



THE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE

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University Magazine

MONTREAL.

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THE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE is issued in February, April, October, and December, by a committee for McGill University; University of Toronto; and Dalhousie College.

Its purpose is to express an educated opinion upon questions immediately concerning Canada; and to treat freely in a literary way all matters which have to do with politics, industry, philosophy, science, and art.

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During the Editor's absence at the front the work of editing the Magazine is being undertaken by a local committee consisting of Sir William Peterson, Professors C. W. Colby and P. T. Lafleur.

In our book review section, under the management of Prof. S. B. Slack, notices will appear of such new books as may seem to deserve attention, especially those dealing with Canada and with Canadian and Imperial politics.

The Editorial and business management is gratuitous.

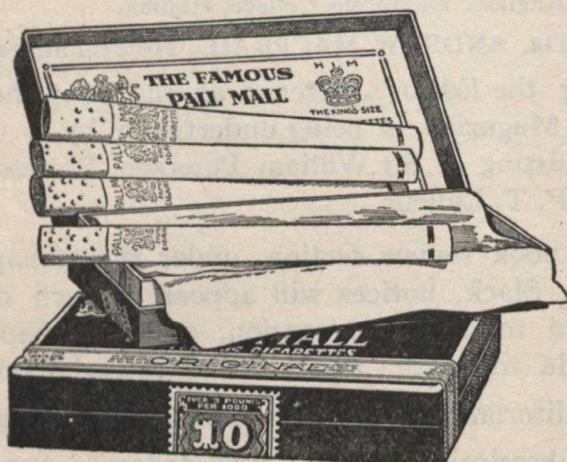
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TOPICS OF THE DAY

ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOLIDARITY Events move forward so rapidly on the great world-stage of the war that it is hard to keep abreast of them except in the columns of a daily newspaper. Just as our last number was issuing from the press, formal notice was given to the world by the President of the United States that he had severed diplomatic relations with Germany. A good deal may now be forgiven to Mr. Wilson—including the historic phrase “peace without victory,” over which so much ingenuity was wasted in the effort to explain that the President had not meant what he actually said. To us it seems that a great reflection on his powers of lucid utterance was implied in the fact that so diverse views of what he did mean were put forward in the leading articles of the New York press and elsewhere. But all that is over now, and we have never forgotten that Mr. Wilson has had peculiar difficulties to contend with. His resolute attitude has been acclaimed by the vast majority of his fellow-citizens, and at the moment of writing, the United States is at least potentially one of our allies. Whatever may be meant by “armed neutrality,” and however long the interval may be that separates it from actual war, it is plain and obvious that the United States can no longer live on friendly terms with Germany. There is no more need for her to bolster up the cause that has meant for us from the outset selfish aggression, conscienceless wrong-doing, and brazen lying. The German Chancellor told the Reichstag that he could not understand why Mr. Wilson had acted as he had done: it would seem as if he had never heard of the incident of the *Sussex*, or of the undertaking then given by the German Government to Washington. Yet all the time the Chancellor’s colleague, Herr Zimmermann, clearly foreseeing that the President would not be able to act otherwise than he did, had been directed

to look round for allies to Mexico and to—Japan! Surely this is a much greater offence than that of the British officer who was alleged to have had an unofficial conversation some years ago at Brussels as to what ought to be done in the event of a German invasion of Belgium.

We must not make the mistake of imagining that the United States has decided to break with Germany because it desires to side with Great Britain. The motive is purely American. But none the less Mr. Wilson's new departure lends the best support it has yet received to the much talked of "League to Enforce Peace," which will no longer be only a paper proposition. It has also done something to consolidate the interests of the English-speaking peoples, and to hasten the day when a mutual understanding between Britain and America will bring with it an effectual guarantee for the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

**SUBMARINE
SAVAGERY** The announcement of "unrestricted" submarine warfare as from 1st February was obviously a counsel of despair. If Germany could have got out of her difficulties in any other way, she would not have dealt such a staggering blow to the much-vaunted policy of the "freedom of the seas." What she hoped for was that she might be able to maintain the military position she had won by her sudden onset, and then finish the war by a few short sharp strokes at sea. What she has done is to outrage once again the conscience of humanity, and to make herself more than ever the outlaw of the nations. She has foully murdered helpless women and children at sea, and has sought in defiance of international law to effect the destruction of property on the largest possible scale. After what has no doubt been a long period of secret preparation, during which the U-boats had to be built, and the crews trained, these latest German atrocities were introduced and ushered in, as usual, by a characteristically German lie. It was officially stated in Berlin that Britain had been using hospital ships as transports for troops. The inference which neutral

nations were expected to draw was that when a German submarine sank a British hospital ship, the latter would have deserved her fate! Dr. Dryander, the Court preacher at Berlin—who would long ago have withstood his imperial master to his face, if he had had any spark about him of the soul of a John Knox—exclaimed in the course of his recent birthday sermon: “God cannot, He will not permit the German people to go down.” We, on the other hand, are distinctly of the opinion that there would be something wrong with the providential government of the world if the Germans were allowed to remain up! They have taken as their guiding principle the motto that whatever advances their cause is holy and right. That covers on this continent their attempts at arson and incendiarism, the bombing of merchant shipping, the destruction of property, and all the nefarious schemings of their Boy-eds, their Von Papens, and their Bopps. As regards the new submarine warfare, they are behaving like pirates and assassins; and we do not wonder that an American journal, in recording Mr. Wilson’s decision to sever relations, should have said that it was more than a political act: it was a “stroke of spiritual deliverance.”

**OUR
PRISONERS
IN
GERMANY**

Now that Ambassador Gerard has left Berlin, our hearts are stirred with anxiety and apprehension for the ultimate fate of our prisoners in Germany, civilians as well as prisoners of war. We don’t want to be “down-hearted” in this or any other matter connected with the war. Nor do we wish to pose as prophets of evil. But it stands to reason that, with such a people as the Germans have shown themselves to be, the lot of our prisoners is not likely to improve, to put it mildly. Already a number of British civilians released from internment at Ruhleben have placed on record their conviction that “unless all are immediately released many will not survive, and the reason and health of a large majority of the remainder will be permanently injured.” It has since been stated that an exchange of civilian prisoners over forty-five years of age

has been definitely agreed upon by both Governments. Even if Germany should continue to insist on having a numerical advantage in the exchange, we ought to agree: one Englishman is worth three or four Germans in such a deal, and the alternative is painful to contemplate. Increasing difficulties of transportation may be expected to interfere with the regular supply of parcels from home, and when the Germans are tightening their own belts, they may be relied upon to tell our prisoners to do likewise. This makes it the more incumbent on us to join with Mr. A. J. Balfour (Secretary for Foreign Affairs) in expressing very cordially our gratitude for all that the American Ambassador was able to do for their relief so long as he remained at his post in Germany. Without the good offices of Mr. Gerard and his colleagues of the United States Diplomatic and Consular Service things might have been much worse even than they have been. The records of Ruhleben and Wittenberg furnish ample proof of what the Germans are capable of. Some of the horrors that developed in these camps were no doubt in a way the natural outcome of a difficult situation, but many more were deliberately manufactured by heartless gaolers and brutal commandants. The intervention of the American Ambassador was instrumental in saving many lives, and Mr. Balfour is saying no more than the bare truth when he gives his assurance that "the work done by the representatives of the United States of America on behalf of British subjects in hostile lands will not readily be forgotten either by His Majesty's Government or by the British people."

THE NEW GERMAN THEOLOGY Among the most painful manifestations of the distortion of the German spirit and the perverted mentality of the people is their attitude to the divine. We have already referred to their habit of judging things good or evil according as they seem to them to advance or to retard German interests in the war. But in these judgements they actually seek to make the Deity a partner. In plain language, the modern German sets out

to make God in his own image. *Unser liebe Gott* is a German God, who is conceived of as making a chosen people the instrument of his wrath against the nations. When Germany deals out "punishment" to her enemies, she is acting as the agent of the Deity, and her deeds (even when to others they seem to be savage crimes) are holy and righteous altogether. In the words of Pastor Lehmann "the German soul is the world's soul, and God and Germany belong to one another." That is as much as to say that Germany has appropriated God, and no other nation need apply. The quotation occurs in a little volume compiled by a Danish Professor of Theology (Dr. Bang) and issued under the title "Hurrah and Hallelujah." It was recently reviewed in the *Spectator*, which sees in it "a combined national and religious frenzy passing all bounds of sense and decency." Another of the gems of the collection is Pastor Vorwerk's amazing invocation of God, whom he addresses in these words: "Thou who art enthroned on high above the Cherubim and the Seraphim, yes and above the Zeppelins!" Only a German could have said that. Count Zeppelin died the other day, and he may of course have been changed into a star; but we should prefer to believe otherwise. Here is another extract from one of Pastor Vorwerk's prayers: "Lead us not into the temptation of letting our wrath be too tame in carrying out Thy divine judgement." Perhaps words or thoughts like these may have been in the hearts of the German raiders and ravishers at Louvain and Liège, when their Emperor's heart "bled with pity" for the poor inhabitants! In any case we have in Dr. Bang's little book a collection of instances of the most blatant national arrogance and egotism, and the most shocking barbarism and blasphemy that the world has seen since history began.

W. P.

**THE
RUSSIAN
REVOLU-
TION**

Even in this time of wonders the Russian Revolution stands out above and beyond all the changes which have as yet been produced by the War. After the overthrow of Louis Philippe, in 1848,

it took about a month for the spirit of revolution, spreading from Paris, to cause other great commotions among the populations of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Whether in these days a like impulse will go forth from Petrograd to assail the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, it is too early to determine, but failing a complete collapse of divine right in the states of Central Europe, one can hardly imagine a greater marvel than that afforded by the events which have just taken place in Russia. Not that the victory of the Duma is wholly surprising to those who have kept in touch with Russian affairs since the days when Mackensen launched his famous drive against the line of the Donajetz. The reverses of 1915 and the German invasion of Russian territory stirred to its depths a mighty nation which before had been wavering. Undoubtedly the domestic troubles that began with the Japanese War produced a profound effect. They at least sufficed to bring the Duma into existence and to render the cry of protest more articulate than it had ever been before. But the things which happened between 1904 and 1907 did not wholly convince the great silent masses that the Tsardom was an obsolete institution. They had lived so long under its shadow, and it was so hallowed by its closeness of association with the Orthodox Church, that to abolish or to transform it seemed a leap in the dark. Although the events of 1905 were highly educational, there remained a strong disposition to give the Tsar another chance. Was he not the Little Father, and *ex hypothesi* the best of patriots? But since 1915 Nicholas II has been suspect, and the suspicions of his people came to assume a much more dangerous form than they had worn in 1905. At a moment when the soul of the race was stirred to its depths by the presence of the foreigner on Russian soil, the Tsar's own loyalty to the Russian cause seemed more than dubious. In short, Nicholas II was believed by Duma, Army, and People to care more for autocratic power and for the interests of his dynasty than for the sacred cause of Russia. No longer was it a question of political theory or even of agrarian demands. The Tsar fell because those who had been

prodigal of sacrifice came to look upon their sovereign as little better than a traitor. Thus it required two crises in foreign affairs to give the Russian people a due sense of how they stood toward their own central institution of the Tsardom—the Japanese War, which afforded a revelation of venal incapacity, and the Great War, which produced a situation more fatal still, since for above a year the Tsar's actions have been such as to make his subjects think him guilty of bad faith.

**MILIUKOV
AND
STURMER** By reason of these dramatic and epochal events in Russia we would call special attention to an article entitled "The Last Warning" which appears in the present number of the *MAGAZINE*. As the reader will quickly note, it centres in Miliukov's philippic against Sturmer. This arraignment of the Tsar's Prime Minister is the most dramatic episode in the recent history of the Duma, and never since that body was called into existence has it witnessed a scene of graver import. Manuilov, Raspútin, Sturmer! The first has been imprisoned, and the corpse of the second was thrown into the Neva, as though he had been a dog, by the great nobles who could endure his presence on earth no longer. But Sturmer, though overthrown by Miliukov's oratory, remained a sinister figure at the Russian Court until the recent movement which submerged his master no less than himself. What gave the "dark powers" their vitality in this momentous struggle with the Duma and the army was the allegiance of the parties which are typified under the names of Sturmer and Pitirim—Sturmer, the representative of Prussianism, acting by devious means upon the Russian press and high finance; Pitirim, the representative of a hierarchy which feared the influence that Western thought, as a solvent, might have upon a community that has been taught from time immemorial to associate religion with the prerogatives and privileges of a levitical class. The death of Raspútin throws light upon one of the most singular and incredible situations which has come to the surface in any country during the past generation. But however lurid the

exploits of this Siberian *moujik*, they were merely a symptom of the general condition which Miliukov and his supporters have succeeded, with the help of the army, in destroying. It is easy to understand why during the past six months the leading newspapers of England, France and Italy refrained from speaking their minds freely about the domestic affairs of Russia. Now, however, we can all think and say what we like, with the result that from all quarters Miliukov is receiving plaudits for his part in the battle which he waged with such persistence and straightforwardness. Anxious as we have all been to maintain a firm friendship with Russia, it is impossible for those who live in a Western atmosphere not to sympathise with the men who have emancipated the Tsardom from the reactionary influences that even a month ago continued to infest government circles at Petrograd. The most encouraging fact in Russian politics is that the Council of the Empire and Congress of Nobles have aligned themselves with the Duma in a demand for whatever may be needed to win victory from the common foe. This new solidarity gives the onlooker confidence in the stability of the new regime. In the light of what has just happened, Miliukov's speech of November 14 is the most striking parliamentary utterance which has been made since the War began. Because it has not before been accessible to Canadian readers, and because the whole incident is so significant, the MAGAZINE prints a translation of the complete text—save for those excisions which were made by the censor, and as a preface, Mr. Tartak, the translator, has also furnished valuable explanatory comments.

**THE
PROBLEM
OF THE
DISABLED
SOLDIER**

There is still another article in the present number to which special attention should be called. Entitled "The Problem of the Disabled Soldier," it discusses in general terms the principles that should be followed by Canada in caring for those members of her armed forces who have become disabled. Obviously this is only part of a still larger problem which centres in the need of providing for the return of all soldiers

and sailors to civilian life when their military duties are over. However, the obligation to help the disabled comes first in point of emergency.

One need not enumerate the palpable and cogent reasons which place this whole subject in the forefront of national interests at the present time. How to deal with our veterans in a manner which shall be at once generous, just and reasonable is a task worthy of the best capacity we possess. The theory of the pension must not be taken up lightheartedly, but with the utmost thoroughness, and the regulations established must be carried out in complete good faith, or we shall drift inevitably into practices which awaken our keen criticism when we see them in operation elsewhere. In the United States, it is said, one man applied for a pension on the ground that he had been wounded in his substitute, while another supported his claim by stating that he had read all the war articles in the *Century Magazine*. Since human nature is what it is, a strong effort will doubtless be made at some time to render our own pension act a kind of pork barrel. And apart from any other consideration, practices of this kind must inevitably tend to prejudice the interests of the deserving veteran by permitting an unjust participation by those who are not deserving. Hence from the standpoint alike of theory as crystallized in law, and of administration, the Pension Question is one of the largest in our political foreground.

Fortunately the world has advanced a great deal since 1865 when the close of the American Civil War furnished a classic object lesson of the way in which returned soldiers should not be treated. Among modern improvements none is so conspicuous as that of thorough vocational training which modern governments—or, at least, the more intelligent among them—are providing for the disabled soldier. No one can have read the current newspapers and periodicals without encountering descriptions of the magnificent work which France, particularly, has done in this field. The shattered survivors of Nancy, the Marne, the Champagne offensive,

and the Verdun defense are being trained systematically with a view to insuring their future usefulness and happiness. It is an object lesson which will cause Canadians shame unless we take similar steps to render our own heroes something more than the recipients of an income—whether that income be supplied by the state or by individuals.

To itemize the many and multiform considerations which are bound up with the problem of the disabled soldier would be beyond the scope of a mere note. But it is hoped that these few words may act as a fingerpost, directing all patriotic readers to the article on this subject which stands among the special features of the present number.

THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE The difficulties that confront those who desire a League to Enforce Peace are well set forth

by Professor Ramsay Muir. And it must be remembered that the party whose programme is thus criticised contains such members as Root, Taft, Sir Frederick Pollock and President Lowell. The most suggestive illustration which is employed by Professor Muir is that of the German Confederation as it was at the beginning of the Bismarckian era. The corner-stone of this league was that there should be no war between its members—who, moreover, “had the advantage that all belonged to the same stock and the same stage of political and economic development, and all spoke the same language.” Yet despite these manifest advantages the German Confederation broke down, because Prussia used the mutual guarantee of peace as a cloak for her aggressive designs, just as she abused the guaranteed neutrality of Belgium in the same manner. Bearing these experiences in mind Professor Muir makes it a primary and fundamental condition that “there must be no single Power, or group of Powers, dominated by a single will, so strong as to be able to defy the rest of the world, and therefore, to be tempted by the prospect of world-supremacy.” Nor should the League include any state which cannot be trusted to fulfil the responsibilities of membership. It was a naive announcement

which the German Government made at the close of last year when stating that it had not only approved the idea of an organized peace, but would gladly lead a movement to bring it about. From the standpoint of the Allies, Professor Muir is only stating the bare and simple truth when he says: "If the League of Peace is to secure the confidence of its members, there must be no ground for fear that it may be used as a trap. There will always be ground for such fear in any league to which Germany is admitted; and the existence of this fear would destroy the value of the League at the outset. A very long period must pass, and the German system of government and of diplomacy and espionage must be radically altered before any of the Powers which have suffered by her treachery dare imperil themselves by trusting to her honour." The element of mutual confidence being essential, Professor Muir finds the most promising basis of a League to Enforce Peace in a continuance of the association which to-day links the Allies of the *Entente*. It already includes ten states which "have held together as no alliance has ever held together before in history, which will have learned to trust and understand one another, and which will be united in the resolve to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe." The ten members of the *Entente* group would first create machinery for preventing the outbreak of strife among themselves. "Very probably this will take the form (a) of a general arbitration treaty, whereby they will pledge themselves to settle by that method all disputes capable of being so dealt with; (b) of an undertaking to refer non-arbitrable controversies to a commission of enquiry, and to await its report before taking overt action; and (c) by a pledge to combine against any of their number who fails to use these methods." Such a League would readily admit other Powers if each on its record seemed worthy of trust and could pledge the future action of its government. But the groundwork of the association would be formed by the continued co-operation of the ten states which have gone through fire and water together during this war.

Professor Muir's article is only one of the excellent studies which are being contributed in great number to the *New Europe*. As a practical suggestion it will find welcome with those who feel cloyed by loose pacifist talk regarding "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World;"—from the use of which, however, we must expressly absolve such advocates of the League to Enforce Peace as Root, Taft, Pollock and Lowell.

AUSTRIAN ATROCITIES In the time of Metternich and Mazzini the word "atrocities" had not lost all its meaning. To-day our senses are so deadened by what the Turks and Prussians have been doing that it may be difficult to awaken any interest in the misdeeds of the Hapsburgs and Magyars. As for one part of this record, there are numerous photographs which disclose the discoveries made after Potiorek had been chased out of Servia in 1914. For the rest, the evidence of terrorism throughout the Dual Monarchy keeps accumulating until now a point has been reached where everyone who has followed the figures must feel that Austria is weighed down by enough crimes and curses to damn her forever. As far back as January, 1916, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* gave figures which show what has happened to civilians in the Hapsburg lands who either have raised their voices against the oppressor or have fallen under suspicion. Even fifteen months ago, and on the testimony of a paper which would naturally tend to minimize the figures, the statistics of executions for high treason run as follows:—In the Trentino, 330; Trieste, 290; Fiume, 60; Istria and Dalmatia, 208; Bosnia, 800; Bohemia, 720; Moravia, 245; Galicia, 480; the Bukovina, 330—a total of 3,463. What kind of evidence was produced may be inferred from the forgeries which were brought to light at the time of the Friedjung Trial, and those which were employed to secure a death sentence from the Court Martial that tried Karel Kramarzh. These statistics and these methods are given special interest by certain passages in the recent communications of President

Wilson to Congress and to the American people. The famous phrase of "peace without victory" is accompanied by excellent doctrine regarding the consent of the government as a condition precedent to any just government in the time to come. And, lastly, the Inaugural Address contains this proposition as the climax in a catena of seven fundamental principles: "The community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented." In their bearing upon the Dual Monarchy these statements come very close to a contradiction in terms. "Peace without victory" implies the *status quo* in respect to territory, but the perpetuation of existing conditions in Austria means a flat contradiction of the principle that a government can only exist legitimately with the consent of the governed. Finally, if political sympathizers in other lands are to be prevented from helping the oppressed minority, how are the Jugoslavs, the Czechs and the Roumanians of Transylvania to gain their freedom—a freedom which is their due if the national principle means anything? Fortunately we are not yet reduced to the plight of being confronted with a "peace without victory."

C. W. C.

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES

EVEN in these times, it seems, some very clever and amiable people, like Mr. Arnold Bennett and his "cards," can make a shift to get on quite creditably and to fulfil by no means negligible functions in the world, without feeling any need of support from the old-fashioned thought of God. Cardinal Mercier, however, could not dispense with it. Nor could the hundreds of simple curés in France and Belgium who remained, often to die, at their posts when all other officials fled before that fiery inundation of the Blonde Beast which has at least quite rehabilitated the Devil. Surely some immense Reality was grasped by the belief that could outface that other frightfully indubitable reality; a truth so incommensurable with any flaws in the forms in which it was held, that the sharp eye which sees no more in it than the *flaws*, has simply proved itself equal to the feat of detecting the spots and missing the sun. These men believed in "a refuge and a strength, a very present help in time of trouble." It did not fail them. They believed in an Infinite unseen Something which on the one hand made an infinite demand, asking from them no less than everything, which on the other hand could fill their little minds and bodies with might to meet its own exorbitance, and give everything. And they made good these large assertions of their faith by ocular demonstration. In the effort which is forced on us, I think, to reach a truer expression in words and forms of worship than they did of the truth by which they lived and died, let us see to it that we drop nothing of the effective energy for deeds supplied to them by their antique symbols. Clearness in this particular region of inquiry may easily prove shallowness and be dearly bought by loss of power. The fullest truth here is what best stands strain; that is to say, not logical concinnity, gained perhaps by eliminating the "baby with the bath-water," but a true

man, and that way of putting the truth and bringing it to bear which tends most to produce him.

The thought that helps Cardinal Mercier and others so much at present is a very old story. "All men," says Homer, "have need of the Gods;" and since his time there has scarcely been a poet that counts who does not re-echo that saying. The philosophers, too, including even such a comparatively bloodless one as Mr. Herbert Spencer, come round in one form or another with practically one voice to something very much like the same conclusion. It is hard for them from their point of view to escape the idea of a Universe. Such shrill voices of negation as there are sound in comparison like the screams of sea-mews over the deep murmur of that ocean, moving for ever to the pull of the skyey forces, which the heart of man is. All great literature or Scripture, as it may well be called, the imperishable record of the deepest experience of our race, of which the Hebrew Scriptures are, I believe, only one chapter though the central one, is in its essence a musical echo of the never-ending dialogue through all the gamut of its myriad moods, a passionate drama, of the ceaseless wrestle with God.

Now, in the reflection of these records, we find that, roughly speaking, this great idea may be said to have impressed itself on men's minds in two aspects. There is the Power which works in Nature making it a living whole not a mere aggregate of unrelated single things, and the Power, no doubt one and continuous with that, which breaks out however into quite a novel and surprising wealth of manifestations in the life of man. The various little books of the New Testament and indeed the whole of the Bible are chiefly concerned with the latter aspect. There is not much trace there of the instinct for the Multiplication Table, and the Conservation of Energy, and that inexorable "geometrizing" of God which was so much borne in upon Kepler, and is such an entirely indispensable element in any Theology for us. Jesus indeed, standing quite alone in this as in many other things, shows a strong sense of the undeviating natural order. For Him the

sun and rain and falling towers make no distinctions whatever between the just and the unjust. And He has some of the deepest and sweetest things to say that have ever been said of the encompassing life that is all around us in the grass and crops and flowers and trees and birds. Wordsworth himself did little more than expand such words as Virgil precluded them. And even Paul, whose eyes were always in his book, who could scarcely be drawn away from it to look at anything less exciting than a foot-race or a boxing-match,¹ and who was inclined to think in spite of the Book of Jonah that God cared² as little for oxen as he did, was sure nevertheless that the invisible nature of the creator could be seen by the mind's eye in his visible works.³ But throughout the New Testament it may be said that, on the whole, surprisingly little interest is shown in the world as it is given us and as it meets our eyes. The attitude to that fair world is for the most part rather repellently indifferent and even hostile. To these writers, God may be visible there, but the Devil is much more visible. They would make *tabula rasa* both of him and of the earth incurably poisoned by his venom, as they suppose, even to its innermost fibre. It is not the God that works in Nature, but the God who works in man, that fixes their gaze. Amid much in their way of thinking which belongs to a world as dead for us as the extinct volcanoes of the moon, much that sounds so thin and ghostly in our ears, so remote and indeed so unintelligible, we can still feel and catch for ourselves the mighty pulse of their living belief in this God who reveals himself in the life of man. And what is really distinctive and peculiar, what is really *Christian* in their message is after all quite simple. Strip it of the strange and essentially alien survivals in which it is often wrapped up—the antique “Mesopotamian” shreds and patches gathered from all points of the compass, from Jewish Apocalypse, itself the motliest syncretism, Mystery-Cults, and Græco-Oriental Theosophy—and you will find a very plain and accessible view of the God that works in man, the “*praesens Deus*” at all times veri-

¹ 1 Cor., 9, 26-27. ² 1 Cor., 9, 9-10. ³ Romans, 1, 20.

fiable, and that once more in two aspects, the God whom we are to bow down and serve and the God whom we are to bow down and worship. Neither is far away from us. The first comes before our eyes in all who need our help. He that receiveth them receiveth Him. Inasmuch as we do, or do not, unto them, we do or fail to do to Him. Their claim upon us is a Divine claim, a question of to be or not to be for our own innermost being, and the whole Divine claim is upon us exhaustively represented by them. We pay Heaven wholly if we pay them, and if we do not pay Heaven in them, we do not pay Heaven at all. On this side of our activity, God is to be got at only through His needy children. Then there is the God whom we are to bow down and worship and in worshipping to assimilate and incarnate and bring to bear as a refashioning force upon the world. This God, too, like the other who lay at our gates in the rags and sores of Lazarus, makes himself plainly visible and stands "placarded up before us," to use a vivid phrase of Paul's,—He too in a form of the most abhorrent concreteness, on the Cross, that is to say, the very rubbish-heap of uttermost humiliation and defeat.

This then, it seems to me, is the essence of the New Testament idea of God. On the one hand the God we can help, on the other the God that can help us. Both take visible shape and become realities and not mere figments and phantoms to us only in men our brothers. Not to find Him in them is not to find Him at all. It is to wither in the prison of the outer darkness. The only God whom we can help is our little brother with his needs, and the only God who can help us is our elder Brother with His Cross. And He does not really help us, He does not deliver us from bondage and bestow on us the freedom of the city of God, which is the Universe, and make us absolutely at home in it, unless He brings us to the Father who at once required of Him that supreme obedience and gave Him the victorious power to render it; unless He draws us up to His side to share that Cross with Him and so become elder brothers in our turn and sons of God that give and do

not merely take. Worship of the Christ which re-embodies Him, that faith in the Christ who died which brings Him to life anew and forever in the believers who are redeemed by his Cross and repeat it—surely that is the sum and substance of the religion of the New Testament.

Surely, too, it is the plainest possible statement of the divine and ultimate facts inexorable and beautiful of the earth we live in. The beauty is not indeed the sweetness of an idyll, though it enfolds that too, and its bare precipitous grandeur is the only possible sheltering frame-work for it. It is the stern beauty, the liberating pity and terror of a mighty tragedy. The Cross is indeed the Rock of Ages, the one foundation of all that makes life worth living, of life itself indeed, which can only be born out of that shadow of the cross from which every mother brings her child into the light. All the great spiritual goods that have come down to us were paid for to the uttermost farthing by myriads of nameless Gethsemanes, by sanguine sweat, by tears and labour and sufferings. They have all flowed from "the fountain filled with blood drawn from Immanuel's¹ veins." Where would the world have been if men, our elder brothers, had given in to the devil and feared to die! The eternal reappearance of the Cross, its ceaseless re-enactment in human history is the one proof of man's inalienable birthright of inward freedom, and as we can see very plainly just now the only guarantee of outward liberty.

There are of course in the New Testament, above all in Paul—with his high Rabbinical Christology—who has stamped his mark on almost every page of it, many unthawed remnants of antique Dualism which always mean self-contradiction. No one will be surprised at that who knows anything of the complexity and slow growth of human thought, especially in its higher reaches; of how the new grows up under the sheath of the old like the young beech leaves under the brown withered ones of last year, which do not drop off till the fullgrown violence of life ends by pushing them off.

¹The word means "the God that is with us."

But the main substance and heart of the New Testament is that most perennial and uncompromising Immanence, the Cross. And, next to his Master, Paul is its great interpreter. He helped himself across the chasm, it is true, with crutches cut on the side he started from. They have become a hindrance, and thanks to the very man who could not do without their help we do not need them any more. If we have any ear at all for such things—such, for instance, as might be cultivated by reading Dante with intelligence—we can overhear the spirit that speaks under his words speaking some such words as should have a full clear meaning for ourselves. And then the Cross would stand out for us in its naked power and beauty. We should see there the end of all Dualism. Not merely of the Law, that single form of it which was eliminated for Paul!—a good day's work indeed for any son of man to shed that much—but also of the pseudo-speculative Rabbinical Apocalyptic of which he did not get rid. We should see in it the squarest acceptance of our seemingly so hard world with all its iron laws and limits just as it is, the boldest annexation for God and man of the undiluted reality, at its very worst, that has ever been achieved. This is the faith that needs no fairy tales, that owns all things as they are, can face all facts and feed on death. The world was never more in need of it than it is to-day.

