of their children the petty selfishnesses of life that would hurry the average man to the divorce court, sink into insignificance. It is waste of time to talk of marriage except from the point of view of providing in the best way for the welfare of the children.

THE JOURNALIST :

Who in their turn, when they grow up, are to be sacrificed on the altars of the matrimonial system. The existing generation throughout the ages is thus always to be denied the happiness that might so easily be theirs.

OUR HOSTESS :

I don't see yet where the trouble comes in. Most women are sensible enough, and learn to put up with their husbands. Look at me and John !

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Dear lady, let us be serious. Our poor friend is maddened by the sufferings of his own kind, and isn't thinking of the women at all.

THE JOURNALIST :

The difficulty of all great reformers has been not so much the perversity of their fellow creatures, as their dulness of apprehension. The healthy system of sex relationship would be based—as all I have said should have shown you—on something like the supremacy of women in social life. It is obvious that no rational objection could be raised to the first step in the direction of improvement, and that would be the gift to women of an absolute right to dissolve marriages they found uncongenial, at will. No woman would exercise the right if her bread and butter depended on the husband, nor if her children would be ruined by a separation, so no worldly difficulties stand in the way. Or if the woman did forfeit her means of living by claiming her freedom, if the continuity of the yoke was so intolerable to her that she was willing to make even that sacrifice, ought she not to have the right ?

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

You would let them re-marry, of course, because the average woman with an average temper would find it necessary to divorce the average husband at least once in every six months.

THE JOURNALIST :

If it amused her, why not ; but she would be running certain risks, because re-marriage would not be compulsory on the man.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

And the poor man ! Is he to have no rights ? Do be merciful to your oppressed sex.

THE JOURNALIST :

It is my misfortune to be the only person here who discusses this matter with earnestness of purpose. Whatever is connected with the marriage of others strikes most people as a joke. It is only their own marriage which generally loses that character. But if we could for a moment treat the whole subject seriously it would be seen that a great deal as regards the rights of the man would depend upon whether he invited the woman to try the matrimonial experiment with him, or whether it was she who invited him to try it with her. Of course when women are invested with reasonable rights they will be as well entitled to issue the invitation as the men.

THE PSYCHIC RESEARCHER :

Now I think we are getting fairly entitled to adjourn this discussion till we all meet in that central institution of which our friend tells us the divorce court is a department,—Bedlam.

THE VICAR :

On the contrary, now for the first time I feel really touched by our friend's genuine intellectual honesty. He stops short of no logical consequence of the fundamental idea he works with, that marriage should be regulated solely for the immediate happiness of the persons concerned. If the religious element be left out it is impossible to refuse consent to any of his proposals, though they might in the opinion of some among us reduce human society to the moral level of the jungle. It is conceivable that in details the marriage laws may still need amendment to meet melancholy consequences of occasional

wickedness or folly, but more than ever from what has been suggested does it seem to me that the only trustworthy rule to go by is to remember the grand injunction,—“Those whom God has joined together let no man put asunder.”

THE JOURNALIST :

And do you really think that God has joined together every silly boy and girl who rush headlong into matrimony: every fortune hunter and the heiress he ensnares; every adventurer (with a past) who inveigles the wealthy old widower to bestow a step-mother on his daughters? The religious theory does not fit more than one marriage in twenty.

THE VICAR :

Indeed, I believe it is more likely to be the one in twenty that it does *not* fit, and in the twentieth case it is best that people should learn to put up with the consequences of their own act, especially when they have invoked the blessing of God on that act.

OUR HOST :

Let us be fair to our reformer. At the registry office they do not invoke any such blessing, and yet the law treats the civil marriage as of equal force with the religious one.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

If we might descend for a few moments from heaven to earth,—though the former atmosphere is much more congenial to me personally,—I would ask to be instructed in a problem which seems to me to lie rather at the root of our difficulties, though it has hardly been glanced at yet. I only wish to devote to it a half averted glance, mindful of our gifted authoress's defence of the half-saying. When people find, after marriage, that they are not suited to one another, could not that unhappy discovery be often avoided if both parties were enabled to know what they were talking about when they first began to babble about their mutual affection. *Both* parties, I mean; especially the young lady.

THE JOURNALIST :

Yes. There are crimes within crimes in connection with our marriage system, and parents who hurry their daughters

into marriage without telling them anything about it, are like Alpine guides who should invite the tourist to try a glissade without knowing whether there was a precipice or a bed of level snow at the bottom.

THE ACCOMPLISHED NOVELIST :

The artist in words is best aware of the fact that language has its limitations. One should never attempt to describe the indescribable.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

I apologise, and will change the subject. Have you noticed how the methods of scientific education are in process of improvement ? Abstract teaching is almost abandoned in favour of practical laboratory work. The modern student is always encouraged to learn by experiment.

THE DISTINGUISHED LADY DOCTOR :

The cynic is even more mischievous in society than the misguided zealot. But, perhaps, he brings into more conspicuous relief the ignominy of attempts to convert a sacred institution, designed for the perpetuation and improvement of the race, into a substitute for the vices which the prevailing customs of the world surround with some embarrassment.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

I wonder who amongst us is the cynic ? I am but a humble inquirer. But in passing I may remark that, while a lover of children myself, I should hesitate to sacrifice my happiness, if that were at stake, for the sake of children who do not yet exist, and may not ever come into the inheritance of my abandoned welfare. To venture on the use of a feeble piece of slang, I would modestly suggest that the theory of marriage our distinguished friend entertains is a little too "previous."

THE PSYCHIC RESEARCHER :

Too previous ! Bless the innocence of you all ! With profound respect for those present, of course, I should like to explain to you that instead of looking too far ahead you are all in the position that will be recognised some few generations hence as that of more or less intelligent savages.

You are trying to evolve order in a world which has many aspects, without concerning yourselves with any but its material aspect. The human being may fairly aspire to happiness, and should certainly recognise his obligations to nature, but he will never accomplish either of these purposes until he can, by the exercise of higher faculties than are generally diffused at present, perceive infallibly who is his or her congenial partner in life. Of course the existing marriage laws are a jumble of absurdities, no less absurd than those by which our reformer would endeavour to replace them, in quite purehearted and genuine zeal for the happiness of his fellow creatures. They do not realise the profound truth that if A. wants to meet B., and does not know in what part of London to look for him, he may have the liberty to try a dozen streets at random, and will still be unlikely to meet his friend in the ratio of a thousand to one. It will only be when clairvoyant perceptions that as yet are but imperfectly in the possession of the few, are the common property of the many, that really happy marriages will become usual instead of being as at present the rare accidents of exceptional lives. But when people are enabled to sort themselves aright your divorce courts will have nothing more to do. And then the sound instinct which leads our Vicar to think that marriages ought to be for life, will be in harmony with the wild gropings of our reformer, who merely thinks they ought to be conducive to human happiness.

THE JOURNALIST :

And pending the development of your ideal conditions, you think, do I understand, that they ought to continue in a large number of cases conducive to human misery ?

THE PSYCHIC RESEARCHER :

Until the human race grows up to years of discretion—at present it is very young—it will be certain to mismanage its affairs, whether these are mainly directed by you or by the Vicar.

THE VICAR :

I am comforted to learn that my instincts are sound, even if my intelligence is defective. And it is a still greater comfort for me to believe, as I do, that feminine instincts are in favour of decent, orderly and religious marriages, and by no means

eager to support the changes sometimes recommended in what is supposed to be the feminine interest.

THE MAN-ABOUT-TOWN :

Does not the last remark suggest the propriety of listening to a general *résumé* and final judgment on our variegated views from lips admirably qualified to pronounce a judgment—those of our hostess ?

OUR HOSTESS :

Oh, for goodness sake, do let us alone. We are getting on very nicely as it is. Good people are quite contented, and the others don't matter.

THE FALLACY OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

A RECENT writer has suggested that our system of election by polling and ballot is radically wrong. Instead, he would have Members of Parliament elected by juries of manageable size, chosen by lot from the present electorate. These juries would be able to consider the claims of five or six possible candidates, instead of the "two only," who are as a rule thought to be all that are "necessary for the salvation" of an average constituency. And they could, by searching inquiry, find out whether the candidates were really fitted by their abilities to represent a constituency in Parliament, and not merely the puppets of one of the two great political Parties.

If ever such a system is tried, the jurors, if they are wise, will not trust altogether to testimonials. They will rather institute some form of examination—not too difficult, for no doubt would-be legislators would think it beneath their dignity to be coached for the "Parliamentary Entrance Exam."—but still a sufficient test of the candidate's ability to make a short speech—great attention should be paid to brevity—and perchance to write a civil letter. For the more important constituencies it might be well, also, to require candidates to show some slight acquaintance with the principles of elementary logic. In the *viva voce* examination in this subject the jurors would have an opportunity of instilling many useful ideas—laws of thought and principles of reasoning which would tend greatly to simplify public life. And they would, indeed, deserve well of their country, if they would emphasize and

drive home the elementary fact that the argument from simple analogy is the weakest of all arguments.

For, undoubtedly, many of our public men at the present day seem to be entirely incapable of grasping this elementary rule. Whenever a politician wakes up to the fact that his country is on the "down grade," and brings forward some infallible remedy, he produces in support of his case not arguments, but illustrations. Occasionally, if his opinion of the reasoning powers of his audience be a very poor one, he will even use material illustrations, and introduce an object-lesson into the midst of a public meeting. This, fortunately, is a very rare occurrence; but even politicians who would scorn to "play to the gallery" by waving loaves before the eyes of their astonished hearers, are often guilty of using verbal illustrations to the full as misleading.

For instance, no expression is more popular in the mouths of Imperialist orators than "the love of the Colonies for their Mother-country." And herein is enshrined a very pretty example of the "fallacy of illustration." Under the phrase "Mother-country" lies the vast assumption that colonies are to the country which sent them forth as children to a mother. And it is argued that, as children are bound by the laws of natural affection to cherish and help their parent, so colonies should "rally round the flag" and on all occasions help and support the country from which they are sprung. More than this, children (even modern children) ought to obey their mother, and therefore colonies ought to be duly subservient in their relations with the old country. Now no one in these Imperial days would risk being styled a little Englander by questioning the truth of these admirable sentiments. But perhaps some individual might be found courageous enough to point out that, admirable as the sentiments are, they rest on a somewhat insecure foundation. For let us change the figure. Instead of a touching picture of domestic bliss, let us conjure up the vision of a beauteous fruit-tree. The country which sends forth colonies is like the sturdy stem of that tree, firmly rooted in the immemorial past. Because it is full of vigorous life it puts forth flowers—the gallant deeds of its gentlemen adventurers—which harden and take form as fruit—the first beginnings of a colonial system. Then, under the fostering care of sun and

showers, the fruit swells and expands, it assumes a more beautiful shape and colour and taste, until at last, when it is fully ripe—it drops off! This illustration, then, which is at least as legitimate as that of the mother and her children, seems to lead to a far different conclusion. If the Imperial idea is to be preserved, it must rest on some surer foundation than visions of a “happy family.”

But politicians are not alone in their love of leaning on the broken reed of illustrations. Social reformers also will sometimes imagine that their case is immensely strengthened by the manufacture of some startling metaphor or vivid example. At a recent temperance meeting a Baptist minister constructed a most elaborate picture, in which the drink traffic was compared to an invading army—the brewers were the generals, the hotel-keepers were the subalterns, and the Monday morning list at the police-court represented the casualty returns. In this all-conquering force beer took the place of small-arms ammunition, and the deadly fumes of lyddite found a substitute in the stupefying odours of rum and gin. The army of drink, moreover, was well organised, provided with a never-failing military chest, was determined to ruin the country it was attacking, and had its scouts out in all directions—even on the bench of licensing magistrates. The moral, of course, was obvious—that the people must bestir themselves, and strive by hard fighting and straight shooting to repel the invader and preserve their ancient freedom. Unfortunately the local brewer followed, and he also drew a picture. There was a land, he said, where the people lived a gloomy, cheerless life amid fog, and rain, and cold east wind. They were an ignorant people, debased and cruel, living on roots, and having for drink only the muddy water of their streams and ponds. To them came missionaries, apostles of a freer, nobler, more joyous life, bearing with them most potent medicines, delightful to the taste, pleasing to the eye, and producing joy and laughter in the place of misery and gloom.

The barbarians took their medicines, it is true, but instead of promoting the missionaries to great honour they despised them, and only permitted them to ply their beneficent calling, after they had exacted huge fines called “licenses.” Thus were these brave

good men compelled to tread the thorny path of martyrdom. But surely the time would come when even the savage people themselves would recognise their benefactors, and take away the grievous burden from their backs.

Again the moral was obvious, and though it did not quite square with the temperance advocate's view, it had as much (or as little) foundation in logic.

A subtle variant of the "fallacy of illustrations" is the "delusion of the concrete instance." It is the device, by which the upholder of a poor cause seizes on some special example, as startling as possible, which seems to bear out his point of view, and then proceeds deliberately to disregard multitudes of other instances, which give a far different complexion to the point at issue. A special field for this fallacy is opened up by the revived controversy between Protection and Free Trade, which must of course depend for its decision very largely on points of detail. Thus the Protectionist will construct a very alarming picture of say the "dumping" of Patagonian plum-puddings on the English Christmas market. Thereupon the Free Trader, instead of brushing aside the whole argument as frivolous, thinks that it is his duty to "answer a fool according to his folly." Accordingly he proceeds to build up a laborious argument, in which he shows that the increase in imports caused by the advent of the plum-puddings from Patagonia would be balanced by the increased exports of toy-candles for the Christmas trees of that delightful country. But such argument is labour thrown away. The fallacy of the concrete instance in most cases works its own destruction. When it is intentionally humorous, it may put the reader into a gracious, receptive frame of mind, by tickling his vanity, and ministering to his innate love of the frivolous. But when the humour is unintentional, the result is often a most profound bathos.

Another temperance advocate was dwelling on the curse of the drink traffic, and as he spoke of wasted money, of ruined health, and homes made miserable, his audience of working men and women, who knew too well the truth of his words, listened with the hush of chastened conviction. But he grew more excited, "he warmed to his subject," he would give them an instance from his own experience of the awful power of drink. He had known

a respectable man, a guard on the Midland Railway, who had given way to drink. That man had gone from bad to worse. The children were illtreated and under-fed, the wife was down-trodden, and the home, instead of being clean and comfortable, was filthy and almost bare of furniture. But one night the climax came. The man was off duty, as his wife well knew, at seven o'clock, but it was not till half-past eleven that he staggered home. As he entered, his eye caught sight of the family cat, lying asleep before the fire. So maddened was he with drink that he caught the poor unoffending creature by the tail, swung it into the oven, and as he slammed the door, cried out "Any more for Nottingham." A moving story, truly, but it is to be doubted whether the temperance cause was much helped by its recital.

There are dangers then in the use of illustrations to support an argument. To begin with, in this form of encounter, "Greek will often meet Greek," and the most convincing picture be met with another, as convincing, on the other side. Then too there is the danger of a descent into the unproductive quagmire of frivolous detail or absurd bathos. There is a further danger. In no place is the "fallacy of illustrations" so triumphant as in the pulpit. The popular preacher has always before him the object of stirring his hearers' imagination, of bringing a lesson home to them by some familiar incident of their daily lives. Now the experienced preacher will be the first to acknowledge that all such illustrations must be partial and incomplete. The time is gone by when theologians would exercise the subtlest ingenuity in making every detail in a New Testament parable teach its own lesson. A saner system of exegesis now prevails, and it is recognised that it is only the broad features of the "earthly story" which correspond exactly with the "heavenly meaning." And yet young curates (and occasionally even their elders) are not always able to refrain from the temptation of making an illustration "complete in every detail." A youthful orator recently pleased the ladies of his congregation very much by a "beautiful discourse" on the life of the soul. The soul's life differed from that of the body, he said, in that death makes no break in its continuity. It was like a river flowing through the rocks and deserts of this world, and then gliding past the fair fields and shining palaces of Paradise to find

its rest in the ocean of Love. But a churchwarden, who prides himself on keeping curates in their place, was rude enough to point out, next day, that the sermon was a description of the soul on the downward course, for the river becomes more and more sluggish and choked with impurities, as it travels further from its source and approaches nearer to the sea.

This may be considered carping criticism, but undoubtedly the congregation at a certain Essex church had genuine cause for complaint. A stranger had come to preach on some occasion, and had evidently been informed that his congregation would consist partly of those who on week-days were "something in the City," and partly of those who still struggled with the soil as farmers and market-gardeners. Accordingly he inserted two "illustrations" in his sermon, the one urban and the other rural,—a bank and a bee-hive. Apparently he himself had lived neither in the town nor in the country, for the bank he described was like a Stock Exchange nightmare, in which crises occurred every few minutes, and industrious office-boys averted ruin by remaining at work to the small hours of the morning—while the bee-hive was certainly unlike anything ever seen in Essex; the natives still talk with wonder of the "passon's drones aflyin' along laden with the spoils o' luscious honeycombs." Never was a more signal illustration of the dangers of an imperfectly mastered illustration.

But now comes the question, Why is it that, in spite of its obvious shortcomings and perils, the fallacy is so popular among speakers? There are many reasons. The "apt illustration," if not a valid argument in itself, is very like one. There are conceivable circumstances under which it might attain the value of a complete proof. In the tangled skein of a law-suit a clever simile may be the means of clearing up the points at issue to a remarkable degree. But a simile is not an argument, and public speakers should not be so apt to think that they have settled a question for ever, when they have thought out some clever illustration or discovered some bizarre example of the actual working of their opponents' views. The cause of monarchy is not injured by comparing the King to an over-paid, second-rate President, nor shall we destroy the Liberal party, if we compare them to "a swarm of mosquitoes round a curtain,

whose only bond of union is their desire to get in, and who, once inside, will each work for private ends."

Probably most men, when they are pressed, will acknowledge that the illustrations and anecdotes, with which they adorn their speeches and sermons, are in reality little to the point, and help forward the argument not one whit. Why then do they continue their search for the "telling story," the appropriate simile, the striking parallel? First, no doubt, because they have a generous pity for the intellectual failings of their fellows. Is a Roman noble confronted with a mob tired of his tyranny? At once he begins to "talk down" to them. The arguments of the Senate would be wasted on the vulgar herd. He must meet them on their own level. And so, as if talking to his own four-year-old boy, he starts the fable of the body and its members. The bait is swallowed, for his hearers are still children in intellect if not in years; peace is restored, and patrician privileges secured for another spell.

The speaker, then, loves illustrations, because they demonstrate his own superiority, and perhaps because they save him the trouble of preparing more valid arguments. And the hearer will put up with them, because his vanity too is tickled, and his lazy imagination receives a needed prop.

This is of course the reason why illustrations, in the narrower sense of pictures, continue to be inserted in books. Every lover of the great characters of fiction knows how annoying it is to be confronted with the pencilled imaginings of other perhaps less sympathetic souls. And yet the publishers go on pandering to childish thirst for a picture book, just as orators supply their hearers with the sparkling anecdote or flowery metaphor, for which they thirst.

Perhaps it is Utopian to hope that a time will come when all such adventitious aids to oratory will be laid aside, and speakers and hearers alike will be content with a straightforward, time-saving plainness of speech.

E. M. GIRLING.

PASSING EVENTS.

THE pulpits of London have been thrilled this month, and a large proportion of the newspaper reading world much interested, in connection with the correspondence that has been going on in the *Daily Telegraph* under the heading "Do We Believe?" The correspondence was inaugurated by a letter signed "Oxoniensis," in which the writer argued that there could not be much general belief in Christianity in view of the fact that the well-known injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount were not only disregarded, but practically defied by an exactly antithetical and contradictory creed. For the ideal of poverty the world substitutes the ideal of wealth, for humility it substitutes ostentation, for meekness, self-assertion, and for some of the other injunctions the general theory concerning "sowing one's wild oats" as the best preparation for ultimate matrimonial tranquility. In which creed do people really believe? Oxoniensis enquired.

To an extent which he can hardly have foreseen, myriads of correspondents rushed forward to expound their opinions. Before the correspondence had proceeded very far, the authorities of the *Daily Telegraph* announced that the letters they had received would, if all were printed, fill more than 200 of their columns, and later on raised the estimate to 800 columns; but if those which appeared at the rate of three or four columns a day are the best worthy of attention, we need hardly regret the impossibility of printing the rest. Clerical contributors joined freely in the mêlée, and the fundamental question which heads all their writings is in-

terpreted very differently by the various correspondents, some adhering to the original idea of the first letter,—the question whether a world which diverges so completely from Christian precept in its practice can be held to believe honestly even in the fundamental principles of that faith, others turning aside either to reaffirm or treat with contempt the various ecclesiastical creeds in which the fundamentals of the faith have been expressed.

Perhaps the main interest of the correspondence turns upon the way in which the majority of writers, leaving out of account those who are professionally bound to accept formulas of faith in their literal significance, sweep aside as entirely out of date the conception that people any longer retain attachment to the theory of Christianity as propounded in the churches. A few sentences taken from various letters will illustrate the attitude of mind in which most of the non-clerical writers approach the subject. "Orthodoxy," says one writer, "is crumbling on its foundations; so-called theology is rejected by the majority of thinking minds." Another ventures to affirm that the vast majority of educated men in this country do not believe in the existence of a personal God, and therefore *a fortiori*, that dogma and sectarianism are out of date. Says another, "A great part of the belief, creed or theory of Christianity is no longer tenable." Or again, "the majority of the young men of the present day do not believe in the dogmas of Christianity taught by the churches." Quotations of this kind could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, while, of course, they are interspersed with the reassertion of the old ecclesiastical creed in its simplest form, to the effect that *belief* in the rescue of mankind from damnation by virtue of the blood of Christ, affords the only possibility of escape from eternal torment; and that "works," however innocent in their character, are wholly unimportant compared with faith. One writer thinks that the grievous infidelity exhibited by so many of the others might be corrected by a stricter observance of the Lord's Day, and the Bishop of Croydon, in the course of a vaguely sentimental essay on the blessings that would ensue if, with the rising of to-morrow's sun, we could all awake real Christians, shows how little he is in touch with the attitude of mind the correspondence as a whole reflects, by dwelling on the wondrous love of the Almighty Father which induced Him to

bestow "His Only-begotten Son," in order that "whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

Putting the matter broadly, the clerical letters without exception show how the professional clergy, while hampered with the creeds they cannot renounce, cannot possibly deal with the mental problems on which cultivated thinkers of the present day are really engaged. Now and then they attempt an excursion into such regions of thought, and in these cases their orthodox confrères must tremble to feel how the whole ecclesiastical edifice is shaken by their admissions. Thus the Dean of Westminster, in addressing Sunday School teachers one day last month, ventured to allow that our whole conception concerning the inspiration of the Bible has been altered. The stories of Genesis for us are no longer literal statements of fact, but allegories or parables. And he ventured to disbelieve the statement that Balaam's ass really made the remarks attributed to him. Another clergyman, commenting on these declarations, applauded the Dean's courage and good sense, hardly, perhaps, realising the significance of such applause, considering the fact that probably not one educated man in a hundred for the last fifty years has failed to anticipate the conclusions at which the Dean has at last arrived, without expecting on that account to be treated as the exponent of any extraordinary sagacity.

