

The Fortnightly

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JANUARY, 1954

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INVESTIGATING POVERTY

JAMES E. MacCOLL, M.P.

Other Contributors : A. Sillery, H. S. Deighton, Robert Blackburn, Leslie Bishop, B. C. Plowright, George Horner, S. L. Bensusan, Loveday Martin, Grace Banyard.

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

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JANUARY 1954

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

JANUARY 1954

COLONIAL POLICY IN AFRICA

NO colonial policy has been proclaimed with more consistency than that of self-government. Colonial politicians claim independence as a right; while British statesmen declare with equal fervour that their aim is to enable the dependencies to stand on their own feet as soon as possible, though they generally add, as a rider, the hope that when the colonial peoples qualify to decide their own future they will stay within the Empire. It is an easy declaration to make, generally acceptable at home and decidedly popular abroad in the wide circles where "colonialism" is a word of reproach. It should be more clearly explained and widely understood that because of the composition of many dependencies, "self-government" cannot be treated as an absolute concept, but must be related to local circumstances, and that its application is highly selective.

The situation in West Africa should, on the face of it, be simple enough. Here we have a population, divided, it is true, into tribes with different cultures and in various stages of civilization, but still predominantly African and which might therefore be expected to speak with one voice. Experience on the Gold Coast has shown that an active and determined intelligentsia can overcome tribal barriers and, by carrying with it a backward population, create an irresistible popular demand. On the other hand the division in Nigeria between a radical south and a largely conservative north, the one demanding "self-government now", the other in favour of a slower tempo, shows that even in wholly African communities there is still diversity of opinion.

If the question is controversial in Nigeria, it is much more so on the East Coast, especially, for instance, in Kenya, with its multi-racial society. Though each of the communities that make up the population might, if it lived by itself, qualify to govern itself sooner or later, it is almost impossible to imagine a time when Kenya as a whole can become self-governing in a way satisfactory to all. As things are it is unrealistic to pretend that colonies made up of different races of different colours, with widely different cultures and outlook, living at different stages of civilization, can in our time attain self-government of a kind which all those races together would accept. In this context the formula is simply not valid.

Faced with these complexities the British Government have done the best they could, by adapting the general policy to the particular situation of each dependency. In colonies where there exists a common will, or where there is some likelihood of one emerging, self-government is being

pressed forward. In the others, the Government have quite rightly resigned themselves to the fact that self-government must await the day (goodness knows how remote!) when all races in the colony pull together. Central African Federation, however, has a cross-bred look.

Different policies for different places were inevitable. The mistake was probably made in beating the independence drum too loudly. The spread of education, wireless, newspapers, communications: all these have done their work, and many Africans are no longer unaffected by the currents of the world, nor unaware of what is happening in other parts of the continent. Moreover they are sensitive—the last war in particular has accelerated the emergence of a latent nationalism that is sweeping Africa, and with it a certain sense of African solidarity. It is natural enough that young Africans in multi-racial colonies should regard the Gold Coast as a model for their future. They must understand (as also must the non-African communities) that the Gold Coast—and South Africa—bear no relation to their own situation and that the way to self-government, if indeed that aim is to be attained at all, is that of racial co-operation.

The road ahead is not an easy one. On the West Coast we are committed, and it is our duty and our pride to complete the transfer of power with patience and wisdom, thereby, we hope, laying foundations of gratitude and goodwill. In East and Central Africa, unless we do injustice to one or more of the component races, we must hold a balance, encouraging each section to the development of its full powers, removing obnoxious restraints such as the colour bar, and endeavouring by all means to arrive at the delicate adjustments that are necessary to harmony in the life of a multi-racial society. Above all, we must not be afraid to lead nor to stand up boldly for what we believe to be right. It has been said that much of the trouble about Central African Federation—we are not now discussing the case for or against Federation itself—might have been avoided had District Commissioners at the outset been allowed to say what the Government thought about it. And there must be no repetition of what has just happened in the southern Sudan, where primitive tribesmen, well disposed towards us, have been obliged to vote themselves under a régime they avowedly dislike and fear; whatever the reasons, to throw over friends must always be wrong. While welcoming and encouraging desirable changes we must see to it that our position in Africa, and our still heavy responsibilities to African peoples, are not surrendered to undue external or internal pressures.

THE DARTMOUTH DECISION

BY RUPERT MARTIN

AT the end of November the Board of Admiralty published their new regulations for officer training in the Royal Navy. We are by now well accustomed, or perhaps hardened, to educational problems being bedevilled by political considerations. In the case of naval training yet a third factor is introduced—a strong body of naval opinion which says in effect: "We have been on this job for some centuries and we don't want our outstanding efficiency marred by either political or educational theorists."

The history of this training should be briefly recounted. In 1843 the word 'cadet' first began to be used in place of the old term, "first-class volunteer". In 1849 it was decreed that officers must join the Navy young, between the ages of 12 and 14. Forty years ago a 'Special Entry' at the age of 18, mostly drawn from the public schools, was added as a new category, but the junior entry lasted unchallenged for almost a century until it was abolished under the Labour Government in 1948, when it was decided that the earliest entry should be at the age of 16. This change was made in order to conform more closely to democratic principles, because it was thought that the 13-year-old entry loaded the dice too heavily in favour of the boy from the independent preparatory school, as compared with his competitor from the State school.

In the five years which have followed this decision fierce controversy has raged between sailors, politicians and educationists. The three ages (13, 16 and 18) were championed by different groups with different aims and varying emphasis. At the end of a short trial period most people were agreed that whatever else was right, age 16 was wrong. In practice the Royal Navy simply was not getting enough first-rate candidates; since 1948 no fewer than 77 out of 500 cadetships offered for the 16-year-old entry had remained unfilled. The democratic process of levelling-up had in fact proved, so far as naval efficiency was concerned, a process of levelling-down.

Why was this so? Because both the public schools (largely boarding) and the leading grammar schools (mostly dayboy) were equally reluctant to let their best boys leave just at an age when they could contribute most to their communities, and when these boys were about to enter the most formative and rewarding years of their school lives. In the public schools a boy had just finished the long slog of 'fagging' and working his way up

the school, and was coming within sight of sixth form, a Rugger cap, the cricket XI or his prefectship. This position was the same in the grammar schools in all essentials, and a promising boy in either type of school had already perhaps fixed his eyes on the chance of a university scholarship. Why should he cut adrift from all this, and start again? It required an exceptionally strong sense of vocation for a boy to jettison all that he had worked for, and now saw coming nearer. The result was that too few outstanding boys were found willing to transfer at the age of 16.

The argument thus narrowed down in practice to a choice between the ages of 13 and 18. The junior entry had many compelling reasons to recommend it, and most naval officers would themselves have voted for its restoration. In the first place, during its hundred years of life, at Osborne, at Dartmouth and elsewhere, it had regularly turned out the sort of naval officer whom we as a nation are so thankful to have in time of war and whom we are often quick to neglect in peace. The junior entry represented a system which had stood up admirably to a century of testing for naval requirements. There are good reasons why naval officers should be trained to a type somewhat more closely than those of the Army or of the Royal Air Force. There is not much room in a warship at sea, and if a sailor is to be trained so that he will conform to accepted R.N. standards of 'good-mixing', then there is much to be said for starting that training, through communal life, as early as possible.

At Dartmouth, cadets of the junior entry were given an education in which general subjects were blended with naval drill-and-discipline. The whole establishment was under the command of a naval captain, and discipline was administered by naval officers. The academic side of the college was directed by a civilian headmaster, and his staff were also civilians. The latter were concerned strictly with teaching activities, and all questions of discipline were automatically referred to the executive naval officers.

Critics of this 13-year-old entry used to advance the argument that the age was too tender for a boy to have formed settled convictions about his career and that, as in Sparta of old, the system was too awe-inspiring to give him a fair chance of contracting out at a later stage, however doubtful he might feel about his fitness for the service. Cases were quoted where boys had been directed unquestioningly to Dartmouth because they had a father who was a captain, R.N., or a grandfather who was an admiral. This undoubtedly did happen in a few cases, but family compulsion is not unknown in other walks of life. On the other hand it remains true that whereas most boys are vague about their future callings until a fairly late age, yet those who are attracted by the sea feel its particular sirens beckoning to them early, and with enduring effect. It was also argued that if reasonable opportunity were given for a boy to renounce his naval intention at all stages between the years of 13 to 18,

then valuable public money would have been spent on his education, without providing the Navy with the resultant officer. Indeed it was even feared that there might be some parents eager to profit by such a sound training for their sons without ever having had serious intentions of a permanent career in the Navy for them.

On the political side there can be little question that the 13-year-old entry favoured the sons of prosperous parents. It would be extremely difficult to dispense with a written examination for selection purposes, and however ingeniously the syllabus were devised an advantage would inevitably lie with the boy from an independent preparatory school, where classes of a dozen boys are normal, competing with the boy from a State school, where classes of 40 are not exceptional. It is perhaps between the ages of eight and 13 that this disparity of staffing ratio has its most telling effect upon the pupils. It should be added that the matter of 'privilege', though it complicates the entry question, was found to raise no social problem once the cadets had actually joined the Naval College, any more than it did in the public schools which admitted State-aided bursars after the Fleming Report. A pleasant story was told about Dartmouth in the days when a boy from the State school was still regarded as a 'guinea-pig'. It was known that one of these boys was a member of a certain group, and after a time the officer in charge of it asked the cadets if they knew which he was. Most of them were sure that they did, and gave him the name of the boy. Their selection turned out to be the son of a Tory peer.

If the age of 13 for entry is therefore undesirable in a democratic era, what then can be said in favour of cadet entry at the age of 18? This in itself is no innovation, since 'Special Entry' from the schools at that age has been well established since 1913. Many officers who have risen to high rank in the Navy have entered through that door. It certainly gives a boy full time and ample opportunity to make up his mind firmly about his career; it also offers him a general education in common with boys destined for other professions, which must inevitably be somewhat wider in scope for that reason. It also means that if naval training is commenced between the ages of 18 and 19 very few boys will want to contract out of a scheme which they have entered at an age when most other boys are normally choosing their jobs for life. It gives, too, a fairer chance to boys outside the ranks of the boarding public schools; a boy from a good grammar school can compete on level terms with public school boys at the age of 18, whereas, as already argued, a boy in a State school at the age of 13 would find it far more difficult to compete with his contemporary from a private preparatory school.

The first immediate problem which their Lordships' decision raises is the case of those boys whose parents cannot afford to keep them at school until 18 in order to compete for a place in the Navy. Mr. J. L. P. Thomas, the First Lord of the Admiralty, stated in the House of Com-

mons that attention will be given to this point. A scheme to cover that gap is extremely necessary, because the Navy has come to this decision to concentrate on 18-year-old entrants at the very time when the Army and the R.A.F. are retreating from the same position. The Army, having failed to get the technical officers it needed, has just opened a college at Welbeck Abbey to take boys for two years training from the age of 16. The R.A.F., anxious about the Cranwell entry, has offered scholarships to 16-year-olds who will undertake to go to Cranwell when they leave school. The Government, in its scruple for "equality of opportunity" and its anxiety to give offence to as few people as possible has beyond question compelled the Navy to recruit its officers in a narrowing field.