The Cross has become to us such a noble and dignified symbol that the stupendous paradox involved in it escapes us. Think what it meant for a Jewish Doctor of Divinity like Paul who knew all the six hundred and thirteen commands and prohibitions of the Pentateuch by heart, as well as the countless codicils of the Scribes thereto, and practised them, who was deeply versed besides in all the Christological lore of the Rabbis and all the exegetical refinements by which the Alexandrian Allegorists could make any text prove anything required, to tell those speculative Corinthian Greek logic-choppers that he desired "to know but one thing among them, Christ and Him crucified." Who was this Christ of his? All he could pretend that anybody had ever seen of

Him while he lived in this world was in the shape of a certain Galilean peasant called by the very common name of Jesus or Joshua, a man quite destitute of book-learning, who could not have passed a creditable examination on the most indispensable of the celebrated authorities, was quite ignorant of the elements of the higher Theology or Gnosis and indeed scornfully contemptuous of it—above all, most incredible and shocking of all, who had expiated His criminal ignorance and insurgency by ending on the gibbet. That was all that Paul himself had once seen in Him. And now he calls upon these cultured people to behold in that gallows-tree with the Man who hangs there, between two thieves, the one thing worth knowing, the one thing needful, the one place in all the Universe where God is to be found!

What did he see in it that made him fall so deep in love with death and shame? Well, in the first place, certainly not that unhappy travesty of his doctrine which would convert the religion of Jesus, the religion of valour and manhood, Bushido in excelsis, into a propaganda of intellectual and moral paralysis. He certainly did not see in the Cross of Jesus a cheap way of escaping well-deserved punishment, a sponge dipped in opiates for sleek pacifists, a labour-saving device, a sleeping-car ticket to Heaven for those who by an act of so-called faith could simply bring themselves to believe that it would act like an open sesame at the gate there for them. His view was that it could not possibly do any good whatever to anybody who did not accept it in the sense of actively sharing and repeating it. He saw in it the way of peace and liberation for the individual soul. Not by the works of the Law can a man be saved, not by punctual servility in the performance of an endless list of outward prescriptions which must always remain external to him, but by a comprehensive change of his whole inward attitude, by the assimilation of the Cross, the grasp in a single total act of self-surrender of a quickening spirit which is not a mere dead categorical imperative but a source of living spontaneous will and power. He saw, too, in that single historical event and,

by a turn of thought very characteristic of him, generalized it as the divine symbol of a great permanent principle, the payment of the price of sin. The ignorance, indolence, selfishness and wickedness of men, as we may perhaps put it in our language, accumulates little by little, and runs up to a huge account at last. The law is quite mathematically inexorable that every uttermost farthing should be paid. On whom does the burden fall? Not for the most part on those whose guilt or negligence has been most to blame for incurring the debt. It falls on the Christ, the burden-bearer. On Jesus and on those who have been lifted up into the fellowship of His Cross. Yes, and on the vast inarticulate mass of suffering and yet cheerful humanity, with which Jesus expressly identified Himself, though Paul has little to say of that Am-ha-arez,¹ whose smiling and tearful toil is forever expiating and repairing the waste and havoc wrought by the evil will, the criminal ignorance, incompetence and inertia of men. These are the Caryatides who support the ponderous framework of our world—who stand, to the eye that can see things as they are, “arrayed in white robes, washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb.” They follow where the Master led and continue His saving work. They pay up and make good. It is they who “fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ.” Thus like a great gulf-stream of

moving waters at their priest-like task
Of pure ablution round earth’s human shores,

the tide of sacrifice flows through the world to redeem and cleanse and sweeten it unceasingly. This redemptive work is not a single act in time and place but a never-ending divine process of self-revelation in which the inmost heart of the Universe is constantly breaking out into flower. Calvary is and shall remain its living symbol, the great unquenchably springing fountain of its healing streams, because the incomparably purest and most powerful demonstration of it in the

¹“The earthy people of the earth,” as the Pharisees called the poor *canaille*, thanks to whose dirty labours they kept their hands so clean.

extreme and all-inclusive case, the fulness of that Godhead bodily, and the Name by which He must ever thenceforth be known among the men that count, first came indubitably to view there. But as all the New Testament writers are constantly telling us—how else could they have kept their hold upon the Old Testament, that is to say, upon their quite vital continuity with the past?—the divine principle so fully and loudly uttered there did not begin its manifestation with the earthly life and death of Jesus, nor did it end with that. The Christ was always busy—not in Israel alone, in spite of that powerful fanatic, St. Augustine¹—and is still busy everywhere. “My Father worketh hitherto and I work.” “The Lamb slain from the foundations of the world.” It is our life to know Him—to bow down and worship Him, and the great event, the hour of birth, for each of us is still, as it was for Paul, the dawn of insight in whatever form—and to the forms there is simply no end—that it is his own personal sin or selfishness which is the murderer of his Master, to see in that sin and selfishness of his own not something for which he may personally suffer here or hereafter, but something which has made and makes his Lord and Master suffer, has nailed and does daily nail Christ to the Cross. Then sin thaws at last and falls away. Then in one great gush forgiveness comes, and with it as its proof the power to forgive others and bear their burdens, as a Christ in one’s own degree and turn.

But this remedial and atoning aspect of the Cross—“without the shedding of blood there is no remission”—is only one of its facets. There is another, not obscurely indicated by St. Paul, essentially bound up and indeed identical with that, which takes us out into an even larger air. The Cross is not merely the vehicle of redemption; it is the instrument of an unceasing divine energy of re-creation which is for ever fashioning a new Heaven and a new Earth before our eyes. It is too much forgotten that this was St. Paul’s

¹ Who said that “the virtues of the heathen were splendid vices!” He had evidently never read the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

supreme interest as it was to an even higher degree his Master's—this coming of God's Kingdom on earth. The natural desire to secure for himself an access to everlasting felicity or at least an escape from eternal damnation, if he believed in that, which seems in the highest degree unlikely, was quite a secondary matter with him in comparison. He tells us once with perfect sincerity that in order to further a higher end than that personal one, namely, the salvation of his people, he would quite cheerfully accept the last extremity of evil for his own individual fate. "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." What a man speaks there! As in Jesus the spirit of revolt and protest which is the life-blood of Christianity—grown very anæmic in many of its modern forms—was still mighty in him. He was not satisfied with the old creation. His God was the God of things as they ought to be, not the God of things as they were. He was not content that the world should go on forever just as he found it. For one thing, he had a true instinct, in whatever strange ways he might have expressed it, that man was very far indeed from having reached that lordship over the material universe which was manifestly his birthright and destiny. And again he was profoundly dissatisfied with himself to begin with and then with all the other men he knew, including both Camaliel and St. Peter, and lastly with the whole present order of human relationships and the established system in Church and State. It "grieved him much to think what man had made of man." He could not endure to believe that all this should remain unchanged, that

So long as skies are blue and fields are green,
Evening shall usher night, night urge the morrow,
Week follow week with woe, and year wake year to sorrow.

Or rather, he could well have put up with the sorrow. He grew to be quite content with his "thorn in the flesh." What he could not stand was the futility.

To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow
Creeps on this petty pace from day to day,
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death.

That was what he could not stand. Where was the way out? Not for him or for us within the entire compass of the physical universe. There was and is nothing new doing there. The same old forces had been jogging along for untold millions of years with the calmest indifference as to whether men used them to make or mar, and might well go on identically (though it is true Paul did not know that) for as long again and longer to the same deadly old discordant tune as ever. The God in *them*, if that was all there was of Him, could not help. But the God that had burst out in the Cross could—the God that works in the indomitable protest of the free-will of His own Son, whom He inspires with the vision of the best which is His own will and drives to stake his all upon it and scorn all else, and build the bridge over the great gulf thither out of his own dead body, flinging his life in the face of the opposing evil. Here was a God at last who could do things, a living God, a principle of movement in the old petrified tread-mill of mechanical men and blind mechanical forces, a God who could make all things new. The inner world of man's heart first, by turning it to the sun of Love. And then the outer world, which for all its grim appearances is but wax to man's busy brain and hands, once love and freedom give them boldness and impulse and song to cheer their work—that too changed into the home, nay into the vesture or even the shining body of that loving heart, and all its iron forces which once seemed baffling and confining limits revealed at last for what they had always in their inner nature been, love's bag of tools and mill-dam. This really Almighty God—almighty not because He could make two and two into five which is neither necessary nor desirable, but simply because He could reveal the truth to the simplest men and make them glad to die for it—this irresistible Power of love and reason made perfect in the visible demonstration of

uttermost human weakness, this Power it was which had flooded the life of that unlettered Galilean, as a tiny stream by the sea-shore is filled to majesty by the tide of the boundless ocean, and made his place of torture and of shame, in a vastly wider sense than Paul ever dared to dream, the centre of the world's history, the ultimate source of all the divine life-giving, creative and transforming influences since that day.

This, then, as it seems to me at least, was in its real living kernel, Paul's simple Gospel of the Cross. There is but one God who counts, one that is not impotent for any practical purposes and above all for the one great purpose that makes it worth any serious man's while to live, the re-fashioning of this earth of ours, namely, into a place fit for self-respecting freemen and sons of God to live in, and that is the God who lives and moves and shows that He is alive, a real force down here in the death and Cross of Jesus and in the life of those who prove that Jesus did not die and that the God of Jesus is not dead, by carrying on that Cross.

Cannot Mr. Arnold Bennett and his "cards" see that God as he is revealing Himself in France and Flanders to-day—"according to the mighty working of that Power by which he is able even to subdue all things unto himself?" Yes, they do see Him. The debate is after all largely only one of those unhappy wrangles about words for which both sides are to blame, the old trouble of the Tower of Babel. It is the raucous gulf between Kikuyu-Canterbury, with its rose-coloured windows and all too opulently Latin poetry taken too stiffly, on the one hand, and the devastating, dry light of the Five Towns on the other. And yet both the Archdeacons and the Clayhangers do see Him. They were never more on the point of casting their several idols to the moles and to the bats and bowing down together with one voice of lowliest pride and worship before Him. For they are all Englishmen after all. The race has many faults and has cherished many quaint creeds. But it has always been comparatively free, and is more free to-day than ever, from the two great Atheisms—the accursed Atheism of deafness to God's call in the bitter

ery of the little ones, the weak and oppressed trampled on by the Great Brute's iron hoof, and that other Atheism, the sin against the Holy Ghost which cannot be forgiven, the dreadful deadness of soul that cannot do homage to Heroic Love.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON

THE SUMMONS

If on the morrow the quick summons comes
To lay down life, I shall go willingly,
Since it is given the ultimate to see
To which man can attain. The rolling drums
Of God's high calling did not beat in vain.
Men at a word leaped from luxurious rest
To strenuous action—took for guerdon pain,
Hardness and wounds. Death met the splendid quest
Worthy the Sacred Grail. The Highest spoke—
The highest in man answered. Then awoke
The inner things of life. War's strange dismay
Dimmed not the flame that made a holy ground,
As if the spirit pierced the crumbling clay
Hearing the Resurrection trumpet sound!

MINNIE HALLOWELL BOWEN

THE LAST WARNING

WE believe the following translation of the remarkable speech delivered on November 14th, 1916, by Professor P. N. Miliukov, leader of the Constitutional-Democrats in the Duma, is the first to be published *in extenso* in the English language.¹ This may seem somewhat strange, as the speech has already created a great deal of comment, and is being constantly quoted and referred to by the European and American press. The speech was withheld from publication for a month by the Russian censor, but when the first summaries of it, and later the full text, were allowed to be made public the Russian and Allied press greeted it as the most authoritative and strongest protest of the country against the so-called "dark powers" and their alleged pro-German sympathies, led by Sturmer, then Prime Minister, and the ominous mystic Rasputin. The consequent resignation of Sturmer, which current opinion ascribed mainly to the astounding disclosures made in Miliukov's speech, and the outburst of joy with which the country accepted two weeks later the news of Rasputin's assassination, accentuated more strongly still the timeliness and the true historic importance of Miliukov's discourse.

The main arguments of Miliukov's speech run along the following lines. The country and the bureaucracy realize that the war can be won only when the resources of the whole country, including the government, on the one hand, and the municipalities, co-operative societies (large and small), and all social, professional and public organizations, on the other, are mobilized, organized and united for the war. But to have the people organized means for the bureaucracy the prospect

¹ This article was ready for the press when news came of the Russian revolution. It did not, however, seem necessary to change anything, although it is remarkable that the "impending catastrophe," to which reference is made in the article, proved nearer even than we had dared to hope.

of facing after the war the demand for freedom and constitutional reforms, backed by the power of an organized population of 180,000,000. This prospect is enough to curdle the blood in the veins of many a bureaucrat. This is the reason why the "dark powers"—an influential section of the bureaucracy, headed by the illiterate, but omnipotent Rasputin, and the pillar of the reactionaries, Sturmer—were lending perhaps more than a willing ear to the perfidious whisperings of the foe regarding a separate peace.

At this trying moment of Russian history, Professor Miliukov's voice was raised in bitter protest on behalf of the country and in solemn warning of an impending catastrophe in case the policy of the "dark powers" be carried out. And so great was the authority of the man, so powerful the patriotic height of his eloquence, and so overwhelming the evidence in the case brought forth by him, that this discourse produced consequences unique in Russian history. Sturmer's resignation and the assassination of Rasputin by a group of aristocrats—who acted perhaps on grounds more personal than political—was a blow from which the "dark powers" are hardly likely to recover, although the struggle between the "dark powers" and democratic Russia is by no means at an end. The services rendered by Miliukov to the cause of the Allies are thus invaluable, and this would be sufficient to make his historic address one of the widest interest for the British people. Public opinion considered Sturmer's resignation as caused directly by Miliukov's revelations, and it was reported later that a conspiracy against Miliukov's life was organized by one of the extreme Right organizations, and that Miliukov found refuge in the British Embassy in Petrograd.

One more particular reason could be mentioned why this discourse should appeal to the English reader. At this moment, when the interest in Russian politics is wide awake, and the want of authoritative information is keenly felt, Miliukov's discourse gives a comprehensive, concise and clear survey of the state of Russian politics—interior and foreign—and offers to a non-Russian an indispensable introduction to the study of the present Russian crisis.

Professor Miliukov was born near Petrograd, in 1859. He studied in Moscow and became a professor of history at the University there in 1886. At the same time he commenced to attract the attention of the Russian public as an essayist of vigour and talent, and as an historian and political economist of erudition. The general liberality of his views and his popularity with the public were sufficient for the Government to force him to resign his position in 1895 and banish him. In 1897, however, he was offered the Chair of History in the University at Sofia, Bulgaria. Here he taught with great success for two years, after which he returned to Petrograd at the request of the Russian Government. But his views did not change in the two years passed in exile. His popularity with the public increased, and his relations with the Government again became strained.

The series of remarkable books published by him up to that time, amongst which are his comprehensive "Studies in the History of Russian Culture," his "Essays," and his "Main Currents of the Russian Historiography," took a prominent place and established his position as a leading historian and political writer. In 1901-05 we find him in the University of Chicago where he was lecturing on Russian history and politics. He published this course in English, enlarged and revised in the form of a book entitled "Russia and Its Crisis." In 1905 he returned to Russia, only to be arrested and imprisoned for some time. After Russia was promised constitutional reforms in 1905, Miliukov was one of the organizers, and ever since has been the leader of the Constitutional-Democratic party in the Duma and in the country. In the years following he took a prominent part in the debates of the Duma. If before Miliukov was a commanding figure in Russian politics, the war made his prominence international.

The country at large, except perhaps the extreme reactionaries, acclaimed with enthusiasm the entrance of Russia into the *Entente Cordiale*. Miliukov was one of the promoters of the Triple Entente, and he was voicing the opinion of the

country when, at the very outbreak of the war, he and his political friends declared that "in alliance with noble France and freedom-loving England, Russia is fighting for the cause of liberty and oppressed nationalities." He certainly meant that the alliance with two of the foremost democracies of the world would secure the benefits of democracy for Russia, and the country shared and is still sharing his belief.

E. TARTAK

THE SPEECH OF P. N. MILIUKOV, DELIVERED IN THE DUMA
ON NOVEMBER 14, 1916.

It is with a heavy heart that I ascend to-day this tribune. You will remember the circumstances under which the Duma met over a year ago (July 19, 1915). Our minds were then filled with the thought of our reverses in the field. We found the cause of those reverses in a shortage of munitions, and traced that shortage to the acts of Sukhomlinoff,¹ the Minister of War. You will remember that then the country, under the impression of a terrible and manifest danger, demanded a unification of national forces and the creation of a cabinet in which the country could confide, and you will remember that even the Minister Goremykin acknowledged from this tribune that "the prosecution of the war means an enormous, extraordinary demand both upon the spiritual and material forces of the nation."

You will also remember that at that time the Government made some concessions. Ministers hated by the country were removed. As for Sukhomlinoff, whom the country considered to be a traitor, he had been removed before the convocation of the Duma. (Voices from the left: "He is a traitor!")

¹ Sukhomlinov, Minister of War in August, 1914. As early as December of that year the Duma called his attention to the shortage of munition. He replied reassuringly and promised prompt action—but did nothing. The reverses suffered by Russia in the spring of 1915 were caused by his suspicious inactivity. Meanwhile, his relative and protégé, Colonel Myasoyedov, of the General Staff, was shown to be a German spy and hanged, following a court martial. An enquiry was then demanded by the Duma and people into the conduct of Sukhomlinov. This was promised and even commenced, but later the matter was hushed up by his friends—Sturmer and Rasputin.

And in reply to the demand of the representatives of the nation in the session of July 22, Polyvanoff declared, amidst universal applause, that a committee of investigation had been appointed, and that the trial of the former Minister of War was about to commence. Gentlemen, this universal enthusiasm was not in vain. Our army received what was needed, and the country entered upon the second year of war with the same determination as upon the first.

But what a difference now after twenty-seven months of war, a difference which I notice the more from having passed two months of this time abroad. We are confronted now with new difficulties, and these difficulties are no less complicated and serious, no less deep than those which we faced in the spring of last year. At that time the Government stood in need of heroic measures to combat the general disorganization of national resources. As for the Duma, it stands where it did before. We are the same in the twenty-seventh month of the war as we were in the tenth and in the first. We are still striving for complete victory; as ever, we are ready to make all necessary sacrifices; and, as ever, we wish to keep intact the unity of the nation. But let me speak plainly. There is a difference in the situation. We have lost our belief that this Government can lead us to victory (Voices: "True!") because all efforts to amend it, all efforts to improve it, have proved useless.

All the other Allied countries have called to the ranks of the Government the very best men from all parties. They have secured for the heads of their respective governments the full national confidence. They have brought together all the elements of organization that were to be found in their countries—countries, moreover, which are better organized than ours. What has our Government done? This is a subject which we have already dealt with in our declaration.¹ Ever since there has been in the Duma a majority

¹ In 1915, the majority of the Duma formed a Progressive Block and issued a declaration stating their programme. They demanded a responsible government, possessing the confidence of the Duma, the organization of the country for the war and the introduction of vital reforms. None of these demands was granted.

such as did not exist before—a majority willing to give its confidence to a cabinet worthy of that confidence—ever since that time, almost all the members of the cabinet who possessed our confidence to any degree have been forced systematically to leave the cabinet; and if before our Government had neither the knowledge nor the talents required for the present moment, the present Government has sunk below the average level of normal times (Voices from the left: “True! Right!”) and the gulf between us and this Government has become wider and more impassable (Voices from the left: “True!”).

Gentlemen, a year ago the conduct of Sukhomlinoff became the subject of an investigation. But then these odious ministers had been removed before the convocation of the session. Now their number is increased by new members. (Voices from the left: “True!” Voices from the right: “Protopopov!”)¹ As things were before we appealed not indeed to the intelligence or to the tact of the Government, but to their patriotism and good faith. Can we do that now? (Voices from the left: “Certainly not!”)

In the French “Yellow Book” were published German documents which gave instructions as to means of disorganizing the countries of the enemy, of creating dissatisfaction and disorder. Gentlemen, if our Government had deliberately put before themselves the same aim, or if the Germans had been willing to expend on this purpose their own effort by means of influence or bribe—they could have done nothing more than act precisely as the Russian Government has acted. (Voices from the left: “True!”)

RODICHEFF: “Sorry, but it is true!”

MILIUKOV:—And now, Gentlemen, you have the consequences. As early as July 13, 1916, I warned you from this

¹ Protopopov, ex-Vice-President of the Duma. The country was alarmed on hearing that Protopopov, when returning in the spring of 1916 from England where he had been with a delegation of the Duma, had met at Stockholm a member of the German Embassy named Warburg, with whom he discussed the possibility of a separate peace. Upon his return to Russia, Protopopov was universally branded as a traitor. A few weeks later the nation was startled by his appointment as Minister of the Interior. This was considered an insult to the Duma and the Allies.

tribune that the poisonous seed of suspicion was already yielding an abundant crop, and that from one end of our country to the other were creeping dark rumours of betrayal and treason. I shall quote the words I used at that time. I then said, and I repeat it, "that these rumours mount very high and spare no one."

Alas, Gentlemen, this warning, like the rest, was not heeded. As a result, in the declaration of the twenty-eight Presidents of Provincial Assemblies (*Zemstvos*) who met in Moscow on October 22, you have the following statement: "Tormenting, terrible suspicions, ominous rumours of treason and betrayal, of dark powers struggling for Germany and paving the way for a shameful peace by destroying the unity of the nation and creating discord in the country—these rumours have now become a firm belief that the enemy's hand secretly exercises its influence on the progress of our public affairs. Hence spring reports that the governing circles believe further struggle to be useless, and avow the necessity of concluding a separate peace."

I do not wish to exaggerate the perhaps abnormal suspicion with which the alarmed feelings of the average citizen reacts on current events. But how can one deny that there are grounds for such suspicion when a set of dark individuals direct for their personal and mean interests the most important affairs of state? (Applause from the left—exclamations: "True!")

I have here a copy of the *Berliner Tageblatt* of September 16, 1916. It contains an article under the heading—"Manuiloff, Rasputin, Sturmer." The information contained in this article is partly antiquated and partly wrong. For instance, the German author, in his simplicity, thinks that Sturmer has arrested Manasevich-Manuiloff, his private secretary. You all know this was not so, and that the men who arrested Manasevich-Manuiloff, without having asked Sturmer about it, were removed for that from the cabinet. No, Gentlemen, Manasevich-Manuiloff knows too much to be arrested. Sturmer did not arrest Manasevich—Sturmer set Manasevich at liberty. (Stormy applause from the left. Voices: "True!")

You may ask, who is Manasevich-Manuiloff, and why is he so interesting to us? I will tell you, Gentlemen! Manasevich-Manuiloff is a former official of the Russian secret police in Paris, the well-known "Mask" of the *Novoye Vremya*, who furnished that newspaper with spicy details of the life of the Russian revolutionaries in Paris. But what is of still more interest to us, he was also employed on special secret missions. Of these missions one is worth your notice. Two years ago Manasevich-Manuiloff tried to put through a deal for the German Ambassador, Purtales, who had been given a large amount (it is said, about 800,000 rubles) to bribe the *Novoye Vremya*. I am glad to say that the editor of the *Novoye Vremya* threw Manasevich-Manuilov out of his house. Purtales had a great deal of trouble to hush up this unpleasant story, but, Gentlemen, this is the kind of errand on which the private secretary of our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sturmer, was employed not long ago. (Prolonged noise on the left. Voices: "Shame!")

PRESIDENT:—"I would ask that this noise be stopped!"

MILIUKOV:—Why this gentleman was arrested has long been known, and I shall tell you nothing new if I repeat what is public property. He was arrested because he took a bribe. And why was he liberated? This is no secret either. He told the Judge of Inquiry that a part of the bribe was given to Rasputin.

RODICHEFF:—"This is known by all!" (Noise. Voices: "Let us hear!" Order.)

CHAIRMAN:—"I would ask the gentlemen members of the Gosudarstv Duma to maintain order!"

MILIUKOV:—Manuiloff, Rasputin and Sturmer. Two more names are mentioned in this article in the *Berliner Tageblatt*—Prince Andronikov and the Metropolitan, Pitirim, who were both concerned in the appointment of Sturmer. (Noise on the left.) Permit me to dwell somewhat longer upon this appointment—I mean the appointment of Sturmer as Minister of Foreign Affairs. I received the news of that appointment while abroad. For me it is interwoven with

impressions of my trip. I shall simply relate to you in succession what I learned in the progress of my journey, and as to the conclusions, you shall draw them yourselves. Well, then, as soon as I had crossed the border (two days after Sazonov's resignation) I saw, first from the Swedish and then from the German newspapers, how Germany had received the news of Sturmer's appointment. Here is what the newspapers said. I shall read you the extracts without comment:

Berliner Tageblatt:—"Sazonov's personality guaranteed to the Allies the stability of the foreign policy of the last five years. As regards foreign policy, Sturmer is a white sheet of paper. Undoubtedly he belongs to circles that feel no particular enthusiasm for war with Germany."

Kölnische Zeitung:—"We, Germans, have no reason to regret the recent change in the Russian Government. Sturmer will do nothing to check the recently kindled longing for peace in Russia."

Neue Wiener Tageblatt:—"Though at present diplomatists have little say in the matter, it is a relief to hear of the removal of the man who was responsible for the commencement of this war."

Reichspost:—"Sturmer, in any event, will have freedom of action as regards Downing Street."

Particularly interesting was the leading article in the *Neue Freie Presse* of the 25th of July. Here is what was said in that article:—"Russified as the old man Sturmer may have become (laughter), it is nevertheless quite singular that in a war which arose from the Panslav idea the Foreign Office and the policy of Russia are to be directed by a German. (Laughter.) The Prime Minister Sturmer is free from the errors which brought on this war. He has not promised"—remember that, gentlemen—"that without Constantinople and the Straits no peace will be concluded. In Sturmer a weapon has been gained which can be used as desired. Since the Duma is to be kept in check, Sturmer is a man to gratify the secret wishes of the parties of the Right, who, first of all, dislike an alliance with England. Unlike Sazonov, he will

never declare that the Prussian military caste must be made harmless."

Whence do the German and Austrian newspapers get this confidence that Sturmer, gratifying the wishes of the parties of the Right, will work against England and against the continuation of the war? They get it from the information given in the Russian press. A memorandum of the extreme conservatives was printed about that time in the Moscow newspapers. Once more, Gentlemen, the memorandum of the extreme conservatives, always a memorandum of the extreme conservatives.

ZAMYSLOVSKY:—"And each time it proves to be a lie!"

MILIUKOV:—The memorandum was presented in the Stavka (Great Headquarters), before Sturmer's second visit. The memorandum declares that though on one hand it is necessary to fight to a final victory, on the other hand the war should be brought to an end in time, or else the results of the victory will be lost because of a domestic revolution.

ZAMYSLOVSKY:—"Give us the signatures!"

MILIUKOV:—This is an old theme of our Pro-Germans, but it is being developed in a series of new attacks.

ZAMYSLOVSKY:—"Let him give us the signatures!"

MILIUKOV:—I am quoting the Moscow newspapers.

ZAMYSLOVSKY:—"Give us the signatures, you slanderer."

MILIUKOV:—I have given you my sources. They are the Moscow newspapers, from which this memorandum was reprinted in the press abroad. I am giving you the grounds upon which the foreign press has formed its views regarding the appointment of Sturmer. I am telling you that the opinion of the foreign press, created by the news which appeared first in the Moscow newspapers, was coloured by a memorandum of the extreme conservatives, presented at General Headquarters, the purport of which was that the war should be ended as soon as possible, or else there would be a revolution.

(Noise and disorder on the extreme right. The President of the Duma called for order and Miliukov continued again.)

MILIUKOV:—I repeat that this old theme is being rehearsed at this time with new variations. Who is preparing the revolution? According to the memorandum it is being prepared by the Union of City Municipalities, by the Union of County Municipalities and by the congresses of the Liberal organizations—the latter being the special symptom of the future revolution. “The parties of the Left,” declares the memorandum, “are desirous of continuing the war in order to have time to organize and make full preparation for a revolution.” Gentlemen, you know that apart from the memorandum just quoted, there is a series of similar memoranda, each and every one emphasizing the same idea. Charges are laid against both the city and the country organizations (*Zemstvos*). This is the *idée fixe*—a revolution coming and being prepared by the parties of the Left—it being obligatory for every new minister who joins the cabinet to accept this as a recognized principle.

(Voices on the left: “True!”)

Everything is being sacrificed to this *idée fixe*:—the greatest national enthusiasm for this war, the foundations of Russian liberty, and even the stability of our relations to our allies. Of the latter I had particular proofs on my journey to London and Paris. There I found the news of Sazonov's resignation quite fresh. I must testify that the impression was such as might be caused by a vandal pogrom. Think of it, Gentlemen, since 1907 the groundwork of the old international order has gradually been changing! Gradually, slowly, as always happens, old suspicions, old prejudices have been replaced by mutual confidence, by a certitude of stability in future relations, and by a belief that these relations would also continue after the war. Otherwise there could have been no such readiness among our allies to support national Russian interests. Only through full confidence in each other could there have been signed that agreement of which I have spoken before—the agreement about Constantinople and the Straits. As a consequence the Allies have shown an astonishing tenacity in the struggle and a readiness

to make sacrifices. In this respect we have disappointed our enemies and have gone beyond our own hopes. It appeared for a moment that Russia was about to reap the results of her strivings and of the work done by two ministers of foreign affairs who held office at a time when a political situation unique in our history was created—a situation largely due to the activity of King Edward VII. And, Gentlemen, at this very moment an experienced leader, a man enjoying so much personal confidence—and confidence is a kind of capital which it is very difficult to acquire—this experienced leader is replaced by a white sheet of paper—by an unknown man, unacquainted with the A.B.C. of diplomacy (Voices from the left: “True!”) and willing to serve all sorts of suspicious influences from outside. Gentlemen, you understand the consequences of this change! When Sazonov was directing our foreign policy it was known in England and in France that what was said by our ambassadors represented the real opinion of the Russian Government. But what faith can be given to the very same ambassadors when Sturmer is behind them? Of course, political relations which have been established for decades are not likely to be destroyed by the caprice of one individual, and in this respect our press and the press of our allies were quite right when they said that Russian policy does not change with the change of a single person. Yet in the delicate affairs of diplomacy there are *nuances*. There is the lace work and there is also the rough stitching, and the former is only possible under very favourable conditions. With my own eyes I have seen the destruction of the most delicate web of the Allies. I have seen it in London and in Paris. This was what Sturmer did, and perhaps he had his reasons for promising us Constantinople and the Straits. I then asked myself, at whose order has this been done? I proceeded further on my journey to Switzerland to take a rest, to leave politics for the time being, but even there these ominous shades followed me.