One can hardly suppose the vast correspondence of the *Daily Telegraph* to have been fairly edited, because in the whole mass of letters printed there seems to be only one which imports even the smallest flavour of what may be called modern scientific research into the discussion in progress. One writer, it is true, in criticising the conventional theory concerning Christian salvation does venture to remark that "without a succession of lives the teaching of responsibility and absolute justice becomes, so far as I can judge, simply a dead letter." But the hint is not picked up by later writers, and thus the whole correspondence is left, for those in a position to gauge the possibilities of future religious progress, infected by an atmosphere of unreality which deprives it of the interest it ought otherwise to have acquired. In truth, it has hardly contributed a thought worthy of serious attention by anyone who has reached conclusions concerning the principles which

guide human affairs, sound enough to afford some basis for speculation concerning the developments of belief likely to attend the advent of future generations. Some of the clerical writers eagerly claim for religion, as they understand it, the sympathy of modern science. The views of Sir Oliver Lodge and of Lord Kelvin are contrasted with those of Huxley and Tyndall; but orthodox enthusiasts misunderstand the progress of scientific thought, imagining that the recognition of a spiritual force behind the phenomena of matter betokens the drift of those who accept that conception in the direction of cut and dried ecclesiastical formularies respecting "the Only-begotten Son." They fail to see that modern scientific research, however deeply it may be imbued with reverence for unseen powers, that an earlier science, foolishly scoffed at, is patiently setting to work on the construction of an entirely new foundation for the religion of the future.

That the world at large is losing its faith in ecclesiastical teaching where that relates to Adam and Eve, Balaam's Ass, or the coarsely literal doctrine of the Atonement, should be made manifest to all who have taken the pains to wade through the recent correspondence. That ecclesiastical teaching will eventually be superseded by something more than belief, by actual knowledge, concerning much that has hitherto been thought to lie in the regions of the unknowable, is the more important conclusion that would be derived from a correspondence that might set out with an enquiry, not as to whether the modern world still believes in the old fictions its forefathers were satisfied with, but with the very much more important question, "what is it that we really know concerning the superphysical laws governing the spiritual evolution of mankind?"

False imprisonment is a subject deeply engaging public attention at the present time, but one kind of false imprisonment, of which we have few, if any, examples in this country, is still practised abroad to an extent which cannot but deeply impress every sympathetic imagination. The system was illustrated, according to correspondence from Paris in the *Daily Telegraph* of a week or two ago, by a case in which, on the high wall of a

convent in a street at Marseilles, a young woman in the garb of a nun was lately seen wildly gesticulating and calling out for help. As she might have been killed had she jumped from the wall, the crowd bade her wait, a ladder was obtained, and she was rescued, fainting in the street. The "sisters" of the convent came out to claim her, but were denied their prey by the people. The police, it is alleged, then took charge of the nun, who told a tale of miscellaneous ill-treatment hardly so shocking, for that matter, as some others that from time to time have been made public, and at the date of the correspondence in which the story is included, an investigation was going forward. The authorities of the convent, it is alleged, pretend that the escaped nun is a lunatic, and her stories of ill-treatment the fruit of hallucination; but on the face of things reasonable observers will probably think the more simple explanation the more probable.

The continued existence in the present day of conventual abuses of the kind this little incident illustrates, is one of the most painful evidences we have of the incompatibility between the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church and the instincts of modern civilisation. Many people who are charmed with the æsthetic beauty of Roman Catholic ceremonial, and impressed with the way in which, in Roman Catholic cities abroad, the genuine piety of the people is manifest in so many ways, are liable to misunderstand the intense antagonism to the Roman Church as an institution which so many Protestants entertain. An antagonism, for that matter, which is entertained also by those for whom Protestantism as a substantive fact has little interest, but who regard the notion of converting a system of spiritual teaching into an organisation for perpetrating secular tyranny with a disgust which no mere artistic admiration for the pictorial beauties of a foreign cathedral can ever extinguish. The time has gone by when Roman Catholic authority is likely again to disturb, to any serious extent, the politics of the western world. But we still find some of the barbarities of the Middle Ages associated with priestly control, perpetuated by such petty acts of oppression as the story of the escaped nun suggests. From Mr. McCabe's pen we have had some very vivid stories concerning the repentance at leisure so apt to follow in the wake of hasty vows, even when these are undertaken

by young men who, in the glow of early religious zeal, fancy themselves attracted to the conventual life. They are deeply to be pitied when they respect their pledged word too deeply to break it, however deplorably disillusioned in regard to the value of the vows they have heedlessly uttered ; but the case of girls hurried at an early age into convents, in many cases undeniably (some of us may think in the majority), without any real consultation of their feelings, is calculated to rouse an infinitely deeper sense of indignation on the part of the intelligent observer. To suit some miserable family intrigue, possibly with no loftier motive than that of cheating them out of their property, girls have been notoriously, in large numbers, and probably still are sometimes, driven into the miserable imprisonment of the convent life, where every healthy instinct of their nature is crushed into deformity like the feet of the women in China. Mentally drugged in the artificial atmosphere around them, they may in some cases acquiesce torpidly in the moral assassination of which they have been the victims. In some cases, no doubt, they may dash themselves fruitlessly against the bars of their cage ; in a very few, like that recently under notice in Marseilles, they may succeed in escaping from their persecutors.

From some points of view, the recent raid upon many convents in France,—carried out by the Government in its own interest lest convent schools should bring up young French people to despise Republican principles,—is an operation which, however little one may admire its motive, can never be regarded with dissatisfaction by those who realise the monstrous evils with which the conventual system is tainted, however beautiful sometimes may be the lives of the Sisters, who have either willingly devoted themselves to the religious life, or with a saintly resignation under their wrongs, have meekly accepted its routine.

As regards the false imprisonment with which in this country we have been more especially concerned of late, cases are cropping up now with surprising frequency to show that the famous adventures of Mr. Beck were by no means unique in the history of our judicial records. Besides the Da Costa case, which has excited

so little public attention, the newspapers are now continually bringing to light illustrations of the mistakes the police seem liable to make in estimating the identity of accused persons. Last month at York another case has come upon the records, where a baker, named Smailes, was arrested on an abominable charge having reference to a little girl. After being committed for trial by the local magistrates, and enduring a few days of false imprisonment, another man actually gave himself up to the police confessing that he was the real culprit. And while we write a story has reached us—the details of which it is to be hoped will, perhaps, before these pages are published, attract the public attention they deserve—in which a young lady of respectable condition, occupying a position of responsibility in a large house of business, was arrested on a warrant charging her with being concerned in certain swindling operations. She was hurriedly dragged away from her home, taken a long journey by train in the custody of the police, brought before magistrates at Torquay where the alleged swindle had been carried out, and there ultimately discharged, as it was found that she was not within sight of being guilty.

For the moment the outcry that is being raised in connection with cases of this sort is directed against the police, who of course, may be sometimes to blame for carelessly giving false evidence when applying to magistrates for a warrant. But it is always a mistake in these cases to put the responsibility on subordinate agents when they would after all be powerless to do any mischief unless supported by some authority on higher levels. Where innocent persons are arrested on warrants that have been misdirected, no one will want to shield any criminally reckless police officers who have framed a charge against the wrong person, but the magistrate who grants the warrant in these cases must be even more to blame. It is his business to be sure that the evidence brought before him by the police is trustworthy, and the flaw in our systems of criminal procedure which at present is even more conspicuously illustrated in another way, has the effect amongst others of rendering magistrates careless in such matters as these under notice just because, however badly they blunder, they never incur disagreeable consequences themselves. Of course, the huge defect in our scheme of justice applies to those

who are on much higher levels than the magistrates. The impunity of judges, however badly they may discharge the enormous responsibilities imposed upon them, is a crying scandal only maintained because people in this country are so slow to recognise the fact that institutions of long standing may have got out of date. The word just used in connection with the privilege of doing wrong with impunity which is at present enjoyed by judges,—the word “responsibility,”—is, in its literal sense inapplicable to their case. The grievous part of the matter is that they have no responsibility. They exercise power, sometimes to the disastrous injury of innocent persons without under any circumstances being liable to be called upon to answer for its misuse. In the days of the Stuarts, the irresponsible judge may have represented a combination of good and evil characteristics where those which were of value to the people were largely in the ascendant. As these have now ceased to have any applicability to modern conditions, the evils patiently endured at first for their sake, stand before us now in a condition of naked deformity.

WHENEVER Professor Ray Lankester intervenes in discussions having to do with psychic phenomena of any kind, the wide range of his ignorance in connection with such matters is apt to be amusing. But he has almost eclipsed his previous records in a recent letter to the *Times*. The opportunity was afforded by a brief correspondence between Sir Oliver Lodge and Dr. Chalmers Mitchell in reference to some utterances by Sir Oliver at a meeting of the Midland Institute in Birmingham. The question at stake turned on what Huxley thought concerning the origin of organic life. It is not worth while to weigh the value of various quotations brought forward. A time will soon be coming on when the opinions of the nineteenth century biologist on such problems will have little more than a faint historical interest. But Professor Lankester cuts in to declare, first that Sir Oliver has “outrageously misrepresented Huxley’s teaching,” which sounds improbable, but does not much matter either way, and then goes on to make these very entertaining remarks :—

“A little more than a year ago he (Sir Oliver) publicly stated

that the Society for Psychical Research had 'discovered' telepathy. Probably his use on that occasion of the word 'discover' was mere carelessness, since no one knows better than Sir Oliver Lodge that the thing supposed to exist and designated by the word 'telepathy' has not been discovered."

The language is a little ambiguous, and might be taken to mean that the coverings or veil which at present hides from (most of) us the natural laws at work in the production of telepathic effects, has not yet been definitely withdrawn. But the large body of people amongst us, unfortunately, who still share Professor Lankester's ignorance concerning the progress of psychic science, will, of course, take his ambiguous phrase to mean that no such thing as telepathy really exists at all. And his utterances generally justify us in supposing that he intends to cast contempt on the idea that it does. Now there is no word in the English language more commonly misused at the present day than this unfortunate term "telepathy." It is the one super-physical faculty of man that the Society for Psychical Research has established on a secure scientific foundation, and a multitude of psychic phenomena that have nothing to do with it really, are constantly being saddled with an inappropriate "telepathic" explanation. But meanwhile, to deny the established fact that telepathic communication is sometimes set up between one brain and another, is equivalent, let us say, to the denial of a connexion between electricity and magnetism. For that matter neither electricity nor magnetism have yet been "discovered" in the alternative sense that might be attached to Professor Lankester's words, so that we are all the more justified in supposing that he means by these words to deny the actuality of telepathy. And then we get back to the comicality of the situation. Mr. Kruger, of Transvaal celebrity, held stoutly to a disbelief in the spherical shape of the earth. For him to the last it was a flat expanse, in spite of the extent to which expert opinion had guided most people to accept its rotundity. As psychic civilisation developes Professor Lankester resolutely remains behind, the flat-earth-man, so to speak, of modern intelligence in reference to all studies having to do with the higher attributes of the human race.

AN incident reported as occurring at the Old Bailey one day last month is instructive and suggestive. Three "Hooligans" were convicted of robbery with violence, and sentenced, two of them to a term of penal servitude *plus* a flogging, and one of them to a longer term of penal servitude without flogging. He cried out at the exceptional character of his sentence, and shouted "Can't you give me the cat same as my pals?" And in another case a man, condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment, begged, fruitlessly of course, that he might have "the cat" instead.

Now the first conclusion to be derived from these curious manifestations of feeling on the part of the prisoners, need not be that the punishment of the cat is ineffective as a deterrent, but that long terms of penal servitude are more horribly cruel, except in the cases of strangely hardened *habitués* of prison life, than careless lookers on imagine. Silly sentimentalists continually in arms against the system of corporal punishment in all its varieties rage against its cruelty, oblivious of the fact that any alternative punishments of approximately equal deterrent value are far more cruel. The hooligan who asked to be flogged instead of being subjected to the slow torture of five years' penal servitude, knew quite well that the cat would be frightfully painful; and if he had received it, in all probability he would have been reluctant to run the risk of incurring it a second time. But he felt,—what the judge probably failed to realize, in consequence of being in the habit of serving out terms of imprisonment with the sangfroid of a grocer weighing out sugar,—that five years slow torment in prison was a hideous, unbearable fate. Some day in the future the pendulum of public opinion may perhaps swing the other way, and long imprisonments be recognised as too abominably cruel to be tolerated. Offenders will then be more effectively, cheaply and appropriately punished with a due application of the lash. That naturally obvious mode of dealing with offenders may come into use for most of the offences lying between the terrible crimes which merit death and the slighter naughtinesses sufficiently met by fines. If corporal punishment could once for all be kept clear of artificial fancies concerning it, and recognized as entailing no more disgrace than must be associated, for that matter, with all varieties of punishment, the

character of our penal code would be rendered more humane without losing its value as a system of warning to people behave themselves properly.

PEOPLE who disbelieve in the necessity of great fiscal reforms in this country along the lines recommended by Mr. Chamberlain have frequently appealed to the Income Tax returns as showing no falling off in national prosperity, corresponding with the theory as to what ought to be taking place, of those who disbelieve in the system of free imports. The latest revenue returns, however will be calculated to startle any sincere devotees of free trade, however those who merely defend the system in the interests of faction, will be disposed to ignore the figures. Returns published recently, and covering the period April 1st to September 17th, have shown a falling off in the revenue as compared with that of the corresponding period in the previous year of no less than four millions. One of these millions has been lost on the Excise, another on the item given as "Estate, etc., duties," but no less than two and a-half millions of the deficit are represented by the diminished yield of the income tax. Everyone in the City knows that for a long time past there has been "no money about," to use the popular phrase, and those who have been impressed with the belief that our fiscal system for a long time past has been unhealthy, have asked how it was possible to expect that there should be any money about when, roughly speaking, nobody can be earning any. The fields lie untilled, the manufactures which have absorbed the labour once devoted to them, have ceased to be profitable in consequence of the sacrifices that must be made in order to force goods upon protected markets abroad. England, of course, collectively has possessed vast property abroad, the investments of more prosperous periods. On these it is suggested, the country has really been living for some time past. Probably it will be very difficult to establish the fact by any returns that could be obtained. But since we have been living as a community and have not been paying our way with our earnings, it is difficult to suggest any source from which our current expenses can be derived except those which represent the accumulation of happier periods in the past.

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ARMY ORGANISATION.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED TURNER, K.C.B.

WHATEVER may be the fate of the comprehensive and, in some respects, revolutionary scheme of Army Reform, introduced by the Secretary of State for War on the 8th August last, shortly before the close of the Session, to clear the way for which the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, the Adjutant-General, and other prominent members of the Head-Quarter Staff were, with almost dramatic suddenness, removed from their appointments, it must be taken as certain that the British nation will not, for one moment, give ear to those who advocate conscription as the only means which, they contend, will produce an efficient army sufficient to meet our requirements.

The arguments for and against this form, or any modified form of compulsory service have been of late, and especially since the publication of the report of the Duke of Norfolk's Royal Commission on Militia and Volunteers, so dinned into the ear of the public that they have come to be regarded by many as mere platitudes, as adjuncts of the interminable subject of Army Reform, which, for over thirty years, we have always had with us. It, nevertheless, appears to be impossible to avoid touching upon those arguments when discanting upon the needs of the nation as regards its armed forces.

A remarkably able article, by Mr. J. L. Bashford, entitled, "The German Army System and how it Works," was published in the *Nineteenth Century* of October. In the course of it he defends that army from the virulent attacks of which it has of

late been made the subject, and which, to a great extent, originated from the publicity given to a work entitled "Aus einer kleinen Garnison," written by a discontented lieutenant of the "Train" (Army Service Corps) stationed in a remote little garrison town in Lötheringen. The book had no merits, literary or otherwise, but the prosecution of its author excited general curiosity, with the result that its circulation was immense, and it was translated into many languages. What estimation men of honour must hold the writer in, who lays bare to the world the profligacy of certain of his brother officers and their unfortunate wives, cannot be doubtful. The work, however, was greedily seized upon by a certain political party in Germany, as a weapon, wherewith to attack the whole army, by holding forth the condition of things described in the above work, as a faithful picture of the lives and doings of the officers of the German Army at large. It would be as true and reasonable to assert, that because, from time to time, instances of bullying known as "ragging" occur in the British Army, therefore its officers are generally bullies and cowards. Unfortunately the statements in the above work, followed by others of similar tendency, and by an article in the *North American Review* by a German named Wolf von Schierbrand, in which, in addition to holding up the army to obloquy and contempt, a most bitter personal attack was made on the Emperor, were widely circulated in this country by a portion of the Press, whose wish is father to the thought, and which loses no opportunity of hurling reckless invectives wholesale against Germany with the apparent object of creating and fostering friction between two countries, which ties of race and, what is far more important, considerations of mutual interest, should unite in the closest bonds of alliance. Mr. Bashford's defence of the German Army must carry conviction to the mind of every fair-thinking person who reads his most able article.

With regard to the salutary effects of compulsory service upon the population of Germany, morally, mentally and physically, and also as to the manner in which the army, "das Volk in Waffen," as General von der Goltz describes it, I am thoroughly in accord with the opinion expressed by Mr. Bashford and *cæteris paribus*, I would strongly advocate the introduction of such service into Great Britain.

Our country is, however, entirely differently situated from that of any of the other great European Powers. Countries do not exist for the purpose of maintaining armed forces, but the latter are kept for the defence, and, unfortunately, occasionally for the aggrandisement of the former. Our geographical position, and the fact that two-thirds and more of the food supply necessary to support our huge population comes to us from across the sea, makes it clear that we must maintain the strongest navy in the world, for were our navy and the command of the sea lost to us the effect would be that we must go under, and that, even if by conscription we had raised such an army as Germany or France possesses, it would be of no avail, for our food supply would be stopped. What the army is to a power, whose confines are coterminous with those of other great states, so is our navy to us. It is not only our first line of defence, it not only keeps us in the position of a first-class power, but it is the very means by which we live.

Our army and navy estimates have risen to the enormous sum of £70,000,000, a sum altogether incommensurate with that spent by any other country. Russia comes next with £51,000,000, and then the United States of America with £46,000,000 and £43,000,000 respectively. Our army, small as it is, costs nearly £29,000,000! The burdens of the tax-payers have well-nigh reached the limit of toleration, and the creation of a large army, enlisted even upon the cheapest principles of compulsory service, for home defence would be as impossible financially, as it is practically unnecessary. That conscription is impossible and unnecessary, Mr. Balfour, as head of the Government, asserted a year ago, and that such a measure is totally inapplicable for a foreign service army, that is for troops who guard our foreign possessions across the sea, must be patent to everyone who possesses common sense and ordinary faculty of reasoning. The great difficulty which now confronts the War Office is to obtain recruits to supply our garrisons abroad. Soldiers enlisted for three years decline to extend their service in anything like sufficient numbers, and such were the straits to which the War Minister found himself reduced, that large numbers of short-service soldiers have been lately sent to India. This means that within three years these men have to

be trained, sent out to India, and brought back. It is possible on an emergency to incur this vast expense of transport; it would be, however, impossible to establish it as a system. Conscript soldiers cannot be forced to serve more than two or three years at the outside; in Germany the Infantry, Field and Garrison Artillery, Engineers and Train serve with the colours but for two years, the Cavalry and Horse Artillery for three. Though in case of war such short-service soldiers could, of course, be despatched abroad, they could not be sent in peace time merely to garrison our possessions across the sea. The most important factor, however, in the case is, that this country is governed according to the votes of the people; such a radical change in our constitution as conscription would bring about cannot be introduced unless it be shown that such measure is in accordance with the will of the majority of the nation. Can it be supposed that any political party will place before the electors a proposal which would inevitably put that party into the cold shade of opposition for a generation. We know what the views of the Prime Minister and War Minister upon the subject are, and only a few days ago Mr. Lee, M.P., the brilliant Civil Lord of the Admiralty, stated at Portsmouth that he saw no necessity for conscription in this country, and that there was no danger of invasion by a foreign army so long as we maintain an adequate and sufficient navy. The views of our present Ministry are thus clear, and one may be quite sure that a Liberal Government upon this subject will be still stronger in the same direction.

There has hardly ever been a time more critical than that through which we have lately passed, the black shadow of war, the most unmitigated curse which can befall humanity, which Lord Lansdowne, in his Mansion House speech, quoting from Mr. Hay, the American Secretary of State, rightly described as "the most futile and the most ferocious of human follies," has been hanging over us. This has now been happily removed, and, as Lord Rosebery lately said at Trowbridge, the King, the nation, and the Government are indeed to be congratulated, and, above all, Lord Lansdowne, whose ability and consummate tact as Minister for Foreign Affairs, went a long way to save the country from the horrors and disasters of war. Whether supporters of the pre-

sent political party in power or not, all open and fair-minded men must applaud the Ministry that they kept their heads through those fitful days which followed the deplorable blunder in the North Sea, and were not led into ordering reprisals, the effect of which would only have "let loose the dogs of war" by that portion of the Press and the public known as Jingo, which regards war as the right and proper solution of all international differences. No British Minister has spoken out more clearly and more bravely than did Lord Lansdowne, on the same occasion, as to the incalculable benefit of adjusting such differences by some less brutal, savage, and clumsy method than that of war. In the many countries, in which his speech will be read with intense interest, the vast majority of men will be in accord with him in hoping that a second convention may be assembled to complete the work of that of The Hague of 1899, and that the result may be that war, such as is now being carried on in the far East, with its scenes of carnage, its infinite suffering, its slaughter of tens of thousands of God's creatures, to whom the struggle and its cause possess not the slightest interest, may be so restricted that nations will only take up arms in the one just and lawful cause, the defence of their own country and belongings.