The new scheme certainly has the merit of simplicity, but many competent critics had been more attracted by the report drawn up, and published last May, by a Committee of naval and educational authorities under the chairmanship of Mr. E. S. Montagu, Judge Advocate of the Fleet. This report was debated in Parliament in July. It recommended the retention of the present 18-year-old 'Special Entry', the reduction by half of the 16-year-old entry, and the restoration of a 13-year-old group, with certain safeguards about the proportion of vacancies in the last category to be allotted to the private schools and the State schools. It also recommended that the Royal Naval College should conform more closely to the pattern of an ordinary secondary school and should be in the charge of a civilian headmaster, instead of being under direct naval discipline. This report was in fact an attempt to please all sections by giving all of them a bit of what each preferred. It appeared to be the type of compromise which often proves dear to the heart of the British people. However, a minority report, sponsored by Mr. F. Barraclough, the Chief Education Officer for the North Riding of Yorkshire, recommended a single system of entry at the age of 18, and this view appears to have carried the day with their Lordships. Perhaps the majority report was too complicated and too cumbrous; its provisions would certainly have proved difficult to administer in practice.

How will the Admiralty decision be received? In the first place, there will be widespread satisfaction that the present 16-year-old entry scheme is to be scrapped. It has proved highly unpopular as well as insufficiently productive. It is, however, unlikely that the decision to exclude the 13-year-old entry will win approval in naval establishments. *The Times* leader on the subject was written under the pungent title of "Dartmouth Surrendered", and the article went on to say that "the Government have listened more to educationists than to naval officers." The First Lord spoke of "the inestimable benefit of a decision which avoided political and educational controversy," which revealed something of the motive for the new regulations. *The Times* leader continued in a strain which will find an echo in many a naval community: "The chief sacrifice is of the Royal Naval College itself, and it is very sad. The buildings at

Dartmouth will still be used for naval training, but the college in its old character will be no more. In its 50 years of life it has made itself one of the finest educational institutions in the country. The qualities of the cadets it admitted and the value of the training it gave them have been shown in two great wars. A Conservative Government have surrendered a fine instrument of training which the Navy wished to keep."

It is rash as well as difficult to judge the new scheme before it comes into operation. It will now have to face two tests, one immediate and the other more remote. In the first place, will it produce each year the total of 270 first-rate cadets which the Admiralty estimates to be necessary? At present only about half that number join the service by 'Special Entry' at the age of 18. That is the short-term test. The second is a far more searching one. Will these boys, whose naval training is now to start five years later than that of most of their predecessors in the last hundred years, show the same aptitude and qualities which have made their service a pattern for the navies of the world as well as the envy and despair of their rivals? This is, quite rightly, the question which matters most to the Royal Navy. However fast aeroplanes may fly across the heavens it is still possible that the efficiency of naval training may also prove a matter of paramount importance for an island people in the years to come, as it has done so often in the past.

(The author of this article has been headmaster of two schools which have regularly supplied cadets for naval training at different ages.)

THE EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER MEN AND WOMEN

By JOHN MOSS

THE Minister of Labour and National Service, Sir Walter Monckton, appointed a National Advisory Committee in March 1952, to advise and assist him in promoting the employment of older men and women. This is a matter that had previously given much concern to the National Old People's Welfare Committee, which brings together all the varied interests—statutory and voluntary—concerned with the welfare of old people, and it was the wish of the Minister that the setting up of his advisory committee would be a real step towards a similar co-operation in the problem of employment. It is significant of the unanimity of view—at least by national and representatives bodies if not by individuals and some employers—that at the session of the National Conference held by the National Old People's Welfare Committee, at Scarborough in 1952 when Sir Walter Monckton spoke on this subject as the responsible Minister, Mr. Arthur Deakin (General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union and then chairman of the Trades Union Congress), identified the trade union movement with voluntary endeavours to take care of the older people and do those things which are regarded as essential to their welfare. He suggested, however, that the problem of the continued employment of older people was not one which could be taken in isolation but is a part of the broad principle facing industry; and said trade unionists are faced very frequently with the problem of how to retain the older people without denying promotion to the younger age groups. On the other hand, as he explained, there are a number of industries in which the nature of the industry is of such a character that people cannot continue beyond or even to the normal retirement age. Mr. Deakin told the conference that discussion in the factories and through national bodies has created an opportunity to bring a new approach to the problem and he promised the support of the trade union movement to the work of the new advisory committee.

The first report of the Advisory Committee* which was issued recently was signed by the chairman (Mr. H. Watkinson, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and National Service) on behalf of all the members which shows that the representatives of the various interests concerned are co-operating in the manner suggested by the Minister. Each of the interests represented on the Committee has its

* *National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men and Women*. First report. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s.

own particular part to play in promoting the employment of older men and women. The rôle of employers' and workers' organizations is clearly most important. Government departments and local authorities have a double interest in the subject. First, as considerable employers of labour their interest is direct, and then as providers of health, insurance, and other services their work bears upon the problem. Welfare organizations, such as the National Old People's Welfare Committee and the various other voluntary bodies have also valuable contributions to make.

It is not, however, only in Great Britain that this problem is receiving attention but it is also giving concern in other parts of the world, notably in the United States. It is useful, therefore, to be able to consider in connection with the report of the Advisory Committee, a report by the New York State Legislative Committee on problems of the ageing. This Committee was set up some five years ago and has since published a report each year. Its influence has extended far beyond the boundaries of the New York State. The Committee have shown that the tendency to consider everyone of 65 or more as 'old' is a non-scientific and invalid conception which is doing much mischief and harm to the individual and society. Many men of 65 are still active and working, and some men of 45 are truly 'old'. It is noted with satisfaction that there is an increasing number of employers in the United States who are departing from a compulsory retirement age or changing from compulsory to optional retirement plans.

By "employment" the Ministry of Labour Advisory Committee mean employment in the ordinary labour market. The Committee are not directly concerned with the further important matter of providing occupation for those who can no longer continue in full-time, or even part-time, paid employment or those who prefer to retire from active employment but need some voluntary work to keep them alert mentally and physically. These are matters coming within the scope of voluntary organizations which organize old people's clubs and other activities for the elderly in association with the local authorities. Then there are the limited number of elderly who can afford to retire and keep themselves alert by giving help in a voluntary capacity to those who are not so well placed. They can offer their services to such bodies as local old people's welfare committees of which there are over a thousand in different parts of the country. In the United States also, there has been a considerable development in the provision of old people's clubs. Some of them are also recreational centres where handicrafts are taught and encouraged—sometimes leading to a method of earning a living by making hobbies pay. Those who are so interested have been given the following rules:

1. Treat your hobby as a business, not simply as a leisure-time activity.
2. Design your product not for yourself but for a commercial market, stressing originality.
3. Select a product that does not necessitate frequent re-styling.

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4. Plan a marketing campaign carefully, survey your market and use proper kinds of outlets.
5. Price your products realistically.

To encourage persons to make use of their hobbies the New York State Education Department employs a handicraft specialist. Various organizations help with this work. For instance, the New York Women's Council provides free consultation on merchandizing, ranging from packing to sales outlets.

The Ministry of Labour Advisory Committee are properly concerned with the adjustments in working methods and conditions which may sometimes be necessary or desirable to enable a working population whose average age is increasing to be economically and effectively employed. By 'older' men and women the Committee, in their report, mean not only those who have reached pensionable ages but all those who on account of age meet with special difficulties in retaining or obtaining employment. The report first examines the reasons which have led to the acceptance of the policy that the greater employment of older persons should be encouraged. One important factor is the changing age structure. In 1911 there were in Great Britain $2\frac{3}{4}$ million men of 65 and over or women 60 and over—67 per thousand; in 1951 there were over $6\frac{1}{2}$ million—135 per thousand; in 1977 it is estimated, there will be nearly $9\frac{3}{4}$ million—about 196 per thousand. The growing increase in the proportion of older persons will inevitably mean an increase in the amount of current production required for their maintenance. At present, more than 400,000 men in the 65-69 age group and 250,000 of 70 and over are continuing at work. The unoccupied men in the 65-69 age group number nearly 450,000 and those above that age just over 1,000,000; but of the first number over 100,000 are chronically sick. In New York State 50 per thousand of the population were aged 65 and over in 1930; 68 per thousand in 1940; and 87 per thousand in 1950. According to the latest census figures 58 per cent. of males between 65 and 69 years and over 40 per cent. of those 70 to 74 years were employed.

From information obtained by the Advisory Committee it seems that older people in Great Britain are in general more adaptable and trainable than is commonly thought. Research on this subject, and on the extent to which older people may be helped in some occupations by slight adaptations of working methods, is being undertaken by universities and like bodies. According to the New York report one large engineering firm in the United States found that it was losing its competitive position because of low output. It had a large number of older workers and felt that they were the cause of the poor production record. The solution seemed obvious—discharge the older workers. However, the company decided to call in an expert consultant to analyse the problem. He reached the simple solution that output would be improved if the men were given seats instead of being required to stand at their work; the

drain on their energies was reduced thereby. This shows that sometimes a change in working conditions can achieve excellent results.

The Ministry of Labour Advisory Committee examined evidence bearing on the liability of older persons to industrial accidents. Some of this was found to be conflicting and further information is to be obtained but the existing evidence does not support the common assumption that older workers sustain more accidents proportionately than the young. On the contrary, recent statistics of awards of injury benefit, under the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act 1946, show that the rate of award of benefit is nearly twice as high among men under 30 as among men over 60; and that, even with a greater average length of absence per injury, the average number of days lost by those over 60 as a result of accidents compares well with the 40-49 age group and is only slightly higher than the average for all ages. This matter is also considered in the report of the New York Committee which had evidence that older workers tend to have fewer serious accidents than younger workers, but older workers tend to be away from work for longer periods after they have had accidents in relation to age and in relation to specific types of employment. It has been argued that to encourage more employment among older people is inconsistent with the movement towards increased leisure but the Advisory Committee do not think this need be so. Increased leisure may be good, but enforced leisure in the form of unsought unemployment is at any age wasteful and harmful from the point of view of the nation as well as the individual.

Many older people have great difficulty in finding another job once they become unemployed; and there are occupations which almost completely exclude the entry of older people and restrict recruitment in the main to the normal ages of completing school, university or other courses. But in some cases late entry has been found possible when the demand for workers has made it necessary to depart from usual practices. An older person, like others seeking employment, may be helped through the normal procedure of the employment exchanges but an exchange can only put him forward for a vacant job and the responsibility for his engagement or otherwise is of course a matter for the employer. In Canada, where a similar problem has received consideration—but in relation to men over 40—a special counselling service has been arranged within the ordinary employment service scheme. The New York Committee recommend the establishment of similar specialist counselling and placement in every employment service. Massachusetts has a special law which seeks to ban discrimination against older workers but this is restricted to discrimination against workers of 45 to 65 and excludes those over 65. The main result of this law has been to prevent advertisements in newspapers specifying persons under a certain age. The New York Committee believe that the refusal to engage older workers is largely a matter of prejudice, and that by spreading information this prejudice

could be removed. It can be shown, for instance, that there is nothing inherent in the industrial field which makes it impossible, unprofitable or unwise to employ older workers. The Committee first approached the problem of older workers in terms of possible legislation, banning discrimination based on age, or providing subsidies to industry for employing older workers or setting up a quota system requiring the employment of certain percentages of older workers in new industries which tend to employ younger people. But as a result of full consideration the Committee reached the conclusion that the prejudice of engaging older persons and against retaining them in employment arises basically from (a) bias which can be erased by educational processes, and (b) ignorance concerning how to use older workers profitably; and that action must be taken on these lines through a national campaign.