(*Deletion by Censor.*)

It appears that Mme Vasylchikova had accomplices and successors. I shall not name the lady who transferred her affections from a certain Austrian prince to a German baron—the lady so well known for her avowed pro-Germanism, whose salon was first situated in the Via Cavour in Florence and later at Montreux in Switzerland. Apparently this lady has moved from Montreux to Petrograd. The newspapers mention her name on state occasions. On my return journey through Paris I found there fresh traces of her sojourn. The Parisians were scandalized at the pro-German sympathies of that lady, and, I may say, despite her relations to the Russian Embassy—which, by the way, was no fault of our ambassador. It is the same lady who laid the foundation of Sturmer's career, as she had asked a few years before that he be given the post of ambassador to one of the second-rate states of Europe. I must say that at that time the proposition was found to be ridiculous and the request had no success whatever. What do I mean by it? I do not declare that I have actually found one of the communication channels, but this is one of the threads of that web which so closely embraces certain sections of our social circles and openly assists that propaganda of which Sir George Buchanan¹ recently spoke with such frankness. What we need is a court enquiry of the sort that was made in the case of Sukhomlinov. When we accused him we also had no direct proofs, but the enquiry disclosed them later. We had what we have now—the instinctive voice of the whole country and the country's subjective certitude. Gentlemen, I could not possibly take upon myself to speak of my personal impressions if they had not been even more strongly substantiated when I crossed from Paris to London.

(*Deletion by Censor.*)

¹ Miliukov is referring to the following incident. An article appeared in the *Zemschina*—the organ of the ultra-reactionaries and the mouthpiece of Sturmer—declaring that in the alliance of 1812-15 England had fooled Russia and would fool her again, having first used her as a tool. The British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, protested and demanded an apology. The editor of the *Zemschina*, Bulatzel, apologised. It was understood that this apology was not satisfactory to the British Embassy, and Sir George Buchanan then made a few remarks—in public and *ex-officio*—in which he indignantly referred to the “dark powers.”

When in Switzerland and in Paris I kept asking myself the question whether there was not some other diplomacy behind our official diplomacy. Then, in London, questions of an entirely different character arose. You must pardon me if when speaking of a fact of such importance I do not give you the source. But if this communication of mine is true, Sturmer will find its proofs on his files.

RODICHEFF:—"Sturmer will destroy them!"

MILIUKOV:—I leave out the Stockholm story which, as you know, preceded the appointment of the present Minister of the Interior, and made a shocking impression on our allies. I can testify of this impression as a witness. I would like to think that the whole story was a result of the quality so well known to all acquaintances of A. D. Protopopov—his inability to conceive the consequences of his own actions. (Voices: "Quite good qualifications for a minister!") Fortunately in Stockholm he was no longer representing the deputation, as by that time it had broken up and its members were returning to Russia in irregular groups. What Protopopov did in Stockholm was done in our absence. Still, Gentlemen, without expressing any personal suspicion, I would be unable to say what part that story played in the well-known anteroom through which, with a few others, Protopopov had to pass on his way to the ministerial chair.

(Noise. Voices: "Magnificent, it is Rasputin!")

They apparently like that sort of conduct. I shall name over these people to you:—Manasevich-Manuilov, Rasputin, Pitirim, Sturmer. This is, according to the *Neue Freie Presse*, the great party for whom the appointment of Sturmer was victory, the party of the young Empress.

In any event I have grounds to think that the propositions made by the German Attache, Warburg, to Protopopov

(*Deletion by Censor.*)

This is why I was not surprised when I heard from the mouth of the British Ambassador grave accusations against the same circle of persons, charging them with a desire to prepare the ground for a separate peace. Perhaps I dwell too long

on Sturmer (voices from Deputies: "No! No!"), but he is the very centre of those feelings and impressions to which I have referred in the progress of my address. I think that these feelings and impressions should not allow him to occupy this position any longer. He has heard the exclamations with which you greeted his exit. Let us all hope that he will not return here any more. (Noise and exclamations of approval.) Yes, Gentlemen, there is a great difference between the meeting which took place under Goremykin, on July 15, 1915, and even in February, 1916, and this meeting which is taking place at the present moment. These meetings differ as widely from each other as do the general situations of the country at the two respective moments. At that time we could speak of the organization of the country by means of the Duma legislation. Had we been able to execute the laws worked out and prepared by us, Russia would not now so helplessly face the question of providing the country with food. Such was the case then. Now, the question of legislation is in the background. Now we know that with this government we can no more legislate than we can bring Russia to victory. (Voices from the left: "True!") Before we were trying to prove that it is irrational to fight the living forces of the country. You cannot conduct a domestic war when you are fighting an external enemy. It is highly necessary to utilize the enthusiasm of the nation to attain our national aims, and there is no alternative save a deadening violence, which can only increase the danger which that violence is meant to suppress. I think you are convinced that it is useless to appeal to the government with proofs when the fear of the people makes them blind, and their chief aim is to put a speedy end to the war, even without a victory, that they may get rid of the necessity of depending upon the support of the nation. (Voices from the left: "True!") On February 10, 1916, I finished my speech with the declaration that we could no more appeal to the "state wisdom of our government," and I do not await any reply to my alarmed question regarding our cabinet of ministers. At that time

my words were viewed by some as too lugubrious. Now, we are going further and these words appear perhaps more optimistic. We are telling this government, as we said in the "Declaration of the Progressive Block," that we will fight, we will fight you by all legal means until you leave.

(Voices from the left: "True! He is right!")

It is said one of the members of our ministerial cabinet on hearing that the Duma would speak on this occasion about treason excitedly exclaimed: "I am perhaps a fool, but I am no traitor!" (Laughter.) Gentlemen, the predecessor of this minister was undoubtedly a clever minister, just as the predecessor of the Minister for Foreign Affairs was an honest minister, but they are no longer in the cabinet, and besides, Gentlemen, for practical purposes it is the same whether we have to deal with stupidity or treason. When the Duma is continually insisting that the whole country should be organized for a successful struggle—and the government repeats that to organize the country means to organize revolution and deliberately prefers to have disorganization—what is it, stupidity or treason? (Voices from the left: "It is treason!")

AGEMOV:—"It is stupidity!" (Laughter.)

MILIUKOV:—Gentlemen, more than that. When utilizing this dissatisfaction and irritation of the country, the authorities deliberately provoke riots among the masses¹—such riots as could later on serve as grounds for ending the war; when disorder and uprisings are purposely created by means of provocation, what does it mean? Is it being done consciously, or unconsciously? Therefore, the people cannot be blamed if they come to the conclusion which I have read to you in the words of the Presidents of the Provincial Assemblies (*Zemstvos*). You understand also why we have to-day no other problem but the one to which I have referred to compel this government to resign. You may say that this struggle involves a crisis in time of war. But, Gentlemen, it is exactly in time of war that these ministers are dangerous.

¹There is evidence to the effect that the Government tried to provoke riots among the workmen in order to use internal disorders as a pretext for a separate peace.

They are dangerous for the war, and it is for that particular reason that we must fight them in time of war and in the name of the war and in the name of all that holds us together. (Voices on the left: "True!" Applause.)

Gentlemen, you understand that to-day I have no other theme but this. We have numerous and different reasons to be dissatisfied with the government. We will speak of these later if we have the time, but all particular reasons converge in one general reason—the incapacity and ill will of the government. (Voices from the left: "True!") This is the main evil, a victory over which would be equivalent to winning the whole campaign. Therefore, in the name of the millions of victims and the streams of blood shed in this war, in the name of our national interest—the attainment of which Sturmer does not promise us—in the name of our responsibility to the people who sent us here, we shall fight until we obtain a real responsible government which shall be recognized by the three signs in the "Declaration:"—unity of understanding between the members of the cabinet as regards current problems; their readiness and willingness to carry out the programme of the majority of the Duma; and their duty to depend in carrying out that programme and in their activity in general on the majority of the Duma. A cabinet which does not satisfy these requirements does not deserve the confidence of the Duma and must resign.

(Voices, "Bravo!" Tremendous and continuous applause on the left, in the centre and on the left part of the right wing.)

THE DUBLIN INSURRECTION

THE Irish Insurrection of Easter week, 1916, was rather a week's riot than an insurrection. No one imagines that Ireland is or was contented; no one now supposes that Mr. Redmond's impulsive and generous promise of Irish support to Great Britain in the Great War was a promise capable of fulfilment in any large degree. The utmost he could have safely promised and performed was a benevolent neutrality on the part of Ireland.

That he promised in a moment of excitement and great tension with all the House of Commons waiting for his words much more, is one of the charges—not the heaviest—brought against him by Mr. Stephens, the novelist, the author of the best history of the insurrection.

But although he promised more than he could perform, there is nothing to show that Ireland joined in the insurrection or cared a straw for it. The farmers are like the farmers of Canada and the United States, indifferent to politics, too indifferent, materialized, obsessed with their farming and their land, quite unwilling to fight for the world against German tyranny, but certainly quite unwilling to join Germany and fight for German tyranny over the world; they are practical men with all the limitations which that word implies.

Even the Irish Volunteers—the volunteers who broke away from Mr. Redmond's control a month after the war began, and called themselves Irish Volunteers in contrast with the National Volunteers of Mr. Redmond—were not so mad as to love Germany. They had some German guns among them and perhaps little German money and some German agents: they even may have expected real help from Germany, but they obviously had nothing in common with Germany and could never have worked with her. They did not rise, in spite of a passage in their proclamation about "their gallant allies," because they expected these allies or respected them. Then

why did they rise, with the farmers against them, the loyalists against them, the National Volunteers against them, and each of the three bodies far stronger than they were, and two of them co-operating in some places with the troops against them? Apparently for a reason characteristic of Ireland, from that unstatesmanlike idealism, which seems to recommend itself to Irishmen—almost alone of all men—just because it is unstatesmanlike and is idealistic.

Mr. Stephens thinks that they had no hope or anticipation of success, but felt that an insurrection—even a futile one—would redeem their character as serious men and patriots, and perhaps would be the means of gaining Ireland European recognition when the great war came to be settled—as one of the smaller nationalities to be then considered; a curious and far-fetched notion seeing that it ignores—even more than Mr. Redmond did—the whole question of Ulster. As a matter of fact of course it prejudiced Ireland's case with Great Britain in the worst way, and made the Nationalists' cause seem for the moment hopeless. It was a second blow to the cause, like the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, and almost drove Mr. Redmond out of politics as the murder almost drove Mr. Parnell.

Even as the cause so were its leaders, idealists, totally devoid of the elements of statesmanship. Not one of them, says Mr. Stephens—who cannot be regarded as a hostile critic—had any claim to leadership or gifts for leadership, unless it was Mr. Connolly, and he was not so much a patriot as a socialist and Larkinite labour leader. He was Mr. Larkin's second in command and was at the head of the smaller element in the movement—the labour element, the so-called citizen army. Apart from him the leaders were just poets and dreamers, schoolmasters, idealists, thinkers and theorists and not men of action in any sense, not even remarkable, very far from remarkable even in their own line of literature; admirable and blameless men in their personal lives, good husbands and brothers and sons, high-minded and unselfish lovers of their country, like thousands of other unknown men in all countries,

but quite without eminence, whether in practical ability or in power of thought. Pearce, who was something of a saint, and McDonagh, who was a minor poet, were their leaders. When has a saint—of whom the best that can be said is that he was a sort of minor saint—or when has a minor poet who is at best a minor poet—been able to lead nations?

All men of action—said Goethe—are unscrupulous, as Cavour even was unscrupulous, though he was the least unscrupulous of great statesmen; or as Bismarck was the most unscrupulous of great statesmen, but at least Cavour and Bismarck had first-rate intelligence and first-rate gifts of leadership, and were first-rate statesmen. These Irishmen were only fit to adorn and redeem that private life which is after all the chief life and the best life for ordinary men, and brings with it rewards and affection not often given to statesmen, and serves the country just as well, much better indeed than all but the best statesmen can hope to do. They should have stuck to the high road, the trivial round and common task for which their gifts and virtues fitted them, and left politics to men of more ambition and wider insight, to men less simple and less honest if you will, but to men infinitely better acquainted with this complex world.

It follows that the rebellion was on the whole honestly and cleanly fought by these rebels. Major Brereton, who was captured by them, has nothing but kind words for the treatment he and other prisoners received. I am not aware that any piece of looting—except the looting of Mr. Norway's private safe in the P.O., whence his wife's jewels were stolen—was traced to the rebels; on the contrary they, with the British troops, shot looters.

The looting was of course considerable at first. The rebellion was not a popular rebellion and was not animated with the deep moral uplift which even a hopeless rebellion, if it be a popular rebellion, may inspire in a populace.

The looting was considerable and at first very childish. The mob, indifferent to both combatants, came out and sacked first of all candy shops, and the children of the slums had the

time of their lives; then toy shops, and street urchins drove expensive golf balls down the Dublin gutters; then jewellers' shops, and bedraggled women wore, for the first time, gold watches and costly pearls; then boot shops for some reason I know not what, except that the Irish have a marked strain of the ancient Athenians in them and love expensive boots. One old lady, it is reported, stole a bag full and then left it in a corner while she went to fill a second bag; when she returned, the first had vanished, and she called for the police indignantly. "Can't they even protect the property of an old woman?" she demanded.

The mob was very childish and very humane. They stroked the horses of the lancers, whence their owners had dismounted after an unsuccessful charge into the railings of St. Stephen's Green, stroked them, then turned with invectives against the rebels behind the railings. "Curse you, you all deserve shooting, you'll be hurting the poor bastes next." The mob was worthy of membership in the S.P.C.A., a thoroughly modern, merciful and up-to-date mob.

It follows that if the rebels fought cleanly and fairly, the troops *a fortiori* did the same. Mr. Stephens is emphatic in his testimony to their good temper, patience and forbearance. They showed all the characteristic virtues of the British soldier.

Mr. Dillon said some extravagant and passionate things after his fashion in Parliament about the way in which the rebellion was suppressed, but he did not mean by the soldiers fighting but by the courts-martial afterwards. Only two cases of shooting in apparent cold blood occurred, that of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, a pacifist journalist who took no part in the movement except to try and stop looting, and of the Anglo-Canadian, Mr. Lucas, who was a typical British officer serving the Government loyally. The first was shot by an officer who was apparently out of his mind, the second through a sheer mistake by a sergeant who also momentarily lost his head in the dangers surrounding him, and who took Mr. Lucas for a disguised Sinn Feiner.

It would hardly be wise here to discuss the 15 executions which followed and the sentences of deportation—some 2000 or so—which came later, except to say that, wise or unwise, that is just the thing which happens when a Government of notorious and abject weakness, a government of “wait and see,” has to deal with a rebellion. Having abdicated its task of governing for months to Mr. Redmond, it abdicated a second time to the courts-martial: to honest, simple, practical soldiers, knowing little or nothing of the peculiar history and conditions of Ireland, guided only by common sense, which is quite inapplicable to Ireland. Any other Irish Secretary—say Mr. Balfour or Mr. Wyndham or Lord Cavendish or Mr. Trevelyan or Mr. Duke or even Mr. Morley—would not have allowed the rebellion to occur and would never have had occasion to suppress it by courts-martial. Apart from that, *they* could have afforded to be lenient; strength can be lenient. But this Government and Secretary, had they been lenient, would only have been taunted by opponents and loyalists alike for their usual and characteristic spinelessness; their leniency would have seemed mere fear.

Mr. Stephens thinks, as others think, that the rebellion is traceable to the licence given to Ulster, to form the Ulster volunteers. Very probably; but that only pushes the question a step further back. A government which had a mind and knew it, could have prevented the Ulster arming by a simple pledge that Ulster should never be driven into an Irish Parliament against its will. To give such a pledge was the merest common justice, for it was the principle of the Home Rule Act itself; a minority of one race and creed was not to be obliged to sit in the same parliament with a majority of another race and creed. But to give such a pledge did not suit a temporising government, did not harmonize with “wait and see.” “Wait and see” has had some magnificent successes and justifications in the last few years, especially in regard to conscription and the negotiations with the labour unions. It has been just as conspicuous a failure in dealing with Ireland and Ulster. At last it got on the British nerves and has cost Mr. Asquith—for all his amazing tact and ability

—his long and laborious leadership; and as always happens in this ironic world, it wasn't for his worst application of "wait and see" that he ultimately suffered.

But if the Government was spineless there were others. Nothing in Mr. Stephens' vivid account is more characteristic of Ireland than the spinelessness of the onlookers, the respectable and well dressed public. Every one listened for news, everyone went about trying to hear or tell some new thing, but no one took sides. No one was either Sinn Feiner or loyalist. The disagreeable individualism of the typical Briton expressing his personal opinion about everything and everybody was absolutely absent. Almost everyone agreed that the rebellion was hopeless, the leaders themselves probably as much as anyone (except of course in their proclamations, no belligerent proclaims that), but that was the only thing on which people expressed agreement. On the deeper question, whether they desired it to succeed or fail, the well-dressed people in the street neither agreed nor disagreed with each other: they preserved a discreet, a well-bred, a courteous and cowardly silence. The physical courage of Irishmen is proverbial, their moral courage falls behind. That is why the island can be stampeded by small but brave minorities; that is why boys are running away from home to enlist secretly! They want to join the Irish regiments in France—in many cases—they don't want to say so to unsympathetic neighbours. They would like to fight the Germans but they dare not fight local opinion; it is so discourteous and disagreeable to contradict people. The Irishman is an ancient Greek again, and ancient Greeks always politely assented to what was said to them, Graeci assentatores.

And what shall I say of Sinn Fein itself? I am not such a fool, though I be an academic person, as to imagine a general agreement, but perhaps I may presume that most people will agree roughly to three simple propositions—(1) a proposition drawn from nature; the geography of the British Isles has rendered it desirable that the two islands so close together shall be, if possible, united under one crown. (2) A proposition drawn from history. History for better or worse has

created not one Ireland but two, and the smaller of the two already is united to Great Britain. That being so, they must both be united. The only serious charge that Mr. Stephens brings against Mr. Redmond is just this, that he has never thrown himself into the task of conciliating Ulster; has preferred, in German fashion, to browbeat and threaten her, which is absurd with any people, doubly absurd with the Black North. If Ulster is to welcome a Dublin Parliament, says Mr. Stephens in effect, then Ireland must welcome the British connection. The thing so stated seems a truism, it has not always been so seen by the Nationalists. (3) A proposition drawn from human nature. Is it not manifest, patent, a fact which strikes you in the face so to speak, and cries aloud, that these two races, the British and the Irish, were made a supplement and a complement each of the other that only so can a broad and wise national type be produced? What is the dullness, heaviness, unconscious intelligence—intelligence I mean resting on instinct and blind horse sense and practical genius—what is all the commercial and political capacity of England worth, if it be divorced from the imagination and wit and idealism of the Irishman? And what is his poetry and his gaiety and his melancholy worth, if it be not filled up and balanced by the good sense and sobriety, compromise and stolidity and vulgar geniality of the common men of action in Great Britain? Nature marries well in marrying opposites, when she marries us individual men and women; and so why not equally well if she marry on that principle opposite peoples? How else get an empire worth getting? an empire as broad spiritually as it is broad geographically? Each race is lopsided, ineffectual, cribbed, cabined and confined, when it stands alone.

But what does Sinn Fein mean? Does any one know? If it means what Sir Horace Plunket means, that Ireland should abjure politics and stick to farming, and rely upon herself for her happiness and prosperity instead of upon politicians, who does not welcome the motto "Ourselves Alone?" But if it means that Ireland is still to be, as in the legend, the dark lady who broods upon herself and her own

troubles, who looks only in the looking glass to see the reflection of her own tragedies, if it means that Irishmen are to think only of Ireland and its past, are to live only in Ireland and its past, singing songs to their mistress' tears, celebrating only the dark Rosaleen and Kathleen ny Houlihan, and Innisfail and the little Black Rose, and the Silk of the Kine and the Shan Van Vocht, is that as well?

If self-consciousness, self-absorption, self-obsession be a curse to an individual man or woman, is it much less a curse to a people? To be so national as this is to make a vice out of a virtue and to have too much of a good thing. Self-reliance is a first-rate quality, self-pity a dangerous malady. Nationalism is well enough, Sinn Feinism is like single chamber government, despair, death, damnation.

The thing that Ireland needs most is that every Irishman should spend ten years of his youth in Canada or Australia or even in South Africa. There he would see Englishmen and Scotchmen, and find out what the beasts are like to-day instead of brooding on the beasts their ancestors were; he would learn to make allowances for their stupidity and to appreciate it. Stupidity also has its merits and its uses in this world. Not many bright, not many clever, not many learned after the flesh made up the first Christian church, or make up a sound Christian nation today. Dull instinct and dumb sagacity and cheerful vulgarity play a part in life not less useful than eloquence and courtesy, poetry and imagination.

But Heaven forbid that this travelling Irishman should go instead to the United States. There he meets only Americans who sympathize without knowledge in his politics and do not want him meddling with theirs, and Irish-Americans who know nothing of Ireland as she is, but are living chiefly in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Bourbons of their race, learning nothing and forgetting nothing, thinking still of Cromwell and Drogheda, of '96 or of the famine: whereas the one thing needful for the Irish soul is to let the dead past bury its dead and turn round and follow the gleam of the present and of a still better and still possible future.

MAURICE HUTTON

THE ORIGINS OF THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT

AMIDST all the barbarities of the war, when the enginery for the destruction of life and property is organized to a higher efficiency than ever before and one stands aghast at appalling examples of man's inhumanity to man, the gloom is brightened by occasional flashes which show that the spirit of humanity is not altogether submerged. If the efforts for the destruction of life have reached a development unknown before, one may take some comfort in the thought that never before has there been such a splendid response to the call for aid in the relief and care of the sick and wounded. The best that medical and surgical skill can offer has been freely tendered, regiments of trained nurses have answered the call, ambulances have been supplied by private generosity and manned by volunteers whose devotion to their self-imposed duties has won deserved praise, hospitals have been organized and equipped with all that human foresight and ingenuity could suggest for the alleviation of suffering and the restoration of health, and rich and poor have given generously of their time and money for carrying on the work of relief.

And over all this splendid achievement in the cause of humanity floats the flag of the Red Cross, whose emblem has become a universal symbol of mercy, charity and good will. Yet, notwithstanding its familiarity, or, perhaps, because of it, few stop to consider how recent is the recognition of the principles for which the Red Cross stands and still fewer are even aware of the name of the man from whose initiative the Red Cross movement had its origin. Henri Dunant deserves better of the world than forgetfulness; his efforts to lessen the sufferings of the wounded in war, recognized by the bestowal of the Nobel Peace prize in 1901, give him a place with such philanthropists as Philippe Pinel and the Tukes, John Howard

and Elizabeth Fry, and Florence Nightingale, whose names will ever be associated with great humanitarian movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

History records numerous individual examples of a spirit of mercy shining forth from the gloom of warfare. The cult of chivalry which reigned throughout Western Europe, fantastic though it was in its final results, undoubtedly encouraged a tendency to fair play and an appreciation of the rights of the weak, but its influence hardly extended to the rank and file and with its downfall all sense of mercy seems to have vanished from the minds of those whose business was war. The atrocities of Alva in the Netherlands and of Tilly at Magdeburg form ghastly parallels to the deeds of Attila or the barbarities perpetrated by Hyder Ali in the Carnatic. The terms granted by one of Alva's lieutenants, the Prince of Parma, in the capitulation of the town of Tournai in 1581 have, however, been cited as the earliest recorded treaty in which respect is shown for the rights of the sick and wounded, a citation whose value is greatly impaired by the fact that the terms were granted only from military necessity, and even then the town was obliged to purchase exemption from pillage by a contribution of one hundred thousand crowns!

In later years individual treaties were from time to time concluded, providing more or less definitely for the care and protection of the sick and wounded, notably one entered upon by France, Spain and the Netherlands in 1673, but it was not until 1743 that the principles underlying the Red Cross movement were clearly foreshadowed in a convention agreed to by the Earl of Stair on behalf of the English forces and the Duc de Noailles, Commander of the French troops. This Convention of Aschaffenburg was drawn up shortly after the battle of Dettingen and proposed that the wounded, when captured, should be allowed to go free on condition that they should not again bear arms during the war unless they should be regularly exchanged or ransomed, and it was further agreed that military hospitals should be regarded as neutral institutions and respected as such. This latter item forms one of

the fundamental ideas accepted by the Geneva Convention of 1864, but the Aschaffenburg agreement, though interesting as an indication of the growing spirit of humanity that marked the latter half of the eighteenth century, lacked permanency and general application, since it was merely an agreement between the two commanders and did not commit their respective countries in any way to acceptance of its principles.

Some further interest pertains to the Convention, however, from the fact that its real instigator was the Earl of Stair's physician, Dr. John Pringle, a man of extraordinary ability, whose researches on camp and hospital sanitation mark the beginning of the modern era in sanitary science and paved the way for the splendid work of John Howard in prison reform. A Scotsman by birth, Pringle elected to follow a business career and, after a year at the University of Edinburgh, took up his residence at Amsterdam in order that he might perfect his commercial education. During a visit to Leyden he chanced to hear a lecture by the great teacher Boerhaave, and, captured by his personality, decided to adopt medicine as his profession. Straightway he became enrolled as a student in the University of Leyden, and on his graduation in 1730 returned to Scotland to take up practice in Edinburgh. Pringle's great abilities and extensive learning, even beyond the limits of his profession, soon attracted attention, and in 1734 he was appointed joint professor of Pneumatics (that is to say Metaphysics) and Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, a position which he held for ten years, though during the latter period of his incumbency his lecturing was done by deputy, for in 1742 he was appointed physician to the Earl of Stair and to the military hospitals in Flanders, being present at the battle of Dettingen and being appointed Surgeon-General to the British forces when the Duke of Cumberland assumed command of them. In 1745 he returned to England in company with the troops recalled from Flanders to suppress the uprising in favor of the Young Pretender, and after the crushing defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden he returned to the Continent where he remained with the army

until peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Settling then in London he continued the practice of his profession with marked success, receiving a knighthood in 1766 and later being appointed physician to the King, while his marked scientific insight and abilities received recognition by his election as President of the Royal Society in 1772. His death occurred in London in 1782.

Sir John Pringle's "Observations on the Diseases of the Army," which were published in 1752 and were based upon his experiences in Flanders, laid the foundations of modern military sanitation. He was the first to recognize the identity of camp and jail fevers and, assigning them to the effect of impure air, produced by the putrefaction of organic material in the soil or surroundings, advocated the thorough ventilation of hospital wards, which previously had been carefully avoided, and endeavoured to prevent as far as possible the contamination of the soil in the immediate vicinity of camp, advising prompt removal to a new site once contamination had occurred. This was long before the demonstration of the true nature of contagion, but Pringle's keen observation, together with his habits of continuous thought and his scientific insight, enabled him to formulate sanitary principles, which even the greater knowledge of to-day must regard as cardinal. His advocacy of the neutralization of field-hospitals had its source in the same mode of thought, seeking for means to diminish as far as possible the unnecessary loss of life in war.

An interval of over a century was, however, to elapse before Pringle's suggestion to the Earl of Stair became generally accepted, but in that interval it reappeared from time to time in special agreements between contending commanders and did not lack approval at the hands of publicists. The fact that field-hospitals were purely military organizations and as such the legitimate prey of the successful contestant, interfered with the general recognition of their neutrality; some factor was yet lacking which would serve to deprive them of their strictly military character and that factor was suggested by events of the Crimean War. In 1854 England was startled and horrified

by letters from the front, written to the Times by Mr. W. H. Russell and revealing a shocking inadequacy in the Medical equipment of the British forces. A commission of investigation was at once despatched to the Crimea, but more to the purpose, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Secretary for War, called to his aid Miss Florence Nightingale, requesting her to organize a corps of volunteer nurses and with them and with whatever equipment and supplies were necessary, to proceed at once to Scutari, where the British base hospital had been established. Miss Nightingale had acquired an experience in nursing that was unusual at that time; like Elizabeth Fry before her she had studied her profession at the first training school for hospital nurses established at their home at Kaiserswerth by Pastor Fliedner and his wife, and, profiting by other opportunities, had gained thorough knowledge of the work in all its branches. The noble devotion and self-sacrifice of Florence Nightingale and her assistants at Scutari, how they brought order out of chaos and gave to the sick and wounded such tender and sympathetic care that the name of "The Lady with the Lamp" has become a household word, all this is too well known to need detailed description here. The essential point in the present connection is that the nursing staff at Scutari was a volunteer organization, nominally at least independent of the military authorities.

In 1859 the combined forces of Victor Emmanuel and Louis Napoleon drove the Austrians from the plains of Lombardy and began the series of campaigns that was to end in an Italia redenta. In that year Henri Dunant, a native of Geneva, travelling for pleasure through Lombardy, had reached Mantua at a time when the contending armies were about to conclude the campaign in the battle of Solferino. Hurrying to the scene of the conflict Dunant busied himself in carrying aid to the wounded in all parts of the field of battle, and the harrowing suffering with which he was brought in contact during his work of mercy left an ineffaceable impression on his mind. Three years later, in 1862, he published an account of what he had witnessed in a volume entitled "Un Souvenir de

Solferino," and having become during a previous visit to England greatly interested in the work of Florence Nightingale, he took occasion to advocate in his book the formation in times of peace of voluntary societies, whose members would be trained in the methods for the relief of the wounded and, if necessary, would make use of their training on the field of battle. Dunant's *Souvenir* attracted much attention and was translated into several languages, but what was of more importance it aroused the interest of the *Société Genevoise d'Utilité Publique*, of which the author was a member, and this Society addressed notes to the principal European powers inviting them to a conference to be held at Geneva for the purpose of considering the feasibility of Dunant's proposal for the formation of National Relief Associations and suggesting plans for the organization of such associations, their official recognition by the various Governments, their independence of belligerent armies during war time so far as transport and maintenance were concerned, the inviolability of the persons of members of the society engaged in their charitable work and the adoption of some distinctive badge by which the members might be readily recognized.