It is vain, however, to hope that such a result can accrue in the immediate future, or in consequence to slacken measures for maintaining armed forces in the highest possible state of efficiency, consistent with due economy. The amount spent upon our navy, though enormous, is not regarded grudgingly by the nation, which not only fully recognises what the command of the sea means to us, but has confidence in the excellence of our fleet, and in its power to rule the waves and to retain that command. It is felt that though our ships have not for a century been put to any severe war test, the country may place implicit trust in our Admiralty, in our ships, and in those who man them.

This confidence appears to be more than ever justified by the successes in the present war of the Japanese Navy. The evolution of Japan in less than four decades has made more strides in advance than most great nations of the world have made in so many centuries. Its sagacious leaders have shown themselves to

be experts of the highest order in imitating and adapting that which is good in other countries, and rejecting that which is bad. Their navy has been organised and trained upon the model of ours, their army upon that of Germany. The conclusion to be drawn is manifest. *Verbum sap.*!

With the land forces however matters are very different. The army has long been a subject of so-called reforms which have been, for the most part, leaps in the dark, mere changes based upon anticipations of success, for which there were no solid grounds whatever. No business, no institution in the world could flourish, if its organisation and measures were perpetually made the subject of modification and change, or if the plans of to-day were like "the grass of the field which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven." One War Minister introduces a large scheme of Army Reform, it is adopted by the Government, approved by Parliament, and set into operation. In less than two years, and long before the scheme was matured, the War Minister was transplanted to another department, and his works, one after the other, torn up by the roots by his successor to be replaced by others, which, though totally different from those which they supplanted, have apparently been adopted by the same Government. Mr. Arnold-Forster said at the Mansion House dinner that the administration of the army has been not unnaturally criticised on account of its ever restless disposition and its desire for change, but that he considered that to rest content with what is adequate and good is sound policy, while to rest content with what is not adequate and good is bad policy. In this no one will gainsay him. The gravamen of the charge is that everything in the administration of the War Office, from organization down to buttons, has been perpetually changed and re-changed for decades, mostly on no established principle as to what the army is for and what its duties should be, but chiefly in accordance with the idiosyncracies of those for the time being in authority in Pall Mall.

True it is that the Government has now laid down the principle that the regular army is mostly for over-sea work, that there is no danger of serious invasion as long as we maintain an adequate and efficient navy, but that, at the same time, there is danger that a foreign Power at war with us might make raids

upon our shore. To meet these raids it is necessary that behind the navy should stand a defensive force—such is the theory of the “Blue Water School” to which I belong. The country should be grateful to the Government for having enunciated these principles, though portion of the new army proposals, as regards the Volunteers especially, seem to be but little in accord with them.

What, however, one is justified in asking is, why were they not announced two years ago, when it was decided to form six Army Corps, and to imitate, to a certain extent, the Army Organisation of Great European Powers, with a view to taking part in future European struggles? Mr. Brodrick was greatly lauded for his work and intentions, since then he has been equally and most unjustly blamed for the greatness of his ideas. We had lately emerged from the South African War, it had taken us over two years to conquer the two Republics, and we had employed a force from first to last of nearly 450,000 officers and men, made up as follows:—

Regular Troops	...	...	...	...	246,400
Militia	...	...	...	...	45,566
Yeomanry	...	...	...	...	35,520
Scottish Horse	...	...	...	...	833
Volunteers	...	...	...	...	19,856
Volunteers from India	...	...	...	...	305
South African Constabulary from Home					7,273
Raised in South Africa	...	...	...	...	52,414
Oversea Colonials	...	...	...	...	30,328

Exultation over our ultimate success, imperialism, jingoism more than rampant, tall words which amounted in some cases to veiled threats were uttered against certain European Powers, which had not displayed extreme cordiality towards, or sympathy with us, in our persistent efforts to crush out the freedom of the two tiny Republics upon grounds which appeared even to many Englishmen, whose minds were not inflated to a becoming degree by imperialism, to savour somewhat of sordid greed. For a time doubtless the notion prevailed that, not only were we the greatest Naval Power in the world, but that we were in the fair way of becoming a great military Power also. It was, however, clear that with the heterogeneous host above enumerated, large though

it was, and including nearly the whole of our regular army, we were quite incapable of entering the lists with the army of any great European Power, under the most favourable circumstances.

Mr. Brodrick therefore devised his Army Corps scheme, which was the only intelligible one for the time being, and it was no fault of his, if the Government changed its policy, and if time and mature reflection wakened the country to the fact, that to play the fable of the bull and the frog as regards land forces, was as foolish as it would be for a Continental Power to endeavour to become on equal terms with us at sea. It was, however, the most sorry form to gird at a War Minister and blame him for shortcomings, when he was carrying out the policy of the Cabinet to which he belonged, and acted as he did with their approval. The introduction of a short service of three years, was undoubtedly regrettable; but though Mr. Brodrick, with characteristic courage and generosity, assumed the entire responsibility for this step, it is absurd to suppose that he adopted it, without the advice or at all events, without the concurrence of his military advisers on the War Office Council, one and all of whom had, as equal voting power with him, as the members of the Army Council are supposed to have with Mr. Arnold-Forster.

The two items of his work which are most commonly thrown in Mr. Brodrick's teeth are the above, which was not irrevocable and which could have been withdrawn, as soon as it was perceived that it was not workable, and the so-called "Brodrick cap," for the inception of which, to my personal knowledge, he was entirely irresponsible. Secretaries of State for War may of late have occasionally descended from their lofty pedestal to enquire into matters of infinitesimally small detail, but the question of a forage cap is one entirely for the military authorities, and on them, and on them alone, must fall the onus of this comfortable but much abused head-dress.

No reasonable being can doubt the earnestness of purpose, the intention to do good, the strength of will and the courage of the present War Minister, and one must deeply regret that while portions of his scheme appear to be excellent and well adapted to the needs of the country, other portions are so deleterious to its good, that their adoption would be highly mischievous. The

latter concern the Militia and Volunteers, but before I venture to treat of these, I would refer to the Army Order of October the 20th, in which for Infantry of the Line the short service of three years was abolished, and a long service of nine years with three years in the reserve substituted. Whether this measure will produce an adequate or even an increasing supply of recruits, yet remains to be seen. It is pretty safe to conclude, that it will not give us desirable ones, that is men whose moral characters and physical fitness combine to make them the class of men whom one would like to see in the ranks. No prospect is held out to men who enlist for nine years, except a nebulous one, of obtaining civil employment at the termination of it. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, long ago, said that if you take a man from civil life for nine years you must give him a pension. That is undoubtedly the case. Our young men of the present day are far too well educated and sagacious, to serve in the army for nine years, from say 18 to 27, often in very unhealthy climates, to return at the end of it to commence or to recommence a calling, in which they have been left hopelessly behind by their coevals, unless some certain prospects, in the way of pension, are held out as inducements to them.

Far, very far indeed, be it from me to deprecate a return to long service for our army abroad. I have always considered that it was a great mistake not to differentiate between the service of troops for our garrisons abroad and those for home; this plan has long been advocated by such deep thinkers and experts as Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Spenser Wilkinson. Nine years, however, is too short a term. It is preposterous to assert that men are not fit for soldiers up to forty years of age, seeing that man normally reaches his prime at about thirty-five, and does not begin to go down hill till ten years later. The word pension acts like a nightmare upon certain War Office and ex-War Office authorities, but no one will assert that if by granting them, after twenty years' service, we could obtain men of good physique from a respectable class to enter the army, pensions would not be well spent. Besides this, they would not cost as much as the wastage caused owing to the class from which our recruits now come. Let me explain this by means of a few figures. From 1893-1902 out of

679,703 men medically examined for the army, 234,914, nearly 35 per cent., were rejected as unfit; of those passed as fit 5,849 broke down within three months of enlistment, and 14,259 were discharged as invalids within two years. These numbers do not include those rejected by recruiting-sergeants as palpably unsuitable. In short, over 60 per cent. of the men who wished to enter the army during the period stated were found not to come up to the very moderate physical standard required for the army, and a vast number of men, who did pass the medical examination, broke down as unequal to the strain of military life within two years of their enlistment. So much for the class of men from which we now mostly draw our recruits. It appears further that moral disposition is very much on a par with physical.

In 1901 the loss to the army from invaliding, desertion, and crime was over 9,000. In 1902 19,231 soldiers were committed to military prisons. As the yearly cost per head of the regular soldier is estimated at £94 19s. 1d., we may imagine what the loss to the country is which is entailed through the above state of things. This loss would be saved if we could devise a scheme for obtaining our soldiers from a higher class than that from which they now mostly come. No measures for effecting this appear in the present army scheme. Yet, till this is done, the War Minister and his Army Council must feel that they are endeavouring to make bricks without straw. Come what may they can never have conscription to help them for service abroad, and the only possible means of securing suitable recruits for service abroad is to make that service attractive. We cannot compete with the labour market as to pay, nor is it necessary that we should do so. We can, however, institute a system of pensions or annuities for men who have given the best years of their life to the service of their country, and who have, by so doing, put themselves out of court as to gaining their livelihood in a civil occupation. The able and energetic secretary of the Army League, Major Roper Calbeck, aided by actuarial experts, has produced an annuity scheme, which would probably have been investigated by the War Office, if the words old soldier and pension, did not act like a cold *douche* in Pall Mall. He proposes a term of nineteen years, and suggests that a sum of £9 should be paid to an insurance company for all men so

enlisted. The soldier would eventually receive an annuity based on the amount of the accumulated savings.

Actuarial calculations show that if the annuity were deferred till a man's fiftieth year the premiums would cost the country £1,350,000 annually, and that each man at fifty would receive 13s. 4d. a week by way of pension. This system would be actually more economical than the one now in practice, whereby no less than £1,746,000 is being paid yearly to 84,380 soldiers. Dr. Potter, who has great experience in connection with the Royal National Fund for Nurses, and who is an expert, showed, at a comparatively recent meeting of the Army League, that if the system proposed by Major Roper Caldebeck were adopted as regards both officers and men the country would save £2,000,000 on the now effective charges. The great objection urged against long service is that soldiers enlisted for it cannot be passed to the Reserve. This is no doubt true, but it is more important that the first line should be efficient, than that it should be sacrificed, in order to show, on paper, a large Reserve, which experience shows will, under present conditions, be used up, not for the legitimate uses of a Reserve, but for taking the places of the large number of men in the first line found unfit for active service, which would not be the case if recruits of a better class were obtained.

The Reserve must come from the short-service battalions proposed by Mr. Arnold-Forster, while the Militia, as at present constituted, but mended and not ended as practically proposed, will form a most valuable second line to the regular army, as they did in the war in South Africa, in which sixty-one battalions of Militia served, besides Artillery, Engineers and Cavalry, a total force of 1,691 officers and 43,875 N.C. officers and men, besides which the Militia gave during the war 14,000 Militia Reserve, 1,981 young officers, and 40,000 recruits to the regular army, while ten more battalions served in the Mediterranean, Egypt and the Channel Islands, thus setting free so many regular battalions to proceed to South Africa. The Militia further gives every year a large number of recruits, some 19,000 to the regular army. It is this force that the War Office is seeking to destroy, not theoretically perhaps, but practically. For if a-third of the Militia battalions are converted into line battalions, if about a-sixth of the battalions

are abolished, and if less than half are allowed to exist on, I ask anyone of common sense, if what is left of the Militia will not dwindle away, feeling that their branch of the service, after all it has done, and after the services it rendered in the late war, has been slighted and snubbed by the War Office, and told in so many words that it "cumbreth the soil," and is no longer fit to exist as what it has been in His Majesty's Army. The numbers of its officers have fallen deplorably below establishment, 916 being deficient out of 3,400. This deficiency has steadily increased since the war. How could it be otherwise, when the War Office authorities, instead of striving to improve the position of Militia officers, and helping them to meet their military expenses, tell them that they have been a failure and are no longer needed.

As regards the Volunteers, it is not easy to ascertain the exact attitude of the Government with regard to them, though we know that the Secretary of State for War means, if allowed, to reduce them to a very large extent, and to divide the remainder into two classes. We have had testimony in the last few days, that all the members of the Government do not depreciate the Citizen Army. Mr. Lee said last week at Portsmouth, that the material in the ranks of the Volunteer Force was the finest in any branch of the Forces of the Crown, and that it would fall chiefly on the Volunteers to repel raids made upon our coast in time of war, but that if such a raid occurred, they would not have to fight partially trained and organized Volunteers of other countries, but the picked troops of Europe. It was therefore necessary that Volunteer reform should proceed in the direction of efficiency rather than numbers. On the other hand Lord Onslow, when speaking at a dinner of the Merrow Rifle Club, said "that in their scheme of Army Reform, rifle clubs had not been forgotten, but that a considerable sum of money had been set apart for their encouragement. That the Government had the most hearty sympathy with rifle clubs in this matter, and intended to do all they could to encourage them *in the belief that they furnished the best possible material in order to improvise an army should emergency arise.*" It must be borne in mind that with few exceptions the members of rifle clubs beyond rifle shooting do no military training at all. Shooting is by far

the most difficult and important item in the training of a soldier, and a man of intelligence who can shoot well, can learn the rest of the military duties of a soldier in a very short time indeed. On the other hand it rather knocks the bottom out of the contention that the Volunteers who in addition to rifle shooting go into camp, and do a good deal of military training in the year, are to a great extent inefficient, if the Government holds, as Lord Onslow is reported to have said, that Rifle Clubs are the best material out of which to improvise an army. No one has a greater appreciation than I have of the work done by Rifle Clubs, and I repudiate entirely the suggestion that they draw men from the Volunteers, or that men join them who, if they did not exist, would become Volunteers. The members of Rifle Clubs are usually those, whose avocations in civil life do not allow them sufficient time to make themselves efficient as Volunteers, but who wish to do all they can for the service of the country. I should naturally prefer that the members of Rifle Clubs should be organised and drilled as Volunteers ; but as this is impossible, it is most important that as many as possible of the youth of the country should know how to shoot, as is the case in Switzerland, where there are some 3,500 Rifle Clubs, all supported by the Government of the country, where rifle shooting is a national pastime. Why, however, the War Office should desire to cut down by one-fourth the Volunteer Force, the material of which the Secretary of State for War himself has stated to be the best in the Army, passeth the wit of man to discover. The saving would be £300,000 apparently, the loss the reduction of 60,000 to 80,000 Volunteers, and the infliction of such a blow against the spirit and the pride of the Citizen Army of Great Britain, that the portion of it that the War Office in its goodness permitted still to exist would lose all heart, and dwindle away to a shadow.

With regard to the general treatment of the Auxiliary Forces by the War Office, and especially since 1878, when the Auxiliary Forces Division, as a separate branch, was abolished, and its Head made merely a Deputy Adjutant-General on the staff of the Adjutant-General ; I fear I must quote Renan :—

“ Ce n'est pas l'immensité de la voute étoilée qui peut donner le plus complètement l'idée de l'infini, mais bien la bêtise humaine ! ”

C

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE.

FOR most purposes of ordinary thinking, the Darwinian theory of evolution provides a sufficient reply to the question, prompted by the present condition of this globe, "How were the animal and human forms with which the world is peopled first brought into existence?" Although it is only in imagination that the process can be followed back to its very early stages, the great biologist showed that the variations of animal forms within the range of observation were enough to suggest the generalisations embodied in the well-known phrases, "sexual selection" and the "survival of the fittest." The profusion of nature in squandering her materials—manifest in so many ways—enables us to accept the idea that in the processes of selecting the fittest for survival she is willing to cast off, with infinite recklessness, the vast multitudes of the less fitted. In the struggle for life, the best forms maintain their existence and perpetuate their characteristics, and, in this way, an ever ascending series of better and better forms culminates in the production of organisms suited to maintain advanced forms of animal life, and ultimately to give rise to human conditions. We are left at liberty to carry back the process in imagination until the simplest varieties of microscopic life are recognised as containing within their potentialities the possibility of ultimate development practically without a limit.

Thinkers, it is true, who may be disposed to suspect the existence of influences in the world of a somewhat more delicate

character than those which have simply to do with the blind impulses of the animal kingdom, may be inclined to regard the Darwinian theory as a view of Hamlet which omits the part of the prince. As conceivable, perhaps, as the operation of the forces which the Darwinian conception recognises, the intervention of some conscious agencies on planes of nature beyond the range of physical observation, may be considered as a hypothesis. Their energies, in some as yet unintelligible way, may direct and control the variation of forms through successive generations independently of, or at all events as supplementing, the influences recognised by the ordinary biologist. But even if such intervention be accepted as probably in operation, we are left—as entirely as by the other hypothesis—without any clue to the comprehension of the way in which, in the first instance, germs of organic life were established on the planet in its infancy.

The one thing we may feel certain about in connection with the earliest phases of our world's existence, arises from the conviction we must all entertain, that, at one time in the course of its evolution from the original nebulæ, the solid globe we now inhabit was a mass of highly incandescent matter, existing at a temperature which precludes the idea that any, even of its more volatile solids, could have been in any other state but that of highly heated gases; while matter which still remains with us in the liquid and gaseous forms could only have been a widely diffused nimbus surrounding the glowing nucleus. And even when solidification may be thought of as having taken place, there would necessarily have been a stage at which the surface of the solid globe was still at a temperature utterly precluding the idea that it bore any organisms of the kind which, on the Darwinian hypothesis, could have started the process of organic evolution. The question how, in the first instance, when the period came at which the globe had cooled down sufficiently to bear organic forms, the earliest of these were actually developed on its surface, is one which has engaged more scientific thinking than its very rare discussion in connection with biological science would lead the casual observer to suppose. The question, in fact, has always been regarded as one of those which are practically insoluble, and, like the mystery of gravitation, is discreetly

shunned, as a rule, by those who have felt unable to contribute a reasonable suggestion tending in the direction of an answer.

From time to time, indeed, wild guesses have been formulated. Logical thinkers have appreciated the absurdity of discussing a vast theory of organic evolution which rests on no visible foundation. The scientist may ridicule the mediæval theologian. Adam and Eve even for the modern preacher of the more advanced type may vanish in the mists of allegory, but no one who tenders a willing submission to the fundamental principle "*ex nihilo nihil fit*" can disguise from himself the embarrassing reflection that the first amœba is no more easily to be thought of as evolved from nothing, by Divine Will, than the first man, —ruthlessly torn from his original setting in the Garden of Eden by modern scientific thought. Protoplasm in its simplest form, when once in a planet's possession, may be held sufficient to account for all subsequent developments of life, but the simplest speck of protoplasm is so essentially different from the subtlest combination of inorganic molecules, that scientific speculation, as a rule, has been reluctant even to conceive its original development as a product of any such combination. To some extent, indeed, even that reluctance has given way in face of the absolute necessity of supposing that the earliest protoplasmic germs came into existence somehow. The desperate hint that they may have floated over here from the wreck of former worlds on the backs of meteoric messengers, has hardly been regarded as doing more than emphasise the hopeless difficulty of the problem.

Cutting away the branch on which it rested, scientific investigation has, none the less, more and more resolutely determined, as recent years advanced, to reject the conception of spontaneous generation. But while denied as a phenomenon of our own period, even that idea has been played with in imagination by some, at all events, of the great biologists of the 19th century. Huxley himself, as quotations from his writings brought forward in the course of a recent newspaper correspondence, in which Sir Oliver Lodge and other distinguished men of science have taken part, is shown to have been willing to accept, as at all events a provisional hypothesis, the idea that in the beginning nature may have developed organic cells from inorganic materials.

And carrying out the idea to its logical conclusions, Sir Oliver Lodge has been inclined to recognise as a conceivable hypothesis the discovery at some future period by human science of the method by which this apparent miracle may be accomplished. The conjecture is logical undoubtedly, just as every *reductio ad absurdum* hangs logically to its antecedent formulæ. But simply by means of a faint collateral illumination cast upon the whole problem from departments of ultra-physical inquiry in which the ordinary biologist has not yet found a footing, it is possible, at all events, to suggest a method by means of which nature may have accomplished the seeming miracle by methods lying within the domain of universal law, subject to which her processes are carried on at the present day, and within the operation of which it was possible for her to start the processes of evolution even when the conditions of the problem were as unlike those of the present day as the "earth with verdure clad" is unlike the fiery globe of incandescent matter which undeniably at one time occupied its place in the system.

To interpret the idea which it may thus be possible to contribute to the great controversy concerning the origin of life, it may be well to remind the reader that modern scientific speculation, assisted by the discoveries that have been recently made concerning the properties of radium, tends now, or even does more than tend, in the direction of recognising the ideas connected with the origin of the inorganic globe itself, that have long been familiar to the students of super-physical science. The inorganic molecules of the kind known as those of the chemical elements are themselves, of course, complicated structures built up of immeasurably more minute atoms of physical matter which themselves represent the ultimate material of inorganic substances, the ultimate atom under-lying all varieties known to chemistry; long suspected by chemists of the more imaginative temperament; long since identified by occult research as the atomic condition of the ether pervading space, and now all but acknowledged in that capacity by the students of radium emanations. We are hardly going in advance of accepted scientific conclusions in treating the "electron" as identical with the universal ether, our theory of which need now no longer be embarrassed by the early conception that this

medium differed from all other orders of matter in not being atomic. It may freely be acknowledged that many phenomena connected with its vibrations seem for the moment rather embarrassed than explained by the recognition of its atomic character, but these we may leave aside for the moment as outside the relationship between atomic ether and molecular matter which, at all events, is rapidly assuming a definite aspect. The ether itself is the protyle that has long been thought of as the medium in which, under the operation of forces still undiscovered, the various chemical elements were at first engendered. And thus the conception of the whole process of world creation at its nebular stage assumes a reasonable shape in the imagination. The condensation of etheric atoms gathered in from huge volumes of space may account satisfactorily for the origin of the world as far as its rocky foundations are concerned.

And now we turn to another view of the antecedent conditions in the universe, which undoubtedly as yet remain without the experimental evidences which have supported the etheric origin of inorganic matter, but which at all events that great theory now approaching establishment, may help us to comprehend or even to recognise as something more than probable. No reasonable student of nature will hastily assume that any of her aspects coming within the range of observation, preclude the idea that others may be concurrently existing which up to the present time have eluded research. In gaining touch with varieties of matter which our immediate predecessors in physical research failed altogether to anticipate, reasonable intellectual modesty may well forbid us to assume, that the atomic ether, now all but recognised as diffused throughout infinity, sums up the whole of the contents of space. Considering, indeed, the infinite complexity of nature we may go the length of saying that it is practically certain we have not yet put together anything resembling a complete catalogue of its contents. Now one simple guess as to what infinite space may hold in addition to etheric atoms,—sufficient in themselves to account for the existence of visible worlds,—will go far towards removing the difficulties which have hitherto barred the way to a harmonious theory concerning the origin of life.