The Ministry of Labour Advisory Committee are convinced that unjustifiable age barriers, either formal or informal, limit the older person's opportunities of employment and that for certain occupations these barriers are formidable, resulting in hardship to the individual and economic loss to the country. The Committee urge, therefore, that employing authorities of all kinds should review any practices, agreements or provisions attached to pension schemes, or other special arrangements which place an age barrier in the way of those seeking employment. It is urged that the criterion for engagement should be capacity not age. In all fields of employment a system of selective retirement is sometimes practised under which a review takes place at a specified age to decide whether the individual should or should not retire; and there is some predisposition towards retirement at the minimum pensionable ages under the national insurance scheme. In the United States there is also this prevalence of early compulsory retirement although in some industries the average age is 68. But a high proportion of those not at work after they reach 65 are not able to work. It is felt that the pension schemes there, as in Great Britain, result in large numbers of men and some women retiring against their will and before their full economic potential has been realized.

The Ministry of Labour Committee attach the utmost importance to efforts to promote the continuance of older persons, still fit and able to work, in their existing employment. It is recommended therefore, that all men and women employed in industry, commerce, the professions, or elsewhere, who can give effective service, either in their normal work or in any alternative work which their employers can make available, should be given the opportunity, without regard to age, to continue at work if they wish to do so.

Employment in professional, managerial and executive work is generally stable and not subject to severe unemployment risks. But this stability may make it more difficult for those who do become unemployed to find further suitable employment—especially when they are at or beyond

middle age. Many in these categories who would be willing and able to work have gone into premature retirement because of the lack of opportunity. The Committee recognize that every organization must see that it has a sufficient supply of younger men and women being trained to take over its higher posts and that the avenues of promotion shall not be blocked by the undue engagement of older people. But although in some circumstances these factors may properly prevent the engagement of older people, the Committee believe that they are far from being universal and are often adduced with little real justification. Difficulties associated with salary scales are sometimes cited against the continued employment of older workers and it is often argued that they are too expensive. But the Committee suggest that employers should be asked to consider whether their staff recruitment policies might provide for a small proportion of their posts above the normal point of entry to be filled from outside the firm or organization

The value of experience is not always given proper consideration. This is a matter to which special attention is drawn in the New York report. A study of 3,000 workers in a departmental store showed that merit wage increases (not based on seniority) were earned more frequently by older workers than by younger workers. A study of 3,000 factory workers showed that older workers received proportionately as many above-average ratings in ability, attendance and attitude as their younger counterparts and were judged equally as worthy of retention. It was found that younger workers were more often discharged for incompetence than were older workers. A study of the suggestion system in the Eastman Kodak Company indicated that older workers earn more than younger men through the suggestion system; and that younger workers make fewer worthwhile suggestions for improvements. The New York Committee reached the conclusion that older workers do not offer as many suggestions to management as do younger persons but the suggestions of older workers result in greater profit or greater efficiency or are generally of greater value.

Since the war there has been a marked increase in the financial provision for old age through both national and private schemes. The present British national scheme was devised to take account of current population trends and the need to encourage all who can do so to go on working in later life. Pensions are payable without a retirement condition at 70 for men and 65 for women. Below these ages there is a retirement pension for which there is no fixed age for payment but only a minimum age (65 for men and 60 for women) at which those who feel the need to retire can do so and claim pensions. Those who do not claim their retirement pension at the minimum age have the opportunity of earning additions to their ultimate pensions for every six months of work

beyond the minimum pensionable age up to the ages of 70 and 65 respectively. Employers' pension schemes have been developed to give workers a special inducement to enter and remain in the same employment and also as part of the general emphasis on welfare in industrial relations. In many private schemes the cost of providing a pension rises according to the age of the worker when he joins the scheme. The employer has, therefore, a financial reason for not engaging persons at or about middle age. The Committee believe that many pension schemes have an important effect in limiting opportunities of fresh employment for older workers and that a solution to the difficulties must be found. The matter is therefore to receive further consideration. One solution may be to provide modified pensions for persons joining the scheme at a later age. As a general principle, however, the Committee recommend that the procedure for administering pension schemes should draw the least possible attention to the attainment of the minimum age. In conclusion it is pointed out in the report that measured, for example, in terms of an increase in jobs for older people, progress has not been great—and the Committee are very conscious that this is the only way in which a man or woman, barred from employment on account of age, could be expected to judge the results of the Committee's work. Nevertheless, even on this test, a number of developments within limited fields will prove immediately helpful. In other directions much good work has already been done.

The report refers, in particular, to publicity to bring the problems arising from the ageing of the population before employers, workers and the public; and the various experimental schemes which have been introduced in the practical setting of industry and commerce to test the contribution which the older worker can make. It is felt that in the long run these may prove more rewarding than an attempt to move too fast without first securing a firm foundation for development. The Committee hope that those responsible for promoting discussion and examination of the problem will be given every encouragement and assistance to continue and develop their efforts and that others may be stimulated to follow their example.

(Mr. John Moss, C.B.E., is a member of the Advisory Committee and is chairman of the National Old People's Welfare Committee.)

QUEEN SALOTE'S HERITAGE

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IN June 1953 England was won by the dignity and charm of Queen Salote. Now, in turn, England's Queen has visited Salote where she reigns among her handsome, brown-skinned people, in their green palm-crowned islands. Her kingdom of Tonga, two thousand miles east of Australia and south of a line between Fiji and Samoa, has no large islands; the biggest, Tongatabu, being but 25 miles long and up to eight miles wide. Here, and further north, came Captain Cook in the eighteenth century, seeking food and water. In the Tongan Group as a whole there are three main parts—Tongatabu with neighbouring islands to the south; 50 miles northward begins Haapai, a cluster of islets extending for 50 miles, with the lofty and striking volcanic mountains, Kao and Tofua, on its western fringe; again 70 or 80 miles to the north is Vavau, with its entrancingly lovely harbour. In the waters of the central cluster, Haapai, Captain Bligh was deposed from the command of his ship, the *Bounty*, and began his long open-boat voyage westward to Batavia, while the mutineers stretched away east to Tahiti, whence they took wives to the home they founded in Pitcairn.

On the northern coast of Tongatabu lies the modern capital, Nuku'alofa, a bright and pleasant village of mostly one-storey houses. Queen Salote's palace, a comfortable two-storey building, and the royal chapel with its little wooden tower, face a road that skirts the shore, fringed with tall Norfolk Island pines. Beyond is the blue Pacific. Off-shore islands and reefs form a safe roadstead for ships.

That the divinity that doth hedge a king is more than mere poetic fancy is clear in all the rites of royal installation; but in Tongan legend men still remember how, in the beginning, a god came down by a tree that pierced the heavens to visit his earthly bride. The son she bore was set to rule the land—first of the Tu'i Tonga, Sacred Kings of Tonga, who reigned for 38 generations, until the year 1865, although for long centuries the cares of government were left in other hands. In history the magic tree that pierced the sky was a long sea-way of distant wanderings, even into Antarctic ice and snows, of peoples in whose brave sagas is the rhythm of wave and paddle. Tales and poems recall names that would chart the ancient wanderings could we but clearly discern their meanings—Savai'i, in Samoa, the Tribe of Mōa, is Hawaii, and both are one with Java—and then, what? The earth-visiting god of 40 generations

—a thousand years—ago, was of the last great stream of Polynesian folk coming into their ocean homes—the Tonga-viti folk, who have spread wide over the Pacific. Viti or Fiji is the same word as Tahiti (the prefix 'ta' is an article), whose queen befriended Captain Cook. One with "Tonga" is "Kona" in faraway Hawaii. The Viti branch of the Tonga-viti folk gave their name to Fiji, intermarrying with those who were there before them, but driving some into the mountains of the larger islands. The Tonga branch settled in the lands where now they dwell, finding there a people akin to themselves. Their king, "man and god" as an old poet calls him, is the son whom a mortal woman bore to a lover from heaven.

In myth and lordly title there are hints of an ancient ocean empire—Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and other lands, under the rule of a great king whose centre was Samoa. So wide an overlordship would need swift communications. The Polynesian double sailing canoe was a remarkable craft. An early nineteenth century European traveller tells us that, while his brig was making ten knots, a double canoe kept sailing around her. Such vessels would probably have enabled an emperor to control his widespread realm, but the kind of ambition that would have driven kings and chiefs to subjugate and hold distant lands was fortunately rare. Overlordship faded away, and the people dwelt in freedom within their own lands.

Of the earlier generations of Tongan Sacred Kings little is known, but they have left impressive memorials of themselves in Eastern Tongatabu. Tradition tells of a king who, fearing assassination, sat with his back to a stone, while with a long staff he kept a space cleared about him. The Leaning-against Stone is still there, a broad slab set upright in a kerbing, forming an open-air throne. Near by is a house platform, faced with stone, on which I saw lying the house pillars, fallen and broken. The facing of the platform and the pillars were smooth, beautifully worked stones. At the edge of the royal compound, and seeming to form a gateway to it, is the famous trilithon, named Haamonga. Tradition has it that the king who set it up declared his intention of erecting a monument that would make posterity wonder. He has had his desire—many have gazed at the three great stones and marvelled, guessing at their purpose and plan. Not far away are the tombs of the kings—huge mounds, faced with terraces of stones, some so large that they have been cut into corner stones, five or six feet high, two to three feet thick, running 25 feet along one side, and six feet on the face at right angles to it. No steel tools, no mechanical transport or hoists, no fine gauges were at the service of the men who cut these blocks from the quarries, dragged them to the sites, worked them, and set them accurately in place.

Centuries-old stories tell of Vae, the babe born and deserted on a lonely isle, found and nurtured as their own by a childless man and his wife. Vae as she grew became a maiden of peerless beauty. By chance

a party of the king's sailors discovered her, and took her from her lonely island to the royal village. There, in a women's dance, she performed naked, a distinction granted only to maidens of flawless beauty and undoubted virginity. The king, who was beating time to the dance, was so disturbed by her loveliness that he made errors in his beating. She became the king's bride, and the mother of his successor.

In the fourteenth century a Tongan king conquered part of Samoa; but his harshness reinforced and quickened the spirit of freedom and he was driven out. As he was leaving Samoa he called aloud to the victors:

Noble courage, finely fought,
Not again with war,
But with peace shall I come.

A fifteenth century tragedy had deep and lasting effects. The king was murdered. His son pursued the assassins to many and distant lands, in all of which battles were fought and resistance overcome. At length the murderers were captured and slain. Then, wearied of strife, he kept for himself the honours and pleasures of supreme kingship, but entrusted the cares of State to a junior branch of his house, the Haa (clan) Takalaua. Henceforth there were two kings, the Sacred King, Tui Tonga, and the ruling king, Tui Haa Takalaua, whose daughter was married to the Sacred King to bear him a successor.

So two centuries pass, and then both Sacred King and Tui Haa Takalaua begin to be overshadowed by a new power arising in Western Tongatabu: the head of the house of Heart-of-Upolu, Tui Kano-kupolu. So high became the prestige of these western chiefs that their daughters replaced the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua as principal wives and mothers of Sacred Kings. By the end of the eighteenth century the Tui Kano-Kupolu were effective rulers of the whole group from Tongatabu to Vavau. Through all these changes the royal sanctity of the Sacred King was unimpaired, and scrupulously observed by rulers and people.