As the result of the endeavours of the Genevan Society a conference was held at Geneva, October 26-29, 1863, at which were present representatives of the Governments of Switzerland, France, England, Italy, Spain, Russia, The Netherlands, Austria, Prussia, Baden, Bavaria, Hanover, Hesse Darmstadt, Saxony and Wurtemberg. At this conference the various propositions formulated by the *Société d'Utilité Publique*, so far as they referred to the formation of National Relief Societies, were accepted practically unchanged, and in honour of the Swiss Republic it was determined that the distinctive badge of the members of the volunteer relief organizations should be a brassard bearing a red cross upon a white ground. Thus the proposal of Dunant became realized in the formation of Red Cross Societies, which, since their organization was a matter for private enterprise, did not require any official sanction from the Governments of the conferring powers.

But official action was necessary if the Societies were to fulfil the principal purpose of their existence, service in the field in case of war, since such service, if it was to be successfully performed, required a guarantee of protection from the belligerent powers, and to bring this side of the question to the attention of their various Governments the Conference added to their agreement certain requests. They asked that the respective Governments should sanction and aid in every way the formation of the Relief Societies; that during war they should agree to recognize the neutrality of all hospitals and ambulances as well as of their official medical staffs, of the voluntary relief associations, of inhabitants of the country who gave relief to the wounded and of the wounded themselves; and, finally, that there should be official recognition of a distinctive badge and flag for the use of the medical corps of all armies.

To consider these requests a second conference was held at Geneva, August 8-22, 1864, which resulted in the agreement now generally known as the Geneva Convention. This Convention gave an affirmative reply to all the requests made by the first conference even to the extent of granting the rights of neutrality to inhabitants of belligerent countries who should succor the wounded, and guaranteeing protection to any house in which a wounded man might be entertained. Chaplains were also granted the rights of neutrality, a circumstance which later gained the adhesion to the Convention of the Papal States, and the Red Cross was definitely recognized as the badge of the Medical Service in all its branches, Turkey alone of the later signatories objecting to it for obvious reasons and substituting for it the Red Crescent.

Some criticism has been directed against the Convention on the ground that throughout its ten articles no mention is made of the volunteer Red Cross Societies. It must be remembered, however, that these Societies were not governmental organizations; their formation had been approved by the First Geneva Conference, and the Second Conference, though specifically requested to recommend the recognition of the

Societies, took a broader view and by the second article of the Convention agreed that "Persons employed in hospitals and ambulances, including the staff for superintendence, medical service, administration and transport of the wounded, as well as chaplains, shall participate in the benefit of neutrality while so employed and so long as there remain any wounded to bring in or to succour." The word "persons" undoubtedly means "all persons," and, therefore, includes not only the members of the Societies serving with the hospitals and ambulances, but also the enlisted men of the Army Medical Corps so serving. Furthermore, the adoption by article seven of the Red Cross as the distinctive badge of those who were to be granted neutrality surely implied the recognition of the Societies whose right to that badge had already been established by the First Conference.

The Convention of 1864 was signed before the close of that year by France, Switzerland, Belgium, The Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Norway-Sweden, Denmark and Baden; Greece, Great Britain, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Prussia and Turkey followed in 1865, and in later years one Power after the other, the United States of America in 1882, declared their adhesion to the Convention, until in 1906 it had been signed and adopted by forty-nine states, these including, in addition to those already mentioned, the remaining European Powers, all those of Central and South America, Persia, China, Korea, Japan and Siam in Asia, and the Congo Free State, South African Republic and Orange Free State in Africa. Thus the suggestions of Sir John Pringle and Henri Dunant were combined in an international agreement to which practically all nations of the world were signatories.

Modifications of the Convention of 1864 were proposed at a third conference held at Geneva in 1868, certain of its terms were discussed at the Brussels conference of 1874 called by the Czar of Russia to consider propositions for the regulation of warfare, and in 1899 at the Peace Conference at the Hague, but no changes resulted from these discussions and the modifications proposed by the Conference of 1868 failed

to receive ratification. It is worthy of note, however, that the Hague Conference of 1899 agreed to an adaptation of the principles of the Convention of 1864 to maritime warfare, but it was not until a Conference held at Geneva in 1906 that any modification of the Convention of 1864 was effected. The ten articles of the original Convention were then increased to thirty-three, but the additional verbiage indicates for the most part merely a more precise definition of terms and conditions. It does include, however, a definite recognition of the national voluntary aid societies and a statement of the conditions under which their services may be employed; provisions guarding against the improper use of the Red Cross symbol; and agreements for the exchange of information concerning wounded who may have been taken prisoners and of the identification marks of those found dead upon the field of battle. It is noticeable that the word "neutrality" does not occur in the Convention of 1906, that term having been regarded as inapplicable to military or semi-military establishments active in connection with belligerent armies; instead it is provided that medical establishments and their personnels as well as the sick and wounded, shall be respected and cared for without distinction of nationality. Thirty-six powers were represented at the Conference of 1906, and of these several, including Great Britain and the United States, ratified the Convention in the following year. The Convention of 1906 does not, however, necessarily abrogate that of 1864, for it expressly declares that the latter shall continue to be binding on all its signatories until such times as they shall ratify the more recent agreement.

The result of the First Geneva Conference was an agreement to form national aid societies, this being the chief objective of Henri Dunant's endeavours, inspired by the splendid work accomplished in the Crimea by Florence Nightingale and her corps of volunteer nurses; the Convention of 1864, which amplified and made effective Sir John Pringle's suggestions, was the outcome of certain requests addressed to the Powers by the Conference as an addendum to its agreement in the

hope that, being granted, greater opportunities would be afforded for the beneficent work of the volunteer societies. In the outcome the addendum, made effective at the Convention of 1864, became the more important enactment, but nevertheless the agreement of the First Conference did not remain barren, but, on the contrary, has yielded results which, even in these days of gloom, give evidence that the spirit of humanity has not vanished from the earth, but flourishes gloriously even amidst the horrors of a ruthless War. The stories of the growth and activities of the volunteer aid societies in the various countries in which they exist would far exceed the limits which must be set to this sketch, but a brief account of the formation of the British Red Cross Society may not be out of place. No definite steps were taken in Great Britain to carry out the recommendations of the first Geneva Conference until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, when the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War was established, mainly through the efforts of Sir John Turley and of Colonel Lloyd-Lindsay, afterwards Lord Wantage, his experiences in the Crimea having made the latter fully alive to the benefits that such a Society could confer. The popular response to the call issued by the Society was prompt and generous, centres for the distribution of food, clothing and medical supplies were established in several towns both in France and Germany, nurses and surgeons were furnished when their services were required, and the expenses, amounting to over £220,000, entailed in performing this useful and charitable service were met by voluntary contributions collected by the Society. During the first Boer War in 1881, in the Egyptian Campaign of 1884-5 and in the South African War of 1899-1902, the Society repeated the splendid service that marked its inauguration and fully justified its existence.

It did not, however, long remain alone in the work, the St. John Ambulance Association, formed in 1877, giving valuable assistance. The story of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the Ambulance Association was one of the activities, is one of the most romantic episodes of history,

but too eventful to be recited here. It carries one back to the establishment of an hospital in Jerusalem for the care of Christian pilgrims by some merchants of Amalfi in A.D. 1014. On the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon in 1099, the Hospitallers were organized into the Religious Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which, a few years later, became a military organization, the first Prior maintaining that the members should be prepared not only to minister to the needs of their fellow Christians but even to give their lives for them if necessary. Their defence of Acre after the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, their retirement first to Cyprus, then to Rhodes and finally to Malta, make a story replete with heroic incidents, culminating in their splendid defence of Malta under the greatest of all their Priors, La-Valette. They retained possession of Malta until 1798 when the island was taken by Napoleon; but in the meantime chapters of the order had been established in various countries, that in England falling upon evil days when the religious orders were suppressed by Henry VIII, whose successor, Edward VI, demolished the Priory in London to obtain building material for the erection of Somerset House. The English *langue*, to use the official term applied to the chapters, was revived under Royal patronage in 1831, its knights and ladies devoting themselves to charitable work in connection with hospitals and other eleemosynary institutions, and to further this work the Ambulance Association was established in 1877, with branches in various manufacturing and mining towns, its object being to provide in case of accidents or disasters corps trained in rendering "first aid" services.

In 1898 the Secretary of State for War called together representatives of the National Aid Society, of the St. John Ambulance Association and of the Army Nursing Service Reserve to elaborate plans for co-operation with the Army Medical Service Corps by which greater efficiency might be secured. The result was the formation of the Central British Red Cross Committee, which in 1902 was officially announced as the sole body recognized as responsible for Red Cross work

throughout the Empire. Two years later the name of the Committee was changed to the Central British Red Cross Council, this Council being composed of representatives of the National Aid Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, the Army Nursing Service Reserve and the St. Andrew's Ambulance Association. But in 1905 the National Aid Society merged its individuality in that of the Council, the result being the formation of the British Red Cross Society, which thus, after all, is but the National Aid Society under a new name. It would be beyond the present purpose to discuss the splendid achievements of the Red Cross Society in the war now raging, a war that has made demands upon its energies and resources far beyond what had ever been contemplated. Nobly has the Society been supported and nobly has it fulfilled the trust imposed upon it, gaining for the emblem under which it serves ever increasing respect and honour.

J. PLAYFAIR McMURRICH

THE CHARACTER OF CHARLES DARWIN

IT may be reasonably asked what there is further to say regarding the character of Charles Darwin. Even before his death the world had become aware of the fact that the great naturalist who had so profoundly changed the bases of thought for his own and succeeding generations was possessed of a personality of rare charm. The publication of the "Life and Letters" (1887) five years after he passed away fully justified this impression. They revealed the fact that not only were the scientific labours (in their extent alone sufficient for half a dozen men) accomplished heroically during long years of constant pain and ill-health, but they also showed most conclusively that the exceptional share of abuse and misrepresentation which fell to his lot from 1859 until, say, 1875 at least, was powerless to modify or alter the essential gentleness, simplicity and grandeur of his character. The patience which had been so long manifested in minute observations of plant and animal forms and habits—from South American shells to earthworms and climbing plants—had been a factor also in the maintenance of a moral personality which is now a permanent possession of English literary and scientific history. We use the word maintenance instead of development advisedly, because it is plain from the accumulated evidence in many sources that the main features of his moral character were in full activity during the forty-six years intervening between his return from the "Beagle" voyage to his death in 1882. In taking these particular limits, which are those of his public activity as a naturalist, it is not to be supposed that in this case the "boy," or the youth, was not "the father of the man," for the evidence on this point is most satisfactory. No one acquainted with the records can mis-

interpret the statements in the fragment of autobiography which he prepared for his children as other than fresh proofs of his entire integrity. He says in one place in this fragment, "I believe that I was in many ways a naughty boy," and he also notes with surprise that at one stage of his boyhood he had a tendency to tell "fibs," especially if they were calculated to startle people. There is also the strong statement regarding his undergraduate days at Cambridge, when he was preparing for the Church.

"I got into a sporting set, including some dissipated low-minded young men. We used often to dine together in the evening, though these dinners often included men of a higher stamp, and we sometimes drank too much, with jolly singing and playing at cards afterwards. I know that I ought to feel ashamed of days and evenings thus spent, but as some of my friends were very pleasant, and we were all in the highest spirits, I cannot help looking back to those times with much pleasure."

This will doubtless still be regarded by some as a most shocking proof of depravity, but it is to be remembered that it was at this very time he made lifelong friendships with men of the stamp of Professor Henslow. Their attachment to him would have been impossible if he himself had been "dissipated" or "low-minded."

The full picture of Darwin's character cannot be condensed within the limits of an article, nor is it the intention here to make the attempt. Two reasons, however, of fair validity may be offered as justification for a consideration of certain features of the subject. The first is the recent publication of the two volumes entitled "Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters," edited by Mrs. Litchfield, a daughter of Darwin. The second of the two volumes affords confirmatory evidence of a particularly interesting kind, and adds considerably on some points to the information given in the two volumes of the "Life and Letters." The other justification is a more general one. Men as far apart as Lord Morley, the Bishop of London, and the leaders of the Nonconformists,

agree that after all the supreme thing, in world-crises like the present, is *character*, both for the individual and the nation. This Darwin possessed in a very positive sense. He not only exhibited in a particularly noble way those qualities of courage, truthfulness and dogged perseverance which are the essential "notes" (to use Newman's word) of the best English character, but there was the added and most definite charm that there were in him many of those gracious traits which were urged by the greatest of the Apostles as the very secret of the higher life.

How he followed the injunction "in honour preferring one another" in the case of the mutual discovery of the leading facts bearing upon the principle of Natural Selection by Wallace and himself has been told a thousand times—to the honour of both scientists. There is also an incident recorded in Morley's "Life of Gladstone" which, if trivial by comparison, is nevertheless significant. In 1877, when deep in Eastern atrocities, Gladstone was the guest of Sir John Lubbock at High Elms, together with Morley, Huxley and Lyon Playfair. Morley writes:—

"On the Sunday afternoon Sir John Lubbock, our host, took us all up to the hill-top whence in his quiet Kentish village Darwin was shaking the world. The illustrious pair, born in the same year, had never met before. Mr. Gladstone as soon as seated took Darwin's interest in lessons of massacre for granted, and launched forth his thunderbolts with unexhausted zest. His great, wise, simple, and truth-loving listener, then, I think, busy on digestive powers of the drosera in his green-house, was intensely delighted. When we broke up, watching Mr. Gladstone's erect alert figure as he walked away, Darwin, shading his eyes with his hand against the evening rays, said to me in unaffected satisfaction, 'What an honour that such a great man should come to visit me!' Too absorbed in his own overwhelming conflict with the powers of evil, Mr. Gladstone makes no mention of his afternoon call, and only says of the two days that 'he found a notable party, and made some interesting talk,' and that he 'could not help liking' one of the party, then a stranger to him."

Many others, indeed, "could not help liking" Darwin, as a cloud of witnesses testify. Lyell, Hooker, Huxley, Asa Gray are only a few of the eminent names of those who were as deeply attached to him by his character as by his scientific work. It is not surprising, of course, that he was esteemed in the Darwin-Wedgwood-Allen family connection. That would be natural even if his virtues and his abilities had been merely commonplace. But the letters in the second of the "Emma Darwin" volumes are delightful on this point. The letters of this family group, especially those of the women, are of high literary merit, indicating throughout the hundred years a pretty liberal distribution of good sense and general ability. It was a large connection of large families; and also an intimate one, seeing that no less than eight pairs of cousins married, including Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria to Sarah Wedgwood, in 1764, and Charles Darwin to Emma Wedgwood, in 1839. Darwin's father, Dr. Robert Waring Darwin, the able and successful physician of Shrewsbury, had, in 1796, married a daughter of Josiah Wedgwood. High talent, good culture and sound virtues are predominant in the group. The families being large, and a goodly proportion of sons and daughters marrying, the pedigrees given at the beginning of both volumes are safer there than in the memory. We note, however, that one aunt of Mrs. Darwin's was married to Sir James Mackintosh, of the *Edinburgh Review*, and another to Sismondi the historian. The latter—"Aunt Jessie"—frequently wrote to her niece. The young people on Mrs. Darwin's side were close friends of "Flo" Nightingale, and conscious some years before the Crimea that she was marked for high destinies. They were also anxious at one time lest she should "throw herself away" on Richard Monckton Milnes (Carlyle's friend "Dicky"), afterwards Lord Houghton. The Sydney Smiths were intimate friends, and the Carlyles, through Erasmus Darwin, were more or less intimate.

But readable as both volumes are in a general way, our interest here is to bring out a few salient data with regard to Charles Darwin. His engagement to his cousin, Emma

Wedgwood, was warmly welcomed by both families. There had been some delay about his proposing, owing to a conviction on his part that he was "very plain"—an idea, it may be said, still shared by many people who think that the worst portraits of him must be the most correct.

When the matter was settled, Dr. Darwin wrote to Josiah Wedgwood (there are various Josiahs) (Nov. 13, 1838):—

"Emma having accepted Charles gives me as great happiness as Jos. having married Caroline, and I cannot say more.

"On that marriage Bessy said she should not have had more pleasure if it had been [Queen] Victoria, and you may assure her I feel as grateful to her for Emma as if it had been Martineau herself that Charles had obtained. Pray give my love to Elizabeth. I feel I ought to condole with her as her loss will be very great."

To which Wedgwood replied:—

"A good, cheerful, and affectionate daughter is the greatest blessing a man can have, after a good wife. If I could have given such a wife to Charles without parting with a daughter there would be no drawback from my entire satisfaction in bestowing Emma upon him. You lately gave up a daughter—it is my turn now. At our time of life our happiness must be in a great measure reflected from our families, and I think there are few fathers who have on the whole more cause to be satisfied with the conduct and present circumstances and future prospects of our families. I could have parted with Emma to no one for whom I would so soon and so entirely feel as a father, and I am happy in believing that Charles entertains the kindest feelings for his uncle-father.

"I propose to do for Emma what I did for Charlotte and for three of my sons, give a bond for £5,000, and to allow her £400 a year, as long as my income will supply it, which I have no reason for thinking will not be as long as I live."

The opinions of other relatives are equally warm in approval. Emma Wedgwood, writing to her Aunt Jessie in the same month, says, among other things:—

"I must now tell you what I think of him, first premising that Elizabeth thinks pretty nearly the same, as my opinion may not go for much with you. He is the most open, transparent man I ever saw, and every word expresses his real thoughts. He is particularly affectionate and very nice to his father and sisters, and perfectly sweet-tempered, and possesses some minor qualities that add particularly to one's happiness, such as not being fastidious, and being humane to animals. We shall live in London, where he is fully occupied with being secretary to the Geological Society and conducting a publication upon the animals of Australia..... Aunt Sarah was delighted; she told Elizabeth she had quite given it up in despair. We are going to dine with her to-day, when we shall do a considerable quantity of talking. I don't think it of as much consequence as she does that Charles drinks no wine, but I think it a pleasant thing. The real crook in my lot I have withheld from you, but I must own it to you sooner or later. It is that he has a great dislike to going to the play, so that I am afraid that we shall have some domestic dissensions on that head. On the other hand, he stands concerts very well."

Darwin refers to this last point in a letter to her a couple of weeks later:—

"Lyell and Madame gave me a very long and solemn lecture on the extreme importance, for our future comfort during our whole London lives, of choosing slowly and deliberately our visiting acquaintances; every disagreeable or commonplace acquaintance must separate us from our relations and real friends (that is without we give up our whole lives to visiting), for the evenings we sacrifice might have been spent with them or at the theatre."

Darwin's quiet humour is exemplified in another letter in January, 1839, shortly before his marriage:—

"The Lyells called on me to-day after church, as Lyell was so full of Geology that he was obliged to disgorge; and I dine there on Tuesday for a special conference. I was quite ashamed of myself to-day, for we talked for half an hour

unsophisticated Geology, with poor Mrs. Lyell sitting by, a monument of patience. I want practice in ill-treating the female sex. I did not observe that Lyell had any compunction; I hope to harden my conscience in time; few husbands seem to find it difficult to effect this."

All who are acquainted with the "Life and Letters" know that the marriage proved a most happy one. Mrs. Darwin was literary, but not scientific. The latter fact, however, did not prove a drawback. They were intellectual companions as well as sensible home companions. Life had its jolts, as life has at all times and places, but on the whole, excepting Darwin's constant ill-health, they had a large share of happiness. Money difficulties were apparently never present. Each received a good income from the respective fathers. They were married in 1839. Darwin died in 1882 at the age of 73, and Mrs. Darwin in 1896 at the age of 88.

It is now necessary to speak of Darwin's attitude towards religion. The intimate chapter headed "Religion" in the "Life and Letters" covered this point pretty thoroughly thirty years ago. But a couple of letters in the new volumes afford more light on the subject. Darwin had ceased to believe in a revealed religion in 1839, but not as the result of evolutionary thought. This developed later. He said that "disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete. The rate was so slow that I felt no distress." In his youth he had accepted revelation completely.

With regard to the two letters from Mrs. Darwin to her husband Mrs. Litchfield says:—

"In our childhood and youth she was not only sincerely religious—this she always was in the true sense of the word—but definite in her beliefs. She went regularly to church and took the Sacrament. She read the Bible with us and taught us a simple Unitarian Creed, though we were baptized and confirmed in the Church of England. In her youth religion must have largely filled her life, and there is evidence in the papers she left that it distressed her, in her early married life, to know that my father did not share her faith. She wrote

two letters to him on the subject. He speaks in his autobiography of 'her beautiful letter to me, safely preserved, shortly after our marriage'."

Both letters are to be found on pages 173-175 of the second of the "Emma Darwin" volumes. We have room here only for the second, which, judging by Darwin's note appended to it, is to be dated in 1861.

"I cannot tell you the compassion I have felt for all your sufferings for these weeks past that you have had so many drawbacks, nor the gratitude I have felt for the cheerful and affectionate looks you have given me when I know you have been miserably uncomfortable.

"My heart has often been too full to speak or take any notice. I am sure you know I love you well enough to believe that I mind your sufferings nearly as much as I should my own, and I find the only relief to my own mind is to take it as from God's hand, and try to believe that all suffering and illness is meant to help us to exalt our minds and to look forward with hope to a future state. When I see your patience, deep compassion for others, self-command, and, above all, gratitude for the smallest thing done to help you, I cannot help longing that these precious feelings should be offered to Heaven for the sake of your daily happiness. But I find it difficult enough in my own case. I often think of the words, 'Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee.' It is feeling and not reasoning that drives one to prayer. I feel presumptuous in writing this to you.

"I feel in my inmost heart your admirable qualities and feelings, and all I would hope is that you might direct them upwards, as well as to one who values them above everything in the world. I shall keep this by me till I feel cheerful and comfortable again about you, but it has passed through my mind often lately so I thought I would write it, partly to relieve my own mind."

Darwin's attached note reads, "God bless you. C. D. June, 1861."

In the chapter on "Religious Conformity" in his book on "Compromise" Lord Morley, many years ago, treated with delicacy and feeling the question of right conduct on the part of the husband when his faith has become different to that of his wife. Darwin seems never to have urged his own views in the proselytising spirit, at home or in his writings.

Mrs. Litchfield's remarks make it plain that Mrs. Darwin was herself "advanced" in some respects. Two extracts from letters written in her eighty-seventh year (1895) are significant. She had been reading Balfour's "Foundations of Belief." In the first letter she says, "I am stuck in Balfour. His argument about the uncertainty of sight seems so feeble to me that I think I can't understand it. What I do understand makes me think less of his good sense." And then, some days later, she writes, "I have finished Balfour. Of course I don't do the book justice, but the last two or three pages seem to me to be very inconclusive. I can agree with him that the belief in a God who cares is an immense safeguard for morality; but I do not see that the doctrine of the Atonement is any additional safeguard—yes, I do see it partly. Also I am surprised at his considering that morality is impossible without some religion, which he gives as an axiom not to be disputed. I quite agree that the remains of Christian feeling make us unable to judge of the present race of agnostics."

Not less significant in another direction, perhaps, is the fact that she copied the following verses from *In Memoriam* into her book of extracts in February, 1893, when eighty-five years old.

CXVI

Not all regret: the face will shine
 Upon me, while I muse alone;
 And that dear voice, I once have known,
 Still speaks to me of me and mine:
 Yet less of sorrow lives in me
 For days of happy commune dead;
 Less yearning for the friendship fled,
 Than some strong bond which is to be.

J. C. SUTHERLAND

RUSKIN ON SHAKESPEARE

RUSKIN and Shakespeare! These names conjure up the whole world of thought suggested by the opposition of artist and moralist, though the moralist was an artist and the artist as stern as fate. Ruskin knew his Shakespeare well. He wrote no treatise on him, but his frequent references¹ made a deeply suggestive appreciation, valuable as a study of Shakespeare, of criticism, of Ruskin himself, and of human nature. Ruskin always wrote under the stress of emotions; they burn or tremble through all his judgements. I doubt if any writer has ever revealed himself with such complete sincerity and power over so wide a range. The long pageant of his moods he set forth in language of matchless adaptability, for all the world to see. This description is truest of *Fors Clavigera* and in greater or less degree of all the works written after *Unto This Last*; but it is true of whatever he wrote, from the first passionate defence of Turner (which grew into *Modern Painters*) to the last retrospect in *Præterita*. The dominant note of it is profoundly pathetic—the intense love of the lovelinesses in which the artist mind longs to dwell, the intolerable pressure of the human problems that invade every vision and turn its very beauty into torment.

I cannot paint nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else that I like, and the very light of the morning sun² has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know, and see signs of where I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly.

Then the yearning for an honourable peace reinforces the love of man and love of justice in the resolve:—

Therefore I will endure it no longer quietly; but henceforward with any few or many who will help, do my poor best to abate this misery. (*Fors* 1.)

¹ I omit from consideration here the study of Shakespeare's heroines in *Sesame and Lilies*.

² Of all Ruskin's delights in nature, that of sunrise (which he seldom missed) was perhaps the most constant.

In him artist and moralist fought distressing war, allowing him fitful sight of marvellous beauty, and painful grasp of great truths. It distracted and exhausted him, leaving him with the hope of King Arthur, who all his life had followed the gleam and listened to the stars—yet when he passed, “all his mind was clouded with a doubt.” To read his books in order is to watch a heart that, deeply loving and “strongly loathing, greatly broke.”

Nearly all subjects appealed to Ruskin, and all he touched unlocked his heart. It will be remembered that Wordsworth used this phrase of the sonnets of Shakespeare,—“with this key Shakespeare unlocked his heart,”—and so aroused the good-humoured scorn of Browning—“did Shakespeare? then the less Shakespeare he!” These judgements are significant. Wordsworth chose “the mind of man” for the “main haunt and region of (his) song;” but it proved in practice to be the mind of the one man to whom he gave such devoted study—himself. This was the mind in whose revelation he spent the long after-glow of his poetic youth; the mind to which was dedicated the never-finished “cathedral of (his) song.” Browning proclaimed the right of the artist to a privacy among his own creations—with a confidence born of the doubtful justice of the claim in his own case. Shakespeare had no need. “Scattering largess like the sun,” his spirit burned upon its central hearth unseen.

Like the sun! Ruskin realized the meaning of that simile and expressed it with great beauty and pathos.

He seems to have been sent essentially to take universal and equal grasp of the human nature . . . It was necessary he should lean no way . . . be able to sympathise so completely with all creatures as to deprive himself, together with his personal identity, *even of his conscience* . . . otherwise his conscience and indignation would make him unjust to them . . . He must be utterly without anger, utterly without purpose; for if a man has any serious purpose in life, that which runs counter to it or is foreign to it will be looked at frowningly or carelessly. Shakespeare was forbidden of Heaven to have any plans. To *do* any good or get any good in the common sense of good, was not to be within his permitted range of work. Not for him the founding of institutions, the preaching of doctrines, or the repression

of abuses. Neither he nor the sun did on any morning that they rose together receive charge from their Maker concerning such things. They were both of them to shine on the evil and good, both to behold unoffendedly all that was upon earth, to burn unappalled upon the spears of kings, and undisdaining upon the reeds of the rivers. (*Modern Painters, IV., v., 20.*)

Here Ruskin shows remarkable appreciation of a type very opposed to his own, with a touch of bitterness due to his consciousness of the difference (see *Frondees Agrestes*, Sect. 5). But it shows a conception of the artist's function narrowed by the anxiety to get a particular kind of good out of it. This anxiety becomes very explicit and meets its foredoomed disappointment in what is, perhaps, the most beautiful of all his writings, *The Mystery of Life and its Arts*, which he wrote, when "startled by the fading of the sunshine from the cloud of his life." The mystery of life is our ignorance of it—the source of unreasoning hope, unreasoning despair, folly, apathy, madness: the hourly victory of the grave, the sting of death. (W. Watson: *The Great Misgiving.*)

This human life shares in the nature of it, not only the evanescence, but the mystery of the cloud; its avenues are wreathed in darkness, and its forms and courses not less fantastic than spectral and obscure; so that not only in the variety which we cannot grasp, but in the shadow which we cannot pierce, it is true of this cloudy life of ours, that "man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain." (*Sesame and Lilies*, Sec. 98.)

This melancholy conviction, held as long as human eyes have watched the clouds, will be remembered in Shakespeare's words rather than in Ruskin's:—

the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on.

When Ruskin wrote *The Mystery of Life*, he was with Prospero. Vexed for a moment by unpleasant evidence of the transiency of the visions he had called up, Prospero gives this unforgettable voice to his deep underlying irony. Ruskin's

words were struck out of his melancholy by "the sudden agony of the knowledge that the fabric of life was as fragile as a dream." But Prospero could at least embody his own dreams; his spells had never cracked. Of Ruskin's dreams, every one had failed him; the magic of his words seemed potent only to mislead. (*Sesame and Lilies*, Sec. 97.)

In this mood when all things appealed to him with absolute sternness, with that sharpened analysis which is the sad recompense of sorrow and pessimism, he turned to the arts for comfort. In them, as in nature, he had always seen the revelation of divine purpose; we recall how in passages of *Modern Painters* he was later to scorn, he talks of divine "ordinance," as though in the divine secrets (*Frondees Agrestes*, Secs. 4, 72 and 73). But now his mood is of dearly bought and bitter humility. He turns first to those artists whose great concern was the truth about the "four last things"—Dante and Milton. "There are none who for earnestness of thought and mastery of word can be classed with these." This first class of seer give their explanation of life in a form both imaginative and reasoning—so that we may expect a direct account of our problems; surely they will "justify the ways of God to man." But no. It is just in their attempts to explain, that we most surely meet their limitations—of sect and age and character. And these limitations finally destroy authority—if that is the kind of authority we look for—"they were warped in their temper and thwarted in their search for truth."

But greater men than these have been—innocent-hearted—too great for contest. Men like Homer and Shakespeare, of so unrecognised personality, that it disappears in future ages, and becomes ghostly like the tradition of a lost heathen god. Men, therefore, to whose unoffended, uncondemning sight the whole of human nature reveals itself in a pathetic weakness with which they will not strive, or in mournful and transitory strength which they dare not praise.

These men, "the intellectual measure of cultured men," "centres of mortal intelligence," what do they

deliver to us of conviction respecting what it most behoves that intelligence to grasp? . . . Have they any peace to promise to our unrest—any redemption to our misery?