We start with the acceptance of what seems the obvious fact within our observation, that something inherently different distinguishes the most minute *organism* we can think of from any equally minute molecule of inorganic matter. The cell is generally regarded as the most minute portion of organic matter that it is worth while to talk about, and though the cell is recognised as a complicated structure, including within its minute fragment of protoplasm a nucleus and a nucleolus, both endowed with mysterious attributes, it can only be thought of as built up of atoms immeasurably more minute than itself. Now, if we think of these atoms as simply etheric atoms of the kind considered above, we are brought back to the unsatisfactory position that the most minute molecule of organic substance is nothing more than a compound of inorganic atoms like any ultimate molecule of gold or oxygen gas. There is something so inherently different in the most minute portion of a living substance as compared with the most complex molecule of inorganic matter, that this inference is profoundly unacceptable to the mind. Either a something of a material order, the nature of which is, as yet, wholly beyond our conception, has been super-added to the combination of etheric atoms making up the cell, or what for various reasons will, on consideration, be thought a simpler hypothesis, the cell itself is built up wholly or partly of atoms differing fundamentally in their nature from those hitherto described as etheric.

Let us turn now for a moment to the consideration of what we know concerning the most minute portions of living matter with which observation can directly deal. The often quoted *amœba* is, of course a giant compared to these. In search of the most minute molecule of organic matter we must first come back to the most minute masses thereof which the microscope can recognise and consider. The bacterium comes within the range of microscopic observation, although but just within the range. But the germ from which the bacterium is developed,—the seed which grows that relatively massive creature,—eludes microscopic observation altogether. To test the presence of such seeds in any suspected substance this has to be left for a time in presence of a suitable nutritive medium and suffered to grow into

maturity. So then, although we cannot actually handle or photograph the germ, we are enabled to deal with that material something as confidently as we can now examine the properties of the etheric atom in connection with radium emanations. And, at all events, the suggestion which readily presents itself to the mind, brackets the bacterial germ and the etheric atom in the same order of magnitude. If the etheric is, as we now feel all but sure, diffused through universal space, there is nothing to outrage the understanding in the hypothesis that so also the bacterial germ,—or what may perhaps more conveniently, in view of future thinking, be described as an organic atom,—also pervades all space.

And for a moment let us turn to the results of some recent researches connected with the endurance of bacterial germs in presence of extreme conditions of temperature. That they are sensitive in a remarkable degree to increase of temperature we have been long aware. No greater heat than that of boiling water will sterilize any substance, and destroy the vitality of whatever bacterial germs it may have contained. But since laboratories have been supplied with the resources which enable us to experiment with extremes of minus temperature, it has been found that no degree of cold suffices to destroy the vitality of the bacterial germ. Left for long periods in liquid hydrogen, the temperature of which is only a few degrees above the absolute zero, bacterial germs nevertheless show themselves, on returning to more genial conditions, fully as active as before. In the cold of interstellar space they may exist, it would appear, unchangeably, in company with the equally frigid etheric atom, torpid as long as that temperature continues, but ready to display their mysterious internal attribute of life as soon as circumstances may put them in presence of the warmth in which they are qualified to expand.

Now here at last we come into the presence of a theory which, if well founded, will emancipate us at once from the whole embarrassment attending the question we set out to consider,—how did life originate on this or any other planet? Matter, in the intangible invisible condition of the ether pervades all space available under the influence of creative will for the construction of planets. Life in the diffused condition of the bacterial germ

or organic atom, may equally be diffused throughout space, available whenever needed for the development of living forms on any newly evolving planet ripe for their reception. We may think of our globe during its incandescent period whirling through space and destroying or dissipating into other forms inconceivable myriads of the organic atoms it encounters on its journey. But more inconceivable myriads from outer infinity restore the equilibrium of nature in its wake, and a time comes when its surface has cooled down to conditions in which the organic atoms against which it impinges suffer destruction no longer in its embrace. They have, on the contrary, fallen in with the conditions appointed by nature to promote their growth. The temperature in which they find themselves is at last adapted to their constitution and all that is still wanting to enable us to realise every stage of the process from that moment up to the development of conscious animal forms, is the comprehension of the way in which nature, in the beginning, may supply the substitute for the nutritive media in which, at the present stage of organic chemistry, we find it necessary to immerse the organic atom before it will grow. But is such immersion absolutely necessary to the process? It is necessary to a rapid and visible development of the organic atom into bacteria that the microscope can deal with, but in our atmosphere alone is it not possible that with adequate time assigned to the operation, the germ will be capable of deriving sufficient nutriment to blossom forth into maturity. The vegetable kingdom within our observation has the power of converting inorganic matter into the cellular organic substance that builds up its leaves and stems. There is nothing to constrain the reason in the assumption that the organic atom is equally endowed with the capacity of infusing its own life principle into the etheric or even the more complex chemical molecules it may gather in the course of its growth.

The suggestion embodied in this paper does not profess to interpret the inner significance or nature of the life principle. That may approximately be understood when many of the subtler forces of nature, reserved for the investigation of a later race, come fairly within the range of experimental research. However simple may be any form of vegetable or animal substance with

which we may have to deal, it is obvious that it consists of matter in a peculiar condition fitting it to be the vehicle of life, not that it is life itself, which is an utterly different thing. Those who attempt, in their own minds, to account for life itself, are attempting to comprehend the nature of Divinity, a vague expression, surrounded in most imaginations with a mass of incongruous detail, but representing a sublime mystery, the existence of which, behind the scenes of the universe, must be no less certain for the philosophic thinker than—for the material observer—is the existence of the sun behind the screen of cloud on a day which, however overcast, is still illuminated by daylight. But in search of an answer to the question—how did life begin on this globe?—we are not called upon to touch the stupendous question relating to the origin of life itself. The mystery lies much more nearly in the region of thought that relates simply to the development on the planet of material forms in which that which we call life in its highest significance may exist. The organic matter itself, whether in its simplest or most complex manifestations, is but the vehicle of the life that some systems of philosophy describe as the “one life” pervading all nature. And we need not shun the recognition of another theory, which some systems of philosophy maintain, that life in a certain sense may be diffused even through the rock foundations of the earth, through the mineral molecules of which that is built up, or even in the ultimate etheric atom itself. But that region of thinking lies in the dreamland of metaphysics, and compared with that the question concerning the origin of organic matter qualified to be the vehicle of vivid, and ultimately self-conscious life, is one with which we may regard ourselves as immediately concerned.

At all events, the hypothesis here set forth is one which blends instinctively with our reason, and relieves us from the disagreeable necessity of supposing the uniformities of nature broken into during the earlier stages of this world's existence to overcome a hitch or difficulty in connection with the general design. The theologian who clings to the literal accuracy of allegorical fable, who seeks an escape from the obvious uniformities of nature within observable periods, falls back on the theory that, although the age of miracles is past, divine

Providence could not manage without them when mankind was in its infancy. The modern man of science who is hunted back by the embarrassments of the problem into a corner in which he admits that, once upon a time nature may have built protoplasm out of inorganic matter, although it is quite clear she has left off the habit of doing so in later years, is really taking a leaf out of the book of the mediæval theologian. The unnecessary conjecture is only due to the habits of mind surviving from the period when the actual constitution of the universal ether was wholly misunderstood, and now that an epoch-making revelation has been obtained in connection with that great branch of natural history, it is much more than likely that the new habits of thought thus engendered will creep into many departments of speculation, and lead before long to the recognition of a hypothetical medium interpenetrating the ether-filled immensity, the ultimate constituent parts of which we have here ventured to describe as the organic atom.

A. P. SINNETT.

A CONSCIENTIOUS CRAFTSMAN.

I COULD not have been asleep for more than an hour when I woke with a start. It was as if an electric bell had rung in my brain to call me back from dreamland. Neither sight nor sound struck my waking senses, but I lay still with that strange feeling of expectancy we sometimes have, sure that though I could hear nothing yet there was something to hear, something which I should hear if I waited. In a few moments it came: there could not be the slightest doubt that someone was moving in the room next to mine, and as that room was my study, I could not imagine what lawful purpose anyone could have there at 1 a.m. Neither my three-year-old daughter nor any of the servants were likely to have developed a taste for literature at such an unseasonable hour, so I jumped out of bed and into my slippers, and seizing my revolver—unloaded, by the way—I set out to investigate. The night was hot, and I had left my door open to get as much air as possible, so I made my exit noiselessly enough, and on reaching the study door saw a light within the room. Stepping softly I drew near and looked in; there could be no doubt of it—I had flushed my first burglar! A thrill of excitement ran through me, natural perhaps under the circumstances, for I was still on the wrong side of thirty and unduly emotional. I could only see his back; he was seated on the floor with a drawer from my writing table between his legs, and was turning over the contents with some attention. This particular drawer—I am a most methodical person—was the one wherein I keep my rejected MSS., all beautifully written and widely travelled, and, in the

author's opinion at all events, far superior to any of his published writings. No one who has ever put pen to paper is quite insensible to flattery, and I will admit that the natural indignation with which I surveyed my ruffian's back was tempered somewhat by the fact that he seemed to be enjoying those fruits of my labours, which, but for the want of intelligence among editors in general, would long ago have been given to an appreciative world. But this weakness was momentary; I remembered that this drawer was the only one on its own side of the knee-table which was unlocked, and all the householder mantled to my cheek as I realized that I had caught the villain red-handed; or was it that he had caught me? True, I had a revolver; but perhaps he had one too. Mine was unloaded; was his?

Anyhow, after standing in the doorway for two minutes I felt the situation was getting absurd and determined to end it.

"May I ask——" I began, with my revolver pointed at the back of his head.

He spun round in a moment, and scrambled to his feet. I was relieved to find he was several inches shorter than I and of slighter build; clearly if it came to a tussle I should be more than a match for him. He started back as he saw my pistol. "Don't shoot," he cried, "I am unarmed."

"Up with your hands, then," I answered, with some vague recollection of having seen that phrase in the newspapers. Whether it was right or wrong, he apparently understood it, for he raised his hands above his head, while I inspected his features. He was a man of about forty, clean-shaven but for a moustache, his hair neither too long nor too short, eyes with lines about the corners which showed he had a good sense of humour, a fine forehead, and an open expression,—the sort of face, in fact, which is about as far removed as possible from that of the typical criminal.

"What are you doing in my house?" I began.

"I am getting my living."

"By burglary?"

"Obviously," he answered. "Why not?"

"Well, if for no better reason, because it will land you in prison."

He raised his eyebrows slightly. "Oh, I have to take my chance of that. All callings have their drawbacks."

"I see you are a philosopher," I remarked grimly, "so probably you will have no objection to accompanying me quietly to the police station. You have the sense to see that resistance is useless."

"Of course I have," he answered. "You're about twice my weight, to say nothing of the pistol. But before taking such a definite step, may I suggest that you would be acting more reasonably if you were to let me sit down and discuss the situation? To judge by your writings, you are by no means unintelligent; in fact, I gathered from what I was reading when you came in that you rather pride yourself on being accessible to new ideas. But, if you will pardon my saying so, your very summary action is hardly suggestive of 'sweetness and light.' Since when, pray, have authors belonged to the class of 'Barbarians?'" and he gazed at me with almost an injured look.

I had certainly never expected to hear a burglar quote *Culture and Anarchy*, and began to wonder whether the whole scene was an elaborate joke, or whether I was really awake and not dreaming. I suppose I showed this in my face, for he began:

"Don't look so perplexed, my dear Sir. Clearly you have never tried to think the matter out, or you wouldn't stand there with your mouth open, keeping me in this very constrained position. Can't you understand that I am a professional burglar, a member of one of the most ancient and (in certain stages of society) honourable of all professions? Of course, there is a good deal of difference between Sykes of Houndsditch and me, both in our aims and methods; to begin with, he acts by pure instinct, I by reason, and reason obliterates all the grosser parts of our natural impulses and leaves only what is refined. Sykes would probably have assaulted you with considerable violence if you'd interrupted him as you did me; but nothing would induce me to injure you."

Clearly the man was a lunatic, but he did not appear to be dangerous. Besides, was I not a maker of books, and always glad to get hold of a new idea? It would be just as easy to give him in charge half-an-hour later; and, to be quite frank, I

was a little nettled at being called a Barbarian—even by a burglar.

"You can put your hands down," I said, "and sit on that chair, if you like ; but let it be quite understood that if you jump up I shall shoot."

I pointed to a chair on the other side of the room, and he sank into it with a grateful sigh, while I perched myself on my knee-table—I have never been able to cure myself of the habit of sitting on things that were never meant to be sat on—and, drawing my tobacco jar towards me, proceeded to fill and light a pipe.

"Would you mind if I had a cigar ?" began my visitor. "I suppose you are going to listen to what I have to say, and I can always talk better when I'm smoking." He drew from his pocket a handsome cigar case. "Perhaps you'll let me offer you one ?"

I looked at him suspiciously. He went off into a fit of laughter. "Man, man, you've been reading the *Strand Magazine* or some lurid literature of that sort, and imagine they're poisoned or explosive ! What a detective you'd have made ! But, seriously, isn't it a pity to waste your time over errand-boy diet ? As a matter of fact I got them, and the case too, from a house in Queen's Gate about ten days ago."

"What, stolen ?" I exclaimed.

"How otherwise, my dear Sir ? *Il faut vivre.*" And he shrugged his shoulders.

"Yes, but not by dishonesty," I replied sternly.

He sighed, as a long-suffering teacher might sigh over a stupid child: "Aren't you taking rather a nineteenth century view of the matter ?" he asked wearily. Then, with more animation, "Honesty ! What is honest ? Is it honest to sell a stock which you know is going to fall ? Aren't you taking the buyer's money as dishonestly as I took that cigar case ? Is it honest to make a half-penny tax an excuse for raising your prices a penny ? Is it honest to form rings and corners to impoverish your neighbour and enrich yourself ? Do you know a single article of commerce from champagne to crocodile skin which honestly is what it pretends to be ? To say nothing of the fact that every hoarding bristles with lies meant to cozen the money out of people's pockets, can you call it honest to use your superior skill to

get the better of your neighbour, when you know quite well that you can only get on by means of knocking others off? Honesty forsooth!" and he subsided into a thick cloud of tobacco smoke.

"That's all very well," I answered. "No doubt it is often a difficult matter to decide what is and what is not honest, and I am bound to admit that our social system is not entirely satisfactory. But on the whole you may take it that Morality and Law hang very well together, and by common agreement we call that honest which the Law allows."

"The Law!" he laughed contemptuously. "My good sir, do you not know that the law produces about as many wrongs as it removes? Just as half the mortality in the country is caused by the doctors. Why the lawyers themselves have a maxim *summum jus summa injuria*, showing what they think about it. Aren't there scores of innocent people in prison, and hasn't Sir Robert Anderson asserted in *The Nineteenth Century* that all the real criminals, though known to the police, are still at large because they are too clever to come within the meshes of your law? Have you ever had any experience of the judicial system of this country, may I ask? I can only imagine you are one of those rare individuals who have never set foot in a lawyer's office or you'd hardly talk so glibly of the Law."

I winced a little, for I had a vivid recollection of the one and only time I had tried to make use of the machinery of the law to recover a debt. As a result of my experience I had made a mental note that litigation was an unwarrantable luxury for men with small incomes.

"Very well then," I replied at length, "you have quite satisfied yourself that burglary is at least as honest as any other calling, and all the better for being beyond the pale of the law. But I thought you said some few minutes ago that you had no intention of injuring me: do you call it no injury to rob me of my plate or my money or whatever it is you have come for?"

"I think if you look at the matter quite impartially," he answered, "you will see that you would enjoy your dinner just as much if you used the kitchen spoons and forks. I should never dream of depriving you of any necessaries. Why, even the English law will not distrain on a workman's tools, I believe, and

I hope I'm not going to take a lower standard than that ! I'd leave you your pens and paper and books, for you can make good use of them ; but in heaven's name how much better off are you for owning a thing like that ?" and he pointed to a charming French clock which my wife had given me last Christmas. It was a perfect gem, but its ticking annoyed me while I was writing, so I had contrived to lose the key, for, of course, I would not for worlds have hurt her feelings by suggesting she might like the clock in the drawing-room.

"Are you pretending to be so obtuse," he continued, "as not to see the difference between the artistic sense which prompts me to take possession of that quite unnecessary article and the indiscriminating rapacity of a tradesman, or a company promoter, or a stall-holder at a charity bazaar ? What is commonly called stealing, my dear Sir, runs the whole gamut of morality from top to bottom, only we give it different names in different parts of the scale. You read Henry George and you'll begin to shift your vocabulary a bit. Of course I need not remind an educated man like you that in Sparta theft was considered highly praiseworthy, so long as you were not caught ; but even now-a-days you've only got to steal on a big enough scale to win almost unanimous approval. Why, supposing my cricket club tries to appropriate a field to play in, there's no end of a to-do about it ; but when the Government annexes a whole country in Asia or Africa and sends an army to over-persuade its original inhabitants, we all congratulate ourselves on our Imperial Policy, and talk about bringing the blessings of civilization to the heathen. It's only a question of scale whether one's a felon or a patriot, for the conduct of the two is on precisely the same lines." He waved a contemptuous hand as if dismissing a trivial distinction.

"And so you consider yourself in the same class as Lord Kitchener, for instance ?" I asked.

"The same in my aims undoubtedly," he answered, "though," with a shrug of his shoulders and a glance at my revolver, "I can't lay claim to his skill."

"You've got some very shocking ideas in your head," I interposed severely ; for, like all Englishmen who are worthy of the name, I regard a successful General—an English one, of course,

I mean—as the nearest approach to a demi-god that humanity can produce ; and here was this subversive villain claiming that my heroes were no better than himself, rather worse, in fact, as doing more mischief. And what made me feel the more indignant was, that I couldn't think of anything to say in reply. He was talking nonsense, wicked nonsense, of course I could see that ; but he had such an abominably plausible way of putting things that I couldn't answer him—and this irritated me, for, though I hope I have sense enough to follow my instincts and turn a deaf ear to my reason, yet it produces a jarring feeling inside when the two are not in harmony.

Possibly I showed signs of this in my face, for he began again in a soothing, bedside manner : “ Don't think for one moment, my dear Sir, that I am trying to persuade you to adopt the profession ”—I nearly jumped from my seat—“ to adopt the profession as your own. To be successful one must have peculiar gifts, both mental and physical, though the taste for burglary is probably shared by everybody in a greater or less degree. I wonder if you can recall the joy you felt in your boyhood in going where you had been forbidden to go ; the delicious thrill that ran through you as you thought what a row there'd be if you were caught. Can you remember the exquisite flavour of the stolen apple, or the fierce delight of being chased by the angry farmer ? It is curious that Mr. Kipling is about the only author I have read who mentions the joy of being hunted—it's in one of the *Jungle Books*, I daresay you remember the passage. Well, the men in whom these boyish feelings have not been stamped out by the baser aims of politics, or commerce, or a profession, these are the men who take to my career and make a name for themselves in the world.”

“ There is really no field for such men in modern civilization. If they go into the army, the chances are they spend their lives in playing polo or beagling, or keeping up the regimental reputation at cricket or spillikins, or some such make-believe pastime ; while any professional enthusiasm they start with is frittered away over devising some new form of service button, or budging over ploughed fields at the manœuvres. Bah ! what a waste of life ! while I ” —he spoke with flashing eyes and the

smile of a hero, "I have more excitement in a week than your average soldier has a chance of in a lifetime. I carry my life in my hands, for any idiot of a householder considers himself entitled to shoot at me if he finds me rummaging out his cupboards; and for weeks after I have made a successful *coup* I know that every ring at the bell may be a detective with a warrant for my arrest. Don't you call *that* making something of one's life?"

I could only gasp; such an astounding idea of pleasure simply took my breath away. But it did not matter; he was obviously not so much thinking of me as enjoying the pictures his own words had called up.

"And think of the skill one must have to succeed," he went on, in the tone of a man musing on some high ideal, "the infinite patience with which one's plans must be laid, and the cleverness and silence in which they must be carried out. What a hideously clumsy animal your so-called honest man is! Why, he can't go to his bath without waking a whole corridor, or even leave his bedroom without letting his next-door neighbour know the fact; unless, of course," he looked at me with a twinkle, "he sleeps with his door open, as some people do. But all this talking has made me horribly thirsty," he broke off. "Don't you think you might give me a whisky and soda before handing me over to the police?"

This about finished me. I had long been feeling in a dream; it all seemed too hopelessly absurd to be anything else. And as no one takes any responsibility for his conduct in dreamland, I thought it would only be in keeping with the rest of the drama if I played the host to my burglar.

"I'd like a drink myself," I answered, "but you'll promise not to touch anything while I get it?"

"Honour bright!" he answered with a laugh, "not even your manuscripts."

So I went into the dining-room for the decanter and a syphon. On my return the study was empty. I ran to the window, which had been wide open all the time, and, looking out, saw him standing in the moonlight in the centre of the road, evidently waiting for me to appear.

"You're a decent sort of chap," he said, "still I thought I'd better not wait for that drink. Good night. You shan't have to borrow the kitchen spoons so far as I am concerned."

And he vanished into the night.

I was not altogether sorry.

C. B. WHEELER.

DEGENERATION IN THE WORKING CLASS.

AMONGST the social phenomena of the present day this is a very important one, and daily forcing itself to the front. Farmers, missionaries, employers, doctors, prison officials — almost all recognise that the lower classes of to-day are physically and mentally less robust than their progenitors of, say, forty years ago, that insanity is on the increase, that the people are dwarfing in mind and body. And this in spite of the fact that short working hours are the order of the day, that hygienic dwellings are insisted upon, that food was never so cheap as it is now, that a high standard of education is supposed to be in force, that the working man is better clothed, better fed, better educated than his grandparents, the healthy stock who lived to a hale old age, and who could do a day's work at seventy "with the best of them." The writer has in mind a fine old specimen of the English labourer. He was ninety-three, and had worked for forty-two years on the same farm. His boast was that he had only had one day's holiday in that time, "barring funerals, which didn't count." And at ninety-three one would not wish to see a better example of a well spent life than this fine old rustic. Have his descendants of to-day the same reasonable hopes of emulating their grandsire ?