Tasman, visiting Tonga in the middle of the seventeenth century, was struck by the absence of arms, and Cook, more than a century later, noted the same thing. This, and the kindness with which he and his crews were received, caused him to name the group the Friendly Islands. At the end of the eighteenth century the long peace was broken. A ruling king, Tui Kano-kupolu, died, leaving two claimants to his throne, a brother and sister. On the green of the principal village of Western Tongatabu stood a *koka* tree. Kings were installed sitting with their backs to this tree. (A board cut from this tree is in the back of the throne in Nukualofa to-day.) The sister hastened to Western Tongatabu, and "turned her back to the *koka* tree"; her brother, Tukuaho, lingered in another island but in time came and drove her out. She fled to Vavau and appealed to Finau, head of the junior branch of their house. Thenceforth for many years Finau, from his home in the north, led forays on Western Tongatabu, supported, or not opposed, by the Eastern district, where the Sacred

King and Tui Haa Takalaua lived. He did not attempt to restore the deposed queen, of whom little more is heard. Finau usually won his battles, but he was only a warrior, and achieved nothing but the infliction of misery on the invaded districts. A poet laments the useless woes of his land:

My heart yearns beholding the mist on the sea at dawn,
 Recalling the woes of my homeland,
 People slain and chiefs laid low;
 Other days were there when we wandered
 Plucking garlands of flowers on fragrant headlands.

After two years of harsh and tyrannical rule Tukuaho was assassinated, and there followed a long period in which no-one appeared of rank and ability sufficient to re-establish peaceful settled government.

In 1806 a British privateer, the *Port-au-Prince*, cruising in the South Pacific in search of whales, put in at Haapai, where Finau then happened to be. The ship was seized by the Tongans; guns and ammunition were taken and used by Finau in his wars and much of the iron was stripped from her. In the hold were casks of whale oil, from which the men started to strip the iron hoops. At once the hold was flooded with oil, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the men escaped drowning. Among those who were nearly drowned was a boy, about ten years old, who was destined to become the greatest man his people have known. Most of the *Port-au-Prince's* crew were killed; among the saved was a sixteen-year-old boy, William Mariner, who for the next four years was Finau's close companion. Finau, remarking that it was distressing for Mariner and his parents to be so far separated, asked one of the women of his family to be a mother to the lad. Of the affectionate care of his adoptive mother Mariner speaks with the warmest gratitude. He was a keenly intelligent youth, of quick and retentive memory. When he returned to England Dr. Martin, a clever medical man with an inquiring mind and literary tastes, got hold of him, and between them they produced a classic, which has remained the best account of Tongan life and custom. Mariner's narrative of Finau's adventures and battles is lively, and doubtless accurate, but the historical perspective is marred by his regarding Finau as king, and those who fought against him as rebels. Finau was an adventurer, with no claim to lordship outside his own land of Vavau.

From the early seventeenth century onwards, and even earlier, there had been occasional visits of European ships to various islands of the Pacific, but with the nineteenth century began the European and American inroads which, with some good, have brought so much evil and destruction to the island peoples that, over the whole Pacific, it is hard to judge whether the net result has been an increase of human welfare or of woe. Tonga was fortunate. Her islands are small, for the most part low and flat, sufficing for little more than the subsistence farming of her peasant population. Happily there is no mineral wealth to attract the

greed of foreigners. Above all she was blest with a leader of remarkable intelligence and force of character. As the century wore on the boy, Taufa'ahau, whose life had been endangered by the oil in the *Port-au-Prince's* hold, grew into a wonderful man. He was six feet four inches tall, strong and athletic. In every sport on land and sea he was first. He was brave and active in battle, and an able leader and general. But ability in war was the least of his gifts. His mind was acute, far-ranging and wise. In any land at any time he would have been a great and eminent leader, generous, just and beloved, followed by his people with devoted loyalty. Foreigners join with Tongans in their admiration for this great man. He was a prince of the house of Kano-kupolu, and by about the 1830's was ruler of his home island of Haapai, whence he was often summoned to resolve, by strength of arm and mind, the difficulties of harassed chiefs in Tongatabu. In 1845 he was installed as Tui-Kano-kupolu, and became ruler of the whole group. To Ma'afu, a chief whose hereditary claims to kingship were equal to his own, Taufa'ahau suggested that he get himself a kingdom in Fiji. Ma'afu took the hint, and the discomfiture of Thakombau, king of the small island of Ba in Fiji, as Ma'afu's conquering steps took him ever farther westward, was one of the reasons that led to Britain's annexation of Fiji.

The declining influence of the Sacred Kings was further diminished by the spread of Christian missions. Two early attempts to establish Christianity in Tonga, one by the London Missionary Society and the other by a Wesleyan missionary, were both short-lived; but in 1824 two Tahitian Christians, on their way to Fiji, landed in Nuku'alofa, and stayed for two years. They gathered about themselves a flourishing church, which in 1826 was taken over by the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. Soon Christianity was the religion of the whole group, and has remained so ever since. When, in 1865, the Sacred King died no successor was installed, but the special honours and prerogatives of the office were transferred to Taufa'ahau. Aided by the advice of two able missionaries, the Rev. S. W. Baker and the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, and with his experience widened by a visit to Australia, the King fashioned a kingdom that withstood the strain of the western invasion of the Pacific, in which so much of native life, polity and culture was destroyed.

To Taufa'ahau's huge frame and strong and sagacious mind fortune added the gift of long life. His time spanned the nineteenth century. At 95 years of age he was unbowed and vigorous. His walking-stick, that reached to the arm-pit of an average-sized man, was not used as an aid in walking, but was tucked under his arm as he strode along, brisk and upright. Every morning at five o'clock he swam in the sea in front of his palace. This was his undoing. He continued his morning swim during an attack of influenza, and this was too much even for his Herculean strength. When he died in 1893 his new order was securely established. His son and grandson had died before him, and he was succeeded by his

granddaughter's son, Taufa'ahau II, or George Tubou II. The first Taufa'ahau was also George, the name he had taken when he was baptised as a Christian. Tubou is the title of the Tui Kano-kupolu.

Taufa'ahau II was, like his great-grandfather, a well-built man over six feet tall. Pleasant and friendly, he wished for a quiet life. As I remember him he suffered vexations rather than being confronted with great and difficult tasks. His land was a pleasant place to live in for both native and foreigner. The excellent land system, a nineteenth century codification of ancient relations between chiefs and people, preserved the land for the people and made it available to them. The form of the Tongan family leaves no man, woman or child without the kindly warmth and support of an assured place within the social relations. If hurricane or drought bring hard times, all share them, as they share the normally plentiful seasons. And so the people are gay, friendly and honest.

In 1918 Taufa'ahau II, still a comparatively young man, died, and was followed on the throne by his daughter Salote, a tall and handsome girl, not long returned from her schooling in New Zealand. The year before her accession Salote had married Tungi, head of the house of Takalaua, whose ancestor the mid-fifteenth century Sacred King had made ruler of the land. The Queen and her husband have deserved well of their people and of the stranger within their gates. At the beginning of her reign Salote healed an old breach that, since the 1880's, had split the Wesleyan or Methodist church, the largest church in her kingdom. Health, education, farming development—such things have benefited by the enlightened interest of the royal couple. Tungi, though of only medium height, was very strong. During a visit to England many years ago he amazed workmen in a factory by bending an iron rod with his hands. Yet he died while seemingly in the prime of mid-life. Both in him and in the Queen is mingled the blood of the three great houses, carrying back their lineage through a thousand years of remembered generations. Their eldest son, tall and handsome like so many of his family, is a graduate in Arts and Law of Sydney University.

And the Queen of England visiting the Queen of Tonga in her happy little kingdom, set in the blue Pacific, with its "many-laughtered waves"—what a theme for the bards!

(Dr. Collocott, a graduate of Melbourne and London Universities, is a Methodist minister who served in Tonga from 1911 to 1924. He was present at Queen Salote's coronation and wedding, and has recently met her again in Sydney, Australia, where he now lives.)

IN GREECE TO-DAY

BY HENRY BAERLEIN

COMPARISONS may, no doubt, be odious; but there are occasions when they can be useful, and one of these is, I think, the Athens of 1948, when I was last there, and the Athens of to-day. In 1948 it was very inadvisable to go by car for more than 20 miles from the capital, seeing that some Greeks who were opposed to the Government displayed their hostility by placing mines on the roads, and one could only travel in safety by air or by sea. Now you can go by car in perfect tranquillity from one end of the country to the other.

In 1948, as in other years before and after that time, no political party had a sufficient number of deputies for it to form a Government, so that Coalition Governments had to be established, and of course a Coalition always has the weakness of only being able to introduce measures that all its component parties, with their varying outlook, are agreed upon. To-day, for the first time since the war, Greece is blessed with a really powerful Government, composed of the 'Greek Rally', which has not the slightest need to seek a coalition with other parties, for at the General Election in November 1952 the 'Greek Rally', at whose head is Field Marshal Papagos, secured 240 out of 300 seats. The Opposition, divided into several groups, is very weak. Its leader is the unstable M. Papandreou who, after being elected as a member of the 'Greek Rally', went into opposition. A clever parliamentarian, he is probably the country's finest orator; but as a politician he is not impressive. In the days when he was against the Government of the son of the great Venizelos he used to exclaim that this, the worst Government the country had ever had, would be its ruin. Now, when he is working, more or less, with Venizelos, he repeats his denunciation, but applies it to the present Government.

The Field Marshal, after a brilliant military career, has now shown that in matters of civil administration he deserves more than well of his country. As soon as he came to power he put into force a series of regulations calculated to counteract the prevailing malaise. And the most drastic methods for putting the ship of State upon an even keel have been the work of the Field Marshal's right-hand man, his vigorous and highly competent Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Spyro Markezinis, a

dynamic four-foot-eleven wisp of a lawyer.

In 1948 I was sorry to find that M. Markezinis had ceased to be a Member of Parliament, because as leader of a small group of 20 intellectuals he had wielded an admirable influence in the Chamber. At a General Election, however, all the members of the group, with one exception, had lost their seats. One could then scarcely have blamed him if he had retired in disappointment from the political arena. He could have found abundant solace in the magnificent library he has inherited from his grandfather and father. He, no less than them, is devoted to these treasures in various languages. The books in English, for example, include many that were printed 200 or 300 years ago in Oxford or Cambridge.

But how could he help feeling that an ivory tower was not a suitable residence for a young and patriotic Greek citizen at a time when the condition of his native land was the reverse of satisfactory? After ten years of warfare (including the more disastrous civil war against the Communists) the country's economy was crippled, faith in the currency was destroyed; there had been fixed an artificially high rate of exchange, which discouraged foreign buyers, high interest rates increased the cost of production and the Budget was thrown out of balance by the expenditure on defences which absorbed about half the revenue, and by a far too large bureaucracy.