The questioner listens at his oracles to catch the reply his heart longs for. When they seem to say "all we know of answer is to be learnt in faithful living," the undesired words come like a rebuff, none the less final and bitter for being lovely in form.

In the famous "pathetic fallacy" chapter (*Modern Painters, III*) he ranks Shakespeare (with Homer again, and this time with Dante) as of the *first* rank, and mentions Wordsworth, Keats and Tennyson as of the *second*. The first are *creative*; the source of their power is (in the elaborate tabulation of *Modern Painters, II*), the imagination penetrative, which is the insight into process.

Every character that is so much as touched by men like Aeschylus, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, is by them held by the heart; and every circumstance or sentence of their being, speaking, or seeming, is seized by process from within, and is referred to that inner secret spring of which the hold is never lost for an instant.

Here the truth (expressed in *Modern Painters* manner) is that the artistic genius, in its work of character-making, grasps at once the right principles of creation—makes characters fictitious indeed, but in a very true sense real specimens of our race. This is essential truth about Shakespeare at his best.

In this conception Ruskin had much which might have helped him out of his dilemma; and in most of his appreciation of Shakespeare he held fast to it.

The corruption of the schools of high art . . . consists in the sacrifice of truth to beauty. Great art dwells on all that is beautiful; but false art omits or changes all that is ugly, i.e. "whatever it thinks objectionable." (*Modern Painters, III, iv.*, 13-15.)

This false art is of the *vulgar idealist*—a notable phrase. The low ideal is easily won which follows a "vulgar pursuit of physical beauty," or (let it not be forgotten) a pale phantom of perfect character.

The greater the master of the ideal, the more perfectly true in portraiture will his individual figures be always found, the more subtle and bold

his arts of harmony and contrast. This is a universal principle, common to all great art . . . The fact is that a man who can see truth in all, sees it wholly, and neither desires nor cares to mutilate it. (*Modern Painters, III, iv., 7, 3.*)

The true relation between the general and the particular in art could hardly be better expressed than in his

constant law that the greatest men . . . live entirely in their own age, and that the greatest fruits of their work are gathered out of their own age . . . they are perfect plays just because there is no care about centuries in them, but a life which all men recognise for the human life of all time; and this it is not because Shakespeare sought to give universal truth, but because, painting honestly and completely from the men about him, he painted that human nature which is indeed constant enough; a rogue in the 15th century being at heart what a rogue is in the 19th and was in the 12th . . . And the work of these great idealists is always universal; not because it is *not portraiture*, but because it is *complete* portrait down to the heart which is the same in all ages. But the work of the mean idealists is *not universal*, not because it is portrait, but because it is *half portrait*.

There cannot be many more vital pieces of art criticism than this.

There is one element of "complete" human portraiture which causes grave difficulty to the moralist—the constant outcrop of animal coarseness; "one strange, but quite essential, character in us." Ruskin has left very interesting studies of the problem in the first *Lecture on Art* and in *Fors*, 34. He notices in Shakespeare and in his kinsman Chaucer, the delight in stooping to play with evil and enjoy the jesting of "entirely gross persons" (*Lectures on Art*, Sec. 14). The solemn truthfulness of this phrase instantly calls to my mind the scene between old Jack Falstaff and the Chief Justice—with Ruskin in the latter role. Falstaff too has his version of the matter.

There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch; this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile.

Poor old Jack! he throve on pitch, till the surfeit of it killed him. And this is one of Shakespeare's greatest creations—his masterpiece of comedy! "You will find," says Ruskin,

“that whenever Englishmen are wholly without this instinct, their genius is comparatively weak and restricted.” He even tells us (*Fors*, 34) that it is the safeguard of the genius of universal sympathy, “against weak enthusiasms and ideals.” But “the imaginative power always purifies. Shakespeare and Chaucer threw off, at noble work, the lower part of their natures as they would a rough dress.” This is part of their very reality, their human truth. He notes, too (*Modern Painters*, III, *iv.*, 16, 9), that we have “lost since Shakespeare’s day the power of laughing at bad jests.” We may agree or not—for each age has its own cherished type of bad jest—the important point is that Ruskin regarded it as real loss of power. The English genius excels (he tells us in the *Lectures on Art*) in the portraiture of living people; it has intense power of expression and invention in domestic drama. This genius he finds in Shakespeare; who does reproduce life at the fullest possible, evil as well as good, with tolerance and rightness, “complete . . . down to the heart which is the same in all ages.”

In these passages, Ruskin sees clearly that his greatest class (except Dante, who appears in both classes for different reasons and must here be left out of account) of poets are not engaged in search for truth, as truth and as search. When Keats said “Truth is Beauty and Beauty Truth,” he was in Ruskin’s first class (as Ruskin seems at times inclined to admit him). Nor does it follow even that the poet is one of the wisest and best in the ordinary meaning. “Art is a whimsical goddess, and a capricious; her strong sense of joy tolerates no dulness; and live we never so spotlessly, still may she turn her back upon us.” (Whistler.) In any case it is not *as* seekers for truth, nor *as* wisest and best, that poets write—above all that Shakespeare wrote: they leave that to philosophers and moralists.

So Shakespeare and Homer also have no answer to the questions put in *The Mystery of Life*. These greatest work to reproduce what they see—life at its fullest; with a forgery divine. The world they see is the same as ours, its problems are the same, and not appreciably nearer solution. This very

fact gives them their power over us; the world they illumine is our world. They too are men like ourselves; their triumph is not only miraculous but dear to us, because it is the strength of our familiar weakness. They are not our oracles, but brother-men to be grasped by the hand and heart. If we join ourselves to the company of the artists, we must above all things not fail to catch something of their joy (to miss that, said R. L. S., is to miss all). In science and theology we may have them at a disadvantage. We may add their experience to ours, not forgetting that we have knowledge to add to theirs; if we are worthy we shall attain a finer insight, deeper love, pity, hope, sorrow, admiration, forgiveness, for our race,—but of its whence and whither and why, learn truly nothing.

Yet what a company it is that awaits us, and what discourse is theirs! Speech is far richer in meaning, far more intensely symbolic, than the medium of any other of the arts. Through it vibrates note after note from humanity's heart-strings, the harmony swelling with the writer's passion and the reader's sympathy, deep calling unto deep.

So far then as the artists of speech reproduce life, they reproduce also its problems, and that most real of all the qualities of these problems, their insolubleness. The greater the reproductive art, the more infallibly must it reproduce human fallibility. If they have any answer to ultimate questions, it is that also of life; that love and pleasure and discipline and truth are its rewards, whatever its destination. Tragedy in art, as in life, will teach us the lesson of science and religion; that the wages of sin is death; and that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. It will show us "under Death's spread hand," the hope that shines in human courage, undaunted before pain and ignorance and sin.

These are the lines upon which we may look for the "teaching" of drama. Dramatic poetry has for its special subject the development of character, of soul. The presentation of this is the final matter of technique, profoundly influenced by stage conditions. The action must be designed, plotted out, composed like a picture (for it is to appeal pri-

marily to the eye). But the play is more than a pageant, as the picture is more than a design. For the deeds and words must be the natural efflorescence of character—that is the final dramatic test. The dramatists' business then is to reproduce, to recreate, life. By the artistic arrangement of plot, character, scene and speech, the dramatist arrests attention; he eliminates things that distract from the central issues. By the visible clash of action he gives fresh and memorable force to the lessons of life.

Drama's dependence on life Ruskin finds best expressed by "a faultless and complete epitome of mimetic art," which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of Theseus:—

The best in this kind are but shadows, and the worst are no worse, if imagination amend them.

But shadows!

All these dreams of Shakespeare, as those of true and strong men must be, are *φαντάσματα θεία καὶ σκιαὶ τῶν ὄντων*. (phantoms divine and shadows of reality). (*Munera Pulveris*, 133.)

Not like the dream of Imogen:—

'Twas but a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing,
Which the brain makes of fumes.

It is the foundation of all his teaching—the clue to his approach from art to social reform:—

But shadows! Make them as beautiful as you can; use them only to enable you to remember and love what they are cast by. If ever you prefer the skill of them to the simplicity of the truth, or the pleasure of them to the power of the truth, you have fallen into that vice of folly . . . given by Prodicus . . . *εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν* (to take the shadow for the substance) . . . There is nothing that I tell you with more eager desire that you should believe—nothing with wider grant in my experience for requiring you to believe, than this, that you never will love art well till you love what she mirrors better. (*Eagle's Nest*, Sec. 39.)

In *The Mystery of Life*, Ruskin emphasized with sad clearness the helplessness, in face of the last things, which the artist shares with his fellow mortals. Mortality is indeed a dimen-

sion in which we must ultimately conceive all things. We have made gods in our own image, and heavens in the likeness of earth. Art, while blossoming immediately from the joy or pain of a moment, born in mortal moods and senses, yet approaches immortality just because its source is the joy and pain that makes the whole race kin. Art is long; coeval with the emotions, whose transiency is everlasting. They break ever fresh from the same wellspring; the same eyes shine, the same hearts beat, beneath all the harlequinade of time and place. But knowledge and explanation—science, morals, theology—being a ceaseless evolution, are the really transitory things. They rise in tortuous spiral of superstition and dream and hypothesis, and theory contradicting theory; the slow reward of groping hands and painful feet.

Song is not Truth, not Wisdom: but the rose
Upon Truth's lips, the light in Wisdom's eyes.

Art has for its special gift to record this kindling of life, so that its momentary flash may live on in forms

whose beauty Time shall spare,
Though a breath made them.

“Though a breath made them!” because, rather, what made them was the breath of life.

That is how art can fulfil what Ruskin says of it “to enable us to be glad, and be glad justly.” But, if we ask of it what it cannot give, we shall do as he did in *The Mystery of Life*, get sorrow instead of joy. When he withdrew this lecture from a later edition of *Sesame and Lilies*, one of his chief reasons was

The feeling that I had not enough examined the spirit of faith in God, and hope in futurity, which though unexpressed were meant by the master of tragedy to be felt by the spectator, what they were to himself, the solution and consolation of all the wonderfulness of sorrow. (*Fors*, 91.)

In other words he withdrew it because he found the solution of *The Mystery of Life* in the religious belief he had regained. Shakespeare's dramatic world was consistent with

this belief, and it was natural Shakespeare should seem to share it. Ruskin thus found his answer not in art but in religion. He turned from the Shakespeare of the stage to the Shakespeare whose heart was never unlocked.

It is outside our scope to examine how to some minds—to Browning for example—art has seemed to give the assurance Ruskin longed for in vain. No poet has followed his art into a more distant future than Tennyson in *Parnassus*. The poet is the seeing eye, the burning heart, the singing voice. If he should be immortal, and follow the race in its age-long upward growth till our very world and all its life is forgotten, he will be to his new world what he was to this.

Other songs for other worlds! the fire within him would not falter;
Let the golden Iliad vanish! Homer here is Homer there.

The mystery of life will reveal to the artist its wonder and beauty, its terror and pity. It will find in him the comfort of a voice for its promise and despair. He may or may not be one of those who care very greatly for the ultimate solution. He may dream that some day religion and philosophy and art will be one and the same; and, so united, come within sight of the end. But what we ask of him—as distinct from what we ask of others—is the shifting vision of the manifold appearances, in joy and pain, in comedy and tragedy, in life and death, of that

Beauty, a living presence of the earth,

who

Pitches her tent before him as he moves.*

J. A. DALE

* Wordsworth, *Recluse*.

TENNYSON

When in the shrine of Doubt some bowed their knees,
And Faith's low voice told of a mind distressed;
When tireless Science came from her lone quest
'Mid trackless realms, and human mysteries;
When Empire rose broad-based on seven seas—
Great agitations filled Britannia's breast,
But the full notes of thy rich melodies,
First caught at Heaven's gate, soothed her to rest.

For with unfaltering accent thou didst show
That fadeless flowers in human gardens grow;
Bade broken-hearted Sorrow dry her eyes,
Since deepest truths are oft from Reason hid;
And pointed people to a high emprise
More lasting far than ancient pyramid.

ALEXANDER LOUIS FRASER

A LIBERAL GERMAN JOURNALIST: LUDWIG BOERNE

REGARDING the nature of Prussianism we may safely say that we have nothing further to learn. Prussia herself has during the last three years put herself to great trouble and expense to clear up any doubtful points, and, as a result, Prussianism stands revealed in all its savage glory. Its origin too has been investigated though, so far, less successfully. We are beginning to be rather ashamed of the crude floundering of our initial attempts, and we do not hear much of Nietzsche now, perhaps because we have begun to suspect and discount the theological origin of, at any rate, the pulpit denunciations of the author of "Anti-Christ." Besides, it was inevitable that after attacking Nietzsche some of his assailants should find time to read his works and make the discovery that he was very far from being a champion of Germanism and German Kultur. Treitschke, at first, was even more promising; he proved a perfect gold mine to the quotation fiend; he was so obviously anti-English and anti-French that it was felt we need go no further. Then we realized that after all Treitschke was only the historian of modern Prussianism and not the inventor. It was now Hegel's turn, and there the investigation ended abruptly, for Hegel is rather hard to understand and almost impossible to quote in epigrammatic form and therefore useless for practical polemical purposes.

After all, why go further at present? We may rest satisfied with knowing that more than half a century ago Prussianism, as we know it, was sufficiently strongly developed to have a philosopher and an historian of its own, and that we are, therefore, fighting not a transitory form of midsummer madness but a deeply rooted, firmly established political faith which our guns can reduce to temporary quiescence

but cannot exterminate unless help comes from within the German Empire.

Now, the liberal democratic forces on which we must found our hope for the final removal of the Prussian peril have always been at work, but have rarely had a chance to make themselves a power in the land owing to the absence of competent leaders. German officialdom is so efficiently recruited, and so all-embracing, that most men possessing the requisite qualifications are in government employ, and thus the leadership in liberal movements has generally been in the hands of poets, dreamers, *privatgelehrten*, disgruntled professors and Jews. The peculiar mentality of the first four categories foredoomed their efforts to failure. The Jew with his oriental nimbleness of mind and a certain, very often, superficial brilliancy—a pleasant contrast to the involved ponderosity of his Teutonic confreres—has for nearly a century been a tower of strength in German liberal journalism; but when it came to actual personal leadership in a national liberal movement, he had to face enormous difficulties, for to the handicap of being a Jew in anti-semitic Germany he often added the further disqualification of being at the same time a dreamer or a poet or a *privatgelehrter* or a disgruntled professor. Some of these Jewish journalists have been men of real literary merit, but as a journalist's fame is in the nature of things ephemeral, even the very best of them go down to posterity as mere names. It may be of interest at the present time to resuscitate one of the most picturesque and uncompromising champions of liberalism in Germany, Ludwig Boerne, a contemporary of Hegel, the accredited philosopher of the Prussian state.

Ludwig Boerne or, as he was called until he was baptized into the Christian Church, Loeb Baruch, was born in 1786 at Frankfort-on-the-Main, of Jewish parents. Heine has told us that Judaism is not a religion, but a misfortune. In Frankfort it was more, it was a catastrophe; for there "the hatred of the Jew was a mark of orthodox Christianity, a municipal duty, a fashionable custom, and almost a subject

of primary instruction." The Ghetto, to which the Jews had been confined for the last three hundred and fifty years, was still their sole residence. It was a dark, narrow street consisting of about two hundred houses, the whole enclosed by walls with two gates to communicate with the outer world. The inhabitants were locked in every night at sundown while on most Christian, municipal and national holidays the gates remained bolted all day. Even when it was lawful for them to leave the Judengasse they were not allowed to use the sidewalk, but had to walk in the road no matter how muddy it might be, and a special municipal law excluded them from the public promenade. Even the most venerable member of the Jewish community was compelled to take off his hat to the lowest type of Christian corner boy who called out, "Mach mores, Jud." The special taxation imposed upon the Jews was oppressive in the extreme, though, as it could be imposed on the tax-payer without his consent, it proved of course a convenient and easy way of raising municipal revenue. It is hard to discover what the Jews got in return. There was a special enactment forbidding anyone to strike Jews or to insult them in the streets; another limited the number of marriages to fourteen couples per annum, to prevent overcrowding, I suppose. That seems to be all.

Boerne's father was a well-to-do merchant, who considered it his duty to treat his son with great severity. As the remainder of the household consisted of a cold-hearted mother who rarely relaxed into even the faintest show of affection, an autocratic servant and a very wooden orthodox Jewish tutor whose main duty seemed to be to instruct the boy in the Talmud and the intricacies of the Jewish ritual, the family life is not likely to have rendered his youthful memories more pleasant. He was a shy and self-willed child who, in his unsympathetic surrounding, soon learned to develop in opposition to his environment. He strongly disliked the Jews; indeed it can scarcely be said that he ever was one except in race. He was unable to see the many noble qualities their common sufferings had developed in the Jews; he saw only, and cordially

despised, the evil fruits of the Ghetto: the petty meanness, the meek submission to authority, the fawning cowardice and the unscrupulous love of money. When about 1800 he leaves his Jewish associations he does so without a pang. In all his writings there is not a line to show that Judaism ever meant anything more to him than a prison from which he had been lucky enough to escape. He even forgot every word of the Hebrew he once knew so well.

After spending a few years at Giessen, he is sent by his father to Berlin to study medicine under the guidance of the distinguished physician, Marcus Herz, whose clever and beautiful wife, the famous Henrietta Herz, made a deep impression on young Boerne. After her husband's death, a year later, the passion of the seventeen year old boy for the beautiful lady, more than twenty years his senior, assumed a serious character, and the culminating point was reached when one day Henrietta's servant informed her that the youth had sent her to the druggist to get him an ounce of arsenic, presumably to poison himself. In his subsequent interview with Henrietta, he admitted that this was indeed his intention. One rather suspects that on this, perhaps the only occasion in his life, Boerne did not mean what he said. Imagine a medical student who has to send out a servant to get poison unless he has some ulterior motive! However this may be Henrietta was sufficiently impressed by the incident to advise her melancholy admirer to abandon his studies at Berlin and continue them at the University of Halle. We have the correspondence of the time of the Halle exile; it reflects the greatest credit on both.

The Battle of Jena caused another interruption of Boerne's medical studies, for Napoleon very soon after closed the University, having probably come to the conclusion that there were too many professors in Germany. After a few years spent in Heidelberg, where law takes the place of medicine, Boerne returned to Frankfort. The Napoleonic broom was sweeping there with accustomed energy; the gates of the Ghetto were opened and remained open forever after;

all oppressive Jewish taxation was abolished and soon the Jews were granted full civic rights in consideration of a payment to the municipality of a sum of 440,000 fl. Boerne was one of the first Jews in his native town to receive an official appointment, the modest one of police actuary. As the result of the fall of the Napoleonic régime in Germany in 1813, the Grand Duchy of Frankfort was again dissolved and the old treatment of the Jews was resumed, except that the Ghetto remained open. Boerne lost his post and the Jews their civic rights. There seems to be no record of anyone remembering to return the 440,000 fl.

The national consequences were even more disastrous. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, who had been ready to promise their subjects liberties and even constitutions while their thrones were tottering, seemed to have nothing more pressing to do than to return to pre-revolution ideas and conditions as soon as the danger was averted, and for mutual protection they formed what they called the Holy Alliance for the unholy purpose of suppressing all popular liberties and aspirations. Their efforts culminated in 1819 in the famous Karlsbad Resolutions which were to muzzle the Universities and the Press, establishing a system of censorship probably without parallel in the history of mankind since the days of the Inquisition. Boerne had, by this time, become a journalist, and that his Jewish name might not impede his usefulness he, in 1818, embraced Christianity with the least possible degree of fervour. His enemies speak of his "conversion" in the same way in which they refer to a similar incident in Heine's life. But the cases are somewhat different. Heine puts himself out of court by his cynical statement, "If I had been allowed to steal silver teaspoons for my living I should never have gone over to Christianity." Besides, his was at least a mild case of apostacy, as it can hardly be said that Judaism ever ceased to mean something to Heine. Boerne by his "conversion" went over from nothing to what to him was even less, and the consciousness of the importance and urgency of his political task seemed

to furnish a tolerably good excuse for the step. We must also take into account that it had become fashionable at the time for Jews to be baptized. Cohen, in his "Jewish Life in Modern Times," tells us that of the 3,610 Jews who lived in Berlin in 1819, as many as 1236 became Christians within the next four years. He adds, that from 1822 to 1840 there was an average of 122 Jewish converts a year, and that they included nearly every Jew who attained any fame in Prussia at that period.

In Boerne's case the result was disappointing, for the Germans neither forgot nor would they let him forget that his name was really Loeb Baruch. "Some," he writes in 1832, "cast it up to me that I am a Jew, others forgive me the offence and others again praise me for it, but they all think of it. I know how it is. These poor Germans! They live down in the basement oppressed by seven storeys of their social structure and it relieves their feelings to be able to speak of beings who live lower down still, in the cellar. Not to be Jews themselves, consoles them for the fact that they are not even court councillors." He did not wish to write as a Jew, but as a German. So, on another occasion, he exclaims bitterly, "I wish I had the three louis d'or again which I had to pay the pastor for my Christianity. For eighteen years I have been baptized and it has done me no good. Three louis d'or for a place in the German madhouse!" I may add that unlike many converts he never reviled his former co-religionists with the sole exception of the great Jewish bankers like Rothschild, "the broker who negotiates all the state loans which supply to princes the power to defy liberty and deprive the people of the courage to resist violence."

Boerne's subsequent life becomes an uninterrupted struggle with the German Governments, particularly the Prussian, and the Press Police. The journals he founds are censored, suspended, suppressed; he himself fined, imprisoned, persecuted in every conceivable way; the Bundestag forbids the publication of all his works, not only of those he had already written, but knowing by that Governmental presence withheld from the "beschraenkte Untertanenver-

stand" what a man of his type will write in future they damn even the unborn children of his pen. He need trouble no more about writing: he cannot publish. After 1822 he spent the greater part of his life in Paris, where he died in 1837.

Boerne has not written a single book. He has "only tried his pen on different kinds of paper." This was partly owing to want of industry, due in its turn, perhaps, to physical weakness, and partly to the superficiality of his knowledge. He makes no secret of the latter, and rather enjoys the idea of having to cover up his ignorance as an art critic, for instance, "by red, blue and green words." His novelettes show little narrative talent, and his dramatic criticism is often rendered worthless by the uncompromising political standpoint from which he considers even purely literary questions. He has little use for Heine, the poet, simply because Heine is an inconsistent politician whom, as such, he suspects of being capable of any form of political treachery. As a matter of fact Heine did soon after accept from the French Government what was nothing better than a bribe. Political reasons also completely obscured his view of Goethe. To him Goethe was first and foremost the intimate friend of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the courtier, the *Fuerstendiener*. As a patriotic German, and unlike Heine in that respect, he never forgave Napoleon the invasion of Germany, and Goethe's nonchalant attitude on all questions relating to Napoleon shocked him deeply. When, after 1815, the political and religious reaction set in in Germany Goethe calmly looked on; for years he did not even read a newspaper amidst all the volcanic rumbling around him, and was much more interested in his collection of minerals than in the misdeeds of the Holy Alliance or the sufferings of the people. All this warps Boerne's judgement to such an extent that he finds it in his heart to speak of Goethe as "the man who for 60 years has been forging the handwriting of genius."

Boerne's true sphere is obviously that of the political missionary, and, if need be, martyr. He has something of the stern incorruptibility of the old Hebrew prophets and their singleness of purpose. His political message is every-

thing to him; nothing else counts, nor has he any doubt that he is the man to deliver it. "Because I was born in serfdom I love liberty more than you do; because I have known slavery I understand liberty better than you do."

It is an open question whether the censors were not more afraid of such a man than he was of them. The very fact that the Bundestag had finally to resort to the extreme measure of silencing him altogether, seems to show that he was more than a match for the censor. When he edited various Frankfort journals, such as "Die Wage," he certainly succeeded in making the censor's life sufficiently unpleasant. His method was as follows. Before being sent to press the issue had to be submitted to the local censor who had the very appropriate name of Severus. This official would strike out certain passages. Boerne would then print the censored articles as originally written, with the result that the censor would lay a complaint against him, and the police would impose a fine. Boerne now had the chance he had been longing for. He appealed, and as the statement of his case to the Higher Court was privileged he could say what he pleased about the censor, and he said it with such frankness and so mercilessly that Herr Severus of Frankfort soon acquired, not only in Germany but throughout Europe, the reputation of being the most ridiculous fool in Christendom. In his studies on "Das junge Deutschland" Geiger gives us the text of a pathetic letter of resignation addressed by the Frankfort censor to the Senate of the city. It begins: "I am not exaggerating when I maintain that during nine years all our newspaper editors taken together have not made the fulfilment of my duty as censor so unpleasant, and I may say so hateful, as this one man, Boerne, in five months." "For some time," he continues, "many foreign newspapers have made the Frankfort censorship their laughing-stock; my name has become the butt of the wit of English and French journalists and the execution of my duty is called a crime against the liberty of nations." Evidently, a dozen Boernes scattered through Germany might have done away with the censorship by doing away with the censors.

His political gospel, as set forth in his "Letters from Paris" (1830-1833), is very simple: a republic for Germany. Only once does he condescend to argue the matter, when he shows us what an expensive luxury monarchical government is in Germany with her thirty odd monarchs and her thirty odd civil lists, and what a set of pirates these monarchs are. Apart from this, he argues as little as Victor Hugo in his *Châtiments*; instead of that he declaims, denounces, upbraids and occasionally positively explodes. After all, the republic was not the important thing, his republicanism was a *façon de parler*, it was striking, picturesque, and it looked so easy. The essential thing was the fight between absolutism and democratic ideals, a hopeless fight, it often seemed to him, for it resolved itself into a struggle between a crazy tyranny on the one hand and ox-like apathy on the other.

Contrasting the modern character of France after the glorious July Revolution with the backward state of Germany he says: "In ten years' time the friends of political antiquities will come from all the parts of the globe to travel in Germany and satisfy their artistic hobby. I see them, *Antiquités de l'Allemagne* in hand, spectacles on nose, note book in pocket, roam through our towns studying our legal system, our censorship, our custom houses, our Junker pride, our middle class humility, our all-highest and all-lowest persons, our treatment of the Jews and our peasant misery, tipping the poor German devils, and then going back to their homes to publish illustrated descriptions of our misery. What an unhappy people, a Beduin will exclaim with pride and pity." Tame domestic animals he calls the Germans, who are allowed a certain freedom to roam about, because the master knows that they will return to the stable as soon as he whistles for them. "I expect nothing of this flock of sheep; the agitation they have shown lately was merely an attack of staggers." The ease with which the Germans allow the Government to fool them (*vide* Bethmann Hollweg's address to the Landtag) is a fruitful theme with him. Ever since the July Revolution the German rulers were afraid the discontent among their flocks might develop into open insubordination. They antici-

pated Bismarck's well worn expedient of spreading the rumour that France intended to attack Germany. This aroused their patriotism and made them forget their grievances. In this connection Boerne writes: "I have no doubt the donkeys will allow themselves to be fooled again. But, if it happens, there will not be an angel in heaven so soft-hearted, indulgent or compassionate as to shed any tears over them. The whole of heaven will laugh. God Himself will laugh, and being in a pleasant humour, he will speak French and say: '*Quelle grosse bête que ce peuple allemand.*'" "Every man has a right to be a blockhead," he says in another place, "nothing can be said against that. But even a right should be exercised with modesty; the Germans abuse it."

The following has a very familiar sound in our own time, although the passage was written in 1831: "There is no hope that Germany will ever be free until we hang our most distinguished philosophers, theologians and historians."

These "Letters from Paris" aroused enormous interest and enthusiasm as the different instalments appeared. In spite of what Boerne, in his despair, tells us about the German people collectively, they proved an inspiration to many, although they did not bear fruit until 1848, eleven years after the author's death. As the fever of the revolutionary period abated, however, and the Germans had a chance of reading in cold blood what Boerne had said about them, they seemed to grasp the full meaning of his diatribes, not only against their princes, but against themselves, and they were deeply offended.

As was to be expected, the establishment of the Empire and the unification of Germany put an end to their interest in what appeared to be the mere journalism of the past. According to Geiger's *Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden* only about 400 copies of Boerne's works are being sold in Germany every year. Boerne's native city, Frankfort, with its 20,000 Jews, does not buy more than half a dozen copies. But, then, few nations know what would really be good for them.

H. WALTER

FINANCE IN CANADA AFTER THE WAR

THE highly suggestive address of Mr. Bennett before the University Club, on the 27th January, 1917, had for object to induce University men to do their part in trying to prepare public opinion for the serious financial responsibilities the people of Canada must assume after the war, to meet the heavy charges for interest on the national debt, and the further large expenditure that may be required for inducing people to take up the land and to bring it under cultivation.

There is a unanimous consensus of opinion among our public men, that the development of our resources, and especially of those connected with agriculture, should form the main object of statesmanship in this country for many years. To obtain success in this effort the lot of the farmer must be made sufficiently attractive to induce as many as possible to take up this branch of industry, both our own people already resident in Canadian cities, and also those likely to come into the country as immigrants when peace is restored.

Mr. Bennett very properly pointed out that if we desire to retain the allegiance and sympathy of the inhabitants of the western provinces, we must do everything humanly possible to make the condition of their life contrast favourably with that of those engaged in similar occupations to the south of the American border.

At the very best, we shall be handicapped by the undoubted fact that our people will have to bear the burden of somewhat heavy taxation, from much of which the inhabitants of the agricultural states of the American Union, not having been engaged in the war, will be exempt.

We must, therefore, mitigate the conditions in every other respect, so as to minimize the danger of any possible discontent arising from this cause.

He further pointed out that many of the new settlers in our West have come from the western States, who are already in the habit of dealing with American cities and American manufacturers, and among whom there is already some degree of jealousy of the East, which in the United States is represented by Wall Street, and in Canada may come to be represented by Montreal and Toronto. To prevent such a sentiment growing, everything should be done to make it profitable for the western farmers to deal with the large cities of eastern Canada, instead of with American centres of distribution, such as Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Seattle, and San Francisco.

There is only one way in which this desirable result can be attained, and that is to shape our national policy in such a way that the farmers of the West will get better value for their money by dealing with eastern Canada than with the western States.