It is a general law that luxury, prosperity, and self-indulgence — the forcing stoves of human nature — enervate, sap, and finally, if not checked by the cold current of common sense and wise

legislation, extinguish that life which has been so carefully guarded. Is it not possible that the lower classes are suffering from the abuse of, and indulgence in, too many good things? One has only to examine the history of all nations to find that their downfall has been invariably preceded by a condition of unparalleled prosperity and luxury which killed the vital principles of self-respect, self-reliance, and "grit,"—the backbone of all nations. Is England destined to the same fate? Why should she hope to escape? The causes of degeneracy are so involved, so difficult to determine, that it is a matter of complexity to unravel them, but the following factors, we venture to affirm, have operated in the general decline :—

- (1) The migration from country into town, and the exchange of agrarian for factory work.
- (2) Incompetence and bad cooking amongst working men's wives. Too much tea, too much beer.
- (3) Enlisting, and the reserve system.
- (4) Too many holidays and too much *paid* sport.
- (5) The free import system.

We see—or used to see—Strephon in a pretty pastoral district, probably on a farm, with a cottage—possibly guiltless of sanitation—but rent free and water-tight. He is surrounded by numerous olive-branches, and has a capable and hard-working wife who does her share in hay-making and harvesting, and who tends and bakes, brews, and does well for her good man and his offspring. Strephon works hard, gets up at 3 a.m. in busy times, thinks nothing of working all day. He is contented, healthy, hardy, though newspapers are as Greek to him, and his interests are strictly local, being centred in master, parson and squire.

But the time comes when he progresses, or rather, his children and his grandchildren *think* they do. Education and the penny dreadful come to disturb the serenity of Arcadia. "Away to the towns," they cry, "the towns where there is life, short work and big pay." So Arcadia is deserted, and the farmers seek in vain for labour. Strephon's descendants are settled in a smoke-grimed factory town, with its high-pressure, hurry and worry; they turn themselves into mechanics, more or less; they marry, and this brings us to the second point.

Strephon is now Mr. Smith; he has chosen as his wife a factory girl, or, perhaps, a domestic servant. The girl means well and probably tries her best, but, never having been properly trained, she is ignorant of the first principles of cooking, management and economy. Being ignorant she wastes, and what she does cook she spoils. Mr. Smith eats what he can and satisfies "Little Mary's" craving with scientifically made beer and shag, while his wife solaces herself with tea *ad lib.* and something from the cook-shop. This is not calculated to build up or fortify the constitutions of Mr. and Mrs. Smith and the little prospective Smiths. Better by far the old days of oatmeal, home-made bread, home-brewed ale, and skim milk. The honest home-brewed beer or cider of the old days never hurt anyone, but *modern* beer, which is not intended to be kept for any length of time, is no fit substitute for wholesome food properly prepared.

The modern system of enlistment is indirectly responsible for some distressing consequences. Directly a man is paid for doing nothing he becomes, as often as not, a nuisance to himself and the community. It is now a craze amongst youths of the lower classes to enlist, not because they are fired by patriotism, but because of the reserve pay. A boy leaves school: instead of learning a trade or going on a farm, he enlists, and for six of the most valuable preparatory years of his life he becomes a soldier. Then he is put in the reserve at a pension of sixpence per day, just enough to keep him in beer and tobacco. He knows no trade, nor does he want to work; he becomes a cadger. One may see dozens of them lying on the roads outside large garrison towns. A certain bailiff on a large farm was accosted by one of these men, and in a weak moment, thinking he looked half starved, gave him sixpence. The next morning the same man appeared and applied for work on the farm. As it was harvest time he was taken on at the usual pay. After working for an hour he asked for beer. He was referred to a small clear stream of water, which he did *not* patronise, but grumbled and returned to his work. Another hour passed, and he came again with the request for an advance of one and sixpence for dinner money. This was at eleven o'clock. He was given a shilling and departed. He never turned up again. Harvesting at full pay, and the prospect of more work, had no

attractions for him. And, indeed, he was so "weedy" and degenerated in appearance that it is doubtful if he were capable of doing a good solid day's work. And yet these are the progenitors of future England's humbler classes.

Concerning sport, it might fairly be contended that all work and no play would make Mr. Smith but a dull member of society. The question then arises: How does he spend his Bank holidays, half-days, whole Saturdays, &c. ? If these meant good country or sea air, healthy games played by the men themselves, relaxation in the parks, and good music for men, women, and children, as in some cases they do, well and good. But a Bank holiday crowd is often a sad sight. Little or no amusement is attempted or provided except excursion trains, music-halls, public-houses, and paid matches. The latter are bad and demoralising. Is it not incongruous that the huge crowds idly looking on at football and cricket matches should be spectators instead of players, and that their sole interest in the game should be a pecuniary one? Healthy sport, played in fair contest by themselves, that would be another matter. Alas! it is a thing of the past. Now it is a gambling system by which each club member, by a weekly subscription, stands a chance to win the whole sweepstakes, whilst the players are paid professionals. The whole thing is merely a question of money, not sport. Hence the feverish unrest, the true gambling spirit which writers and thinkers denounce as one of the causes of moral and physical retrogression. There must be a reaction, and it is too often found in drink and excess.

And has not the whole trouble a still deeper root than any yet examined ?

Arcadia is deserted ; the farmer stands with his hands in his empty pockets, ruefully surveying his unpleasing prospects. There are his fields, his orchards—uncultivated. Strephon has gone, to make his fortune (so he thinks) in the town, where, for a time, he can get higher wages, and really Strephon cannot be blamed for the curious state of affairs that has arisen. Neither has he, until lately, realized that a penny off his loaf is of little use if he cannot get work.

It is not Strephon's fault that the farmer can no longer afford to pay him. The days are past when a farm labourer could earn

good wages at piece work, when he was paid by results, and when he was satisfied with that pay. He is now, perhaps, beginning to see the matter from another point of view, for he is not devoid of shrewdness when his pocket is concerned. If his views are sounded they will, in many cases, coincide with the writer's experience when conversing a few days ago with an elderly workman who had been driven into town work by the failure of his farmer master.

"Well, Matthews, what do you think of Mr. Chamberlain and his ideas?"

Says Matthews stolidly : " If yer asks me what *I* think, I'd a jolly sight rather pay 15d. a gallon for my bread than wot I'm a payin' now, 'cos then I paid my way with reg'lar work. I remember the days when Maister he got 10 sacks o' corn the acre, and paid me well for a cuttin' of it ; and who gits that now, and where be the farmers—*and* the men ? "

There was solid sense in Matthews's view of the situation. The system miscalled " Free Trade " has ruined both farmer and labourer by underselling the one and by driving the other to the town.

Can any share of the trouble under discussion be traced to the wilful restriction of families ?

There is much to be said on both sides of this involved question, but restriction is the result, not the cause of degeneracy. Obviously, it would seem a matter of common prudence for the working man to restrict his family according to his means. How then, it may be asked, did Strephon of the olden days manage to bring up a family of a dozen on 18s. a week, and bring them up well too, putting them out in the world as competent labourers and servants? Simply because Strephon and his wife were content with their simple life, and could make 18s. go as far as a modern mechanic's 30s. But now that Strephon is driven into the town, and has to contend with depression in trade, high rent, and scarcity of work, Mr. Smith of the towns finds it expedient (it is a painful necessity and the lesser of two evils) to limit his legitimate flock, and so, by wilful restriction, he is constrained to deprive England of what it most needs,—healthy young lives, brought up in a healthy environment.

And so surely as town life and its temptations take the place of rural surroundings, so does illegitimacy flourish, and we have the survival of the unfittest, the offspring of unfortunates, drunkards, imbeciles, and aliens. Can their inheritance be anything but a curse? They have no chance from the first; they begin as slum children in stifling streets, ill-fed, half-clothed; they crawl through life weakened in body and mind, and probably end their days in an asylum. But, bear in mind, these reproduce their species; they are the fathers and mothers of future working England.

The salvation of England's working population lies in the remnant left in country districts. There are still many spots where rural life, healthy children, robust men and women are to be found. The writer came across one such the other day. In driving through a lonely country district he came upon a score of children returning from school. On enquiry he found that they had to walk a distance of five miles each way every day to the school. It evidently agreed with them; rosy, hardy, happy! What a contrast to the puny undersized children of the big town not far off!

May the time soon come when our town life will be taken into the country, and when our working classes will once more recognise the fact that it would be well for themselves and their children to exchange man's airless great city, with its noise, hurry and merciless competition, for God's good country, with a pound a week and contentment.

E. HENNIKER GRANT.

1

HOW TO RAISE THE STAGE.

To the young the Stage is a glory; to the middle-aged, a disappointment; to the old, a regret. Still, as it gives excitement, sociability and the chance of a livelihood, it is sought after by thousands, mostly to their own loss and detriment. Every cynosure of the back drawing-room sees the Stage as the goal; every graduate of the Divorce Court looks to the Stage for that recognition she may never regain in ordinary society; and, given a powerful "backer," there is a fair prospect of taking a theatre and seeing her name at the top or bottom,—the bottom is equally conspicuous,—of a play bill. Hence the opportunity of wearing the most exquisite "confections" in ravishing abundance; of being pictured in twenty magnificent illustrated papers, British and American; of adorning the stalls of fashionable bazaars; of starring in the provinces; of figuring at aristocratic garden-parties; merely for the trouble of showing herself near the footlights with an admirably made-up countenance. Surely, never was there such a prospect of reward for so little manifestation of merit!

Perhaps, as Artemus Ward would say, we are "bearing down too hard on Cuffee." An actress may be possessed of high virtues (*teste* Mrs. Alec Tweedie or Sir F. Burnand), and we know that many are generous, kind, charitable and hard working. We are glad to hear of some eminent actresses who are fond mothers and devoted wives, but to say that the life of the artiste conduces to the development of the best in woman's nature would be erroneous. Poor Clement Scott knew as much about the stage as any actor, manager, or playgoer, and he more than

hinted that it was not the life for a woman of any delicacy or modesty. His language did not seem too strong, but the bare suggestion roused a theatrical fury that in its effect ruined him. He ceased to be critic on a newspaper that ought to have cherished such an unequalled judge of all things theatrical. He was driven (he, the undaunted censor) into an apology for saying what he knew to be true, what Peg Woffington and all the best actresses have said over and over again. Knowing the nature of the man, we cannot help thinking that, to find himself execrated by a circle for which he had done so much, embittered and probably shortened his life. True, when he was dying the "profession" got up a benefit for him. That is so very like them; their altogether admirable pity covers, or ought to cover, a multitude of deficiencies.

On the stage,—and good actors will bear us out,—men are to be pitied at the present day. In all trades women try to push them from their stools, but in none are the sex so successful as on the boards. Plays used to succeed owing to the genius of the player. Now they run for a year owing to the lavish display of feminine charms. Mr. John Hare writes to the *Times* that nothing succeeds but Musical Comedy, and we know that Musical Comedy means, pretty women, short skirts, or the advertisement of some fashionable modiste. Mr. Zangwill, now budding as a dramatic author, made a speech the other day in which he dwelt impressively on the deterioration of the stage and drama, but one need scarcely refer to such great authorities, for a visit to the principal theatres last season would have shewn that all the good plays were played to meagre houses; it was the farcical and peculiarly feminine displays that were rewarded with bumper gatherings.

Now, the general comment on such a state of things is, "the public will have it so." This means that modern playgoers will pay highly for these feminine displays, and it is made an excuse for the degradation of the Stage that "it pays." Granted that it does pay, one may refuse to respect a profession that has no higher ambition than immediate monetary success. If every actress, in this rather low sphere of variety business, were to make a fortune, the success would not be less, but more contemptible.

Mr. Frank Richardson, in one of his brilliant novels, suggests that the managership of a theatre is the one business for which a bad character is no disqualification. His convicted swindler, just before going into penal servitude, arranges in the most business-like way to start a theatre on the expiration of his sentence. One may ask, Why should it be possible for men and women of no character to take up the management of such institutions? Has that immaculate censor, the Lord Chamberlain, no say in the matter? Have the different Councils, borough or county, no care but for the temperance view of such undertakings?

Here we come to the crux of the whole matter. The theatre asks for endowment, as if treasures of money were not rolling into its coffers—but what the theatre really requires, is, not endowment, but establishment. It needs thorough, unceasing and lynx-eyed control. It needs inspectors far more than do schools and colleges. It needs a body of men, including the veterans male and female of the stage itself, who would flatly refuse to grant a license to a man or woman of bad character, no matter how rich or talented; it needs a conservatoire to examine aspirants, and a model theatre in which opportunities of acting in the best drama would be afforded. And this house ought not to be organised on a rich scale. The *mise en scène* ought not to cost thousands, and the remuneration of players ought not to be lucrative.

But, it will be said, such an economical institution would not serve its purpose. That depends on the purpose it would be meant to serve. It certainly would not attract the “boys” who thronged the Gaiety stalls in the time of Nelly Farren. Of a surety it would not win the gilded youth from such comedy as may be obtained from Rejane in *Ma Cousine*. The crowds who love the *Belle of New York* and such variety performances, would still rush to these nondescript, if not degrading, exhibitions. But there is a very large class of the great British public who would be glad to see legitimate drama played by sound actors, if they could do so for a reasonable price, and an economical theatre would command a very large, and a very steady support.

It will be said that one could not get sterling talent for such insufficient remuneration. They greatly wrong the best part of the profession who think this. Once the great house was well

established, and it was clearly understood that the performances were not meant for the fashionable classes, but as an educational exhibition for the elevation of the masses, it is our belief that the really ambitious actors of the day would be found only too eager to show the mettle of their quality in the great roles that tradition has linked with immortal names. How few are the chances an aspiring actor or actress now gets of playing the classic characters in which their illustrious predecessors won undying fame. Is it to be thought that such artists would haggle always for heavy remuneration? The chance of shining in such parts would be in itself the reward, and we should not be surprised to hear that capable volunteers would be forthcoming in such abundance, that a new and far more exalted opinion of the Stage would replace the present sentiment of semi-admiration mingled with semi-contempt.

In starting such a National Theatre on an economic scale, it is only the first step that costs. It should be done preferably by the leading municipality, for if it succeeded it might be copied by every large municipality in the realm. The prices should be as low as possible, as the endeavour must be educative, and no attempt should be made to run it at anything like a considerable profit. In elevating the masses, however, it would also serve to elevate the profession, and who knows, though one must not be too sanguine on this point, but it might eventually serve to elevate the dramatists. These latter, however, cannot be reformed in anything like the period that would suffice for the lifting-up of the masses or the profession. For it is the dramatist's interest to have long runs, while it is the interest of the public, and of actors and actresses, that representations and impersonations should be changed as frequently as possible. Again, the most paying part of the public is the fashionable element, and this cannot abide anything that is not exceedingly "spicy." Therefore, we despair of anything like the elevation of the dramatist who writes for special companies, as we must needs despair of the novelist who writes only for the circulating libraries. Both, too literally, live to please, and, therefore, must always be thinking of how they can please in order to live. But no great art depends for its highest attainment on the efforts of those who are absorbed in the consideration of

profit, and if acting is ever to take a high rank as a fine art, it must show itself to be, what it scarcely dreams of being now, educative in the best sense of the term. Whether this can ever be brought to pass may be problematical, but assuredly it will never be achieved through founding an institution by wealthy endowment in order that histrionic genius may end its days in a comfortable asylum.

Irksome and displeasing as a strict control would seem to many actors, there is one respect in which they would unanimously approve of it. We refer to the check it would institute on managers of strolling provincial companies. It is not uncommon for speculating managers to run a company in fourth class towns, feeling certain that they will pocket their expenses though failing to secure their unfortunate company anything like the remuneration promised. Official supervision would put an end to such a class, as a licence for all such ventures ought to be made compulsory and should be granted only to those who had deposited certain guarantees to show that the speculation was not recklessly incurred. The misery of finding oneself in a poor and remote country town without means of subsistence, indeed, sometimes without the price of the journey home, is deplorable, especially in the case of the young and inexperienced, and they would bless any vigilant control that would secure them from the possibility of such a disaster.

Again, such official control as we speak of would improve, perhaps off the face of the earth, those numerous and often deceptive "agencies" which thrive, Heaven, or the opposite knows why, in the purlieus of the Strand. Some of these institutions are above board, but only too many of them live on keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. Such approaches to the Stage should be in the hands of trustworthy guardians; they should not always be worked by very representative Hebrews in richly lined fur coats.

If these strictures seem too hard, it must be remembered that extravagant adulation of actresses has now reached its climax, and it is high time that all journalists should not bow their knees to Baal. It is not the outsiders who ought to say harsh things, for indeed they know but little of the Stage. But heed the

words of those who know. Mrs. Kendal is credited with saying, that an actress ought to have the hide of a rhinoceros. The *Daily Mail* the other day, speaking of the suicide of Mabel Oakley, says, "Stage life under its present conditions is no place for young girls, unless they have means of their own, and talent and influence and lynx-eyed guardians." "But," it concludes, "common sense seems to be blinded by stage-glamour." One of our most charming actresses lost an engagement, because she declined to speak some suggestive words in a comedy a few years ago. Her experience is not unique. Too many actresses have to swallow a peck of moral dirt before they reach to that state of insensibility which seems to be frequently necessary for success on the Stage.

We should never forget the last words of Peg Woffington. "Actors," said she, "over-rate themselves ridiculously. I am not of importance to the world nor the world to me. I fling away a dirty old glove instead of soiling my fingers filling it with more guineas. And the world loses in me—what? Another old glove filled with words silly or impure." This great Comedienne would not have a public leave taking, but suddenly abandoned the profession for a quiet country life with the valediction "*Rougissons, taisons nous et partons.*"

Barristers can be disbarred; solicitors struck off the rolls; doctors deprived of their right to practice; even racing men may be warned off the heath, but there is no tribunal to deal with scoundrelly managers or actors. As long as this state of things endures, the "Profession" will never rise, and ought not to rise, in the estimation of the public.

There is, however, one thing connected with the Stage which has not deteriorated, and that is Dramatic Criticism. When one remembers the raw and unlearned notices of the past, one feels inclined to be devoutly thankful for present day criticism, which really gives some of the brightest reading to be met with in the columns of the contemporary press. We shall not go into the question whether the judgments are universally sound, or the insight remarkably penetrating, but, taken as works of art in themselves, the critiques of Mr. Max Beerbohm and his predecessor Mr. G. B. Shaw, must be pronounced delightful, and now that Mr.

Stead has joined the ranks we are bound to say that these disquisitions promise to be more artistic than the productions they are likely to deal with. We are specially grateful for the articles by Mr. A. B. Walkley in *The Times*.

“Whose wit in the combat, as gentle as bright,
Ne'er carries a heart stain away on its blade.”

The lambent light that plays around the weapon he thrusts with, and the tender pity with which he suggests possible improvements, contribute to reconcile us to this new development of critical appreciations which have too often but few redeeming points.

H. A. STACKE.

LOVE ETERNAL.

I.

Still each day the glad sun rises, still its conquering light
surprises

Flower and flower together clinging 'mid the dark-
ness and the dew :

Still the sea with flash of greeting smiles in heaven's face,
proudly meeting

The gold sunshine in its robes of emerald green or
sapphire blue.

II.

Rose by rose shines out for ever, their gay groups will
vanish never,

Filling garden after garden, scenting all the summer
breeze :

From the fern-lined quiet valleys still the silver streamlet
sallies

And the white foam flings its stainless wedding-
garment o'er the seas.

III.

Orb by orb the stellar legions fill the far sky's viewless
regions

And the pale moon sails resplendent through the
purple seas of space.

Darkness still is full of fancies for the hearts that weave
romances,

Finding all the heavens' pure starlight in one human
worshipped face.

IV.

Still within the forest covers mix the hearts and hands
of lovers,
Still the lover seeks the eternal in the moment's
endless bliss :
Still the silences are broken by the mystic old words
spoken
And the rose becomes self-conscious and divine in
woman's kiss.

V.

But the souls that pass and leave us, as the swift fierce
years bereave us
Of our pleasures, of our gladness, of our health and
hopes and ease,
Where are they ? What darkness holds them ? What
of awful light enfolds them ?
What of Shelley when above him closed the mantle
of the seas ?

VI.

He who sang the bright world's wonder, when he heard
alone the thunder
And beheld alone the curving loveless white breasts
of the waves,
Did he then, no more a dreamer, pass to life and love
supreme
Than our noblest living passion in this earth of
flowers and graves ?

VII.

Or did speechless terror grasp him, as the waves' hands
sought to clasp him,
As the flower-sweet glad earth vanished from his
thoughts and from his ken,—
As he turned towards one who waited, one for evermore
unmated,
Or yearned back in that dread moment towards a
lost love once again ?

VIII.

That is what to-day we wonder, striving madly now to
sunder
Death's serene and sombre curtain, full of starlight
or of gloom.
What of sins and wild offences when the human nerves
and senses
Fail, or change their form and message at the gate-
way of the tomb ?

IX.

What of pain and expiation, what of undreamed
tribulation,
What of horror, what of anguish, what of darkness
closing round,
When the soul, a conscience only, pays for life's sins,
joyless, lonely,
Naked, helpless, homeless, loveless, in a realm
without a sound ?

X.

What of souls for ever dying ? Though we hear no
groans nor crying
Yet there may be round about us in the starshine,
in the air,
Fieriest torment past our speaking, mad revenge that
fiends are wreaking
On the souls we counted victors, on the faces we
found fair.

XI.

Passion changeless, love eternal ! Yes : but this by hate
infernal
May be dogged and dogged for ever. Life's dim
secrets who shall tell ?
Through unmeasured tribulations, on through endless
incarnations
Still may toil the human spirit, changing fairest
heaven for hell.

XII.

What of noblest love that perished, unredeemed, uncrowned, uncherished,
In the far-off silent eras that no legend may restore?
If in one life pain is boundless, what of pain's grim footsteps soundless
Over years that know no limit, or on seas that know no shore?

XIII.

Love eternal may for ever bring sweet joy that lessens never,
Growing upward, upward alway, gathering flowers in heavenly meads:
Love unchanging, stern and deathless, crowned with starless agony, breathless,
May for ever pant pursuing a pale ghost that still recedes.

XIV.

Oh, we apprehend so little, we who deem love's bonds are brittle,
What of mystery, strange, unfathomed, lurks within the gentlest eyes!
With her *soul* the woman holds us, when her soft embrace enfolds us,
And the soul releases never, and the last kiss never dies.

XV.

Are not lovers still abiding in some union death-deriding?
Are not all stars linked together? Is not changeless law supreme?
Love eternal, hate unfailing, endless struggle, hopeless wailing,
Now and then one mighty vision of God's face, one marvellous gleam!