The Prime Minister and his colleagues tackled the various problems with the utmost energy and great moral courage. The Civil Service was treated with ruthlessness, many of its members being dismissed and many others knew that before long they would be told they were superfluous. For those who remained, work in the afternoon became compulsory and the austere Field Marshal insisted that there should be radical cuts in the use of office cars and telephones. It was shown that in one day 2,000 Government cars were being used in Athens for private purposes; some offices were ordered to cut telephone calls to one-fifth of their previous number—an order which prevented, it is said, numbers of minor officials and office cleaners from conversing of an evening with their relatives hundreds of miles from Athens with, no doubt, a high degree of garrulity on the long-range telephone. Nothing, however small, seems to escape the Field Marshal's eye; one day when I was in Athens he announced that he had directed certain amendments to be made in the existing legislation for the protection of ex-servicemen. He added that he had noticed, to his regret, that a good deal of what had been reported to him by interested parties was incorrect or exaggerated. This was not, he pointed out, the best way to back claims. The President of the Ex-Servicemen's Association, who had instigated the action against the Bill with the Government's amendments, was himself not covered by the Bill because he had seen no service.

Despite a violent opposition by vested interests, Spyro Markezinis brought about the merging of the National Bank with the Bank of Athens, thus reducing the number of bank clerks by about 2,000 and by reducing the cost of overheads the rate for bank loans, which had risen at

one time to 28 per cent., sank at once to about 16 per cent. The drachma was then revalued to something nearer its purchasing power parity (instead of 42,000 to the £, the rate became 84,000) and the secret was well kept until the Government order was issued. All restrictions on imports were lifted and an ambitious plan started to be put into operation for capital expenditure on power plant and new industries. As an example of what is being done one may mention the hydraulic power plant and the lignite factory in the neighbourhood of Salonika, which are of particular importance for the prosperity of Greek Macedonia.

M. Markezinis has said that the Government cannot grapple at the same time with all the problems, but as 1953 has been the year of the peasant, 1954 will be that of the artisan. The Government propose from time to time to hold conferences with the trades unions, an announcement which has gratified the unions. By the way, the number of unemployed left by the previous Government was 160,000; it was expected to reach 200,000, but by the beginning of October 1953 it had fallen to 50,000.

Let us, however, go back a few months, to the time in spring 1953 when the Government had been barely three months in office. The American Ambassador, Mr. John Peurifoy, then advised Washington that Greek economy was picking up, the budget being almost balanced, the cost of living had been arrested and Greece's chronic trade deficit was only a fifth of what it was in 1951. Moreover, as a full member of NATO, Greece was signing mutual defence pacts with a friendly Turkey and Yugoslavia, her own army of 160,000 men, with 500,000 men in reserve, being in top fighting trim; so that, in Mr. Peurifoy's opinion, the 500 men of the U.S. military mission, the 160 of the economic mission and the 100 Embassy staff could be cut by 50 per cent., leaving the Greeks to manage their own country.

They have managed so well that in August 1953 M. Markezinis was able to announce that the Budget for the financial year 1953-54 would show a surplus of about £3,500,000, the deficit of the previous Budget having been covered. To have a balanced Budget is for Greece quite a novelty. The friends of that country are full of hope that M. Markezinis's schemes for the chemical, mining and metallurgical enterprises, as well as the plan to bring 250,000 additional acres under cultivation, will all succeed, so that the above-mentioned unemployed and the million partly unemployed in a population of eight millions, which grows at the rate of 115,000 a year, may no longer confront the Government. But there is no early prospect of carefree days for Greece; her people, however—by repute politically volatile—have a perennial amazing resilience.

It is to be regretted that the Americans, who have given Greece so much, are now cutting their aid. No doubt they realize that most Greek people have far too close and bitter recollections of the brutal Communist rising to turn to Communism. Much sooner would they yield authori-

tarian power to any democratically elected Government. Towards the end of September 1953 there was a by-election at Evros in Thrace. As a rule at by-elections the Party in power suffers attrition to the advantage of the Opposition. At this by-election the contrary was true, for even before the sacrifices which Marshal Papagos has asked of his people have yielded their fruit the Government obtained an overwhelming victory, their sixth since the November General Election.

The country's immediate salvation probably lies in the attack on the poverty of her peasants and the impoverishment of her land. Nobody can with confidence assess the outcome of the Government's programme. But Spyro Markezinis is optimistic. After his missions in the course of 1953 to Washington and London he hopes that much-needed foreign capital will soon be invested in Greece. He has in store a four-year £82½ million programme of development which, he says, is designed to solve most of the country's social and economic problems. The funds for the investment programme will be drawn partly from counterpart funds and partly from existing projects, Italian reparations and proceeds of an internal loan to be floated later. This, he emphasizes, will be absolutely voluntary.

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What can we do to help our friends the Greeks? It will be remembered that, during the war at a time when no other country was actively on our side, we sent a good many ships and troops to Greece from Northern Africa at considerable risk to ourselves. If now it could be arranged that a 20th part of our tobacco consumption should be supplied by Greece—and her tobacco is among the best in the world—it would go far to solve her problems. There is an agreement that Britain shall take five per cent. of her imported tobacco from Turkey and Greece (Bulgaria is now out of it). Three-quarters of this so-called Oriental tobacco is now Turkish, only a quarter Greek, but Greece, being on most friendly terms with Turkey, has no desire to complain. This Oriental tobacco contains a certain amount of water—15 per cent. moisture as compared with 11 per cent. from other sources—and thus, on entering England, Greek and Turkish water was being paid for. In order to do away with this the tobacco is now going to Holland to be dried.

Not only is Greek tobacco among the best in the world, so that people who have lived in Greece are full of regret that her cigarettes are not easily obtainable in Britain, but the largest producers—the house of Papastratos—have a Cadbury-like care for their thousands of employees. Houses, schools, hospitals, churches and playgrounds have all been built by the firm, while a complete trousseau is given to every girl employee on her marriage and all the necessary clothing, etc. when the first child is born. The Papastratos, by the way, are too modest to mention any of these facts in the sumptuous folders which they publish. Unless we buy

more from Greece she will be forced, as in the '30's, to turn to Germany and we shall be losing yet another market for our exports.

* * * *

It may be urged that Greece should spend less on her armed forces, seeing that her relations with her neighbours are becoming more satisfactory. With Turkey she is now on such terms that the battles in the earlier years of this century have become as old, forgotten and far-off as are the British-French wars of long ago; and perhaps in both cases the present friendship is all the stronger on account of what went before. With the Yugoslavs there is the utmost harmony; they are again making use of the zone in Salonika harbour allotted to them, a very useful concession seeing that their southern frontier is only some 40 miles away. In August 1953 Greek and Bulgarian delegations for the settling of frontier disputes had their first meeting at the Bulgarian frontier town of Svilengrad; barter arrangements have been entered upon with Bulgaria, she to send fuel oil, meat and flour in exchange for olives, currants and lemons. And Bulgaria's patron, Soviet Russia, after having had a Chargé d'Affaires at Athens for several years, suggested in 1953 that full diplomatic relations should be resumed, so that now Ambassadors have returned to the two capitals. This will not be done between Greece and Bulgaria until the latter country settles a number of outstanding questions, such as the delivery of all the forcibly deported Greek children in the days of the Communist terror.

Russia's other Balkan satellite, Albania, has not with the years become more reasonable, more willing to acknowledge that the Greek claim to Northern Epirus is founded on justice and on the aspirations of the majority of the people who live there. Albania's attitude has not changed since I was in that hapless region some dozen years ago. Around this frontier the Greek army, the *gendarmérie* and the villagers are inextricably woven together. Peasants are armed and trained under the command of the military unit of their area. Men from three villages are formed into a company; nine villages for a 'battalion'. In Florina, a town of only 1,200 people, where only one man—the doctor—owns a private car, there are 70 *gendarmes* stationed.

But when Marshal Papagos points out that with 600 miles of northern frontier to protect he is thinking more of Bulgaria than of Albania and he says that he cannot diminish his present strength of 160,000 men to cover mobilization in case of emergency. This is about twice the size which the economic capacity of Greece would justify by NATO standards. (Nevertheless it would go against the grain in Greece if that country were to shrink from playing her full part in Korea; her Expeditionary Force, it was officially announced in August 1953, was to be strengthened by another battalion, so as to relieve other United Nations Forces there.) A welcome reduction of men enrolled under the blue and

white flag could be brought about if the relations with Bulgaria increasingly evolve for the better and if meanwhile the Greek army's mobility in its mountainous terrain were improved by a large-scale supply of helicopters.

* * * *

Of course the farmers were disastrously hit by the war and the civil war. In many places not only were whole villages demolished, but the livestock were wiped out, the woods were burned down and production sank to practically nothing. Then the Government acted with the utmost zeal, putting up new houses where the old ones were beyond repair and in numerous instances providing the materials for a man to build his own house. Even so a certain amount of persuasion was often necessary before the refugees, living in shacks all over the Athens district, would relinquish the amenities of the capital. But, after all, they belonged to the country and most of them ultimately returned. Some persuasion was also required to lessen the number of those destructive creatures, the goats, for about 140,000 peasants have no other animal to live on; it provides them with both food and clothing. Cows have been imported, on a five years' credit basis, from Canada; but Swiss cattle seem to be the most suitable for Greece. The authorities have moved with the times and, to the farmers' amazement, artificial insemination on a large scale has been introduced. Thus fewer bulls are needed and gradually the breed of bulls and cows will improve.

One heard a good deal, a little time ago, of the very extensive British-owned Copais estate, which the Greek Government decided to nationalize. Producing mainly wheat and cotton, this has been bought at a fair price; hitherto landless farmers, to the extent of 8,000 families, were being settled upon it.

The figures for wheat and cotton now surpass those of pre-war years, while Greece is even able to export rice. In parts of the country where the land had never produced anything it was found that the soil contained salt and alkali. There the Ministry of Agriculture, with Marshall Aid, is now producing 82 bushels of rice per acre. Better known in Britain are Greek currants and sultanas; of all the dried fruits the currant is the richest in nutriment, with 3,630 calories per 1,000 grams as compared with the 2,650 of bread and only exceeded by the 7,500 of butter.

In the course of 1954 the 80,000 kw. power station at Aliveri in Euboea, the first of four projected stations, will start its operations. The plant will use lignite instead of the fuel purchased with valuable currency from abroad. There fertilizers will be produced and life on the land will in other ways be vastly improved.

* * * *

Greek Governments have always recognized that seamen must be taken care of and it is interesting to learn that Greece was the first country in the world to organize an insurance service for them. This came

about in the year 1864. The sailors pay into the Society eight per cent. of their pay—of course they can do this in any of the Greek consulates abroad if they think they are unlikely to be for some time in a home port. The Society disposes over a great capital, 300 milliard drachmas, with another two-and-a-half million dollars in New York and £1,500,000 in a London bank. Thus no Greek seaman has any fear that he or his family will be left unprovided for in the event of sickness, old age or death.

Before the war the Greek Merchant Navy was one of the main sources of the invisible imports which contributed to redress the permanent deficit of the commercial balance. To-day the income from this, however, does not exceed 30 million dollars, because 1,258 ships of 8,726,292 tons have been placed under foreign flags—Panamanian, Honduranian, Liberian and so forth—in order not to be subject to Greek regulations. Thus only a tonnage of 1,175,986 sails under the Greek flag—and this mainly because it sails in the coastal service which is strictly reserved to Greek ships.

If the whole tonnage controlled or owned by Greeks were to pass under the Greek flag a revenue of some 200 million dollars would annually flow into the national exchequer, contributing substantially to placing the national finances on a healthier basis. It must be admitted in the ship-owners' defence that the attempt to convert Greece into a welfare State has increased operating charges to such an extent that Greek ships are seriously handicapped in the competition with others. Operating charges for merchant navies are highest for that of the United States, with Canada in the second place and Greece in the third. (Canadian ship-owners now say that the demands of the Seafarers' International Union are such that the transference to a foreign registry of the 33 remaining ships sailing under the Canadian flag is probable. Some 270 Canadian ships have been transferred since the war.) The Government of Marshal Papagos have taken this matter in hand and, with goodwill on both sides, it seems likely that—without the least compulsion—the blue and white national flag will before long be flying over more and more Greek vessels.