There are two lines of commodities in which the western farmer deals very largely: the one including a very numerous class of articles, of which blankets, flannels, woollen clothing, boots and shoes, harness and saddlery may be taken as representative; the other consists of agricultural implements and furniture, to which may also be added cottons and cotton clothing, as these are produced and may easily be procured from manufacturers in the United States.

To compete with the first class, no other source of supply can be provided, with advantage to the eastern people of Canada, so well as by permitting imports at the Atlantic seaboard to come in at the nearest possible approach to free trade. And it fortunately happens that sea-borne trade is almost identical with intra-imperial or British imports.

To enable Montreal and Toronto to supply the West with these commodities, they should be imported from the United Kingdom chiefly, subject to the lowest rate of duty consistent with raising our national revenues; and for this purpose, any duties that are intentionally protective should be relentlessly excised from our tariff.

If this were done, and the tariff on British imports reduced to a maximum of $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 percent, goods of the character above first described could be imported in such large quantities as to enable Canadian merchants to easily undersell producers or importers of like articles in the United States, and this branch of the farmers' custom could be effectively secured. Absolute free trade, even within the empire, seems to be out of the question, until we have entirely recast our financial system, and adopted some other method of raising nearly all our revenues. And I would not propose that this either could or should be done at the present time, except to the extent mentioned below. Our tariff on British imports, however, should be made as low as possible consistently with revenue requirements; and naturally, if the revenue depended on the amount of this trade, the tariff should be so framed that no British or oversea goods should be excluded by its operation.

Now, it so happens that the articles that can be most advantageously imported from the United Kingdom are ones in which the smaller proportion of our Canadian manufacturers are now interested. The Canadian manufactures for which we possess the greatest natural facilities are those in which competition comes chiefly from the United States. But if there are any Canadian manufactures which would suffer from British competition, they should simply be forced in the public interest to be content with $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 per cent. advantage or to abandon such an unprofitable investment of their capital, and to devote it to something more in accordance with the requirements and interests of the people of Canada at large.

The second class of goods above named, agricultural implements, and cottons, to which may also be added furniture and other articles made of wood, forms a class of which, in the absence of tariff legislation, the import would naturally take place from the United States. In these branches Canadian manufacturers have a very heavy investment of capital, and for the most part they are of a character which should be

capable of being produced in Canada as cheaply as anywhere else. For many of these, I would propose that the objections to a protective tariff should be waived, and duties imposed at a sufficiently heavy rate to secure to Canadian manufacturers as nearly as possible a monopoly of the Canadian consuming market. The natural result of such a policy, if carried out as in the past, would be to leave the western farmer, and the consuming public generally, at the mercy of a comparatively small number of Canadian manufacturers and their employees, and the problem we have to face is whether some method might not be adopted to offset the evil results that would otherwise flow from the perpetuation of a protective policy on imports coming overland or from the United States.

The remedy for this could, I think, be found by the creation of a department in the Government of Canada, whose duty it would be to obtain information as to whether the rates at which articles enjoying the benefit of protective duties were being sold to Canadian purchasers, are reasonable. If the Government should consent to exercise the powers it may possess for the regulation of trade, so as to secure what would be virtually a monopoly of the Canadian market for the Canadian manufacturer, the only condition upon which the use of these powers could be justified, would be that the Canadian manufacturers, in return, would supply the goods they produced at as low a price as these could be imported at, if the tariff did not exist. If, therefore, a tariff is imposed so as to exclude foreign competition in the Canadian market, and if advantage is taken of this tariff to charge a price which would be equal to the foreign price plus the duty, it is quite evident that the public are being exploited for the private benefit of these Canadian manufacturers. On the other hand, unless the articles affected by the tariff are such as, under ordinary conditions, can be produced in Canada as cheaply as outside, that is evidently a branch of industry in which no part of the Canadian people ought to be encouraged to invest their capital.

The articles to which such a prohibitive tariff should apply should be confined to those of which, in the opinion of

Parliament, the manufacture could take place advantageously in Canada, and for this purpose a rate as high as 50 per cent. might be imposed under the conditions suggested.

On all other articles imported from foreign countries, the rate of duty should be a moderate one, levied in such a manner as to give the maximum of revenue to the Government. Perhaps 25 or 30 per cent. would be sufficient, giving a margin of preference to British over foreign imports, to the extent of the difference between $12\frac{1}{2}$ and 25, or between 15 and 30 per cent.

If the effect of this policy would be to reduce the relative number of persons engaged in manufacturing industries as compared with the rest of the population, this would itself be an advantage. There would still be a sufficient number of manufactures to give reasonable diversity to the industries followed by our people, but there would not be enough to draw the population from the farms into the cities and towns, which is one of the causes for the scant population employed in the country parts. If the number of articles in the production of which we attempt to establish manufactures be greatly reduced, those remaining will be the ones having the best chances to become self-sustaining without continued assistance from a protective tariff. And the object of getting people back to the land can never be attained if we use the tariff as a means of encouraging people to reside in cities and towns, placing themselves under a captain of industry and giving him an opportunity to make a fortune at the expense of the general public. In many other ways we may do much, and are now doing much, to better the condition of those living in the country parts, and I am glad to see plans such as that proposed by Mr. Flummerfelt, of attempting to introduce an element of concentration and military discipline and organization into the methods of dividing and operating the farms, which, by the way, is something like a repetition of the manner in which some of the seigniories were laid out in the early part of the French regime, for instance at Beauport, where the farm houses were all at a central point, and the

farms ran out from this point like the spokes of a wheel. But Mr. Flummerfelt's plan is even an improvement upon this, as the different village centres are connected by roads, which may be laid out so as to form great highways leading into the large cities of Canada, which may thus form the chief distributing points.

It will of course be pretended, by manufacturers who desire to take advantage of the tariff to increase the price at which they sell their goods, that the Canadian market is small in comparison with the market for their competitors in the United States, and to offset the disadvantage of a smaller market, the Canadian manufacturers should be allowed to obtain an enhanced price. This reasoning, however, is unsound. If the prices are kept up for any such reason, the discontent that will naturally arise among the consumers will make it a dangerous policy for any government to persist in. And it is not true that the Canadian market is necessarily smaller than the market in the United States. It is quite true that if a single manufacturer, or a single group of manufacturers, had a monopoly in the United States, and could produce their commodities on a scale represented by the entire population, or the consuming public, of the United States, a Canadian manufacturer, or group of manufacturers, supplying the Canadian market only, would be at a serious disadvantage. But when it is remembered that no single individual or group of manufacturers has any such monopoly in the United States; if, on the contrary, the number of competing manufacturers in the United States is such that each individual, or each group, has only a limited number of customers to supply, then, if the Canadian manufacturer can get a number of customers equal to that limited number, he ought to be able to produce at the same price as his American competitor.

And as a matter of fact, a careful examination of the trade conditions in the United States will disclose the fact that in many articles the number of manufacturers competing with one another in the United States is as large in proportion to the

total population as the number of manufacturers in Canada. If this be so, then each individual manufacturer here has as large a number of customers as each individual manufacturer there. There are few or no lines of production in which any single manufacturer in the United States has a monopoly of the trade of the whole Union, and if there are twelve competing manufacturers in the United States, each one of the twelve will have no larger range of customers than one competing manufacturer in Canada. Undoubtedly there are some lines in which certain establishments, or certain trusts, have a tremendous advantage over all their competitors; but these cases are comparatively rare, and the general rule is that the consuming market of the United States is divided up among so many competing manufacturers that there is no reason why a limited number of manufacturers in Canada should not be able to produce on a sufficiently large scale to turn out their goods at the lowest price at which these goods could be produced anywhere else.

It is evident that to secure this result the number engaging in any industry might have to be limited, by natural conditions, in Canada; but this would have to be regulated by arrangements among the manufacturers themselves; and as a matter of fact these arrangements are actually made at the present time; the territory is mapped out, and the prices at which goods are to be sold are determined, in spite of all attempts by legislation to prevent it, by trade agreements among the members of each individual manufacture.

For agricultural implements alone, there were in Canada, at the time of the last census, 77 different establishments, with an output of \$20,723,000; a capital investment of \$45,232,000; 9,660 hands employed, of which on salary 726 and on wages 8,834; and \$5,552,000 paid in wages and salaries, of which salaries \$812,000 and wages \$4,740,000; compared with the facts shown by the last census of the United States, 1910, as follows:

640 establishments; output \$146,239,000; capital \$256,281,000; salaried employees 9,213, wage earners 50,551; total

hands 59,764. Salaries \$10,140,000; wages \$28,609,000; salaries and wages \$38,749,000.

The average output in Canada per establishment is thus \$268,870.

The average output in United States per establishment is \$228,639.

Now, it has come to be a universal practice that goods are sold on what are called list prices, with or without discounts, and it is possible for any intelligent dealer to obtain information as to the prices that are being charged in one country, comparing them with those that are being charged in another. It is not difficult for clear-headed business men to ascertain the average price that is being charged to purchasers in the western States, and to compare this with the average price that is being charged to customers in western Canada. These having been ascertained, it is also possible to make allowance for certain natural conditions that may affect the case of individual buyers or sellers, and if the difference can be accounted for by such circumstances, independently, however, of the rate of the tariff, then special circumstances may justify or demand higher or lower prices being charged in certain cases. But after these special circumstances have been eliminated, the list price in western Canada ought to be no higher than the list price in the western States.

Another circumstance that must affect the price paid by the purchaser is the rate of freight charged by the railway companies, and it would appear to be, if not the duty, at least the interest, of the Government to take such measures as will prevent excessive freight rates being charged.

One method by which these can be reduced, with advantage to all concerned, is to secure for the transcontinental railways sufficient freight both ways, so that a reasonable return on the investment may be obtained at moderate rates of freight. This object will be attained by the encouragement of imports at the seaboard as already explained.

But to place it out of the power of the privately-owned railway companies to take undue advantage of their position, the remedy would seem to be that one of the transcontinental lines should be owned and operated by the Government. There would be no danger of such a Government line charging rates of freight higher than necessary; perhaps the danger would be the other way; but this would be an effective control over the competing private railway lines, and I would strongly recommend the adoption of this policy, which to be successful requires only the exercise by the Government, in its administration, of the ordinary rules of commercial integrity, and our country can never be properly governed until this end is secured.

This control of railway rates by the Government should also be exercised in such a way as to give Toronto a fair opportunity of receiving her share of western trade. Her geographical position is such as to enable her to communicate with the Atlantic seaboard almost as easily, and in winter more easily, through New York than through Montreal. Perhaps the summer rates would have to be left to natural conditions, except that the rates from Montreal to Toronto should not be allowed to exceed the rates that might be obtained between New York and Toronto. But after navigation is closed, the Government would be justified in arranging freight rates between Halifax and Toronto which would not exceed the rates from New York, thus placing her on an equal footing with Montreal for such trade.

Canada must arise above the spirit of petty jealousy such as may have sometimes existed between rival ports or cities, such as Halifax and St. John, or Montreal and Quebec, or Montreal and Toronto; and even, if we go far enough back, between these two cities and Kingston, or between the Queen City of Toronto and the ambitious City of Hamilton.

The proposal here made is intended to remedy something that depends upon natural geographical advantages affected by tariff legislation, and not resulting from any spirit of unfair rivalry or jealousy.

Now the method by which the Government could prevent Canadian manufacturers from taking advantage of the Canadian consumers, by adding the tariff rate to the import price, is one not by any means impossible of arriving at.

If there is a species of partnership between the Government and the manufacturers, the Government have a right to be represented in fixing the list prices to be charged on every article made in Canada, but capable of being imported subject to duty.

There should, therefore, be a department of Government, presided over by a minister having two deputies, chosen, one as representative of the manufacturers, the other as representative of the consumers, which department would make it part of its office to hear complaints made in any part of the country, that the people were being overcharged, and having the right of access to the books of all the manufacturers in the country, for the purpose of verifying the facts bearing on the issue. This should not be the work of an occasional commission, but the work and the duty of a thoroughly organized and thoroughly equipped regular department of Government, having power not only to ascertain the facts, as to whether the complaints made were well founded or not; but having the power also to apply the remedy if the facts are found to be as charged.

This remedy would be to give power to the Government, where the practice is found to be general, to impose by Order-in-Council an excise duty upon the article manufactured and sold in Canada, equivalent to the difference in price that was being charged in Canada, compared with the price prevailing in the United States in places similarly situated. And if the complaint, adjudged well founded, were of an individual violation of the list price, the minister should have the power instantly to impose a fine upon any manufacturer who charged more than the list price agreed upon between the manufacturers and the Government, and having been fixed in relation to the list price prevailing in the foreign country from which the import would otherwise have probably taken place. The

power should exist to impose such a tax or fine even retrospectively; and it should be so rigorously enforced that the manufacturers would not dare to contravene the implied agreement that, in consideration of the tariff monopoly or advantage given to them, the price would be kept down as low as if the tariff did not exist.

It may be true that such a power would be of an arbitrary character. But it is already an arbitrary interference with the right of the consumer to oblige him to pay an import tax in excess of what is required for the revenue of the Government; and the only way to offset it is by arming the Government with a weapon which will enable it to effectively protect the customer also from the abuse by the manufacturer of the advantages conferred upon him by the imposition of protective duties for his benefit.

We have included cotton among the articles on which the protective duties implied in the second class of commodities should be imposed, although raw cotton is not produced in this country. The cotton industry having been already established on a large scale, it would be apparently unjust to deprive it of a reasonable degree of protection for its maintenance; but here the consumer would be sufficiently protected against the abuse of the privileges given the Canadian manufacturer by the foreign tariff, if cotton from within the empire were also made subject to the same conditions as other British imports. In this way, no higher duty than $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 per cent. could be imposed upon British cottons, and therefore no great advantage could be taken of the consumer of cottons. If a higher rate than 15 per cent. be charged on British imports, or 30 per cent. on foreign, then a revenue duty should be levied upon raw cotton to an amount sufficient to reduce the net protection granted the Canadian manufacturer to the percentage thus established.

The farmers and the people of Canada must be educated to understand that the main body of our revenue cannot be raised by exceptional or discriminating taxes. The attempt to tax luxuries is already carried as far as seems possible or

reasonable. And it must be self-evident that no large revenue can be derived from taxes upon wine and spirits, if the consumption of these is to be discouraged, and so far as possible entirely suppressed. We cannot derive large revenue from such a source, if public opinion insists that the articles shall not be consumed; and this opinion prevails very largely throughout Canada.

Nevertheless, such things always have been subjected to heavy duties, and these may very well be retained at the rates now existing, with this exception, that where an import duty is levied upon imported wines or spirits, an excise duty should be levied on the same article produced in Canada to within 15 per cent. of the rate on British imports, or within 30 per cent. of the rate on foreign. In this way the preference in favour of the British Empire will be maintained, but no further protection will be given to the Canadian manufacturer of such articles.

The same applies to attempting to raise revenue by taxing speculators in land beyond their fair proportion compared with other land-holders. The capital brought into the country by such investors adds greatly to its prosperity, and it would be unjust to attempt to make such persons carry the whole burden of taxation in the land. It cannot be done, and if it could, it would simply lead to foreign investors demanding most exorbitant rates for any money they might lend or advance for purchase of land, and a very profitable class of persons or investors would be driven out of the country.

The truth is that our people must recognize that it is the duty of every individual to pay a proportionate share of the taxes required for national purposes, and this cannot be arrived at by any other system more equitable than by a uniform income and land tax, with no exemptions except of those who are on the verge of pauperism; and of these there should be very few in Canada.

If the restriction of the rate on British imports to $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 per cent., and the deliberate exclusion of foreign imports by a protective duty, had the general effect of reducing the

revenue derived from customs duties, it is evident that some other method of supplementing the national revenues would have to be adopted. And the substitution of another system of raising revenue for that by customs duties would have great economic advantages in other ways.

Therefore, I think the Government should take the bull by the horns, and courageously impose an income tax upon every person in Canada enjoying an income exceeding \$600 per annum; and possibly also, though I am not very favourable to the discrimination involved, by a graduated income tax, the rate on large income being larger than on small.

This, however, should apply to every farmer, as well as to everyone else, and information would have to be obtained as to the value of the land possessed by farmers, so that they would not escape their share of taxation, if their income could not be established at a definite amount in money. In other words, the tax should be a land and income tax, applying to every citizen enjoying a larger amount of property or income than a fixed minimum.

I do not favour this on the principles of the single tax, or the unearned increment. There is no use in expecting to raise a large amount of revenue by unjust taxation upon the investment of capital in land. I would proceed on the assumption that taxes should be paid by all the citizens; and every citizen should bear his fair and just proportion of the taxation required for the maintenance of the Government, of which all citizens equally derive the benefit; and any inquisitorial system by which one species of commercial investment is discriminated against is an impolitic interference by the Government with the right of free men to do as they like with their property.

But such an income tax should be levied, not only upon individuals, but upon corporations; and every corporation in Canada, as well as every individual, should be taxed, and should be taxed at the same rate as individuals themselves. The moment you introduce exemptions you open the door to fraudulent evasion, and corrupt the morality of the people at the same time as you diminish the revenue of the country.

Up to the present time, the feasibility of imposing an income tax was almost out of the question; and this for several reasons, some of which are the following:—

First and principally, it was next to impossible to levy an income tax in Canada, when no income tax was being levied in the United States, as this would have had the direct result of placing our people in an unfavourable position, and virtually driving them out of the country to become settlers in the United States.

But that reason no longer exists. An income tax has been permitted by an amendment to the constitution of the United States, and is now being actually levied. And although the minimum exempt is higher than I would approve of for Canada, the government which has such large revenues to raise cannot be restricted to the same amount that has been fixed by the Congress of the United States.

The second reason why an income tax would have been difficult in the past, is that it might have been necessary to reserve it to the provincial governments, if they had been obliged to raise their revenue by bona fide direct taxation, as was contemplated in the British North America Act. But so many other profitable sources of revenue have been seized upon by the provincial legislatures, especially the tax on commercial corporations, which when first imposed was generally regarded as a violation of the spirit of the Confederation Act; to which have to be added the more recent taxes imposed upon successions and other taxes of a highly productive character.

Thirdly, the heavy burdens that have to be assumed by the Federal Government to meet the cost of the war render it absolutely necessary that they should have some other very prolific source of revenue, to supplement what may be collected by means of customs duties, especially at a time when public opinion demands a reduction rather than an increase in these duties.

It is quite probable that, to carry out such a policy as is here suggested, a coalition government would have to be

formed, as the tariff proposed partakes of the nature of a revenue tariff, for which the Liberals have generally contended; and a protective tariff, which has had the support of the Conservatives since 1879. But I do not think any tariff could be arranged for Canada better than one that could be prepared jointly by Mr. Foster and Mr. Fielding, both of whom are familiar with every detail of Canadian commerce and manufactures; and what they might agree upon and introduce into the House should not be tampered with by the influence of special interests in the committee of the House of Commons. The crisis in our affairs is of too serious a nature to trust such a delicate operation to any but highly trained statesmen and economists, who may be trusted to frame it with proper regard to the public interest, and individual or party pressure should be sternly resisted by every person of character and sound patriotism.

If, however, a coalition government had to be formed, there is one important question upon which all the members of the Cabinet and their loyal supporters would have to be united; and that is upon the development of our national institutions taking place upon lines which would furnish a reasonable guarantee that the country would remain perpetually part of the British Empire. Liberty of opinion might be permitted as to how the influence Canada must have, in shaping the external and the imperial policy of the supreme government, should be exerted; whether by direct representation in a truly Imperial Parliament drawn from all British countries, or by some machinery for co-ordinating the policy of the great self-governing dominions, without divesting the Parliaments of these dominions of their right to discuss and to influence the decision of such questions.

The former solution is probably most congenial to the minds of Canadian statesmen who understand the workings of a federal constitution, and who believe that the federal principle being admitted, by dividing provincial from dominion interests, it is a natural and easy extension of the same principle to recognize three degrees of authority, the third being imperial

interests or those which are external to any particular dominion or group of countries. And experience seems to show that it is better to have a separate set of representatives, elected directly by the people, to control their interests in the dominion parliament, instead of allowing the provincial legislatures to make such a choice; and therefore that imperial affairs would be most efficiently administered if the members of the supreme Imperial Parliament were elected directly by the people of each self-governing dominion, and possessing the strength which they would derive from the consciousness that they were responsible only to their own constituents and not to any subordinate legislature. But opinions on this question need not be uniform at the outset, if the common object of strengthening the imperial tie and rendering more efficient imperial control were accepted by all the members of the proposed coalition government. On all other questions a reasonable degree of liberty of opinion might very well be left to the individual members of the proposed government.

The foregoing is offered as an humble contribution to the solution of the difficult problem to which our attention was invited in Mr. Bennett's address, and it is trusted that it may be accepted as a method of affording a real relief from the financial difficulties with which we are confronted, and a method of facing these financial difficulties in a way that will be the least oppressive upon any class of the community, and the best adapted to promoting the agricultural interests of Canada, which ought to have the first place in the policy of the Government.

ARCHIBALD MCGOUN

THE GREY RIDER

(Shee-Sidhe—The fairy folk; Vanithee-Bean an Tige-Woman
of the House.)

“WHY ride so fast through the wind and rain,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“Lest a soul should call for me in vain
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Now, whose is the soul shall seek thine aid,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“The soul of one that is sore afraid
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“O fears he the flurry of wind and rain,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“More deep is the dread that sears his brain,
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Does he fear the tumult of clanging blows,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“Nay, heavier still is the fear he knows
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Does he fear the loss of wife or child,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“Nay, a terror holds him that’s still more wild,
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“O what should make him so sore afraid,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“He fears a wraith that himself has made
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Then how shall you cleanse from fear his mind,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“I will touch his eyes and they shall be blind
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Yet still may he know the voice of fear,
Grey Rider of the Shee?”

“I will touch his ears that he shall not hear
To-night, O Vanithee.”

“Should that wraith still linger around his bed,
Grey Rider of the Shee?—”

“No terror shall touch the quiet dead
To-night, O Vanithee.”

NORAH M. HOLLAND

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONFESSION

General Orientation.

IT has been frequently pointed out that applied psychology is not concerned with ends, but with the means to attain a certain end. In matters where final issues are involved, it can hardly be called upon to marshal the pros and cons of each side with a view to establishing what is to be aimed at, but instead, it ought rather to try to map out the steps to be taken in order to attain the goal. And yet mere instrumentality would be too low a claim to make for applied psychology. Although the applied psychologist must leave it for others to state what is desirable, and to decide on the state of affairs to be brought about, he must constantly have the object of his task in mind; and for this reason he has a right to examine the purport of the end that he is pursuing. He must ask himself whether it serves the purpose of the idea for which his labour is to be undertaken, or else he will not infrequently find himself in the plight of the physician who cured his patient of a severe illness by starving him to death.

Social and Individual Ends.

We must distinguish between the narrower and individual end on the one hand, and the social end which is implied in the work of the individual. The physician who administers a harmful drug to his patient in order to alleviate his pain and thereby brings on a much greater and more disastrous evil, misses the real aim of his work if he does not carefully look into the consequences of such treatment. The counsel who merely strives to confuse the mind of the witness by hurling, in quick succession, one irrelevant question after another is surely giving way to a very narrow purpose; and the state attorney who makes it his business to have the accused convicted simply because he happens to be the suspect,

and every conviction means a new triumph for the state attorney, certainly fails to understand the true nature of his office.

The Aim of Science co-extensive with that of Humanity.

In approaching the subject of criminology, it behooves the applied psychologist to determine the aim and the object of his investigations, and after proper orientation he may find that his work runs counter, or, at least, serves as a check to some of the methods commonly employed in the legal machinery in behalf of justice. In other words, it may be that the ideals of the legal profession and those of applied psychology do not always coincide, and in this event, the scientist should not hesitate to part company with the practitioner, and to proceed on an independent basis. It so happens that the applied psychologist, without expressly so wishing, and although he sets out from a different starting-point, joins hands with the social reformer, and out of such coöperation result the great changes that turn the routine and conventional forms into a rationally-working system.

Authority and Priority of Science.

Should the psychologist find himself under the necessity of following up a different path along the line of criminology from that of the lawyer, the circumstance might be due to various causes. The discrepancy might be explained on the supposition that the conception of justice is not exactly the same for the two, or that the lawyer's ideal of justice must suffer reduction because of certain conditions that are in vogue at the present and that are involved in his very profession. It is also likely that the psychologist, who has a better insight into the working of the mind in general, will be more apt than the jurist to detect certain hardly perceptible deviations from what is ordinarily expected to be the case and is, therefore, assumed in the proceedings of the court. Through his particular training in matters involving all phases of consciousness, and his special aptitude for getting behind and interpreting certain facts that often seem to be of slight

significance on the surface, the psychologist is entitled to take a different stand from that of the legal profession.

Two Approaches to Subject.

From what has been said, it is possible to infer that the whole subject of crime and punishment may be approached from two different points of view, the purely legal and the crimino-psychological. Of course, both the crimino-psychologist and the attorney are professedly working for a common cause. Both are serving the interests of justice, but as a matter of fact, it would be a difficult task for the modern Diogenes to come across a law practitioner who was really enlisting his services in the cause of justice for justice sake. The lawyer is either the counsel for the defendant, or in the employ of the plaintiff, or else he is pleading as prosecutor in behalf of the state but not necessarily in behalf of justice. It has become customary, though such a course is not in accord with the principles of legal ethics, for a member of the bar to defend all that seek his aid, even if he know them to be arrant criminals, and, again, to prosecute, in his capacity as state attorney, even those about whose alleged offences there may be considerable doubt. The psychologist who is investigating the subject of criminology cannot claim for himself these privileges without relinquishing his title of scientist and assuming that of professional expert. He must concern himself with the more general aim and wider purpose—that of subsuming the particular cases under the fullest conception of justice.

The borderland region between psychology and jurisprudence, or, rather, their meeting-ground, has been so far mainly on the subject of testimony and evidence; and since a true confession may be regarded as the most decisive form of evidence, it is perhaps in the province of criminology that the helpfulness of the observations and suggestions of psychology is most in evidence, especially in view of the serious delusion that the popular mind is now labouring under, and the grave consequences that sometimes result from a state of affairs in

which ignorance and bias are aided by the helplessness and psychopathic traits of the suspect who may be brought thereby to utter ruin.

Function of Confession in System of Justice.

Before discussing the specific questions that criminopsychology attempts to cover with regard to confessions, it is necessary first to look into the significance and function of a confession in a system of justice. As was already suggested, confession is a form of proof of the guilt which is calculated, because of its directness, to short-circuit the court proceedings and to establish exactly the details of the offence, thus leading to the incrimination of the guilty party only, and possibly to the acquittal of the innocent suspect. This, I conceive, is the function of a confession, and in view of the certainty attached to this kind of evidence, it has been considered advantageous at all times to evoke a confession from the accused. It is not so very long ago that confessions were actually wrested from prisoners by means of the most cruel torture. The assumption underlying such atrocious methods was that no person would ever confess to a crime that he had never perpetrated. There might have been other motives too that occasioned this barbarous treatment, such as the sentiment against prisoners and the tendency to make out of every suspect a criminal, especially if the unfortunate should have fallen into the clutches of the Inquisition (a victim of fanatical zeal) or happened to be the scapegoat in a political intrigue.

Questionable Methods.

Gradually more humane methods were introduced into court by means of which confessions were to be elicited. Instead of physical torture, the accused was subjected to severe mental strain and nervous shocks. It was hardly realized that a confession coming from one who saw about him nothing but hatred and contempt, and who is forced to gaze at a corpse, and to bring his hands in contact with those of the murdered—would be little more reliable than the confession

of the wretched prisoner in the throes of the most cruel torture. And yet to this very day, in certain cases, this method is employed in a more elaborate but scarcely less barbarous form, generally known as the Third Degree.

It is hardly worth while to cite instances of this anachronism, for its methods are too widely known, but perhaps one case mentioned will serve to call up to mind a number of others. It is a newspaper account that I am citing from memory, and although the details may not be altogether correct, the scheme that is devised in the interests of justice is quite typical.

The prisoner in the account was accused of murder, but pleaded innocent. There was really no direct evidence against him, and the desideratum of the prosecution was of course to draw out a confession from the prisoner. To this end, a detective was introduced into his cell in the guise of a fellow prisoner who did not find it difficult to ingratiate himself with and win the confidence of the suspect. While the latter was sound asleep, worn out with care and worry, the detective would address him in gruesome tones accusing him of the murder and describing the scene in a general way. The prisoner, horror-stricken and in utter bewilderment, would awake only to find his mate fast asleep. With some difficulty he roused him and asked where these weird cries were coming from. His cell-mate naturally denied that he had heard any sounds, and claimed that it was only an illusion on the part of the hearer. This procedure the detective went through several times at different intervals, always making sure that the real prisoner was not awake. The effects of this trickery were cumulative, till finally the suspect broke down and confessed to the crime with which he was charged. The district attorney triumphed; and the detectives congratulated themselves upon their art when this suspect was brought to the gallows. Now, whether the man hanged was actually the author of the crime or not is a matter that will probably never be settled. The question, however, which is of extreme importance is that of the principle. Can such means and methods be justifiable when they violate the very foundation of justice?

Attitude of Jurist.

But surely no one would venture to call into question the good intentions and fair-mindedness of jurists or to maintain that the court means to be hard on the suspect? This would be an unwarranted statement savouring of calumny, since in the various text-books and treatises of law numerous paragraphs can be found on the admissibility and inadmissibility of confessions. Even in such an early treatise as "Jay's Confessions," published in 1840, hundreds of cases are cited where confessions of prisoners were not allowed as evidence against them because they were induced by threats or promises. Furthermore it is usual to warn the prisoner at the outset that whatever he says will be used against him, which warning shows that the prisoner is not divested of his rights. And yet amidst all the careful ruling out of court of such confessions as are not of a decidedly voluntary character, we find in the "Encyclopedia of Law" (2nd ed.) the following paragraph evidently referring to such a case as was above cited from the newspaper account. It reads as follows: "A confession made by the accused while confined in jail awaiting trial to a detective placed there upon a fictitious charge of crime in order to ingratiate himself with, and obtain the defendant's confidence may be admissible on the trial of the accused."

The Root of a General Fallacy.