XVI.

Is it triumph, is it terror ? Is it victory over error
That the human race is winning, or a larger power
of pain ?

Is the crown of love most tender, after all, a blood-
stained splendour ?

Is it joy or is it anguish ? Is it loss or is it gain ?

GEORGE BARLOW.

GLANCES AT CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE DESTINY OF NATIONS.

DR. EMIL REICH set himself a magnificent task when he engaged in the production of his recent book "Success among the Nations" (Chapman & Hall). Although he has condensed his survey into a single volume of manageable dimensions, the subject with which he has been dealing is so colossal that few writers except those endowed with the marvellous patience and erudition of the typical German professor could have had the intellectual courage to approach it. But Dr. Reich, although a Hungarian by birth, is of such universal culture that he includes the attributes of the German professor, together with the still more valuable gifts that have enabled him to appreciate the impossibility of grappling with a cosmopolitan enterprise without making himself in the first instance a representative of cosmopolitan culture. A perfect linguist, he has naturalised himself—not by legal processes, but by residence and experience—in Germany, France, England and America, bringing with him, as Hungarian by birth, his fundamental acquaintance with the eastern regions of Europe. He endeavours now to utilise his wide-spread knowledge of the world's great nationalities, in the survey of the causes which, from the beginning of the world's history, have led to the success of nations in the various departments of war, intellect, and economy. Readers of serious literature have rarely been endowed with a treatise of this nature on the affairs of the world at large, inspired at once by so much acute intelligence and provocative, by reason

of its very incisive brilliancy, of antagonistic thought at every stage of its progress.

The book is divided into two main sections, the first treating the principles on which success has been attained in the past by various nations of the world in connection with different aspects of that success considered separately; while in the second part the modern nations—Spain, Italy, Germany, and so on—are considered one by one, and the characteristics that have led to their success in the past as well as their promise of progress in the future, are dealt with from the point of view of their individual nationalities. And whether we examine the first or the second group of chapters, those of us who have acquired the habit of illuminating the problems of politics and sociology with the light derived from the study of some among Nature's deeper mysteries, will be struck from the first with the curious way in which the neglect of such illumination by Dr. Reich has continually confused his observation and obscured his views of the future. Glancing, to begin with, at the earliest historical successes, he is profoundly impressed with the importance of rivers, in promoting that result. "It is the land of Egypt," he says, "that fashioned the people of Egypt, and the land of Egypt was made by the Nile." Later on he attributes early Chinese civilisation to the same influence. The rivers have been mainly responsible for its great economical success. The alluvial deposits of the Hwang Ho and the Yangtze have given the inhabitants of their valleys abundant crops time out of mind, and they have never been stimulated by anxiety to consider agriculture as a science.

Then he turns to ancient Mexico and Peru. "The secret of their records is unsolved," and he thinks it unlikely that the future will do anything in the way of elucidating them. The statement is inaccurate and the forecast misleading. For those who know how to profit by the investigations prompted by abnormal methods of research during the last few years, the history of ancient Atlantean civilisations—of which the Mexican was but a degraded remnant—lies before us as an open page. And that story, far more effectively than the influence of alluvial deposits, explains the course of Egyptian and Chinese pre-historic civilisations. For want of this important factor in his thinking, Dr. Reich assumes

that the Spaniards must have exaggerated the story of old Aztec civilisation. It is impossible, he thinks, to reconcile the rite of human sacrifice, which was practised in Mexico when the Spaniards first went there, with the idea of a great civilisation lying in the back-ground. The point he misses is that the really great civilisation lay so far in the back-ground that time had been given for the degradation of its ideals in accordance with that process of decay which again Dr. Reich fails to comprehend, but which, nevertheless, operates on the great masses of humanity constituting nations, as inevitably as on the single organism that constitutes a man, an animal or a tree.

The neglect, so far, by modern historians of the philosophical type, of the lessons to be learnt from the old Atlantean story, deprives their work in reality of all permanent value, however brilliant this may be as an example of concentrated intellectual effort within a narrow range of observation. Even by the light of what none can deny, it is really unreasonable to ignore the bequests of Atlantean influence. Geology, without specifying dates, has reached the point of being willing to admit as a probability that the Atlantean basin, or a large part of it, was once continental land. We know that the continents of the modern map were for the most part once oceanic beds. The geologist, it is true, makes no suggestion concerning the inhabitants of pre-historic land, although it shows us human remains in strata at least coeval with such conditions. Students of the subject,—even anticipating research by abnormal or occult methods,—have long been convinced that the ancient Egyptian and Greek traditions of a great civilization belonging once to a people in regions to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, were founded on a substantial basis of truth. And without going further it is manifest on that hypothesis that the earliest nations of the historic period were the heirs of that ancient civilisation. What did they do with their inheritance? that is the question which the philosophic historian should consider, not the vain problem as to how, whatever civilisation they exhibited, was developed from no anterior beginnings under the influence of climate or alluvial deposits.

But the exhaustive treatment of the subject from this point of view would carry us too far away from the interest of Dr.

Reich's book as it stands, and the criticism into which it tempts one at every important turn, must not be allowed to convey the impression that the book itself is otherwise than replete with intellectual charm and suggestive reflection. In treating imperial success, Dr. Reich acutely distinguishes between will and intellect as forces controlling the destiny of nations. Imperial success, he conceives to be frequently the outcome of great personalities. The achievements of Alexander were exclusively the outcome of that monarch's individual ambition. He was in no way a personification of Greek or Macedonian aspiration. And Roman imperialism he traces partly to the will power of the Roman people, but more largely to the fact that the weakness and decay of contemporary peoples rendered the task of Roman conquest so easy. "Rome's peculiar good fortune was that she was able to avail herself of precisely the moment when all these nations had been reduced to this condition of effeteness." And the same explanation is offered with reference to the British dominion in India. "The nationalities of India are effete, and both with and without the benefits of British rule they have remained incapable of progress."

Once more, it is impossible to pass by this phrase without noticing its neglect of the light thrown on national events by the comprehensive theory of human evolution recognised by the student of occult science. It is a mistake to say that the nationalities of India have shown themselves incapable of progress. In presence of British example many of the native states have exhibited considerable progress of the very kind in question, and if this may not yet be deeply rooted enough to live without British protection, it is manifestly merely a question of time as to when it will be able to stand alone. Epitomised in comprehensive phrases, the truth is that the thought of Western Europe owes a debt to the East, the magnitude of which is as yet only appreciated by a few; while the debt is in process of repayment by the gradual inspiration of the modern East with the practical ideals that the West has engendered. To pass by Indian conditions with the mere remark that the old native nationalities are effete, is quite to misunderstand the combinations and permutations of racial influence with which Nature works out her great

national designs. In one passage, Dr. Reich truly remarks that race,—in the sense that the word is employed to mean by modern ethnologists,—is quite impossible of identification, and that modern references to the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic or the Latin races are constantly confused and misleading. The answer is, that the ethnologist has hitherto been working without the clues which would enable him really to comprehend the evolution of successive races. The science of ethnology properly understood, would be profoundly instructive with regard to all that transpires and has transpired in the world, but as yet that which passes current under the name is a mere heterogeneous jumble of a few incongruous facts and the foundations of future ethnology can never be even correctly laid until all that concerns Atlantean civilisation, and the distribution of the Atlantean people over the modern world as it gradually emerged from the ocean, has been thoroughly mapped out and appreciated.

When Dr. Reich turns to the examination of modern nations one by one his acute observation renders each essay a charming monograph, but again, of course, lands us in complicated mixtures of feeling. His diagnosis is extremely penetrating, his forecast defective for want of a comprehensive grasp of the principles guiding human evolution as a whole. Thus he fails to realise the real moral discernible in the gradual decay of Spanish influence in the world. "Spain is exhausted at present. . . . Her humiliation at the hands of America has drawn upon her an undue share of contempt, but it would be rash to conclude that she is really a decadent nation." It would be worse than rash to contemplate the course of history without recognising the great principle that in the long run nations collectively meet with their deserts—as individuals also have to face the consequence of theirs—although ages may elapse in both cases before the effects of causes may finally be worked out. The operation of the law in the individual case is obscured for all who fail to understand the identity of the Ego in successive incarnations. It is obscured in the case of nations by the mere fact that time in considerable quantities may elapse before the consequences of determined events become manifest. Spain in the 16th and 17th Centuries was the great criminal power in the world, not merely in Europe,

not only in connection with the hideous oppression of the Netherlands, but especially beyond the ocean in her relations with the ancient communities of Mexico and Peru. Spain accumulated on her national records a volume of iniquity the magnitude of which has weighed down her later destinies to an extent that much more than accounts for the decadence Dr. Reich treats as transitory, and practically forbids all expectation of any restoration to Spain of the power, which, when formerly in her hands, she so hideously abused. "The insurmountable barrier of the Pyrenees with its scanty passes renders Spain an almost utter stranger to the rest of Europe," says Dr. Reich,—seeking, in connection with this problem, as well as with those of ancient Egypt and China, a purely geographical explanation for results which lie within the region of national morals. The insurmountable barrier of the Pyrenees was not less insurmountable in the days of Philip II., but in those, unhappily for the rest of Europe, Spain was by no means a stranger.

In his examination of France and Germany, Dr. Reich is simply turning the search-light of his own observation and experience on events and people immediately around us, and in this way comes less in conflict with great fundamental principles. His essay on the French people is especially and very intelligently concerned with the diagnosis of the French woman. "She is the most important person of the French social economy in which she certainly ranks before the man." Not that Dr. Reich represents any enthusiasm for the growth of female influence in the world. When he comes to deal with America he rather deplors that phenomenon, but the conditions attending the treatment and characteristics of women in France he shows to be the most influential facts in producing the results we see. The total suppression of the French girl, which renders her a mere nonentity before marriage, explains, to begin with, the character of French literature. French romance can only be built on materials connected with matrimonial infidelity. The girl cannot have a place there; she is unknown in society. But custom brings about her revenge. In the every day work-a-day world a French woman pervades every detail of life. In business, great commercial houses trace their descent in the feminine line. It is a French

woman who rules from the *caisse* and is a mainspring of a business.

In Germany precisely opposite conditions prevail. The girl is well to the front in social life before marriage, the *hausfrau* sinks into mere domestic insignificance. From this many conclusions may be deduced, one of which, if we follow Dr. Reich's thinking, will strike most of us as previously unnoticed. It is only where the young girl is well in evidence that lyric poetry can attain any high degree of development. It is stimulated by the emotions of that kind of love which she evokes; it is not the outcome of what may be as fierce but a very different passion,—the kind dealt with in the French romance. In Germany, lyric poetry attains a high perfection, in France it can hardly be said to exist. Dr. Reich fails to strengthen his position by pointing to the beautiful development of lyric poetry in this country.

But the volume before us is so richly saturated with thought, provoking either interest or opposition, that it is impossible in this analysis to do justice to every chapter. With reference to Russia, the most striking observation made is that the Greek Church is the most hopeless of the barriers that stand in the way of Russian progress. Its influence, our author maintains, has invariably proved more sterilising and paralysing than that of the Roman Catholic Church. Whether we should be misapprehending his meaning if we read it "than *even* the Roman Catholic Church" we are hardly able to say. Dr. Reich is incisive in declaring his opinions when he wishes to express them, but rarely conveys any propositions by undeveloped hints or turns of expression. There is no ambiguity, however, in the forecast he frankly puts forward with reference to Germany in her relations with this country. "Germany is arming herself," he says, "with patient, calculating and laborious perseverance for the day when she shall at last feel ready to throw down the gauntlet of defiance in the face of England;" and the mere fact that such an intention on her part could only be compatible with a state of mind that would be morally infamous, does not seem in the slightest degree to weaken the confidence with which he interprets Germany's ambition.

Again, however, for want perhaps of any comprehensive grasp of the under-lying principles governing the progress of the

human race, Dr. Reich fails, as he passes to the consideration of British and American characteristics and prospects, to estimate the situation in the light of its larger probabilities. He regards the political parties of England as divided along a line of cleavage not generally recognised. The one Party "headed by the King" as he strangely puts it, relies on the maintenance of continental alliances as determining the security of future welfare for the country; the other, seeks by the consolidation of imperial unity to provide for a magnificent isolation which shall by its own internal strength, be invulnerable. He distrusts the latter programme and conceives that the policy of continental alliance is the sounder and more trustworthy. Perhaps this is the one indication his great book gives of his continental origin. He has almost entirely escaped from the fetters of continental tradition, but has failed to realise in its deeper significance the western drift of world-power and civilisation. This has disturbed the former centres of gravity around which the politics of the Middle Ages revolved. Something like a youthful and vain-glorious braggadocio has suggested the favourite American motto, "Westward the star of Empire takes its way," but, oddly enough, the deepest appreciation of the great forces ruling the destinies of mankind, is in harmony with that unconsciously philosophical principle.

MADAME ADAM'S MEMOIRS.

UNDER the title "My Literary Life," Madame Adam, so long the hostess of one of the most attractive salons of Paris, has published a Memoir (the English translation issued by Fisher Unwin), which is differentiated from the innumerable volumes of reminiscences that the book market in this country has been flooded with, by referring to the prominent French, instead of English, personalities of the last thirty or forty years. Madame Adam, under the Empire, was in close touch with the small group of constitutional deputies—those famous five, including Emile Olivier and Jules Favre—who constituted the Liberal party which, in the political badinage of the period, is described as going home in one cab, with one of its members on the box beside the

driver. Madame Adam's sympathies were all with the anti-Imperial Party of that day, and her present memoirs throw no additional light worth having on the central features of the Imperial regime, well illuminated, happily, by many other writers since the Emperor's death. Public opinion has swerved widely since the fall of the Empire from the channel of old-fashioned prejudice in which it used to move, and Madame Adam's memoirs, so far as they bear upon politics, remind one rather of bygone misapprehensions than of views which impartial observers, since the days in which she chiefly flourished, have learnt to adopt.

The authoress is delightfully unreserved in deploring the conditions of her first unfortunate marriage, during which, however, she achieved her early literary fame, and specific incidents connected with the behaviour of her first husband, Mons. Lamessine, are enough to justify any terms of scorn and contempt that can be levelled against him. To begin with, indeed, he and his wife seem to have fallen out more over intellectual disagreements than with reference to the more familiar causes of matrimonial difficulty. The man became an ardent positivist, a devotee of Auguste Comte. The lady found the fantastic doctrines of that school intolerable and absurd,—anticipating the verdict of later criticism. In return the husband showered upon her unmeasured volumes of contempt for her intellectual incapacity. But in due time, when her first book, "*Idées Anti-Proudhoniennes*," created an immediate sensation, and promised to become a piece of valuable property, the contemptible husband insisted upon annexing, not merely its profits, but as far as he could its credit, and put his own name on the title-page of the second edition. The French law of that period at all events left the earnings of a married woman utterly at the mercy of her husband, and with embittered relationships, like those existing in the case before us, the results were naturally infuriating for the wife.

But though the memoranda of gossip and comment concerning the personalities of the Second Empire, with which the present volume is laden, will for many of its readers be its most attractive features, a single episode related by Madame Adam in the early course of her story will, for some of us, be the most impressive passage in her book. Amongst her most intimate

friends was a certain Madame Fauvety, the wife of an eminent Parisian journalist, and the Fauvety's lived at a country house at Asnieres, where the main interests of their lives revolved round two beloved dogs. One day one of these, Zozo, was lost. Madame Fauvety besought her friend, Madame Lamessine, as she was in those days, to go to a clairvoyant of the period, "a professional fortune-teller" of the kind we have heard so much about lately. Mons. Edmond, of the Rue Fontaine, with a view, of course, of ascertaining if any news could be obtained concerning Zozo. Madame Adam, to use the more familiar name, duly went to oblige her friend, though possessed with the belief that all persons of the Edmond type were charlatans, who picked up hints for their fortune-telling from accomplices. She arrived, and had some time to wait, grimly resolved that nothing should escape *her* lips which could give a clue to the errand on which she came. She laughed to think that the others waiting round her were silly enough to talk of their private affairs, and thus, of course, afford the necessary information to spies that were doubtless listening. At last her turn came. She was shown into Edmond's room. He sat down, toying with some playing-cards he held in his hand. She resolutely held her tongue, bent on the policy of giving no clues. After a little interval of dead silence, Edmond held forward the cards and told her to cut.

"You have come," he said at length, slowly, "about a dog." I started.

"The dog is not lost," he continued. "He has gone back to the country, whither he went to see one of his friends. A lady met him, caught him by the collar, and wishes to keep him. He is now tied up, but after six weeks she will think he has grown accustomed to the place, and will let him loose. He will escape and go back to the gate of his master's garden. They must be warned, so that he can be let in."

After this pronouncement, Madame Adam was preparing to go, but Edmond detained her saying he had not told her her fortune. She professed indifference to the subject, and no expectation that it could be good, but Edmond indifferently began as she went towards the door. "You are fond of formulas; this is one of yours,—we are all charlatans." This accurate diagnosis of her recent thought startled Madame Adam and she returned. After some further manipulation with his cards, Edmond told her

that in a year she would become well known from a book that she would write in answer to one that was then in process of being written. "After that," he said, "she would go on with such and such events," predicting, Madame Adam tells us, the very life she has since led.

To begin with, the prediction concerning the dog was verified to its minutest detail. Zozo, having escaped from bondage, was heard barking at the Fauvety's garden gate to the day when the six weeks expired. The prophecies concerning Madame Adam's first book were verified by the production of the "*Idées Anti-Proudhonniennes*," and perhaps the most curious circumstance connected with the story she tells us resides in the fact that, having told it with interest and wonder, she, intellectual and thoughtful woman as she was, seems to have let the matter slide from her mind, drawing none of the stupendous inferences legitimately following from such an experience. Of course for students of the subject it is only one of a hundred cases in which corresponding predictions have been verified to the letter, rendering the failure of other hundreds of predictions a matter of infinite insignificance. Intellectual enthusiasts of Madame Adam's type find it worth while to spend lives of eager activity in the discussion of thoughts and theories bearing upon human life, so long as these are the empty speculations of purblind thinkers like Proudhon or Comte. When gleams of light shine through the darkness, showing them that, if rightly understood, human affairs must be lying under the operation of laws which the purblind thinkers have never glimpsed, even in their broadest outlines, they are dazzled for a moment and say, "how wonderful!" "how interesting!" and then think no more of the vast illumination in the background, out of which that casual ray must have proceeded. What is the meaning of the fact that the clairvoyant could foresee, down to the most insignificant detail, and with accurate reference to time and place, the adventures of the missing dog? There is no problem at present before the scientific or philosophic world which bears a moment's comparison as regards its importance with that simple question. And yet it is one with which, at the present day, only a minute minority of thinkers concern themselves.

FISCAL REFORM IN AUSTRALIA.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

OUT of the present scramble for place and more pay, of which the Federal Parliament is the arena, the theory of preferential trade is likely to assume a more important position and a more definite form than it has yet occupied in Australian politics. The most serious obstacle to the fulfilment of Sir Edward Barton's pledge to Mr. Chamberlain is in course of removal. It will be remembered that the Australian delegate to the London Conference of 1902 promised that he would bring the question before the Federal Parliament as speedily as possible after his return; and in his very first speech in Sydney, when he outlined the work accomplished at that conference, as well as his projects for the future, Sir Edmund Barton did give particular prominence to the question of establishing some scheme of preferential commerce within the empire. But when that gentleman met Parliament he somewhat significantly refrained from taking any known steps towards redeeming the pledge he had given to Mr. Chamberlain. He was even hostile to the publication of the debates that took place on the subject at the conference. The explanation of this sudden change of front was not that the Prime Minister of Australia had been convinced of the impracticability of preferential trade, but that he had been persuaded of the inexpediency of raising the question while his majority in Parliament rested entirely upon the solid support of the labour corner. The bulk of that party were from the first opposed to any policy, the effect of which was to facilitate the importation of outside products that would compete with local industry. With four or five exceptions

the whole Labour Party was bent upon excluding all foreign manufactures, and it is not necessary to remind any Englishman, who recalls the scandal of the "six hatters case," that in the mind of the average Trade Unionist in Australia the British workman is as much a foreigner as if he were a "Frenchman or a Roosian." Thus, with the certainty of alienating the majority of his labour allies, and without the hope of securing any compensatory support from the Free Trade opposition, Sir Edmund Barton deemed it imprudent to raise the thorny question. He was obsessed by the double fear of damaging the prospects of preferential trade, and of compromising the stability of his ministerial position by a tactical blunder.

Mr. Deakin, who succeeded Sir Edmund Barton as Prime Minister when the latter promoted himself to the High Court Bench, has never been haunted, like his impecunious and distinguished predecessor, by the dread of quitting office with all its perquisites. He is a man in comfortable circumstances, who has somewhat ostentatiously on more than one occasion exhibited his disregard for the prizes of a Parliamentary career. He had often urged the prudence, not to say the necessity, of differentiating between the foreign manufacturer and the producer, who, although an "outsider," is of our own kith and kin. Like all other Imperialists in these parts, Mr. Deakin had keenly resented the former British attitude of *non possumus*, when suggestions to extend some degree of preference to Colonial products and manufactures have been made by Colonial politicians to British Statesmen. Even at the conference of 1902 Mr. Chamberlain declared to the assembled delegates that "while we may most readily and most gratefully accept from you any preference which you may be prepared voluntarily to accord to us, we cannot bargain with you for it." Under the changed conditions evoked by Mr. Chamberlain's subsequent adhesion to the Colonial theory of mutual preference, it was only to be expected that in Mr. Deakin he would find an ardent supporter. That expectation was not belied when the Australian Chrysostom became Federal Prime Minister. The circumstances of the party were precisely as they had been when Sir Edmund Barton was in power; the ministerial majority depended upon the goodwill of the labour corner. Yet

Mr. Deakin, at the dissolution which followed shortly after his assumption of office, did not hesitate to make preferential trade one of the two leading issues before the country. With the exception of New South Wales, where the engaging personality of Mr. G. H. Reid, assisted by the animosity created by the Barton administration, gave the Free Traders a substantial victory, the electors of Australia pronounced strongly in favour of the ministerial programme, in which a fiscal truce and preferential trade were the leading items. Even Mr. Watson, the leader of the Labour Party, was constrained to recognise that the country was largely in favour of cultivating closer relations with the mother country by adopting some measure of preferential commerce based upon mutual concessions. The only point in doubt was whether Britain or Australia should make the first overtures. The early defeat of the Deakin Government, on a vital clause in the Arbitration Bill, hindered that Prime Minister from attempting to give any effect to the decision of the constituencies.