(The author has just returned from a two-months' journey in Greece.)

WHO ARE THE GUILTY PROFESSORS?

BY HELEN T. GARRETT

IN the United States, the peaceful academic cloister has in the last few years become the scene of noisy wrangling and bitter accusations. Congressional investigators egged on by an angry public are scaling the walls of the ivory tower, much incensed by rumours about the dangerous doctrines taught within. No-one seems to know exactly what these doctrines are, beyond a vague uneasiness that colleges and universities are attacking the American way, and undermining the system of capitalist free enterprise.

If Arnold Toynbee's thesis is valid, all decay comes from within, and what has happened in the academic world is the result of a process which had already taken place almost a generation ago. Doctrines taught to one academic generation are re-taught 20 years later, and it is really the college and high school professors of 20 or 30 years ago who should be investigated. Not the eager young instructors but the white-haired professors *emeriti* are the real villains of the piece, because when they were teaching they preached socialism and vehemently attacked American institutions.

It is extremely interesting that American teachers have taken and still do take an apologetic attitude toward their own culture and institutions. Teachers in the United States have always taught children to feel guilt at certain social injustices. This is of course in the Christian tradition—reform comes from appealing to the conscience of the young. However, among the guilt feelings handed on to me and my generation of 20 years ago some were based on sentimental errors and some on vicious fallacies, both of which are coming home to-day.

One of the most extraordinary doctrines in the air in the 1920's and 30's was deep sympathy for Germany, our enemy in 1917, and obviously to be our enemy again in 1941. In both high school and college, students were informed that the Treaty of Versailles was cruel, that France was a villain, that poor hard-working Germans could not possibly pay for reparations, yet at the same time, right under our eyes, this prostrate, bankrupt country unable to pay its reparations, was building a magnificent army which held all of Europe at bay 20 years later. The whole period of the 1914-1918 war was treated in the most cavalier manner by historians. When one reads their books one feels that these men, in spite of English names, should be Germans. There was no real choice, they

claimed, between the central powers and the *Entente cordiale*; indeed, if the student had reasoned to its logical conclusion this thesis, our declaration of war against Germany would have appeared as one vast blunder. Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*, widely used in colleges throughout the country, treats this war as if it were a vast imperial capitalist Franco-English plot to betray the noble pacifist ideals of the United States embodied in such stalwarts as La Follette. Sneers at the stories of German atrocities prepared the way for Dachau and Buchenwald:

In their work of "educating the United States" the propagandists soon discovered that the American people were more easily moved by stories of atrocities than by the folios of Red, White and Yellow books packed with carefully selected diplomatic documents . . . On this score the Germans had laid themselves especially open to attack by their invasion of Belgium whose neutrality, including the British guarantee, was as Delphic mysteries to a nation that found high entertainment in the comic sections of Sunday newspapers.*

Why did we go to war against Imperial Germany in 1917? You would imagine you were reading a text book for present-day Russian students instead of one published in the United States in 1927:

At best, American investors who had staked money on the Anglo-French side, munition makers who had accepted the paper of London and Paris in return for supplies, merchants and manufacturers who had huge *Entente* credits on their books were placed in a serious dilemma; they were in danger unless the United States Government came to their rescue. No doubt the war dirge raised by these selfish factions was adequately financed, astutely managed and effectively carried into strange out-of-the-way places as well as into the main highways.†

Even the sale of bonds is dismissed as another trick of the *bourgeois* hucksters:

All the vociferous advertising methods so characteristic of American business in general were mobilized to force each issue "over the top" . . . Not a latent sentiment of loyalty, fear, love or hate was left unstirred.‡

The attempt of the nation to protect itself from the Trojan horse containing traitors, which everyone knows is the first duty of a healthy State, is labelled cruel tyranny (to-day, fascist reaction); the Department of Justice is compared to the Czar's secret police. It is hard not to tell that this is a blast from the *Nation* of July 1953:

Judging by its official reports, the main business of the Department was not the apprehensions of the people who gave aid and comfort to the central powers with which the country was at war but rather the supervision of American citizens suspected of radical opinions about the perfection and perpetuity of the capitalist economy at home. According to authentic evidence, every practice dear to the Russian police of the old régime was employed by federal agents . . . §

All of these doctrines were blindly accepted and repeated by the students of my generation. The pro-German tendency was momentarily thrust aside by the rise of Naziism in the '30's with its anti-Semitism, but even

* Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, Macmillan, 1930) p. 616.

† *Ibid.*, p. 630.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

this did not affect the attitude towards France. Most astounding of all was the use of text books in college German classes extolling the virtues of Naziism *after we had declared war on Germany*. In 1942-43 Alexis and Pfeiler's *Im Deutschland* was used widely in American universities. Teachers were having their students read: "For us Germans Hitler is no dictator. We believe that we see in him the leader who has the confidence of the people."* The great achievements of Hitler are extolled:

The German people have been freed from the Treaty of Versailles. Order now reigns in Germany. There are almost no unemployed. The German can now again serve the Fatherland as a soldier. The Rhineland is to-day German and our Germany again enjoys respect in the world. Therefore we believe that a new and better time has come for the German people.†

To our young men about to become soldiers and asked to fight against the Nazis and destroy their whole evil philosophy we taught that the Hitler Youth movement was idealistic, preaching sacrifice of selfish individualism: "The individual is nothing, the nation (*Volk*) is everything . . . The young must learn to be hard and to offer sacrifice."‡ This is only one example of what in some countries would be called treasonable. How could soldiers indoctrinated thus fight with a high morale?

Other ideas prevalent in the period should make it even more difficult for the young American to believe he is fighting to preserve a fine way of life. One of the theories commonly taught by historians of the '20's and '30's in both high schools and colleges was that nationalism was evil and was the cause of war. As a corollary to this theory was another that wars were caused by greedy munitions manufacturers who schemed deliberately with politicians and diplomats to provoke international incidents. The logical answer to the problem of preserving peace was to abolish nationalism and to take the profits out of war. The absurdity of the former did not deter the self-styled idealists from believing in the doctrine; groups of college students were taken by their elders to Washington to lobby against military training and to persuade Congressmen to reduce the size of our armed forces, just at a time when Hitler was building his amazing army. However, we can comfort ourselves that we Americans were not alone in this stupidity because French and English students shared these ideas. The rude awakening of the French came during the German Occupation when they discovered that peace cannot be an end in itself and that the horrors of the 1914-1918 war were nothing in comparison with the abject collaboration of Laval and his acceptance that the French become the slaves of the Germans.

The explosion of this myth of a possible pacifism in a constant series of wars has not shaken belief in two other fallacies taught during the same period and now widely accepted: that both capitalism and imper-

* Alexis and Pfeiler, *Im Deutschland* (Lincoln, Nebraska, Midwest Book Co., 1938) p. 46. Translations mine.

† *Ibid.*, p. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

ialism were fossil remains of an ancient way of life doomed to disappear. Imperialism was the bogey man dangled by college professors before young students ready to fasten their hatreds to a fixed object, to find a scapegoat for all evil done in the world. Three wicked countries were practising imperialism: Britain, France, and the United States. The history of the two former was a series of cruel, unjust wars to conquer and enslave Asia and Africa. Our own imperialism was just as cruel but sicklied o'er by a pale cast of Protestant morality. Missionaries were actually emissaries of the American trusts, paving the way for International Harvester and Sears Roebuck. The Spanish-American war was the pretext for historians to unleash their sarcasm. All of this nonsense was so carefully drilled into our heads that who can be surprised if to-day middle-aged intellectuals of all social strata, lawyers and Government employees as well as teachers, were delighted to help the cause of the Indians and the Indonesians, and now find it extremely hard to accept the French defence of Indo-China, of North Africa, the British in the Suez, to say nothing of our "imperialist" troops in Korea and Europe? How is it possible to change patterns of thought handed down as gospel *ex cathedra*? Unfortunately, the history professor of the 1920-30-40 era, blinded by a sentimental and mistaken humanitarianism refused to accept the unpleasant fact that nature abhors a vacuum and that if Britain and France must give up their rule, Russia would be only too glad to take over. We ourselves, guilty over our "imperialism", refuse to accept the responsibility of world leadership and are bungling like a country bumpkin eating with royalty for the first time.

Imperialism's twin devil is capitalism. Beard and other historians raised the chorus accusing the robber barons, the captains of industry, the minions of entrenched greed. *Citizen Kane* was the logical film for Orson Welles to produce after being indoctrinated during the '20's and '30's. The Federal Theatre projects of the depression years allowed malcontents to give free vent to their blasts against the "system". Socialism was set up as the panacea for all ills, all wrongs. The post office was considered the model of efficiency and excellence, proving the profit motive was deleterious (I cannot imagine that this doctrine is still considered valid since our postal service is now among the worst of all civilized countries). Government ownership of natural resource was extolled; however even Beard admits that occasionally Government ownership means simply that politicians run the whole affair for their own profit:

No doubt a people that elected to Congress an adventurer dismissed from a federal office for complicity in fraudulent transactions, that regarded the conviction of a United States Senator for the common crime of land-stealing as "the most brutal outrage ever perpetrated on mortal man," found it hard to summon the sacrificial courage required to administer an immense heritage for the common good; but perhaps, in reality, the task was not insuperable. In any case, it was argued that, with the passing years, the scientific understanding and moral fibre necessary for the

work would spring from the bosom of a democracy gradually rising to meet the need of all things. Otherwise those would administer who could.*

How a people who produced these cruel robber barons could be transformed into a race of bureaucrats utterly freed from any love of lucre was a problem never broached by any historian. Another fallacy freely spread was that workers under Government ownership were inevitably better treated than under private employers. The workers who built Versailles would hardly agree, nor would the present-day French *fonctionnaire* or the poor Spanish Government worker who certainly cuts a pitiful figure. Nevertheless, the private employer is pictured as a black-hearted villain in Beard's text:

But captains of industry were resolute in the heroic age and swore gravely by those sections of political economy which seemed reasonable to them. They could not understand the reformers at state capitals and in Washington who kept sapping and mining the foundations of their most excellent order. "Very wealthy people," said President Roosevelt [Theodore] in the midst of this conflict, "usually entirely without meaning it, are singularly callous to the needs, sufferings and feelings of the great mass of the people.†

The whole American legal system was made to appear the puppet ally of the cruel exploiters; lawyers, judges and priests were all mere tools in the hands of the avid banker. Courts and law makers never thought of the interests of the humble down-trodden, but only ways to protect those in power:

So there arose among the intellectuals the belief that the judges were making the higher law out of their sentiments and intuitions; while the plainer people in the reforming army, especially labour leaders, became convinced by less devious reasoning, that the courts were simply the bulwarks of those who had acquired and wished to live in peace.‡

Against all of these hide-bound, greedy and cruel reactionaries we college graduates of the 1920's and 1930's were certain that there could be no recourse but violent revolution. Crueller than any eighteenth century French nobleman, these tycoons of the gilded age would have to be liquidated, if not by the guillotine, then certainly by drastic legislative reform and heartless taxation.