The fault, it seems, is to be looked for in another direction. Is it not rather ignorance of certain mental phenomena that produces such an attitude as may be said to unite and confuse careful discrimination and lack of perception? Is there not still to be found in it a trace of the old belief that nobody would actually incriminate himself who has not committed the offence. It is recognized now that torture, threats of a severe penalty or promises of leniency might induce such a confession, but these incentives render the confession inadmissible, if and because they are of a physical kind only. Spiritual exhortations do not disqualify the con-

fession, as if it were impossible to evoke a confession by the threat of eternal punishment or by the promise of complete absolution. In many cases such exhortation is more effective in causing the accused to confess than the application of purely physical methods. A clever priest has a more powerful hold on the ignorant prisoner's mind than has the court, and to what extent the confessor may use his spiritual power will be evident from the Bratuscha case to be cited soon.

What is deplorably lacking in the text-books and treatises of law or any other such sources from which the learned members of the bar get their information, is an exhaustive classification of types of confession, and some understanding of the principles of the classification. When the late Professor Hans Gross* tells us that "the making of a confession according to laymen ends the matter, but really the judge's work begins with it," what he really means to say is that the judge's work *ought* to begin with it. In this matter, the judge and the counsel are, except in the rarest cases, just as much laymen as the jury; and barring the possibility of certain material inducements offered to the prisoner, they fail to realize why one who is innocent should bring upon himself infamy and ruin by claiming to be the author of a heinous crime. But what is more dangerous is the fact that this dogmatic ignorance stubbornly resents any innovation in the shape of enlightenment on the subject, giving vent to its indignation in such tirades as those directed by the Chicago newspapers against Professor Münsterberg when he expressed a private opinion as to the innocence of a prisoner who was sentenced, on the strength of his own confession, to be hanged.

Why should a man desire to incriminate himself though innocent of the crime? This question which has puzzled and is still puzzling those who create public sentiment has been tentatively answered by the eminent jurist and theologian, Francis Wharton, on a psychological basis, a number of years before psychology passed into the experimental stage, and

*Hans Gross, "Criminal Psychology," p. 33.

long before anyone dreamt of the possibility of a new branch like applied psychology springing up.

In his fascinating monograph on *Involuntary Confessions*, Wharton has the following instructive remarks:* "Before, however, a confession should be taken as real, it should be subjected to certain psychological tests. Delusion, a morbid desire to attract attention, a sort of epidemic which sometimes strikes down whole classes with a passionate impulse to insist upon some blood-stain on the conscience, something like the hypochondriac epidemic impulse which insists upon some personal abnormality, weariness of life, a propensity to self-destruction through a channel which from its very tortuousness possesses its own fascination, a Lara-like desire to appear mysterious and dark, though in this case the propensity exudes in vague intimations of participation in 'nameless deeds of guilt' rather than in confession of specific offences;—the existence of such elements as these should be inquired into before a confession is received as absolute."

These motives, which are of a purely abnormal character, might be supplemented by the list given in Professor Gross's recent book,—motives that scarcely require any psychology to understand, but which are known to anybody with wide experience. Such types of confessions include those given by young peasants who claim a "greater share in a burglary than they actually had, confessions made for the sake of care and winter lodgings: the confession arising from 'firm conviction' (as among political criminals and others). There are even confessions arising from nobility, from the desire to save an intimate, and confessions intended to deceive, and such as occur especially in conspiracy and are made to gain time either for the flight of the real criminal or for the destruction of compromising objects. Not infrequently confession of small crimes is made to establish an alibi for a greater one."

But it is needless to enumerate and explain the possible motives of untrue confessions. In order to convince the

*Francis Wharton, "Involuntary Confessions," p. 16.

most stubborn and most skeptical layman it is necessary only to appeal to the facts which establish conclusively the possibility of untrue confessions not evoked by the court, and of delusional confessions of a psychopathic nature.

Cases Cited.

The cases in which such confessions occurred are numerous. Some of the most extraordinary instances, however, are those of Bratuscha, cited in Gross's "Criminal Psychology," and of the Boorn brothers, related by Wharton. Bratuscha, as Gross tells us, was a prisoner who had "confessed to having stifled his 12 year old daughter, burned, and part by part consumed her. He said his wife was his accomplice. The woman denied it at first, but after going to confession told the same story as her husband. It turned out that the priest had refused her absolution until she 'confessed the truth.' But both she and her husband confessed falsely. The child was alive. Her father's confession was pathologically caused, her mother's—by her desire for absolution."

The Boorn confession is in some ways even more interesting, for here not only did the accused confess to having murdered his brother-in-law during an altercation, while as a matter of fact the offence was only assault, but he even claimed to have burned the body and to have destroyed the clothes. That this story was untrue can be inferred from the fact that later the supposed dead returned in time to save the confessee from being executed. But here the curious incident does not end. There is a far more singular sequel attached to it.

The episode just referred to occurred in 1819. "In 1860 a very old man named Boorn was arrested in Cleveland for counterfeiting. When in custody, he confessed that forty years before, he had been concerned in a murder, and escaped by a false personation of the deceased. The confession led to a re-investigation of the former trial. That the second confession as well as the first was a delusion was established finally."

Of course such instances of untrue confessions are exceptional, but seeing the dire consequences that may result therefrom, the law cannot afford to neglect them because of their rare occurrence. A man should be convicted for his crime, but not for being abnormal, though perfectly innocent of the charge. The psychologist who devotes himself to problems of crime and punishment cannot be satisfied with the mere fact that the subject has confessed, nor is his task merely to obtain from the prisoner a *verbal* confession. His service is great in pointing out the danger of sending one to the gallows because he was unfortunate enough to be afflicted with some psychopathic trait or mental weakness. His work is to distinguish between the true and the untrue confession, between normally uttered and abnormally excited depositions.

As in all expert work, the examination does not involve any specific methods. They are constantly in the making and would vary with each particular case, but as soon as the slightest inference based on the court proceedings throws a shadow of doubt as to the reliability of the confession, the psychologist should have a right to investigate the matter before any verdict is given. One might hardly expect the court officials to know that the pointing of a revolver at the accused* in the presence of his accusers and the murdered at the coroner's inquest might occasion the suspect such a shock as to cause a dislocation of personality, but it might reasonably be demanded that they allow experts, who have had more experience than they in this line, to examine the prisoner before they rush him to the scaffold. If the stomach of a person found dead under suspicious circumstances is turned over to an expert for examination, then surely the mind of a living person ought to be entrusted to an expert before the responsibility is taken of consigning him to the grave.

*cf. Hugo Münsterberg, "On the Witness Stand."

Articulate and Inarticulate Confessions.

If confession is to be restricted to the ordinary usage of the term, the legal portion of this paper might be concluded at this point. But it seems to me that it would be a mistake from the psychological point of view to take the word in its legal sense only, i.e., a verbal statement of one's guilt. Just as articulate speech is only one department of language, in its most comprehensive sense really coincident with expression, so confession must be made to include all definite indications of guilt. There may be unconscious and inarticulate confessions on the part of the suspect that speak in just as unmistakable terms as verbal statements. The task is to observe the indications and to interpret them correctly. The prisoner may deny all knowledge of the offence, and yet evince through his bodily expressions the fact that he has been the culprit.

In the monograph of Wharton already referred to, a number of illustrations may be found showing how, in every case, the accused himself aroused suspicion by actions that were calculated to attain just the opposite end, and that, too, in spite of the great presence of mind and remarkable self-control the criminal had exhibited.

In winding up his general observations, Wharton adds the following significant paragraph which might easily have appeared in a recent work: "Such are some of the ways in which psychology may be used in the detection of guilt. It shows how a crime betrays itself before its commission, in preparation, in intimations, in overacting; at the time of its commission in incoherence; after its commission in convulsive confessions, in remorse, in involuntarily haunting the guilty topic, and in disruption between confederates. The inquiry is an important one in legal psychology, for it not only aids in the enforcement of the law, but it leads us to those supreme sanctions on which all law rests."

The Psychophysical Principle at the Root of such Confessions.

Now Wharton, we must remember, wrote in 1860, that is twelve years before Darwin had published his "Expression of the Emotions." His reference is therefore, in the main, to

deliberate attitudes taken by the prisoner. He has not taken into account the numberless scarcely perceptible and even more rarely interpreted gestures, facial expressions and movements of the different limbs. The mouth may lie, but the whole organism cannot, unless the criminal's memory has left him. Since bodily expression will disclose the state of consciousness of the guilty person in spite of his most emphatic denials, we have another fruitful field for investigation along these lines.

On this subject, Gross cites both from the investigations of others and from his own experience a host of very acute and invaluable observations which I can only allude to in this paper. Of course, it is not always the case that a man charged with assault would clench his fist while he was assuring the court that he had lived very peaceably with his neighbour who was pressing the charge; nor is it likely that every suspect of an infanticide, while trying to convince the court that the death came by accident, would suggest by her very movements that she choked the child. Nevertheless, that some expression or another of the guilty state would manifest itself during the testimony scarcely allows of any reasonable doubt. It may be found, perhaps, in a certain position of the hands, tone of voice, or other such evidence which hitherto had not received the slightest attention.

Warning against Misinterpretation.

But if much is to be gained by a careful study of these bodily expressions in cases of suspects, the warning must also be sounded that there is a serious danger of misinterpretation. To a certain extent, at all periods and in all countries, the behaviour of prisoners was thought to determine whether they were innocent or guilty. Many, perhaps, who had no connection with the crime of which they were accused were committed to prison because they had shown signs of fear or embarrassment or of self-abasement. Paling or blushing is generally regarded as an indication of guilt, but this belief is far from being justified. Concerning blushing, Gross says

that it offers no evidence whatever as there are many who blush without feeling guilty at all. "I myself," he says, "belonged, not only as a child, but also long after my student days, to those unfortunates who grow fire-red quite without reason; I needed only to hear of some shameful deed, of theft, robbery, murder, and I would get so red that a spectator might believe that I was one of the criminals."

Positive and Negative Task of Psychologist.

As yet, this part of criminology is in its embryo stage, and the psychologist has a double duty to perform. It is, perhaps, just as important to point out the pitfalls and call attention to the danger-spots in condemning a man on insufficient evidence as it is to make a thorough study of the bodily expressions of a guilty conscience. The difficult part of the whole affair is not to establish the fact of the suspect's bewilderment or troubled state of consciousness, but rather to correlate this bewilderment with the feeling of guilt.

So far the methods discussed by which suspicion of guilt might be aroused or confirmed, or through which some description of the deed might be gained, were purely observational and therefore casual. If the prisoner behaved in a certain manner, he was actuated by an internal force; no external compulsion might be applied to reveal the secret that the judiciary is anxious to obtain.

Positive Methods Described.

It is in this direction that experimental psychology might offer real service in introducing laboratory methods into the courtroom.* The association experiments so harmless in the research chamber might turn into a method which is to determine a matter of life and death. The guilty conscience is constantly brooding over the topic of the crime, and the most remote suggestion of the psychologist would inhibit the reaction, thus lengthening the reaction-time; or else the

* The establishment of a police psychopathic laboratory in New York City, and of similar institutions in Chicago, Denver, and one or two smaller places, as well as the recent action of the Boston City Council in passing an ordinance that will give the city police court a psychological laboratory, indicates the trend that modern legislation is taking.

reaction-words would point to some detail connected with the crime. The method as employed by Professor Münsterberg and his marked success in exposing the misdemeanours of the young man who tried to share his uncle's earnings, and in eliciting an admission on the part of the young girl who was overfond of chocolates and bonbons, are quite well known. The experiments, also, of Jung in Switzerland and Stern and Aschaffenburg in Germany confirm the hope that this method will offer a great deal in the future in the way of establishing the fact of guilt.

The association method, if employed alone, might not yield satisfactory results in every instance. If the criminal is a very wary fellow, and many of them lack no ingenuity, and especially if he has an inkling of the object of the test, he might offer delayed reactions for the whole series of words, so as to make allowance for those stimuli-words that would make a special demand on his attention. There can be no doubt that as soon as this method became an ordinary test administered at most trials, the cool-headed and clever criminal would devise some means of self-control that would act as a check to the effectiveness of the test.

The association method must be supported by another method also borrowed from the laboratory in experiments on feeling-tone. This method of expression, as it is sometimes called, requires the use of such delicate pieces of apparatus as the sphygmograph, sphygmomanometer, plethysmograph, pneumograph and automatograph. If the guilty person is able to control to some extent his associations, he is, however, helpless in any attempt to change the circulation of the blood, nor has he any control over his pulse, although his breathing might be interfered with and deceive the expert.

This method is only a refined and more accurate way of ascertaining the physiological concomitants of a certain psychosis than could be done by simple observation. It is, as Professor Münsterberg aptly remarks, what the microscope is to the physician.

Some Limitations.

But even the microscope is only a step onward towards the ultimate object of the physician, and so these methods are not absolutely final and infallible. We must not be too sanguine as to their unfailing character in determining actually whether a person is really culpable or not. To take an instance: Smith is the name of the person murdered, and when the name is uttered or suggested by the psychologist to the innocent suspect, the latter may react quite suspiciously, because he owes some money to a certain Smith, or because he at some time before had an altercation with a Smith, or again because he had been the rejected suitor of a Miss Smith. The test may establish the fact of knowledge of the name, or it may give evidence of a perturbed state of consciousness, but it does not yet evince the fact of guilt.

Let it even be granted that it does point to the perpetration of the act by the accused, we are still in the dark as to the culpability of the prisoner, for guilt does not depend on commission of the deed only. The motives must also be taken into consideration, or otherwise accidental killing would be a capital offence. Now, it may be that the culprit after committing the crime justifies his own action, and his deed for him takes on a very extenuated form. If he avenges an outrage upon a dear relative, his conscience may not trouble him at all, and the recollection of the details of the crime might not call forth any great emotional shock.

Again, reaction involves apperception. The arrant criminal might throw himself into an attitude of stupor in which he would not apperceive the stimuli-words and then react without reference to those words, with the result that his affective reaction would be quite commonplace. He might even transfer his thoughts to a different sphere while the test is being administered, and, touching off a new complex, lose all recollection of the crime for the time being.

In view of these limitations, it is perhaps safe to say that for the present it would be too great a risk to introduce these methods into the court-room and to appeal to them as to an oracle in cases of extreme doubt. In time, after a vast number

of experiments and observations have been made not only by psychologists but also by jurists during trials, doubtless these methods will be perfected and could be positively relied upon.

Psychologist's Contribution to Jurisprudence.

But even as it is, psychology has done no mean service in acting as a check to the too cut-and-dried conservative methods of the legal system, thus protecting the innocent against too hasty decisions. The lawyer begins to realize that besides his statutes and digest of cases, he must study in some degree the minds of the personnel of a trial. This in itself is a great contribution to jurisprudence and eventually the progress of the world; but there is the further hope that a great advance will be made on the positive side in establishing the guilt or innocence of the prisoners after the two methods mentioned above have been sufficiently developed and refined, and perhaps several others added.

Ethico-religious Aspect of the Subject.

There is still one phase of confessions that is to be dealt with, although its connection with the general topic is somewhat remote. In English we have one word to cover both the legal and the ethico-religious aspects of admissions of guilt. But in many other languages there are two specific words for the same act, as, e.g., "das Geständniss" and "die Beichte" in German. As a matter of fact the connection is not so close as might be supposed. In the first aspect of the term, the function of a confession is strictly of a social character. Whether we take a retributive, corrective or preventive view of justice, the value of the confession remains the same. It is calculated to bring the offender to task and to protect society. In many cases, in order to encourage spontaneous admissions, it is true that leniency may be shown. The court may even suspend the sentence or pardon the criminal on certain grounds, but this does not invalidate our view. It is different, however, with the religious rite of confession, the function of which is to protect the individual under the wing of the Church. In the mediæval days,

when the Church at times exercised juridical power, confession was frequently attended by a certain penalty, but even then the punishment was never very severe, no matter how grave the offence was; and, besides, the arbitrariness of the confessors and the privilege that the confessee enjoyed in choosing his own confessor made the whole ceremony little more than a farce. The precariousness and uneven condition of the custom have produced just the opposite effect of what was desired; for after the culprit gets off so easily and rids himself of the compunction that was troubling his mind, the chances are that he will repeat the same offence more than once.

The religious confession, it seems, far from serving the aims and purposes of society, only frustrates them. It neither corrects the offender nor does it prevent any further occurrence of the crime. If the mere confession will purge the criminal of his guilt, he is ready to become stained again at a small cost.

Of course, the priest may claim that his conception of justice differs widely from ours, and he has a right to act in accordance with his view. That may be granted, but that type of justice is based on certain presumptions with which the applied psychologist has nothing to do; and we must go back to the proposition set forth at the beginning of this paper, viz., that the applied psychologist is working in the service of society. If the priest chooses to take justice into his own hands on the presumption that God will be satisfied with *his* regulation of matters on earth, or if he makes at all of justice an extra-social or infra-social dispensation, he cannot expect to enlist the coöperation of science on his behalf.

Furthermore, religious confession has been a failure in many other respects. The scandals and evil consequences in general taking root in the confessional are too widely known to require any further exposition. If it does not possess positively injurious effects, then it is at least a pure mummery which many people take advantage of in order to ease their troubled minds after a serious crime by admitting a petty offence or what they consider to be a petty offence.

Perhaps the following sentence which I take from Michelet's brilliant research, "Priests, Women and Confession,"* will serve as an illustration of the foregoing statement. Referring to the vice and machinations of John de la Vega, who was the confessor of a Carmelite monastery and who was considered as good as a saint by his fellow monks, the great French historian, among other things, gives us this bit of information which is relevant here: "Stronger than the holy woman, he resisted the torture which she sank under; he confessed nothing except that he had received money for 11800 masses which he never said; and he was merely sentenced to be confined in the Convent of Duruelo."

No one, of course, will deny that the end of justice has been furthered occasionally by the confession of a dying bandit to a priest. But as this is the exception, it would not do to enforce it as the rule, because of some beneficial but unusual instances. On the other hand, let us recall the instance referred to in an earlier part of the paper of the woman who confessed to having been an accomplice in a frightful murder which never took place, simply because her confessor had exerted his priestly influence in that direction. It is clear, then, that in this sphere, the applied psychologist has no task before him any more than he has in propagating the practice of any other rites and ceremonies.

It must not be understood, however, that what is meant here is that the whole study of religious confession is futile. On the contrary, the origin and significance of ceremonial confession form a fascinating and useful subject that has too often been neglected in the philosophy or psychology of religion. To understand the working of what is called conscience, it is highly important to trace the history of ceremonial confession from the very dawn of civilization, from the early Assyrian religion to this very day; and in the broad sense of the term this study might be included under applied psychology, for it helps us to interpret certain pheno-

*Michelet, "Priests, Women and Confession" (1846), p. 36.

mena and to gain an insight into the cultural state of various people at different periods.

Ceremonial Confession Important, but in another field of Psychology.

Is it not valuable, for instance, to know that the Egyptian never confessed his wrongs but simply repudiated them without repentance? "The essential mode of justification in the judgment," writes Flinders Petrie,* "was by the declaration of the deceased that he had not done various crimes; and to this day the Egyptian will rely on justifying himself by sheer assertion that he has not done wrong in face of absolute proofs to the contrary."

Psychotechnics distinguished from Applied Psychology.

Now, as stated, this curious characteristic may be very enlightening from the point of view of the psychology of religion, anthropology, or even applied psychology in its broader meaning. But at present, applied psychology is to be understood as psychotechnics, and the question on hand is not *what use we can make of the information, but whether there are any results to be produced in that particular field, and the manner in which they can be produced.*

We have seen that in its capacity as a servant of justice, psychotechnics has had three definite problems before it. One is:—Which are the best possible conditions for eliciting a confession? A second is:—How can the guilt be established in spite of the criminal's denial, or, in other words, how can we produce an unconscious confession; and, finally, there is the task of distinguishing between well-founded and untrue or delusional confessions. In ceremonial confessions, no such clearly-formulated questions can be asked, except it be how to check the influence of those who might elicit an unfounded confession, or how to dwell on the prisoner's childhood days in private confession, such a way as to soften his hard heart, hereby a confession on his part. Aside from that, the applied psychology part to play in this matter.

*Quoted from "Encyclopedia of Ethics and Religion," under Confession, Egyptian.

Psychoanalytic phase of Confession beyond the scope of this essay.

There is, however, one case of the ethico-religious confession that has not been touched yet. There are some individuals who suffer from a stricken conscience, and this suffering is with them a disease. They may even not be aware of the exact nature of their transgressions. These people, whether they have committed any specific crimes or not, need treatment in order to produce a catharsis; and it is here that the applied psychologist might be appealed to, but now he is to assume a different rôle. He must forget the fasces and think of the lancet, since at the moment he is not dealing with a prisoner that is to be chastised, but with a patient who is seeking a cure for his ills. He must approach the case from an altogether different standpoint, as different conditions demand a different application, and must identify himself with the psychoanalyst or psychotherapist, whose tasks, however, lie beyond the scope of this paper.

A. A. ROBACK

THE PROBLEM OF THE DISABLED SOLDIER

NEXT after fighting, the question which most concerns warring nations is "How are Soldiers and Sailors to be returned to Civilian Life?" That this question is exercising the belligerent governments is evident from the number of allusions made to it by public men and by the number of publications dealing with it. It is an interesting commentary upon the nature of the question and upon its importance that the warring nations have adopted measures that are almost identical. Differences in the measures adopted depend not upon any fundamental difference in the principles underlying them, but upon differences in the social organization of the nation for which they are designed.

When the war ends, armies will be disbanded. Each of the nations has plans for demobilization. The problem dealt with is a difficult one; upon its correct solution much depends. It is, for many reasons, of great national importance that men should find a satisfactory place in civilian life so soon as they are no longer needed as soldiers. The volume of men returning to Canada for whom channels to civilian life must be opened is small at present; from now on, it will increase steadily until some months after Peace is signed. Then it will diminish. It will cease when the last of the store-keepers, record-makers, paymasters and odd-job men of our army is at home.

Profitable discussion of measures by which soldiers may be replaced quickly in civilian life cannot be commenced until the principles governing those measures are clearly understood. After a very short consideration of the question, it is seen that three factors are of decisive importance in the conduct and design of the measures by which provision will be made for the return of Canadian soldiers to their places

in civilian life. The first is our determination that the measures adopted shall be ideal for their purpose and that they shall be administered with the broadest good-will towards our men. The second factor, no less important but less evident, is that though the problem of providing for the return of our soldiers has many sides, it is but one problem and must be considered in a single co-ordinated plan, comprehensive in its design, if it is to be solved rightly. The third is—it is very necessary, if success is to be attained—that sound measures should be thought out and followed from the commencement; the failures of other nations prove this.

Like many other nations, Canada provides an elaborate machinery for removing a man from civil to military life. She is like other nations also in that the machinery by which she returns the men of her forces to civilian life is less perfect than that by which they are recruited. The situation should be reversed. The man who joins an armed force is assured a position so long as he remains a soldier or sailor. The man who leaves an army or navy becomes a civilian. At once, he is thrown upon his own resources and must commence to gain a livelihood in competition with his fellows; in fairness, no man should be subjected to such hazard until he is fitted to cope with it.

If the measures adopted by other nations in providing for returning soldiers be studied, it is apparent that the mere adoption of their laws will not suffice to meet the situation which will be created in Canada by the return of Canadian men, disabled or sound, during and after the war. It is so for two reasons; first, because Canadian laws, to be useful, must be based upon and be designed to meet Canadian conditions; second, because the laws under which other countries are dealing with the problem of their returning men are undergoing great changes. Canada is a new nation, and has developed distinct, national characteristics. Though similar, the customs and spirit of our social organization are not identical with those of other peoples who enjoy responsible government. Consequently, a study of the methods followed by

others in dealing with a problem, such as the return of ex-soldiers to civilian life, may suggest useful and parallel methods for meeting a similar problem in Canada; but it does not follow that the methods found applicable and useful to another country can be usefully employed in Canada.

In order that the problem may be wisely discussed it is of advantage to consider the precise conditions under which Canada has put her forces in the field and on the sea. Then, guided by the experience and example of other nations and governed by a clear perception of the Canadian situation, it may be possible to outline methods applicable and adequate for Canada. Canada has a democratic form of government. By its organization and by his vote, each Canadian has his share in the direction of the nation; every Canadian is a part of the Canadian State; that State is inherent in its citizens and has no existence outside them.

War is the ultimate means by which a State insists upon a realization of its national policy. Canada is at war. Canadians are fighting, more than for any other reason, because they are determined to secure to themselves and to their children continued existence in the democratic form of government which they now enjoy.

Canadians have engaged in the war as in a common enterprise undertaken for the benefit of the State of which each is a part; they are fighting to maintain that form of government which secures to each of them a voice in the direction of his country's affairs. Therefore, each Canadian should profit, or suffer, equally with his fellows from the success, or distress, resulting from his country's engagement in the war.

Armies and navies are the implements with which nations make war. Armies and navies are formed by soldiers and sailors. Soldiers and sailors, in Canada, are citizens who have been delegated by the State to spend their whole energies in the public service. They must suffer, by reason of their service, no greater detriment than do fellow-citizens whose energies during the war have been employed in other occupations.

This is like no preceding war. It is a war of nations, not of armies. As a result, old methods of providing for ex-soldiers have been found inadequate and new legislation to meet new conditions is being devised and enforced. France and England, for example, are re-modelling their laws; Canada, which had practically no laws for dealing with ex-soldiers when war commenced, will find it necessary to devise a whole procedure for that purpose. The laws by which France is providing for the return to civilian life of those who have served in her "Armies of the land and sea" are characteristically detailed in their provisions. They are governed in their design by principles similar to those which define the obligation of Canada towards her citizen soldiers and sailors. There is great similarity between these principles and those underlying much of the recent legislation providing compensation for workmen injured at their employment. There is sound reason in that similarity. Modern workmen's compensation laws, such as those of the Province of Ontario, look upon the charge for insuring workmen against unavoidable accident as an item in the cost of producing articles manufactured:—about 86% of the industrial accidents occurring in Germany in 1887 were unavoidable. It follows that the cost of insurance should be added to the price of the article manufactured, and that it should be borne by the consumer; the insurance is a part of the cost of the commodity which he purchases.

Canadians are, in a sense, partners in business. They are engaged in the business of maintaining the State of which each of them is a part. Under the terms of their agreement—the Militia Act—every Canadian can be called upon to defend the Dominion. War is a social risk. Canada engaged in the business of Statehood becomes involved in that risk. Through the involvement many Canadians must suffer. It is evidently but right, to continue the metaphor, that losses resulting from the nation's warfare should be equally distributed among the partners. It follows that no Canadian should suffer through the war more than does his fellow-

citizen. Since those who suffer do so on behalf of the nation, it is the duty of all those who compose the nation to suffer with them. In Canada, it is the nation, the Dominion as a whole, and not provincial or civic governments, nor organizations supported by private citizens, which must bear the whole responsibility for the proper return of Canada's ex-soldiers and ex-sailors to civilian life.

That the Dominion Government—the Canadian Nation—is so responsible, cannot be too clearly understood. While the bodies entrusted with realizing the nation's responsibility conceivably may be permitted to accept private benevolence when it is offered, the responsibility remains a national one. Any system of caring for returning men which, in any part, directly depends upon private benevolence is, upon the face of it, an improper system. It delegates a public function to a private body. To vest a private body with any share of that responsibility would constitute an evasion of the nation's obligation to make good disabilities incurred by its citizens in warfare. To do so would produce a situation intolerable alike to those who received benefits and to those, Canadians also, who wished to pay their debts to their fellows.

It is only under responsible government, where the State is the people and exists to serve the people, that the recognition of a warring nation's responsibility to its citizens approaches such completeness as that outlined. It is only by such governments that consistent attempts are made to distribute equally among the individuals composing the nation, detriments which by the chances of war have fallen unequally upon them. The obligation of a State to provide for the equalization of all losses inflicted on its citizens, whether combatant or not, by a national enemy is receiving more general recognition. All of the warring nations have widened the scope of the laws by which they provide compensation for deaths and for bodily or mental incapacitation resulting from service in army or navy. In addition, legislation has been introduced, for example by Great Britain and by France, with the object, under circumstances as yet comparatively

limited, of compensating citizens for material and economic damage which they have suffered directly or indirectly through enemy acts. In England, measures have been introduced for the compensation of those who suffer damage by the raids of Zeppelins and of the German Fleet; in France, the Government has stated that all property loss, suffered in the invaded districts, will be entirely made good.

This article avoids all discussion of the desirability of compensating from national resources citizens, whether combatant or non-combatant, who have suffered financial loss from acts of the King's enemies. It discusses only the obligation of Canada to compensate Canadians for bodily or mental disability which they have incurred by reason of their service as soldiers or sailors. Though "The Problem of the Disabled Soldier" is an important matter, it is but one of the difficult questions closely associated with the demobilization of our forces.

Every Canadian should have a clear idea of what must be done for returning men, disabled through their service. Perhaps because of the nature of wars in the past some of us are inclined to believe that an ex-soldier, especially if he has been wounded, is entitled to a reward—a pension—sufficient to support him and his family almost in idleness to the end of their days. This may be an accurate conception of what a pension ought to have been in times when soldiers were rewarded by those in whose interests they fought. It is not a proper conception of the compensation due from Canada to one of her disabled men—Canadians are fighting for themselves. The compensation due to them is not a gift from Canada as a reward for good service done. It is a value, paid as a right by Canadians, through their Government, to those of their fellow-citizens who have been incapacitated by a personal detriment incurred in performing public service. Compensation is made so that those who receive it may be able, on equal terms and unhandicapped by their disability, to live in competition with those of their fellows who have not been incapacitated. The obligation to work, to be self-

supporting and to provide for his dependents, exists for an ex-soldier just as it does for every Canadian citizen. That ex-soldiers, or their dependents, receive a pension does not relieve them, either in their own eyes or in those of their fellows, from an obligation to work according to their abilities and to support themselves if they can.