In his tenure of office Mr. Watson was scarcely more fortunate than Mr. Deakin. That highly contentious measure, the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, brought about his defeat also. But while still Prime Minister, Mr. Watson had been interviewed by the correspondent of *The Times* on the subject of his general policy concerning preferential trade, and specially in reference to Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of a fresh Colonial conference. In a cable to that paper on 4th August the Prime Minister of the first Labour Cabinet expressed himself in favour of delay, while acknowledging the special mandate of this country. These are Mr. Watson's very words: "As regards Australia, I think a conference is not needed until Great Britain decides to adopt the principle of preference. The last elections made it clear that Australia favours the principle, and when Great Britain agrees I hope for valuable results from a conference laying down the general lines of mutual preferential tariffs before the separate legislatures discuss the details. For the present Australia awaits the Mother Country's decision." The ministerial benches contained at that time only 27 representatives, as against 46 members on the opposition and corner benches. Besides, four of the ministry were convinced Free Traders with a rooted antipathy to

any policy of enabling, to use Mr. Chamberlain's phrase at the conference of 1902, British manufacturers "to enter the Colonial markets on terms of greater equality." In such circumstances it would have been idle to expect from the head of the Government anything but a "hedging" attitude towards so debateable a question as that of preferential trade. It was, however, no inconsiderable gain for the champions of Fiscal Reform, from an Imperial point of view, to have extracted, from the leader of the Labour Party, the public admission that Australia desired the establishment of mutually preferential tariffs between Great Britain and the Commonwealth.

With the advent of the Reid-McLean Cabinet, the third ministry within eight months, Imperial Unionists could not be very sanguine for the chances of their policy. Mr. Reid has for years been the most eloquent advocate of free trade in Australia. Whenever he has discussed the subject of commercial preference it has been to insist that with the destruction of the tariff barriers at our ports, would vanish the need for any scheme of preferential trade. How on earth the throwing of our ports "wide open to embrace the entry of the human race" would profit Great Britain in her commercial rivalry with Europe and America, the free trade champion did not condescend to explain. The omission, however, was of no real consequence; for free trade is as utterly impossible as prohibition under a constitution that has made a customs tariff the sole source of federal revenue. Moreover, the presence in the coalition cabinet of Sir George Turner, as treasurer, and Mr. Allan McLean, as minister of customs, not to mention the prominent position of Mr. Deakin in the ministerial ranks, ensured a more favourable consideration of any preferential project in the cabinet councils than if Mr. Reid had been strong enough to form a ministry of his own. It accordingly marked another stage in the progress of a preferential policy, when the great advocate of free trade announced in the official declaration of his first ministerial policy in Parliament that he adopted "exactly the position of his predecessor," Mr. Watson, with regard to preferential trade. That is, he admitted that the electors of Australia, speaking at the last ballot box, had declared for the principle; but he himself desired to see "how the cat

jumped" in England before making any definite overtures, or entering into details.

Clearly, if it is *le premier pas qui coute*, we have advanced considerably during the past two years. Then Sir Edmund Barton shelved the question because he feared the loyalty of his Labour allies under Mr. Watson, and knew the hostility of the Free-traders under Mr. Reid. Now, both Mr. Watson and Mr. Reid, voicing the policy of their respective parties, have announced themselves as converts to the principle, although each "asks for time." It may be replied that the declarations of those two leaders amount to nothing more than expressions of platonic affection for the theory of preferential trade; and it is unhappily true that one can never feel quite certain about the sincerity of Mr. Reid; but we have at least been afforded further evidence of Mr. Watson's genuine earnestness in the matter. When the Reid-McLean coalition was formed, nine members of the Deakin group, actuated by an incorrigible personal animosity for Mr. Reid, deserted the Liberal party. The head of these secessionists is Mr. Isaac Isaacs, a restless and eminent member of the Victorian Bar, who, as a politician, may be considered as a philosophical Radical, and who has long been an ardent believer in the wisdom and necessity of Preferential trade within the Empire. Mr. Isaacs conceived and negotiated a working alliance between his "fourth party" and the labour opposition, with a view of forcing a dissolution upon Mr. Reid; and Preferential trade occupies a foremost place in the "articles of association" between Mr. Watson and Mr. Isaacs. The latter gentleman has, further, from his place in the House, declared himself strongly in favour of determining, independently of Great Britain, the measure of preference that Australia is prepared to extend to the products and manufactures of the Empire.

Thus it seems plain that the accepted policy of the Watson-Isaacs combination contemplates an active propaganda in favour of preferential trade. This consideration is of the highest importance at the present moment when indications point to an early dissolution. The Watson-Isaacs coalition have moved a direct vote of want of confidence in the Reid-McLean administration. The opposition forces represent a solid party of 36 members,

whilst the ministerial party comprise at most 37 certain votes. There is one other member, Mr. Cameron, a Tasmanian representative, who styles himself an Independent, and enjoys the distinction of having voted in the crucial divisions against every ministry since the inauguration of the Commonwealth. If this "cabinet-maker" proves consistent and votes against the administration, the approaching division will result in a tie. If he abstains from voting, the ministry will be in the hopeless majority of one. In either case a dissolution is inevitable; for with so narrow a majority and with a largely hostile senate, the political position would be one of stale-mate. So we appear to be on the eve of an appeal to the people by a ministry committed to the principle of preferential trade, and an opposition committed to the active propagation of that principle.

In such circumstances it betrays a strange obliquity of vision in the *Spectator*, regarding Colonial affairs, to believe that the Colonies have shown no desire for preferential trade. Not only have Canada and New Zealand, even before there was any prospect of their decision being reciprocated, accorded a distinct measure of preference to imports of British origin, but Australia has expressed itself strongly in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, and a Party commanding half the votes in a full House has inscribed preferential trade as a leading feature in its fighting programme. The *Melbourne Age*, which has by far the largest circulation of any daily newspaper published in the Commonwealth, declares that, "as a matter of fact, the statement of the *Spectator* is in very direct opposition to well-known facts," and, further, the Melbourne journal insists, "What we have to consider here is primarily our own industrial interests. No one can study the Chamberlain Policy of English food duties against the foreigner without coming to the conclusion that those duties would be a direct protection to the Australian farmer." The Melbourne newspaper was discussing Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Welbeck, delivered early in August, when he forecast small duties on corn, with the exception of maize, on meat, dairy produce, poultry, eggs, vegetables and fruit; and the burden of those taxes, Mr. Chamberlain contended, must fall upon the foreigner. This, of course, is to be reasonably

expected, owing to colonial and internal competition. If wine were only added to that list, the preference scheme would embrace practically every Australian staple; and the colonial producer would enjoy the most favoured treatment in the greatest market of the world. "An announcement like that," as the *Age* rightly says, "should come as a clarion call to every protectionist, and more especially every representative of the farming community." It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that on the new federal customs entry forms there is a column in which importers have to declare the place of origin, not only of every package, but of the separate contents of every package. This feature entails much additional labour and expense upon the clearing agents, although no clear purpose is served by it under our present customs tariff. But as a straw may sometimes suffice to show the direction of the wind, so it is not unreasonable to conjecture that this recent and gratuitous innovation in the federal customs forms, indicates an incipient preparation for the needs of the day, when a discrimination is made at the Commonwealth customs between the products and manufacturers of the foreigner and those of the Britisher.

A VICTORIAN.

Melbourne, Sept. 21st, 1904.

AN ENGLISH GIRL'S IMPRESSIONS OF RUSSIA.

THE following letter from a young English girl travelling in company with an elder lady right through Russia, from St. Petersburg to Baku, on the Caspian, was addressed to her own parents without any view to its publication. But in various ways it is so much more life-like than the formal narratives of the ordinary bookwriting traveller, that we have asked and obtained leave to pass it on to our readers in its fresh unvarnished simplicity, omitting only purely private portions. The journey described was made very little more than a month ago, and the letter is dated :—

6 o'clock a.m. in the train to Moscow.

This is a coupé in the so-called express to Moscow, which, if not at all quick, is steady enough as far as speed goes. It rocks and jolts far more than the steamer, but not quite in such a sea-sick way. Our compartment is very small and opens out into a narrow corridor. We stopped just now I suppose at a station, much to my discomfort beside a goods train of bombs, which were realistically painted on the outside in the act of exploding with red and yellow flames, I was quite relieved when we moved on again. Well, to go back to the steamer. I got up at seven to see the entrance to the Canal or Channel at St. Petersburg. It is wide and has small poplars, &c., planted all along. There are many forts all across the bay at Kronstadt. Finland is quite near.

The appearance of St. Petersburg at 7 o'clock a.m. was dreadful ; black creepy clouds hung over it. We were boarded early by a

swarm of officials. They wear their coats over their shoulders without their arms in the sleeves and with their devilish faces they look awful. The crew were paraded for inspection and their passports examined. We all had to sign a profession,—invented or otherwise. I was advised to put “teacher” as the safest,—“artist” being fatal. Since the war they are fearfully strict. A lot of very grand officials sat in the saloon and examined the passports, and they were returned to us one by one. We got to the new port at 11.30 a.m. The wretched looking peasants smiled feebly. The type of face is degraded beyond imagination, very like gorillas, and many have heads too big, looking quite lunatic. The men on the docks were chiefly very low class, in skirts, and with legs rolled up in cloth and with long hair. The officials looked like vultures in their fur coats buttoned across their chests with their arms not in the sleeves.

Well, we got through the customs scot free, they merely raised the corners of the cotton wool. They got excited about “The love songs of Connacht” and my three exercise books, but they did not take them away, as I explained what they were. At the custom house they stuck labels on, and a few yards further stopped us and picked them off again. The people look very sad and shockingly poor. The poor women are very bunchy with great creasy boots. The government houses or buildings are all yellow ochre with red roofs. We drove for over three hours all over the city. The roads are lovely and very broad and the houses fine and most artistic in colour, the newest being brown and pale green or brown and grey of the latest mixture; in design between French and high art; plenty of space and air. We drove in a droshky with two horses. They drive fast and pull up with a jerk constantly; all the time you are on the verge of a collision. The streets are cobbles or wood, with no gutters, the droshkys tear along, and are like bath chairs.

Friday, 4 p.m.

In train from Moscow.

Here we are crawling along in a very comfortable compartment all to ourselves, with a big cosy sofa each side. We got into Moscow at a quarter to nine o'clock and went across to the other station opposite for this train. We took a wee droshky

across the square as it was snowing fast. Our luggage, small things, were deposited inside the station in a pile, and a porter, dressed somewhat like a butcher with an apron, stood guard over it for nearly three hours. We are now passing a village, a cluster of dull brown huts thatched badly and with moss stuck over the outside to keep out the cold, I suppose,—most poverty stricken looking. The trains are very ugly on the outside, just boxes with square holes for windows, but inside they are well fitted. The country on both sides is very flat and the grass ochre coloured with stripes or patches of black or of emerald grass, or grass of some kind. The people everywhere are terrible looking—barbaric and uncouth. The women are just bundles, and one never sees a well-dressed person at all. There are heaps of beggars, they beg almost in a whisper and in a weak voice; one feels so sorry for them.

The churches in St. Petersburg were filled with people in dirty shawls, bowing continuously, and kissing the ground, and wiping their faces on the bits of plush hanging in front of the pictures or relics. I have not told you half about the delightful drive we had. We started about 2.15 in a two-horse droshky, both grey horses, and with a quite respectably voluminous isvoschick. By the way, the isvoschicks are most quaint looking, they have low sort of top hats and curls, and dress in long coats with belts. They look very short-waisted, and below the waist they are like huge barrels, enormous size round. The best are like shiny brown leather inflated balloons; not a crease. The fattest and most padded and the least creasy ones are the smartest. We drove first to the church of St. Isaac, a marvellous building with huge granite monolith pillars at each of the four entrances or façades. It is of great height and most richly decorated, everything of the most expensive and finest workmanship. The Italian Russian mosaic wall pictures are splendid and of great size. There are lots of stands like lecterns with pictures all decorated and glittering with very valuable stones. There are inside some beautiful monoliths, very big, of malachite and lapis lazuli. There is a great quantity of bronze, all very good, capitals and bases of columns and huge doors all in relief figures. It has the usual dome and side chapels.

From there we drove to the Razankin cathedral. It is smaller but also very fine. There are huge gateways inside of thick wrought silver. It is really wonderful. There must be tons of silver there. There are some good paintings and the usual jewelled pictures under glass. The churches are full of beggars, but they are very timid. From there, we drove along the Nevsky, the best street, and past the Gasteena door, a big arcade of shops. The shops are excellent and the streets have a very animated appearance. We drove across bridges and saw magnificent views of the Neva and the city, all full of fine domes and spires against the sunset sky. The Neva is a broad and fine river and it is all most picturesque. We drove at once into a sort of park land, and the road was between fields of grass or sort of garden land. Lots of silver birch trees with very white patches on the bark. The poplars are short and very yellow, and all the colours were rich and autumnal. We passed pretty little wooden built villas in their own grounds, and the scenery was lovely. The sunset over the sea of which we got glimpses was intense magenta and gold, very beautiful and lurid, and the lakes with the vivid yellow glory reflected, and every branch of the trees near by reflected were gorgeous. In fact, I have never seen such beautiful effects. One part was like Poole, something, a harbour and sailing boats all against a vivid orange sky and all the water still and golden. There were subjects for pictures at every turn.

I find Russian quite agreeable to hear, and feel I could learn quickly. I have been talking a lot of French as a Cossack officer who came to my rescue on Moscow station has paid us a few visits in here and chatted a bit. He is a Caucasian Cossack and has good manners and is clean, wears a high black astrachan hat and a bluish grey overcoat, and has the regular black leather high boots, well shaped. He said he had applied several times for leave to go to Siberia, and that everyone of his relations had been killed or wounded out there. Miss R—— remembers seeing him in Teheran, so the conversation has turned on Russian residents of Teheran, English and Russian railway trains, and the condition of the peasants, crops and trees. The stations here are weird, and the wait is from 15 to 20 minutes. We do not get out to go to the buffet but find they will bring all we want here, and put a

table and cloth and all. Of course tea and coffee are served Russian wise and the biscuit things are quaint. We have hazel hens or dabchick for solid meals. I sketch what I want if we don't know the name and a sketch of a chicken resulted in a dabchick and a hazel hen. Another time Miss R—— said we could get fish cakes, so I drew a fish and several little cakes, about six. Presently the very painstaking and nice waiter comes with "caviare," fishes' eggs, and six boiled hen eggs. We nearly exploded with laughter. He thought the things I meant for cakes were the fishes' eggs. We get bottles of a sort of soda water. We have had nice bread and butter and fruit. I got out at a station to-day and bought two enormous pears for 20 kps., about 4½d. The scenery is absolutely uninteresting and flat,—one bit just like the rest. It is quite impossible to go on looking out of the window. I find this sort of travelling most reposeful, it has not the slightest fatigue about it, everything so comfortable and easy, and the time passes so quickly. Of course we are lucky to have a compartment all to ourselves, but until lately we were the only first class passengers. The stations are full of weird men with long hair and skin skirted coats filthy, dirty looking, and very down trodden in bearing.

12 Mid-day.

In train exactly 12 hours beyond Rostov. We arrived there about 9 o'clock and waited in the sort of buffet place till 11.30 about. The Cossack officer helped us splendidly, and, in fact, did everything for us, and helped to order some supper. We sat at the same table as himself and his fellow officer, and he ordered chairs for us. We had the famous Rostov crayfish, &c.

We got most comfortably into this train at the right time, thanks to the kindness of the Cossack. He gave us his card on leaving, as he was going on at 5 a.m. from Rostov to his property in the Caucasus where he says he has gardens and orchards and likes growing different fruits. He explained that he was on leave for a little while.

We slept till nine o'clock this morning, and there is no food on the train, so I had my first experience of getting out at a station, crossing an oily railway line and fighting my way into the buffet and ordering coffee and rolls to be brought to the train.

The crowd of extraordinary looking people was interesting, they were mostly like peasants, in skins with black or white hats.

Oh! for the first time there is a view, hills, a valley with trees, a river, and a plain full of cattle and horses, it is so nice after the deathly scenery ever since St. Petersburg, most depressing scenery, bare, poor, colourless, flat, and a grey sky. But at last the trees are coming a little taller. Farther north the trees, the old trees are quite stunted and withered. The train goes slowly along a very straight line, there are distance poles, I suppose every verst, the ground at the base being carefully laid out with a pattern of white and red cobbles, very neat. After noticing that, I suddenly noticed that the sides of the line are decorated *all* along with an outer row of big cobbles and, a foot or so farther in, a row of smaller ones, all laid by hand evidently, it seems wonderful, the distance being so great. There is a little brick making beginning, a new thing in the country, I believe. There are little red houses at intervals all along the line, with a tree or so and a dog and a woman with a shawl over her head in the customary fashion. The little boys are quaint in their big astrachan hats and little tunics. A train of oil, big boiler-shaped things full of oil, has passed,—we are getting towards the oil country. There were bazaars at one or two of the towns, with carts of cabbages and piles of black skins, I don't know what of, black cattle or what! The cattle are measly looking and lacking in colour and have big horns. Things seem more civilized here than up till now. There is an old priest here on the train travelling first class, with white long hair, a black cassock affair, and a deep coloured beaded belt. He is a dirty beast, and spits about everywhere.

We have come to quite a pretty town with a river and trees, and another railway near, and waggons laden with grass or moss. The people are exactly like the pictures one sees, their overcoats are cut big towards the bottom and stand out somewhat. The dogs are like wolves, and geese are very numerous, they evidently thrive on this sort of land. The soil is black and rich looking and shows in streaks through the grass, where there is any. This place seems to be a junction and there are several big engines

standing. I have been watching the people on the platform, such a variety.

5.20. p.m.

It is quite dark again now. We have been passing some more interesting scenery for a little while. A range of spiky volcanic mountains standing up in lumps straight out of the plains. The sun went down leaving a streak of red across or behind all the bases, giving a very wild and weird effect. I saw some camels trotting along, and in the stations little pigs were foraging about the lines. This is Sunday, and the stations are crowded with people, the women in bright colours. We got out for a meal about three o'clock. They said the train was to wait for 30 minutes, but it was nothing like so long, however, we got some excellent soup and chicken, and then fled back to the train. A man helped us, paying our bill while we fled, and we repaid him afterwards. I have an idea that pretroleum is used as fuel on the trains as the smell is so strong. The scenery is getting more Persian, and there are trees and streams occasionally. These carriages are lit by one candle placed in a little glass box above the door, but as we wanted to read, I fetched it in from the outside by opening the trap door arrangement. We are due in Baku to-morrow at 5.45. p.m.

9 o'clock.

Hotel de L'Europe Baku.

Here we are at last, and we think we are very lucky. We have been travelling in trains just four days and four nights, and personally, if only two in the carriage, I consider it most comfortable and restful. I felt I could do it for a month. The carriages are heated, and there is a guard on each wagon, and time goes so quickly in the train,—what with getting up, dressing, tidying up, hopping out for coffee, etc., and watching the people on the platforms.

One is very conscious of Russia all the time, the hosts of uniforms swaggering along, and the language going on all around. About 6 o'clock yesterday we began to get near the Caucasus, and we kept near till Baku. The moon was full and the hills and mountains looked grand. I have enjoyed watching the craggy outlines so much. Looking at them near they seem flat like a

scene behind the switch-back, all jags clean cut and no depth, like a canvas they looked. We got lovely glimpses of valleys high up and villages in the high mountains many miles away in hollows between the hills, probably 30 miles away. I should guess parts were like Scotland or Ireland. The long chains of camels looked nice wending along the mountain foot. We passed Petrosk and Derbend, the sea being quite close to the line. I saw the first veiled woman to-day at the station, covered in a gauze veil and carrying a little child. This is a fine big room on the ground floor in a fine hotel. I have come to the conclusion that people grumble at everything. This is quite nice and clean. We drove here in three droshkys, and we nearly upset twice, all but over on the side, but we would not have hurt ourselves much if we had gone quite over.

OUR FUTURE IN THIS WORLD.

IN one of the popular magazines, some writers of distinction in various departments of literature have responded to invitations asking them to give their opinions on the grave and all important questions, "Have we lived on Earth before?" and "Shall we live on Earth again?" The questions are answered at some length by Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Mr. Rider Haggard, and Mr. W. T. Stead. In their respective departments of intellectual activity each of these well-known men would command respectful attention, but a deeply-seated comicality resides in the notion that because three men are respectively great in connection with biology, novel writing and journalism, they are qualified to have an opinion worth listening to concerning a mystery of Nature belonging to the category of those investigated by the student of Occult science. Mr. Stead, it is true, has had some touch with Spiritualism, but for reasons with which only occult students can be familiar, that in itself is almost sure *not* to have afforded him a glimpse of the laws governing re-incarnation. From the point of view of knowledge on these subjects there is a flavour of humour in the mere suggestion that psychic research confined to the methods of spiritualism could enable anyone to form an opinion concerning re-incarnation. Meanwhile, broadly speaking, the reference of the questions quoted above to the three eminent writers who have answered them, might be paralleled by a reference of the question, for example, whether "Alcyone" is a

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hydrogen or a helium star to the Lord Mayor, the Archbishop of Canterbury and General Kitchener.

The reasoning and evidence which establish the truth of the Re-incarnation teaching (on so secure a foundation that it is just as certain, for those who study the subject properly, as, let us say, the existence of ice within the Antarctic Circle) is diffused through an extensive literature with which the three distinguished contributors to the "London Magazine" show themselves unacquainted. The great problem is fairly well discussed in various "Theosophical Manuals," in those, for example, by Mrs. Besant, entitled "Re-incarnation," "Death and After," and "Karma," and, not to speak of other books which deal with collateral aspects of the subject, in Mr. C. W. Leadbeater's admirable volumes, "The Other Side of Death," and "Glimpses of Occultism," in "The Growth of the Soul" and "Esoteric Buddhism," by the Editor of this Review, and in a large number of American contributions to occult literature of which "Re-incarnation, a Study of the Soul," by Jerome Anderson, may be mentioned as a favourable example. And all these books are again of no relative consequence compared with the personal experience of a considerable number of occult students who know how to recover consciousness of past incarnations—not merely their own, but also those of persons whom they knew in past incarnations and who happen to be again in incarnation with their former friends at the present time. The present writer is in touch with many persons gifted in the way described, who are as anxious as the students of any other science to get observations verified and checked; in a position to compare notes, and thus to arrive at some conclusions one may treat as bed-rock on which to build later inferences. One of the laws, for instance, controlling re-incarnation provides for the simultaneous return to Earth life of those who are in close bonds of sympathy of any kind, and besides the supreme tie of affection, intellectual sympathy, and intimate friendship often operates to bring about the same result, so that among those who are now earnestly engaged on occult research of the genuine kind, I am in a position to identify at least fifteen or twenty other persons, with whom at various periods during my own former lives I have been closely associated, and I know of one remarkable case in which a con-

tinuous series of lives culminating in one now going on, has been traced back for twenty-two thousand years, seventeen lives having been lived through during that time.