To-day, if we survey the social scene around us, we cannot but be astounded to discover that the revolution *has* taken place, but its form has been the exact contrary of what the professor prescribed. Instead of levelling off the rich to an egalitarian drabness as in socialist countries, we have raised our poor to wealth undreamed of in any previous age. Servants have all but vanished, labour has so much dignity that now employees call their employers by their first names. How did all this take place? Amazingly enough, it was these very men whom the historians mocked and derided, these stupid, boorish business men, these petty politicians who have had the brains and the visions to see that profits come not as Marx claimed from the exploitation of labour, but from the in-

* Beard, *op cit.*, p. 577.

† *Ibid.*, p. 584.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

creased purchasing power of labour and mass production. The American miracle has its own problems—that of over-production is becoming the modern nightmare, but social injustice is not the prime one.

If capitalist imperialists were the villains, who were the heroes of the historians? These men were not Marxists; they did not glorify the masses. Indeed, they condemned all of American culture. Horrified, historians saw the rise of the common man and spat in his face. Both novelists and historians looked upon Americans as Babbits and Elmer Ganttrys. They pictured us as imbecilic, wooden robots, marching stupidly along our way in a fog of complacency:

When work was laid aside for amusement, the masses listened passively to manufactured music, watched moving pictures portray with endless reiteration identical plots and farcical acts, sat on the bleachers at games, in vicarious playing, to cheer their favourite teams. When they gratified their thirst for the open country, they did so in standardized automobiles wheeling along standardized highways, past standardized signboards and standardized "soft-drink" huts, to conventional places of entertainment packed with masses of their kind . . . The towering climax seemed reached in 1925 when Bruce Barton, a rich advertising agent and proud member of the Republican party, presented Jesus Christ to his countrymen as the Man Nobody Knows—a joyous, ripping good fellow, the perfect image of a "go-getter" from the Jazztown Rotary Club—an effusion which the historian Hendrik Willem Van Loon, limned in a cartoon showing God as at last worthy of being naturalized into American citizenship.*

With such a picture of the United States drawn by native pens, is there any wonder that Frenchmen like Georges Duhamel and Englishmen like Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh should join the jeering choir? No other nation can respect a country which indulges in such masochistic self-castigation.

Who are the guilty professors? The answer is that we are all guilty. Writers, movie producers, actors, composers, painters, poets—all who form the spiritual life of a nation and build or destroy the morale of a people. Fortunately, we still do believe in our own culture—the proof is that our youth is able to fight to defend our way of life against Naziism first and now Communism. Senate and House investigating committees can do little to remedy this situation which goes much deeper than anyone seems to realize. The only way to cope with such a problem would be for those with a positive creed, a positive faith in our destiny as a Christian democracy to write new history texts, new novels, new plays and poems exploding this stupid myth. Then and then alone can we assume our leadership in the world.

(Professor Helen T. Garrett writes from Pennsylvania where she is in the Department of Romance Languages and Literature, Ursinus College, Collegeville.)

* *Ibid.*, p. 929.

THE DECLINE OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE

BY MANUEL DE IRUJO

THE Cuban, Filipino and Basque causes, the concern of the same State and the same historical period, influenced one another and were themselves affected by repercussions. It had to be so because liberty is indivisible and all human freedoms are subject to each other. The national causes of Cuba, the Philippines and Euzkadi (Basque Country), joined to the names of Martí, Rizal and Arana Goiri, became prominent at the end of the nineteenth century and mark the decline of the Spanish Empire.

José Martí was born in 1853 and died when 42 years old in 1895; Sabino de Arana Goiri was born in 1865 and died in 1903, at the age of 38, of which 30 years were thus common also to Martí. Although both died young, they lived intense and fruitful lives. Martí studied law at the University of Zaragoza, and Arana Goiri at the University of Barcelona. But the shaping of their outstanding personalities was alike accomplished by heroic apprenticeship and persistent treading along the most varied paths of culture. Martí gave to Cuba, as Arana Goiri to Euzkadi, his apostolic faith, his free and creative spirit, his work and his own life. Martí fell under the bullets from a Spanish firing squad and Arana Goiri left prison to die. Both these men are still to be the subject of needed studies. The life of Martí, as that of Arana Goiri, has its biographers, but their works have not. Martí and Arana Goiri were essayists and poets, thinkers and men of action, research students and journalists, scholars and politicians, organizers of social groups and leaders of the masses. Martí felt deep in his heart the faith of the separatists of the larger Antilles and created the emotional state of Cuban national consciousness. Arana Goiri was the founder, the strength, the expression and the master of Basque nationalism. Both these outstanding figures have surpassed the bounds of a party or a movement and have attained the national regard and reverence of the Cuban and Basque peoples.

The poet Gabriela Mistral regards the supernatural as a generating element of Martí's poetic inspiration. Arana Goiri based his patriotism on his love for God, the Supreme Lord. What is finest in the poetic work of Martí, and in the human feelings of Arana Goiri, finds its way through spiritual channels. Martí shows this in a new, wide and more profound vision of Ibero-American culture; so does Arana Goiri as the exponent of Basque renaissance. Having both been born within the

territorial domains of the Spanish Monarchy, the apostle of Cuban separatism was careful to make a distinction between the Hispanic issue and the colonial one, as the founder of Basque nationalism distinguished between the Spanish nation and the Spanish State.

Those used to reading the works of Arana Goiri would hardly realize that this quotation is not from him but from Martí:

To-day, the 25th of March, on the eve of a very long journey, I am thinking of you. You are hurt by the pain of your love for me, because of the sacrifice of my life. Why was I born with a love for sacrifice? The duty of a man is there where he is most useful. But always with me is the memory of you. Give my love to my sisters. Please God that I may one day see you all around me, being proud of me. Now, give me your blessing and believe me when I tell you that there will never come forth from my heart anything that is not clean, that is not full of piety and mercy . . . I have reasons for going away more content and sure than you may be able to imagine . . . Truth and tenderness are not useless . . .

This is the last letter which Martí wrote to his mother in 1895. The journey he refers to is into eternity.

José Rizal was born in 1861 and died in 1896. Thirty-one of his 35 years coincided with Arana Goiri's and 34 with Martí's. Doctor of medicine, poet, novelist, apostle and martyr of the Philippines, Rizal was executed in Manila by the Spanish Monarchy under charges of being a filibuster. In his epilogue to *Life and Works of José Rizal*, by W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1907), Unamuno makes a biographical comparison of Arana Goiri and Rizal, of the Basque and the Tagalo languages, and of the Basque and Filipino questions. He says: "Rizal, the Filipino conscience, dreamed of an ancient Tagalo civilization. It is a natural mirage. The same thing has happened in my native Basque land . . . In this poetry did I rock the dreams of my adolescence, the same which served as a cradle for the dreams of that outstanding man, all of him a poet, who was called Sabino de Arana Goiri, and for whom the hour of complete acknowledgment has not yet arrived. In Madrid, in that horrid Madrid on whose vociferous sections all the Spanish lack of understanding is concentrated and placed, Arana Goiri was either joked about or hated; he was despised or he was abused. None of the unfortunate pamphlet writers who wrote about him knew his works and least of all his spirit. I bring in the name of Sabino Arana, the man with the ardent, poetic and dreaming soul, because he has an intimate relationship with Rizal, and as Rizal he died without having been understood by his own followers and by the others. And as Rizal, also Arana Goiri was called filibuster or something of the sort. They were alike in details which may seem unimportant and which are, however, highly significant. If I did not fear to make this essay excessively long, I would say that I think it means that Arana Goiri began the orthographical reform of the Basque language and Rizal of the Tagalo . . ." Arana Goiri and Unamuno had attended, together with Don Resurrección M. de Azkue, the competitive examinations of the Vizcaya County Council for the appointment

of a professor of the Basque language, which assigned the post to the last. When in 1888, Arana Goiri published his *Pliegos Euzkarófilos* (Papers on Basque Linguistics), he added to them a commentary on an article by Unamuno under the title "About Orthography".

Martí and Rizal, contemporaries of Arana Goiri, were the brains, the vigour and the direction of political organizations which in their lifetime did not reach in Cuba and the Philippines the strength that Arana Goiri's party had attained in the Basque Country. Then the Basque Government had to go into exile as a result of the defeat of the Spanish Republic and the victory of General Franco and his allies, during the Civil War of 1936-1939. To-day, however, Martí and Rizal embody the personalities of their respective countries, as a consequence of the historical events which have determined the independent life of Cuba and the Philippines. In Spanish Ibero-American circles the centenary of Martí was celebrated as that of the Cuban apostle; and at Manila, recently, the Spanish Foreign Minister himself, Sr. Martín Artajo, paid solemn tribute to Rizal as a representative man of the Philippines.

When Arana Goiri set forth the Basque national issue, the Spanish Monarchy was already facing the separatist movements of Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. In 1879, 1880, 1884, and 1886, the Governments in Madrid had passed penal codes and special laws for the printed word, to be applied in the three island territories, in order to suppress the national movements. Don Antonio Maura—whose birthday centenary was also celebrated in 1953—tried to open a way within the law to the Antillian and Filipino nationalist movements, thus making possible the granting of self-government to the said countries, without forcing them to cut their ties. The discreet attempt by Maura was rejected amid indignant patriotic protests which brought down the overseas Ministry and opened wide the door of the temple of Janus, on whose altar the Spanish Monarchy finished burning the remains of her Colonial Empire. With the American War of Independence, Great Britain learned the lesson which is now transforming the former Colonies into Dominions or independent Republics, and the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. The Spanish Monarchy, thinking mainly of its own survival, did not know of, did not wish to, or was not able to apply, to its insular colonial empire this resounding and forceful lesson from the same Ibero-American continent.

In the Basque Country, the law of October 25, 1839, abolishing Basque liberties, had been applied. Arana Goiri put forward the Basque national problem, applying the nationalist doctrine and therefore asserting that Euzkadi is the Motherland of the Basques. All the tradition of the country followed the service of this idea—the race, the language, the territory, culture, institutions, religious character, civil genius, economy, folklore and history. All the elements which would contribute to define a nation on the march, were brought forward with the demand for

national freedom to be achieved by the abolition of the law of 1839 through which Basque liberties had been suppressed, and the return to the state of affairs before its passing. These basic principles had already been invoked by the precursors of Basque renaissance, particularly by the Asociación Euskara, of Pamplona, whose aspirations were Basque unity, rebirth of the Basque language and re-establishment of the sovereign institutions. Arana Goiri gave new life to these ideas and merged them in Basque nationalism with universal and democratic views. In the middle of the eleventh century, García de Nájera, the king of Navarre, had proclaimed the royal motto of the Pyrenean Monarchy which included all the Basques: "*Honorem Dei, Libertate Patria.*" At the end of the nineteenth century, Arana Goiri gave this interpretation to that Basque motto: "*Jaungoikoa eta Lagi-zarra*" (God and the Old Laws). So García de Nájera and Arana Goiri made the same assertion, although in varying words following the changing political situations, after a period of nearly nine centuries. The emblem of that Monarchy, when it represented Basque unity—perhaps reminiscent of ancestral myths—was the star with two crosses of eight rays, a symbol which is repeatedly found in local coats of arms and family documents of Navarre. In 1212, Sancho VII the Strong, traced over the two-crossed star the links of the chains of the Navas which are to-day the coat of arms of Navarre. On his part, Arana Goiri used the red background of the Navarre coat of arms to insert the crosses of the star, thus making what was later to become the national standard of the Basque Country, setting upon the red background the green and white so often seen in the folklore festivals of the country. To Arana Goiri is also due the name *Euzkadi* by which the Basque Country is known to-day.