Though this is an accurate statement of the relation existing between Canada and the men of her forces, the issue is somewhat confused by our voluntary system of recruiting, which permits individuals to decide for themselves whether they are or are not to serve. It is sometimes maintained that men who volunteer for military service should receive greater consideration than has been suggested in the preceding paragraphs. It is conceivable that it might be so in the case of a group of individuals engaged, preferably under a definite agreement, for service in operations of a special nature. For example, the members of the Permanent Force in Canada, on their enlistment, come under an agreement by which they receive a certain salary and certain pension benefits at the termination of a definite period of service. Those who enlist in the Permanent Force of the Canadian Militia do so voluntarily, and the payment of the pension benefit is a part of the contract under which they enlist. The conditions of that contract should be fulfilled in the same way as are those of any other agreement. Nevertheless, there will be no justification, in the present war, for giving greater consideration to those who volunteer for service than that outlined. If the war lasts much longer military service for able-bodied men practically will have become universal in Canada. When such a situation exists, those who volunteered and served first will have a distinct advantage over those who enlisted at a later date, either voluntarily or under moral or legal compulsion. About 400,000 men have already joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force; an enlistment of 500,000 men has been authorized. To enlist that number will tax Canadian resources severely. It is questionable whether it will be possible to do so without resorting to some measure

of obligatory service. Should service become obligatory, enrollment by ballot, as provided for by the Militia Act, might be employed. Should considerably more than 500,000 men actually be enrolled, service would become so universal in Canada that in fact, as in the theory of the Militia Act, Canadians would be living under conditions requiring military service from almost every male able to bear arms. Under such circumstances, any claim to special consideration would pass from those who volunteered before service became universal; because every Canadian would be equally liable for service. Indeed, those who volunteered and became soldiers first, by their early enlistment would have gained advantage over those who followed them. Those who joined first, because of the length of their service, would have greater opportunity of earning commissions and consequently, under existing regulations, of obtaining higher rates of pay and of pension. Again, those disabled and discharged from the service early in the war would have an advantage over those in similar circumstances, who returned to civilian life after them. Those first discharged would have an opportunity of becoming established in civil life before the commencement of the "hard times" and keen competition which will certainly accompany the disbandment of armies and the readjustment of conditions at the end of the war.

The population of Canada numbers something over 7,000,000. We intend to enroll about 500,000 in our armed forces. It follows that, at the end of the war, about a fourteenth of the total population of Canada will return, in a comparatively short period, from military to civilian life. That fraction will include a very considerable proportion of Canadian voters. The experience of the United States provides an excellent example of the abuses which may result when the votes of ex-soldiers and of ex-sailors are permitted to become a factor in the political situation of a country organized under a representative form of government and subjected to the ineptitudes of party politics. The pension evil in the United States has reached great dimensions. (In June, 1916,

war pensions were costing the United States \$159,000,000 yearly; a recently passed law adds several more millions to that total.) Its creation and perpetuation have resulted, in part, from allowing the treatment of old soldiers and sailors to become a question bandied between political parties and bid upon at successive elections. The result has been that administrations have distributed benefits to veterans and their dependents with a free-handed lack of consideration, not altogether to be justified.

Canadians, in many districts, are extremely like the citizens of the United States. Veterans' associations already exist in Canada. Nothing can be more certain than that returning Canadian soldiers and sailors will use their associations in order to express and secure redress for real or imagined cause for dissatisfaction with the arrangements made by the Government for their return to civilian life. It would be unfortunate if false ideas of what Canada owes, and can give, her soldiers should become general, and if societies should be formed for the purpose of urging unreasonable claims by political propaganda. The danger which such a situation might present to a country possessing a representative form of government is great; the political power commanded by a seventh of its voters is enormous. The danger will be removed when there is a sound understanding among us of the whole problem presented by the return of disabled men from our forces. Once such an understanding exists, all danger will disappear if forethought provides wisely-drawn legislation and devises machinery adequate for its administration and execution.

It will not be difficult to spread sound views concerning the pensions and other benefits which must be provided for our disabled men, if the matter be discussed freely. It is necessary that sound views should become universal; already some of us have a wrong idea of what a pension should be. Steps cannot be taken too soon to counteract any inclination towards a belief that a sturdy man should be able to rely upon his pension alone for his livelihood. The public-spirited

Canadian citizen-soldiers who have been disabled by their service and are receiving pensions would be among the first to resent the granting of pensions to men unentitled to them by reason of a disability incurred in military or naval service. They would not be slow to ask, "Why should public money be given to men who have suffered nothing by their service to the State? Why should such men be supported by the labour of their fellow-citizens?"

The manner in which French public opinion on these matters was formed to sound lines is very striking. At first, there was a universal tendency to assume that there is nothing left for a disabled man but a lifetime of stagnation as an idle pensioner. A definite policy of public instruction was commenced. In it every method of conveying information was used with all the prestige and authority that official approval could lend. Newspapers, magazines, posters, clergy, trades' unions, manufacturers' associations, boards of trade, public service corporations, all united in insisting upon the dual obligation existing between the State and its citizens: There is an obligation upon the State to insure an independent position to those who have been disabled in its service; and there is an obligation upon the citizen, both to be self-supporting in the measure of the ability remaining to him and to receive from his fellow-citizens no more than is his due. There are few in France, now, who have not a sound understanding of the circumstances in which a disabled man is discharged from military service. It is much less usual, now, for a disabled soldier to refuse the treatment by which his disability might be lessened or for him to decline the vocational training by which he might be made self-supporting. At the commencement of the war the situation was otherwise. The change in public opinion is due to the teaching of men such as Barrès, Brieux, Brisac, Capus, and so on down the alphabet. They stated, with all the emphasis at their command, the measures which should be adopted in providing for the return of ex-soldiers to civilian life. They did much to teach France that it is not enough to say "poor fellow" in seeing a wounded

man. They insisted that what must be said is "there is a man to whom the possibility of a self-earned livelihood must be assured." The kindest thing that can be done for a blind man is not to guide him, but to teach him to guide himself; in the same way, there is little benevolence in contributing to the dependence of a wounded soldier. The truest kindness to him is that which can exclaim "thanks to me, there is a man who no longer needs help."

Brieux draws a wise comparison between children and disabled men. For the moment, a man disabled in the war needs the same care as does a child. Like a child he must be supported and educated. A man who has been severely wounded or has suffered an amputation is himself neither physically nor mentally. It takes some time before complete equilibrium is recovered after so violent a shock; there are some who never become completely themselves; such weakness increases the country's obligations to its disabled. It is not enough to secure a comfortable livelihood to disabled men. They must also be assured self-respect and confidence in themselves. They must not only receive pensions but they must be made capable of supporting themselves. Sometimes it is difficult to persuade men to accept the treatment and education necessary to attain that end. In continuing his comparison between children and disabled men Brieux writes: "Everyone knows how easy it is to gain the affections of a child by spoiling it. Parents who do so are fortunate if they never know the unhappiness which they have caused to those whom they have loved unwisely. They are fortunate, too, if they never hear reproaches from children who have learned that they have a right to make them."

By wise provision Canada can make certain that the future will bring no reproaches from those of her children who have fought for her. As their need demands, their injuries should be treated; they should receive pension and they should be given instruction and opportunities enabling them to support themselves. Four conditions must be satisfied before a disabled soldier can be considered to have become

capable of working effectively and of supporting himself in competition with his fellows. The four conditions are stated in the following sentences. They are discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Bodily or mental disability due to military service must be brought to an irreducible minimum.

When it is necessary and possible, disabled men must be taught an occupation in order that they may become employable.

If it is necessary, ex-soldiers must be assisted in obtaining employment.

Pensions and other advantages must be given in compensation for any disability resulting from military service; the magnitude of the pension and of other advantages will vary in accordance with the extent of the disability in respect of which they are awarded.

Each of these conditions must be satisfied; but it cannot be too clearly understood that the provision of an adequate pension is the least important of the measures by which the personal rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors may be secured.

With us, responsibility for bringing disabilities of body or mind to an irreducible minimum is divided between the Canadian Army Medical Corps and the Military Hospitals Commission. The Canadian Army Medical Corps is concerned more intimately with giving the active medical and surgical treatment required by men overseas. The Military Hospitals Commission limits its activities more or less completely to caring for men in Canada who are convalescent or require treatment of a special nature; the Commission is also responsible for the provision of appropriate vocational training. Disabilities are reduced, not only by everything that care and skilled treatment can do, but also by the provision of artificial limbs and other appliances, which will be renewed and kept in repair as may be necessary by the Government. Treatment is given to men while they are inmates of hospitals, military or civilian, or, exceptionally, as out-

patients while they are living at their own homes. While the repair of a soldier's injuries is the prime object of all treatment, attention can scarcely be paid too soon to the renewal in him of an ability and a wish to be once more at work, a self-supporting man. The experience of Allies and Central Powers alike shows very definitely that it is better for disabled men, so soon as their need for active hospital treatment permits it, to be cared for in an institution where they receive, concurrently, both secondary treatment and, as early as possible, appropriate light work and vocational training. It is a grave mistake, not only from a social but from a therapeutic point of view, to permit disabled men to remain in convalescent homes where they receive only "medical treatment," and are permitted either to idle or to spend their time in so-called amusements or in desultory exercises of a pointless nature. In order to stimulate interest in vocational training, and in order to keep an ambition to be earning active in disabled soldiers, it has been found advisable to pay men, from the beginning, for work done during training, in accordance with its quantity and excellence.

In choosing the occupation for which a man is to be trained, his inclinations, his previous experience, his physical and mental capacity, and his present condition must be considered. A sound choice can only be made by experienced advisors who have expert knowledge of occupations, of the qualities required by those who are successful in them, and of Canadian conditions. As a rule, a man should be trained in some branch of an occupation with which he is already acquainted. Experience shows that there are very few among the disabled who cannot be made fit for some employment, if they are trained by competent persons. There will be a few who will be unable to support themselves in ordinary commerce. For them it may be found necessary to establish special colonies or State-assisted workshops; every effort should be made to make those working in such institutions believe that they are actually supporting themselves.

It is probable that in Canada, as on the other side of the Atlantic, a few soldiers, anxious to return to their homes, will refuse to accept the treatment and vocational training offered to them. All Canadians, soldiers and others, should understand that disabled men who refuse to take advantage of the opportunities for treatment and for training offered to them do so at grave cost to themselves. A man who unreasonably refuses to accept the treatment and training made desirable by his disability penalizes himself; by his own choice he remains less capable of supporting himself than he might be. Moreover, such a man cannot expect to be pensioned for the entire disability existing in him; but only for that portion of the disability which would exist were he to accept reasonable treatment. He cannot expect to be pensioned for a disability remaining unnecessarily great because of his unreasonable refusal to accept simple treatment, any more than he could expect to be pensioned for a disability arising from a wilfully self-inflicted wound. In France, indeed, it is anticipated by many that the acceptance of appropriate treatment and of appropriate vocational training will be made a military necessity for disabled men. While such a thing could scarcely come about in Canada, it should be clearly understood by all Canadians that appropriate, and often prolonged, medical treatment, the provision of artificial appliances, vocational training and assistance in obtaining employment, are all just as much a part of Canada's attempt to rehabilitate a disabled man as is the pension granted to him. Of these things the pension is, indeed, immeasurably the least important.

Many plans have been proposed and are being followed in finding employment for disabled men. Each of the nations in making appointments to positions controlled by the government is giving preference, other things being equal among competent applicants, to men disabled by military service. France has opened a special bureau for the purpose of finding employment for disabled soldiers; in Canada, the Provincial Soldiers' Aid Commissions are serving a similar purpose.

France is also arranging to remove a serious disadvantage, which would otherwise prevent employers from engaging disabled men, by providing a scheme of insurance which will relieve employers from liability for the accidents to which disabled men, by reason of their disabilities, are especially exposed. A bill has even been proposed suggesting that all manufacturers should be forced to employ a certain proportion of disabled men among their operatives. In Canada, Provincial Governments and certain great corporations have devised schemes of settlement by which returning soldiers will be assisted in establishing themselves upon farms; France and England have adopted elaborate measures with a similar purpose. In France, arrangements have been made for advancing capital to a disabled man so that he may support himself on his farm, if he is an agriculturist, or in his shop, if he is an artisan, until he is firmly established.

A pension is a sum of money given to disabled men, or to their dependents, in order to enable them to live in decent comfort. The amount of the pension received by a disabled man varies in accordance with the extent of the disability in respect of which it has been granted. The extent to which a man is disabled by a given injury is estimated by medical officers; these physicians and surgeons are guided in their estimation by a consideration of the disablement observed to have resulted in other persons who have been similarly injured. A totally disabled Canadian private soldier, or able-bodied seaman, receives \$480 a year; if he is so severely disabled as to require the services of an attendant he may also be granted not more than \$250 yearly. He also receives \$72 yearly for each of his children. Pensions are awarded to members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force only for disability. Pensions are unaffected by a man's occupation, by his earning power, or income, or social position. They vary in accordance with the rank of the man disabled, but are unaffected by the length of his service. In Canada, exclusive jurisdiction over the granting and refusal of pensions is vested in a Board of Pension Commissioners.

Careful treatment, the provision of the best artificial appliances, appropriate vocational training, assistance in obtaining suitable employment, and the granting of adequate pensions will permit almost every one of our disabled men to find an individual place for himself in the social organization of his country; each will become a wage-earner, or perhaps a lodger, unable to work but supported by a pension ensuring him decent comfort in some household. Consequently, there will be but few homeless, helpless men for whom it will be necessary to provide special institutions; with the exception of the insane and of the tubercular, such men will be hopeless cripples. Together, these three classes constitute the only ex-soldiers who will remain permanently in the care of the State. Whether it will be necessary to establish "Homes for Old Soldiers" and other institutions to care for them will depend largely upon their number. If they are many, homes will be necessary; if they are few, it will be advantageous to care for them in existing institutions.

It is evident that "The Problem of the Disabled Soldier" is a large and complicated one. At present, its solution is being sought through the activities of several bodies controlled by Federal and Provincial Governments. The problem is a huge one. It affects a large proportion of our population. It touches every aspect of our social organization. It vitally concerns two generations of Canadians.

It is a commonplace that the direction of all affairs of great magnitude should be divided into two parts, an administrative body and executive agencies. A central administrative body should issue instructions based upon a considered and clearly-defined policy. The instructions of an administration should be realized by numerous executive agencies, each closely connected with the field of its operations. France has realized the necessity for central control in dealing with her disabled men; although there are difficulties in the way, it seems probable that the Office Nationale des Mutilés et Reformés de la Guerre will ultimately become a central administrative body directing and co-ordinating all measures

adopted by France for the proper return of disabled members of her armed forces to civilian life. There is ground for hoping that, in Great Britain, the recently established Ministry of Pensions may fulfil a similar purpose.

This discussion of "The Problem of the Disabled Soldier" deals only with the rehabilitation of personal detriments incurred by soldiers and sailors during their service. A short experience, or a little thought, will show that disabled men often suffer from hardships existing for us all, soldiers and civilians alike; some of these are lack of education, illness, sudden death. When disabled soldiers and sailors, or their dependents, are affected by misfortunes such as these—unconnected with their military or naval service—are they to receive public assistance? If assistance is rendered them it should be clearly understood that the aid is given, not as a debt owed by the State—the rehabilitation of men disabled by military service *is owed* to them—but that it is given as a reward, as a mark of public appreciation for meritorious service. (It cannot be too clearly understood that Canada's obligation to the disabled members of her forces has been met when all detriments resulting from their service have wholly been made good to them.) Hardships, consequent upon existence or inadequacies of our social system, to which we are all liable, become striking when they affect disabled soldiers and sailors. If soldiers and sailors affected by such hardships are to be aided from public resources, it should be clear that the aid is given as a gift and not as a benefit to which military service has created a right. If that distinction is maintained, it may become possible later to extend to all of our citizens proper methods of dealing with hardships adequately met for the first time when they affected our disabled men.

A constant source of hardship, often made evident by the war, is the lack of provision, under our social system, for the dependents of men who are no longer able to supply support when they become inactive through vice, sickness or imprisonment. To-day, if a civilian becomes insane from the after-effects of venereal disease, or if he is a chronic

drunkard, or if he goes to the penitentiary or is executed for crime, his dependents must be supported by themselves and their friends, or turn to the charity of the community. Are the dependents of soldiers and sailors, in similar circumstances, to be supported by the State? If so, since the occurrence which removed their support is unconnected with military or naval service, a similar benefit should be extended to the dependents of all citizens.

The inadequacy of our educational system becomes very apparent when a full-grown Canadian, a returned soldier, about to leave a hospital cured of a transient disablement begs to be retained for a little longer in order that his primary education may be completed. Is Canada, under the Order-in-Council which provides vocational training for disabled soldiers, to continue the education which such a man should have received as a child? If it is done for the disabled soldier, since the lack of education was in no wise dependent upon his military service, a means of obtaining knowledge should exist for every citizen who desires it.

A civilian suffering from tuberculosis is permitted, restrained by nothing but the degree of his incapacity, to circulate among his fellows, often to his own detriment and to the danger of those among whom he moves. Can advantage be taken of the peculiar situation of soldiers or sailors suffering from tuberculosis to place restrictions upon them—for the benefit of themselves and their fellows—which are not placed upon civilians? It should be done for soldiers; it is but one of the things which should be done for us all under the authority of a not-yet-established Federal Department of Public Health.

If these and similar hardships, unconnected with military service, affecting disabled men, be dealt with adequately, the first step will have been taken towards remedying some of those defects in our national organization which stress of war has made very plain.

THOMAS L. JARROTT

WAR ELEGIACS

*In piam memoriam juvenum
nuper apud Universitates in coloniis Britannicis studentium
qui mortem occubuerunt contra Germanos pugnantes.*

Quorsum hæc bella ferunt? cædem lacrimasque reportant:

Ver anni periit⁽¹⁾: mansit inermis hiems:

Uxores viduæ fiunt: sine patre puellæ:

Tuque, decus nostrum, ponis, ephebe, libros.

Aureus ille calix, argentea chorda soluta est⁽²⁾:

Desiit ante diem mens nova nosse nova.

Spes flemus cassas, ramos sine flore peremptos:

Mors Erebusque adeunt: Mars et Erinny n habet!⁽³⁾

Sed quid vita homini valet, ut desideret ipsam?

Quidve juvena valet, fiat ut ipsa dolor?

Quid valet annorum series et inutile pondus?

Longo sæpe situ longior una dies.⁽⁴⁾

Hi cecidere viri pro libertatis amore:

Et patriæ causâ: majus an ausit alis?

Hi juvenes toto functi sunt munere vitæ;

Quisque virile suâ parte peregit opus;⁽⁵⁾

Nec juvenis cecidit quamvis florente juventâ:

Re factâ, meritis laudibus, ille senex:

Vulnera perpessus contraria, versus in hostem

Occidit; at nostra vivit in æde memor.

Imperium potuit manibus per mutua nexis

Jungere, diversas conciliare plagas;

Crebrescuntque novæ gentes: Australia ad astra

Tollitur, et Canadæ rumor in ora virum:

“ Longa quidem via fit Tiperaria, sed peragemus ”

Sic canimus: vobis longa peracta via est:

Nos animo tantum Berolini advenimus arcem:

Sistitur at vobis agmen in arce Dei:

Vivere factum operæ pretium est: iterumque videmur
 Naturam rerum nosse, iterumque Deum;
 Lædet abhinc illos neque fama nec ira nec hostis
 Inque suâ justos accipit æde Pater.⁽⁶⁾
 Abstergas lacrimas: melius stat vivere nobis,
 Illis in longâ pace manere suâ.

(1) The year has lost its spring. (Pericles, Funeral Speech.)

(2) Or ever the silver chord be loosed or the golden bowl, etc. (Ecclesiastes.)

(3) War is Hell. (Sherman.)

(4) One crowded hour of glorious life

Is worth an age without a name. (Sir Walter Scott.)

(5) He did his bit.

(6) The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God: there shall no evil come nigh them: they are in peace.

Τὰ αὐτὰ Ἑλληνικῶς

ὅς πέσε μειράκιον μὲν ἀμυνόμενος δὲ πρὸ πολλῶν,
 μὴ βασιλεύς τις ἔδος γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἔχῃ,
 ὅς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ στρατιώτης τραύμασι βληθείς
 ὠραίου μείραξ ἀνδρὸς ἔπλησε τέλη,
 οὗτος παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν βίου ἤδη τέρματ' ἐφίκται,
 εἰς τ' Ἀῖδαο δόμους οὐ παρὰ μοῖραν ἔβη.

MAURICE HUTTON

BOOK REVIEWS AND LITERARY NOTES

SONGS TO SAVE A SOUL. SWORDS FOR LIFE.

Irene R. McLeod, New York, Huebsch.

Never has poetry been so free as it is to-day. There is no dominant orthodoxy. Almost the only thing expected of it is the unexpected. The prevailing tendency is the same as in philosophy and education. Traditional standards are regarded with a fresh candour, not interested in maintaining reputations or hypotheses. They lose authority, and keep what interest they may, as revelations of the minds which applied them. This frank attitude enlarges the area of artistic invention and fosters the spirit of adventure. There is much in current poetry that is truly renascent, in the exploration of humanity, in the search for intrinsic values, in the exaltation of the sincere record of experience, in the readiness to sacrifice form before matter, in the refreshment of the sense of wonder. Contemporary lyric poetry is remarkable in its variety—in all its width of range from the "cool and nowise turbid cup from wells our fathers digged," through "short swallow-flights of song, that dip their wings in tears and skim away," to the newest, startling cry of old emotion caught in the rapidly shifting meshes of modern life.

Of this renaissance Miss McLeod is one of the truest voices. She has hardly a trace of the traditional or perfunctory. She has no manner to keep up. She has the fresh outlook, keen feeling and sincere expression—the "innocent" eye and voice—of the true lyricist, the poet unspoiled; whose perceptions are unblurred, spirit unjaded, and words undictated. Her modernity is not enervated by weariness, though she expresses well the weary moods when they come. Her pain and joy are vivid and absorbing, and there is no "dull narcotic exercise" in her verse-making, even when she sings of hopeless and premature sorrow overtaking radiant love. She has the zest of town and field, can love crowds and solitude, can rejoice in the beauty of the human body. She can abandon herself utterly to love's wildest passion, or carol its peace in perfect simplicity, each in its turn with all her heart.

Again and again the eternal child-spirit of the poet breaks into passionate revolt and cries out its Everlasting Yea and Nay:

Though living give my faith the lie,
Though loving clip the wings of love,
Though men humanity disprove,
Though all my suns and moons go out,
Though tongues of all the ages shout
That only death may not deceive,
I'll not believe! I'll not believe!

This *Youth* of hers stands wonderfully revealed in poem after poem:

He walks unshamed and unafraid

And wind is ever behind him!

O, at his side is a burning blade,

And never a bond shall bind him!

Then again and again the same child-spirit, tired and stormtost, sits "between the giant knees" of the mighty teacher (*Philosophy*) and feels "so infinitely small between her cool white hands." This poem and *Rebel*, especially in their closing, give perfect unity to the two aspects of the poet.

The child-element and the mother-element, which mingle so ravishingly in a woman's love, find sweet voice here. It is the latter motive that lifts her to her highest level. Through the mother-care of the *Unborn* we pass to the mother-care of the stricken lover—*The Beloved, When my Beloved sleeping lies, My glorious One*. These are her great achievement, and they have the quality of revelation.

All lovers of poetry fortunate enough to know the first volume turned to the second with great expectation, and some anxiety which of the elements of the first should seem to be growing, whether the fearless strength should mature without loss of sweetness, or the "fitful fever" gain upon her essential sanity. The question remains unanswered. The second volume is as bright and precious as the first and shows all its qualities. Its music is as sweet, its wayside felicities as captivating. In place of the love poems in which the first reached its climax, the second has poetry of great weight of emotional thought and nobility of expression (such as *Beethoven, Night Speaks*). The fine dramatic fragment *Crucified* may well show the germ of a new development. The theme finds a place for her passionate defence of youth and love and truth, here in their last tragic battle. The heat of it shows through in other poems, as in the hectic habit which is one of the symptoms of modernity. Our impression is that in both volumes it has its lyric or tragic justification; though this is our chief concern for her future. However, we gladly leave prophecy, to rejoice in her present gift.

**THE BALKANS : A HISTORY OF BULGARIA, SERBIA,
GREECE, ROUMANIA, TURKEY.**

By Nevill Forbes, Arnold J. Toynbee, D. Mitrany, D. G. Hogarth. Clarendon Press, Oxford. Price, 75 cents.

It is a difficult task to offer anything in the nature of criticism on a book of this type. Each of the four sections into which the book is divided is the work of an expert specially selected for his qualifications. If therefore none of the four authors is bold enough to undertake more than a portion of the work, it is obviously beyond the competence of any critic to deal authoritatively with all the four sections. Nevertheless it is hoped that a few remarks will be useful.

It is not too much to say that a study of the book will be indispensable to all those who offer any suggestions when the time comes for the reconstruction of the map of Europe. Nay, we may go further and say that if our statesmen and politicians had known all that they can learn here, we should have been spared many and costly mistakes, both before and during the war. It is painful to reflect on the ignorance that prevails even among our educated and governing classes on Balkan conditions. Many lessons have already been learned by stern experience; for example, the unreliability of Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece. Yet there is nothing in the behaviour of any of these three nations that has surprised any one who is even moderately acquainted with the mentality and aspirations of these powers. Or again, what could have been more inadequate than the settlement of affairs in Albania immediately before the war? It is even insufficiently recognized by the public that the present war is essentially a part of the German "Drang nach Osten;" it is in fact only a continuation of the Balkan War concluded in 1913. To quote from the present volume (p. 316):—"The Second Balkan War was the first act in the tragic *débâcle* out of which the present situation developed. The interval between August, 1913 (Peace of Bucarest), and August, 1914, was merely an armistice during which Bulgaria and Turkey recovered their breath, and German and Austrian diplomacy had time to find a pretext for war on its own account."

Among points which may be novel or suggestive to the reader we note the following—and once more we remind him that the information in this volume is of a higher character than that available in the usual sources of information—which we quote from the original: "It must be remembered, also, that Austria-Hungary, far from decomposing, as it was commonly assumed was happening, had been enormously increasing in vitality ever since 1878": "The Mohammedan Serbs of Bosnia, who disliked all Christians equally, could only with the greatest difficulty be persuaded that they were really Serbs and not Turks, and honestly cared for nothing but Islam and Turkish coffee, thus considerably facilitating the germanization of the two provinces": "In A.D. 1204, Constantinople was stormed by a Venetian flotilla and the crusading host it conveyed on board, and more treasures of ancient Hellenism were destroyed in the sack of its hitherto inviolate citadel than had ever perished by the hand of Arab or Slav": "The Turks were quite as much Europeans as many of the Greek Emperors had been—those of the Isaurian dynasty, for instance. They had given no evidence as yet (A.D. 1481) of a fanatical Moslem spirit and their official creed had governed their policy hardly more than does ours in India or Egypt": "Indeed one cannot be among them"—the true Turks of the plateau of Asia Minor—"now without feeling that their day is not only not gone, but is still, for the most part, yet to be": "By an irony of the Osmanli position, the worse the empire was administered, the stronger became its international guarantee." The reason in the last case was the

necessity of buttressing a nation which is threatened with hopeless bankruptcy. It would be easy to multiply such quotations.

A few observations may be ventured on points of detail. In his account of Serbia, Mr. Forbes might have told us more about the Serbian language. At a time when the study of Russian is becoming so popular, the reviewer may point out that Serbian is the most interesting of the Slav languages. Nor is the history of Serbia less interesting than its language. Of all the Balkan peoples the Serbs stand highest. It is a circumstance greatly to be deplored that Stephen Dushan, the greatest of her rulers, did not put a final end to the moribund Greek Empire of the fourteenth century and suppress both Greeks and Latins alike in the East. The failure to take this step opened the door to the Turks, whom Murad led across the Hellespont soon after Stephen's death, to effect a permanent settlement in Europe.

The most interesting part of the chapter on Greek history is the story of the efforts of Trikoupis to raise his country to a respectable position among nations. It is indeed painful to read of the light-hearted way in which his thoughtless countrymen undid his patriotic work.

Of all the nations here described, Rumania is the one least known to the Western reader. We are not surprised therefore to find the chapter on Rumania full of interest and instruction. The author with justice draws attention to the results of the mistaken policy of giving these young Balkan countries a German prince as ruler. This mistake it is hoped will not be repeated. Other interesting features about Rumania are the acuteness of the Jewish question and the apparent absence of the evils of clericalism. Surely of no other European country could it be said that "there is no record whatever in Rumanian history of any religious feuds or dissensions."

To most readers probably the chapter on Turkey will be the most interesting. Here also there is much to learn. We are reminded that the Ottomans are really only a blend of Turk and Greek, so that their Empire bears much the same relation to the Greek Empire of John Comnenus that the latter did to the old Roman Empire. Even in religion it is doubtful whether the Greek is not more hostile to the Latin Christian than he is to the Moslem. As the author truly says, "the native Christians"—of Asia Minor—"descended from the Iconoclasts of two centuries before, found the rule of Moslem image-haters more congenial, as it was certainly more effective, than that of Byzantine emperors."

The statement on p. 302 "That the country's foreign policy has nevertheless constantly supported the Central Powers is due to a greater extent to the increasing influence of German education" is one to make us reflect. The reviewer remembers reading a recent statement made by one in a position to know, that a prominent Turk who had intended to send his son to England to be educated decided that a better training could be had in Germany, and thither the boy went. Undoubtedly the reform of our higher education is one of the problems to be dealt with in the near future.

We have noted one or two points where an improvement might be made. The dates are sometimes at variance with those usually given. In some cases the authors may have followed recent authorities unknown to the reviewer, but when 325 (p. 15) and 328 (p. 166) are both given as the dates of the foundation of Constantinople it is obvious that there has been some mistake. As a matter of fact the new name of the city goes back to 326 or perhaps earlier; the work of reconstruction began in 328, but the city was officially inaugurated in 330. This last date therefore should be given for the foundation.

On page 14 the reader will be a little confused by the use of Illyria in two senses, and it might have been well if the meaning of prefecture had been explained. On p. 167 the Nicene Council is credited with the formulation of the Athanasian Creed, which is quaintly called the "last notable formulation of Ancient Greek philosophy." That "the Septuagint and the New Testament were after the triumph of Christianity the sole intellectual sustenance of the people" is a statement requiring modification; it is misleading to say that the "dynasty of Palaiologos upheld a semblance of the Empire for more than a century after the Latin was expelled."

THE EMPIRE AND THE FUTURE.

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