From the point of view of such knowledge as this, it is, of course, ludicrous beyond measure to read grave arguments like those of Dr. A. R. Wallace, in the essay before us, leading him to describe the conception of the re-incarnation as a "grotesque nightmare," and to answer the questions set him with an emphatic negative. His reasons for coming to these conclusions,—outside the fact that he evidently does not realise that he has never paid attention to the literature of the subject, are,—first, that the laws of heredity, as studied by Mr. Francis Galton, conflict with the idea! This is what the fifth proposition of Euclid is to geometry, and the fact that many people are troubled by it at first is a standing joke for more advanced students. The answer is of elementary simplicity. Form is developed along the line of heredity, and appropriate forms are picked up by Egos coming into incarnation. If I devote my life this time to music, for instance, I must be born next time in a family, the heredity of which will make it certain that my new body will be an instrument available for musical work,—and so on *ad infinitum*. Can any human being of intelligence fail to understand the principle when once plainly stated? Certain machinery will turn out, let us say, trousers of a given shape and size. They happen to fit my legs, and I wear them. Will Dr. Wallace tell me that the length of my legs is a consequence ensuing from the characteristics of the machine that made the trousers? All his remarks about genius and why we resemble our ancestors is covered by the simple illustration just given. And exhibiting in another way, his unfamiliarity with the subject in hand, he suggests that as mankind has not advanced morally since the days of Socrates and Plato, that conflicts with the theory that any process is in operation that provides for moral advance. But, the days of Plato and Socrates are yesterday as compared with the time Nature spends on evolution. Those of us who, besides being able to look back to former lives, can survey former civilisations, when the region we now call Europe was a swamp, and the foremost people of the then existing world lived on continents that have passed away,

can perceive, in the change that has come on since, a moral advance so stupendous that one is aghast to think we ourselves could ever have been morally what we were in the long (for most of us) forgotten past when we lived, for self alone, in the strangely contrasted conditions of Atlantean society.

Mr. Rider Haggard's little essay on the (to him) unfamiliar topic he has been invited to treat, is very modest in its tone, and his own opinion, which he humbly puts forward as of little worth, is that probably we have lived on earth before and will live here again. He reviews the various schools of opinion on the subject—the conventional religious doctrine—that in its naked, literal acceptation some people might be inclined to call by the phrase Dr. Wallace uses in another application, "a grotesque nightmare"—and the Buddhist idea of re-incarnation (not very inaccurately stated) and the widely diffused suspicion that nobody ever lives at all after he is once dead, either here or anywhere else. The truth of the matter is that the very wide diffusion of that last view is terribly disgraceful to the church that has mismanaged its mission to humanity so badly as to leave multitudes of cultivated people in the present day a prey to that dismal delusion.

Mr. Stead is, of course, amusing in his crisp, emphatic way of defining his own opinions, whether these have any basis in reason or otherwise. But a statement may be crisp, and at the same time comically wrong. Mr. Stead says of the people he knows who profess to believe in re-incarnation, "these excellent people do not agree among themselves." If he said of astronomers,—on the strength of the fact that some persons professing to claim that title, say that the earth is flat, while others think it is round,—“these excellent people do not agree among themselves,” he would be doing exactly what he does in the case before us. We must weigh as well as count heads. There is no disagreement on any matter of principle among cultivated students of occultism in reference to re-incarnation. In minor details there is as much difference of opinion as, for example, among chemists, as to the true nature of a solution. But these last named differences do not impair the value of the chemical opinion that water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen. Mr. Stead says, "the late Dr. Anna Kingsford was quite sure she was Plato in a former incarnation." I knew

Dr. Anna Kingsford very well, and I think Mr. Stead is mistaken in saying this. Mrs. Kingsford traced her former incarnations to one or two other historical personalities, but I never heard her suggest any fantastic idea of the kind described. But it would not affect the questions under discussion if she did. The circumstances under which such mistakes are possible could only be explained by the light of advanced occult knowledge, but are perfectly explicable. Mrs. Kingsford, at all events, was among those who sighted the main outlines of the great truth. Those who do this may be compared to ocean navigators of a former date, who may have sighted the coastline of a new continent. They might not all concur as to its precise contour or its exact latitude and longitude, but they corroborated each other as to the broad fact that in the region explored a mass of land existed.

Meanwhile the effort made by the *London Magazine* to turn attention to the supremely important questions it puts forward for treatment is entirely to be applauded. Comprehension of the law of re-incarnation do a great deal towards investing the religions of the West with practical meaning, and with influence on life and conduct. Sulphur and flames in a future state hardly intimidate the modern ploughman even. He knows that everyone who talks of them is laughing in his sleeve the while. But it is not good for humanity to imagine that no penalties await misconduct. If we all, gentle and simple alike, realised the profound truth that such penalties are inevitable, and take the practical shape of painful conditions of life in this world of the kind we all exactly comprehend, a stimulus to good behaviour would be found operative amongst us all, the value of which would eclipse that of any conventional preaching. And the mere warning value of the re-incarnation teaching is again subordinate to its importance as an encouragement and a hope. Grown up babies who fancy that Divine Power, when they die, is going to nurse them without any trouble of their own till they grow into angels, may be left for the moment out of account; they will learn better hereafter. But thoughtful persons must see that mental and moral improvement in the case of human beings can only be the fruit of effort from within. That it is possible by such effort, plainly suggests the further

reflection that there is no hard and fast limit to such improvement. Nor is the future possibility bounded by the limitations of the human organism, as we know it now. Dr. Wallace and Darwin, bringing to bear on the subjects they had studied, the light of brilliant intelligence, showed mankind that the existing organisms had been developed from very much lower forms. No great wisdom is needed to convince us that such a process has probably not yet reached its final stages. Any one who can imagine himself in the future developed by his own continuous exertions to a level of moral and intellectual advancement which would render the existing types of human organism unworthy of his occupation, may be quite sure that when he comes back he will find better ones ready for his use.

But to float out into a survey of all the inspiring ideas to which the re-incarnation teaching leads, would mean the expansion of these few remarks into a volume. By degrees, it is to be hoped, people who want to understand the teaching will get into the habit of making their inquiries in the right quarters, and will neither invite lawyers to teach them astronomy nor chemists to analyse the charms of Wagner's music, nor expect that a prominent place in the pages of "Who's Who" must necessarily entitle the persons thus distinguished to interpret the Mysteries of Nature.

AN OCCULT STUDENT.

OUR POLICY IN SOMALILAND.

INSPIRED to do so by the article on Somaliland politics which appeared in a recent number of this review, an officer who has been through the campaign sends us a statement of opinion on the subject which will be found to contrast in an interesting way with that taken by our previous contributor. The historical sketch of our proceedings contained in the former article is accepted by our present contributor as quite correct. But he does not agree with the policy deduced from it by the writer. He says :—

“ I am not quite in accord with the policy recommended as a deduction from the case as stated. ‘ The Government decided to withdraw from the occupation of Burao, in spite of the strong recommendation of Cols. Sadler and Swayne, so that all authority was withdrawn from the interior, and the country was left to the Mullah to consolidate his forces again.’ In this expedition Swayne had been largely assisted by the Dolbahanta, the best fighting tribe in Somaliland, and the Alligheri, the best of the tribes in the Dolbahanta country. On the retirement to the coast, the Mullah came down on them and exacted a heavy penalty in lives and property for the part they had taken. Since then the Alligheris have been his staunchest adherents, and also a large proportion of the large and useful Dolbahanta tribe, though a few have remained with us. They consider that we gave them away. We had gone large on ‘ British Protection,’ enlisted their active sympathies in establishing the ‘ Pax Britannica,’ and, after they were thoroughly committed, left them to their fate with a clear knowledge of what that fate would be. The memory of an ill-turn

dies hard, and the question that the Somali throughout our so-called Protectorate wants settled, and is ever asking when we prepare an expedition is, 'Is this final, or are you again going to change your minds, retire to the coast, and leave us to bear the consequences?'

"It seems to me that the policy advocated in the article is a repetition of that which has thrown so much doubt on our good faith in the past. What is the good of the man on the spot spending his life in trying to uphold and illustrate to backward nations the integrity of the Britisher, and the sanctity of an Englishman's word, when the actions of the national representatives are so at variance with what ought to be the national conscience? Let us grant that it was a mistake to interfere beyond the ten mile coast limit. Then, observing for a nation the same rule of conduct that guides the individual, we should acknowledge our fault and repair the mischief as far as possible. This course is not as easy as it looks. 'Sed revocare gradum ... hic labor, hoc opus est,' and to withdraw to the coast-line again would involve others as well as ourselves. It would leave all the tribes that had been associated with us to be punished by the Mullah, who would fine them heavily in lives, stock and cash for having assisted us. It would be taken as a mark of weakness by Somalis and Abyssinians, and the fame thereof would spread downwards through Jubaland and the Eastern Protectorates, for diplomatic apologies are not yet understood of the African peoples. Our position at the coast ports would become less assured, and the coast tribes would either become more troublesome to deal with or more difficult to protect. We have, I think, gone too far now to revert to the *status quo ante*. The head of opportunity has turned, so far as that is concerned and the bald patch is towards us now; we should seek some other way of solving the difficulty of the situation which we have (with the aid of Mahomed Abdulla) created. Destructive criticism is always easier than constructive. We have spent large sums in expeditions, and it seems almost hopeless to advocate any course involving expenditure at all events at present. Yet money is as necessary to the development of a country as eggs to the making of an omelette. The surest way in my opinion to reduce the cost

to Imperial Funds of the Somaliland Protectorate, to convince the tribes of our good faith and our desire to pacify the country, would be to commence the development of the country by the greatest of modern civilizing agencies, a railway, with the laying of the first rail of which the news would spread, that the British had come to stop. The Mullah is a power of to-day, a one-man show,—the British power goes on from generation to generation, getting stronger as it goes. There is no doubt that the Somal already recognises this, and once his doubts as to our permanence in his land are laid at rest, the power of the Mullah will wane. He fully believes in the justice of the white man, and even now cases are brought in from the furthest limits of the Protectorate for decision. A mobile, though not a large force, would be necessary to watch for raids and protect our tribes, but it would not be long before this could be entrusted to police.

“I think I am right in saying that a railway would give a fair return on the outlay, apart from its strategic and political value.

“If the present borings for Artesian water supplies are successful the question of agricultural settlements would come up, and, if found practicable, should mark the commencement of a new era in Somaliland. The conversion of the nomad population, with a strong inherent dislike to manual labour into stay-at-home agriculturalists, would not be the work of a day, and would probably require an intermediate stage of agricultural settlers from elsewhere until the Somal had had time to weigh the advantages of the fruits of the earth in due season in his own land, as against those of imported grain brought over long miles by caravan from the coast.

“Such are a few of the ideas as suggested by the article already referred to. With regard to my views on the peaceful conquest of the Mullah, I very much doubt if they would find many supporters. Still less, perhaps, if I were to suggest that, as soon as he made willing submission, he should be appointed Governor of the Southern portion of the Protectorate, with an official income and full powers. I know no man better able to do this. He is head and shoulders above any Somal as an organiser and leader, and would have been invaluable to us had we attached him, or been able to attach him, to ourselves at the outset.”

PASSING EVENTS.

A LETTER, contributed by Dr. Stenson Hooker to the *Lancet* of November 12th, is remarkable rather by reason of the fact that it appears in the *Lancet*, than for its actual contents. Dr. Hooker appears to be one of those students of the "N ray" who can perceive its delicate effects, the reality of which has been boldly denied by a good many representatives of the scientific world who have failed to see them. The "N ray," we may remind the reader, was first proclaimed by Mons. Blondlot, of Nancy, in France, who called the fact, he observed, the "N ray" in honour of the town he lived in. The effect consists of a slight enhancement of the luminosity of a faintly excited screen of fluorescent matter when held, in the dark, near human flesh. Dr. Hooker now declares that over and above perceiving the "N ray" he has carried out experiments which convince him that such rays have a spectrum, and that the different shades of colour which they emit are related to different conditions of the thoughts, feelings or emotions of the persons from whom they proceed. He says nothing as to the methods of his experiment, but, if his readers for the most part imagine that they have been carried out by means of the spectroscope or any similar instrument, they are probably very much mistaken. The letter itself, for those who understand the nature of an experiment of this kind, will be seen to indicate that the colours described in association with these mysterious rays are only visible to those gifted with a peculiar kind of sight, and although such a word is of course at present excluded from the vocabulary

of papers like the *Lancet*, for their perception they require clairvoyant vision. Dr. Hooker explains that as the result of some 300 experiments, he comes to the conclusion that the colour of the rays emitted by a very passionate man have a deep red hue. Those whose aim in life is to do good, throw off pink rays, the ambitious man orange, the profound thinker deep blue, the lover of art, yellow, and so on. His letter has been referred to in one of the daily papers as "Dr. Hooker's discovery," and it is exceedingly amusing to those students of occult science used to a great range of phenomena of which those observed by Dr. Hooker constitute a fringe, to find that a minute fragment of the knowledge with which they have long been familiar, detached from the collateral knowledge with which it is properly associated, has, in this way, had the curious fortune to meet with respectful recognition in the ultra-commonplace pages of a medical journal.

The literature of occult research has, of course, for many years been flooded with references to the colours observable in that generally invisible nimbus which surrounds most people, and is technically known as the "aura." To persons gifted with that kind of clairvoyant vision which enables them to perceive what is described in occult science as "astral matter," the aura, tinged with the colours which represent various states of mental or emotional condition, has long ago been analysed, and its constituent colours have been set forth in tabular form at intervals in theosophic publications during the last ten or twelve years. They are explained in the fullest detail in a book called "Man Visible and Invisible," by Mr. C. W. Leadbetter. In reality the effect described as the "N ray" has nothing whatever to do with these colours. The human body is a much more complicated organism than the ordinary physiologist supposes, and is associated with a great many subsidiary varieties of matter which appeal in no way to the mere physical sense. The colours which Dr. Hooker describes belong to one of the auric surroundings of the human creature. Certain vital forces are radiated from him if he is in good and robust health, and these give rise to the faint accentuations of luminosity in Mons. Blondlot's screens. These emanations are quite destitute of colour, and

are of the same nature as those which have to do with a good many of the more important phenomena of mesmerism. But fully to explain either their nature or that of the astral aura which is suffused with colour, would involve us in a very large undertaking. For the moment, the amusing and interesting feature of the present situation might be paralleled if, up to this time, electrical science had been sedulously excluded from the notice of the scientific world generally; if the acquisitions with which we are now familiar, had secured the attention of the occultist alone, and if, at the present day, some bold experimentalist had actually confided to the columns of *Nature* his discovery, that by rubbing a piece of glass in a peculiar way it was possible to give rise to a visible spark.

A SWEDISH writer in the *Daily Express* contributes to a series of articles that paper has lately started, entitled "As Others See Us." The article in question gears in so curiously with one that was published in these pages last month from the pen of Mr. T. Miller Maguire, that it claims recognition at our hands. But independently of the main idea with which it is concerned, it suggests another line of reflection. It is only one of a large number of interesting and well written essays on subjects of general interest lying a little outside the main stream of conventional newspaper topics which have been appearing for the last year or so in journals which old-fashioned habits of thought lead large numbers of people in this country to treat with a certain amount of contempt, simply because they are published at the ridiculous price of a halfpenny. When halfpenny newspapers were first started, people supposed they would appeal merely to the taste of the very humblest classes, and they were expected to concern themselves with the petty sensationalism of the police court and the events of the turf, which, while still engaging the attention of the highest classes, are becoming more and more the absorbing interest of the lowest. But the papers referred to have realised a different destiny. While some among them, it is true, maintain an attitude of devotion to ultra-democratic ideas, others have fallen into line with political thinkers, still ticketed with the inappropriate title "Conservatives," and the halfpenny press represents

both parties in the same way that this is done by the 6s. quarterly reviews. One of the newspapers in the class referred to has, at all events, attained to a circulation so colossal as to have distanced all previous records, and in this way cannot but be a national influence of serious importance. Nor can anyone whose critical faculties are free from the obscuration of the old idea that only the more highly prized journals can be acceptable, fail to realise the intellectual dignity of the *Daily Mail* and the *Express* as equal in every way to that of their senior predecessors. Coupled, moreover, with the characteristic just referred to, the halfpenny papers have undeniably been showing, for some time past, greater fertility of thought in the design of special articles and special lines of enquiry, than has hitherto distinguished the older papers. Men of distinction in literature, science, or politics, still, it is true, write letters to *The Times* when they have any special pronouncement to put forward, and it is coming to pass that the reader who knows his way about modern journalism turns to *The Times* for little more than the chance of meeting with such letters, while to know what is going on in the world, and to catch the newest ideas that may be afloat in intellectual society, he probably engages himself, in the first instance, with the perusal of the *Mail* or the *Express*.

THE changes that have been going on in what may be called the organisation of literature are by no means confined to those connected with journalism. Everyone who reads novels—and who does not?—will be aware of the immense change that has come over the whole business of manufacturing fiction since the abolition of the old three volume system. Few, however, but those closely in touch with the actual facts of the book trade will be aware of the extent to which the change has been carried. On each of three separate days during the current autumnal publishing period, more than a hundred new books were issued in this country. And this estimate, derived from one of the most distinguished firms connected with the wholesale book trade, does not include reprints or second editions. Such an avalanche of printed matter is bewildering to the understanding. Of course the vast majority of each hundred consisted of novels in the modern single volume form. But how is it

possible they can all have found buyers to the extent of covering the cost of their paper and printing is perhaps a deeper mystery for those who might be thought more nearly in a position to explain it, than even for the casual outsider who hardly realises the significance of the figures. It may be suggested that a great many do not pay the cost of their paper and printing. The literary class consists not merely of those who write for pay, but also of those who pay to get their writing printed; but after all, that explanation is insufficient to account for the phenomenon under consideration, and like many other economic problems of the present day it defies any certain analysis.

BUT going back to the Swedish contribution by Mr. Karl Pattergvist, to the discussion connected with the character of British educational systems, we find him, from the point of view of familiarity with Continental universities, amused rather than indignant at what seem to him the grotesque shortcomings of those mighty institutions before which most Englishmen bow down, like the people of Orissa before the car of Juggernaut, represented by the august names Oxford and Cambridge. The Continental opinion appears to be that these two English universities have been left utterly and hopelessly in the background as centres of intellectual activity. "Weighed down by their mediæval trappings and by the incompetence of their too muscular gentleman riders." In the Swedish universities, the student, who can live there for £40 to £80 a year all told, is entirely free from the control of the college system prevailing in this country. The lectures are practically free, and so arranged that they suffice for his instruction without being fortified by individual coaching. He goes and comes as he chooses, and if he likes can leave one university for a term or so, to profit by the teaching of some great professor at another, and, in fact, his university life is so arranged as to afford him the maximum opportunities for culture at the lowest possible cost. The way the undergraduate is "mothered" at Oxford or Cambridge amuses him immensely. The maintenance in office of old and incapable "dons" represents the sacrifice of the students' education to the maintenance of the ancient system. To have been at Oxford or Cambridge may be a social distinction,

but one day it will be recognised, our foreign critic conceives, that these centres have degenerated into mere social playgrounds, from which learning and science have departed.

A ST. PETERSBURG correspondent of *The Times* describes the precautions lately taken to provide for the safety of a train conveying the Czar from St. Petersburg to a place at no great distance, where he desired to review certain divisions of troops destined for service in Manchuria. 20,000 soldiers protected both sides of the railway along which the Imperial train had to pass. Every culvert was guarded by sentries, every elevation near the railway, the banks of cuttings and so forth were patrolled by troops, and where bridges crossed rivers, barges and boats were stationed to guard against the contingency of anarchical dynamite. It is rather the fashion to profess pity for Russian emperors doomed to live in such momentary fear of assassination, as preparations of this kind seem to indicate. It will, perhaps, be more reasonable to wonder that men for whom other men by the countless thousands are willing to die if need be, should exhibit so much terror in presence of the one danger directly affecting themselves. In Thackeray's stirring phrases, he treats with scorn the cowardice of the French king who fled before the Revolution,

“ With his nobles and knights at his side,
At the foot of his ancestor's palace,
T'were easy methinks, to have died.”

We need not repeat the whole stanza, but we know that instead “he turned like a craven and fled.” And how is it that people can be blind to the deplorable cowardice of Russian Czars, brave only to deserve assassination by the crimes they countenance, so desperately in terror of the avenging hand they see in imagination ready at every turn to strike. The poet whose verses on a very different subject appear in other pages of this review, has in his published works emitted a magnificent denunciation of the Russian Czar (directed, of course, at the one who last occupied the throne), as the despot ruler responsible for the infinite horrors of Siberia. Dealing with the hideous murder under the lash of Madame Sihida, he writes:—

“ Lo ! with an emperor’s arms to seize and pinion
A woman dies beneath the ensanguined rod ;
Her cry, though stifled, rings through thy dominion
Ay ! past thy sky’s cold starlight, up to God ! ”

But a Russian emperor is only half criticised when the horrors of his tyranny are described in glowing verse. At the lofty eminence on which he stands, as on a hundred humbler levels, cruelty is prompted, in nine cases out of ten, by cowardice. The fear for oneself is the most fruitful source of brutality to others. Continually when people say “ Why does not the Czar of Russia do this or that towards reforming the horrible conditions that prevail in his dominions ? ” — it is urged, “ he dare not, his life would not be worth a day’s purchase if he ventured to confront the ferocities of the noble class as a whole.” Precisely ! to do right would undeniably involve him in peril, and when it is considered a decent thing for a soldier called upon to advance against an enemy, to decline to do so on the ground that he would be incurring much personal risk, it will be time to treat the dangers to which a Russian Emperor might be exposed, if he were worthy of his trust, as sufficient justification for the gross neglect of his obvious duty by every Czar in turn.