The juridical order established by a political society is affected as soon as any of its integral parts demands, in the name of a national conception, the revision in all or in part of the chapters of its constitution. Faced with such a demand the Spanish State reacted in its different ways: according to the issue being referred in the first instance outside the Peninsula, to Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines; and later, within the Peninsula, to the Catalans, the Galicians and the Basques. These diverse ways correspond to the three régimes which have exercised power in Spain during the last 75 years: the Monarchy, the Republic and the Franco régime. The line of policy followed by the Monarchy is described in the opening speech of the inauguration of the Courts of Justice by Don Francisco Romero Robledo, Minister of Justice, on September 16, 1895, when he said among other things: "The life of the nation is not guaranteed. We can see that by the law so called "of Explosives". The life of the motherland is not guaranteed: this is clear from the war which is shedding the blood of our dear Antillian provinces . . . Sentences of acquittal signed by Spanish magistrates—no doubt because they did not see the particular crime included among those pen-

alized by the law of the printed word—allowed for public provocative instigation to the worst of crimes . . . The legislative power thought it convenient, although late, to fill the gap by declaring a crime the separatist propaganda of the overseas provinces. But although it may seem unbelievable, it is a fact, that in one of the Peninsular provinces the same propaganda is being committed. A Biscayan journal, mouthpiece of a legally authorized club in whose premises the flag of rebellion against integrity is being flown, . . . because of the insufficiency of the law, because of lack of definition of the crime as if it were a crime committed by the printed word—that journal has been published now for a long time . . . ”

The reform announced by the Minister was made effective by the law of January 1, 1900. The Spanish Republic abolished it, but General Franco has brought it again into effect and it is to-day incorporated in Article 217 of the present Penal Law. The Monarchy completed its machinery for repression with the Law of Jurisdictions, by which such crimes were put within the sphere of the military tribunals.

With an honest although partial application of democratic principles, the Spanish Republic defined itself in the constitutional precepts by which it proclaimed the right of the Peninsular peoples to live a life of political autonomy and approved the necessary measures to put such right into effect, thus giving a legal course to the aspirations which up to then had been persecuted as separatist ideas by the Monarchy. The Memorandum presented to the sub-committee of the Security Council of the United Nations by the Spanish Republican Government on May 9, 1946, which appears in pages 45 and following of the official publication of the Report by the United Nations, says: “It is perhaps not out of place at this point to refer to another disturbing element likely to endanger peace; the unitary and centralizing policy of General Franco refuses to admit the reality of Spain in which Catalonians, Galicians and Basques have each a distinctive personality. The Republic opened up a legal way to the realization of these ambitions by placing on an equal footing the separatist movements caused by the monarchist régime. By rescinding the statutes of self-government for Catalonia and the Basque Country, General Franco has produced a situation which, if it were prolonged, would constitute a serious and permanent threat to peace and which might ultimately have repercussions outside the peninsula.”

Again at the Spring Conference of 1953, which met in Nice, under the auspices of the World Interparliamentary Union, a resolution was passed in which it is acknowledged the right of all peoples to govern their affairs in a régime of self-determination. This was approved with the support of the Spanish Republican Parliamentary Group, whose representative, Sr. Fernando Valera, mentioned particularly and in a concrete manner, the Catalan, Basque and Galician peoples as having a title to that right, and added that these peoples had exercised their rights under the pro-

visions of the Spanish Republican Constitution. The Catalan and the Basque Statutes of Autonomy were approved by the Spanish Parliament and were applied in the respective territories, where, as well as in Galicia, the necessary plebiscites of self-determination had previously taken place. The Franco régime has outlawed the autonomous aspirations of the Peninsular peoples, has declared them as crimes and has persecuted its supporters often to the point of executing the arrested leaders.

Arana Goiri became known as a result of one of his literary works being published in 1886 in the magazine *Euzkalerria*, in Bilbao, dealing with the project for an "Academy of the Basque Language". From this date up to the year of his death in 1903, he published successively *Basque Etymology*, *Euzkarophile Papers*, *Elementary Grammar of the Basque Language as spoken in Biscay*, *Politico-Historical Papers*, *Biscay for its Independence*, *Speech of Larrazabal*, *Etymological Treatise of Basque Surnames*, *Orthographical Lessons of Biscayan Dialect of the Basque Language*, *The Carlist Party and the Basque-Navarrese Liberties*, *Egutegi Bizkaitarra*, *Lenengo Umiaren Aizkidia* and the historical melodrama *Libe*. He founded, directed and was the main editor of the weeklies *Bizkaitarra*, *Patria* and *Baserritarra*, the magazine *Euzkadi* and the daily newspaper *Correo Vasco*. He was also the founder of the societies *Euzkaldun Batzokija* and *Centro Vasco*, as well as of the Basque Nationalist Party.

Until 1893 Arana Goiri's activities were of an intellectual character, but in that year the activities began to be shaped into political form by the *Speech of Larrazabal* and the weekly *Bizkaitarra*. At about the same time, the national movement of Arana Goiri joined the precursors of Basque renaissance who were mainly in Pamplona. This contact was established as a result of the incident known by the name of "*Gamazada*". The Spanish Minister, Sr. German Gamazo, attempted to make ineffective the remainder of the freedoms of Navarre, but the reaction in that Basque region was of such intense protest that it brought the downfall of the Spanish Minister. In this great movement, which expressed itself in large demonstrations mainly at Castejón and Pamplona, the flag of Basque renaissance, as created by Arana Goiri, joined the standards of the public corporations and municipal councils which were present at the demonstrations. These incidents gave place to noisy gatherings in various Basque cities, and that same year the court proceedings against Arana Goiri were started by the Spanish Attorney General.

The colonial disaster in 1898 was the cause of contradictory reactions. A demonstration of a Spanish patriotic character took place in Bilbao and the demonstrators stoned the house of Arana Goiri. However, the electorate chose him for membership of the Biscayan County Council, when Basque nationalism began to make use of legal means to direct its political activities, having since followed that same legal course. The

contemporary renaissance known as the "generation of 1898" came to life first as the spirit of the intelligence and then of the written word, but it did not have political activities until the Republic provided the appropriate atmosphere and Parliament gave an adequate frame for the development of their ideas. The Basque renaissance came of age as a political force within the law, with the election of Arana Goiri as Councillor for Biscay.

The Spanish Monarchy reacted against Basque renaissance as preached by Arana Goiri, who was several times prosecuted and put into prison by the Courts of Justice, where he had as his defending lawyer the father of the author of this article. Legal prosecutions against Arana Goiri begun in 1893 and ended with Arana's life in 1903. These court cases affected Arana Goiri, his newspapers and weeklies, and the societies which he founded and the members of such societies. He went to prison for the first time in 1895, and the Courts of Justice and the Courts Martial took a hand with measures for the suspension of the newspapers, the closing of the nationalist centres, prosecution of all the members and imprisonment of the members of the executives of both centres and associations. In 1902 the Spanish Military stormed into the Centro Vasco in Bilbao. The most important prosecutions against Arana Goiri were those in 1895 and 1902. Council for the defence gave at both cases a description of Basque national ideals as embraced by Arana Goiri, whose political aspirations demanded the annulment of the law of October 25, 1839, by which the Basque liberties were abolished, and the return to the juridical situation previous to the promulgation of that law—what is commonly known in the Basque Country as "the return to Home Rule."

At the 1895 prosecution the council for the defence gave a description of the penal laws of repression dictated by the Spanish Monarchy for the Peninsula, for Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines; asserted the right of the Basque Country to its independence, supporting his statements with long historical and juridical arguments; and quoted the constitutional texts, then in force, in which were proclaimed the rights of the human person as public liberties and individual guarantees which could not be violated.

In the 1902 prosecution, the parallel between Cuba and the Basque Country was made by the defence in a more direct manner. Arana Goiri had sent President Roosevelt a cable congratulating him for having given Cuba its independence and expressing his hope that Europe would imitate this and grant freedom to the Basque nation. The Spanish authorities refused to allow the telegram to go through to America and prosecuted Arana Goiri who was put in prison. From his cell Arana Goiri asked the U.S. Vice-Consul in Bilbao to send President Roosevelt the telegram which had been intercepted by the Spanish authorities. The Vice-Consul, instead of acceding to Arana Goiri's wishes delivered the letter to the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Attorney General qualified the

incident as of crime of rebellion and asked that the accused be imprisoned for eight years. Thinking himself supported by the solidarity of the United States, the Attorney General threatened the council for the defence with starting proceedings against him for the same crime which allegedly Arana Goiri had committed. The violent reaction produced by this unbelievable behaviour of the Attorney General, enabled the council for the defence to make an emotional picture of public liberties, in which he put Arana Goiri's right to send his telegram to President Roosevelt and the letter to the American Vice-Consul.

Cuba is a Republic and has consecrated Martí as the symbol of national liberty. The situation of the Basque Country is a very different one. The Basques who are joined to the national movement, are democrats because of their ideals, their temperament and their tradition. But even if it were not so, they would still be democrats because of the necessity required by the well-being of their country and proved by experience. The two main cases brought against Arana Goiri, by ignoring the Penal Law, found defence for the accused in the invocation of the public liberties, of the individual guarantees, of the rights of the human person, which form the basis, the content and the expression of democracy. And it was in both cases, a system created by democracy—the trial by jury—which proclaimed the prisoner not guilty and set him free. The persecution measures, used widely by the Government of the Spanish Monarchy, were faced with the impassable barrier of the rights of man proclaimed in the Constitution, and with the verdict of the jury. Against governmental persecutions, against coercion which overcame even the court itself, against the heinous service rendered to the persecuting authorities by a foreign representative who revealed what had been entrusted to him in private, Arana Goiri and the whole of the Basque national renaissance movement found full support. That support came from democracy, and this will never be forgotten by the Basques.

At the end of the nineteenth century two contradictory events took place. There came forward the Spanish renaissance known by the name of "the generation of 1898", and at the same time an Empire was lost because its régime had become incompatible with liberty.

(The author, a former Member of Parliament, and Minister of Justice in the Spanish Government during 1947, writes from the Basque Delegation in London.)

BRITISH BOOKS ABROAD

BY LIONEL R. MCCOLVIN

WHEN a man in another country reads a British book many things happen. He establishes a personal relationship between himself, his way of life, his associates and activities and the things that someone in Britain thinks, does, experiences or believes. Whether that relationship produces goodwill and understanding will depend upon the reader or the writer or both. In the long run goodwill is most likely because it is not probable that the reader will continue to read British books if they create antipathy or bring no benefit. Surely there is no better export, more permanently beneficial to exporter and recipient alike, than goodwill. Only if our literature were decadent, if it evidenced poverty of ideas, or the absence of a sense of values, would it be wise to curb its possible dissemination.

Nevertheless the more material benefits are important. When our overseas reader not only reads for enjoyment and understanding but is also in any sense of the word a student—as, for example, of medicine, engineering, technology—he inevitably learns to think in terms of British materials, processes and equipment and will throughout life prefer them to others. When this preference involves purchases from abroad it will lead to British goods, not for a short time but throughout his practising years. Example and advocacy could lead meanwhile to a snowball process of increasing British purchases by others.

One of the most effective ways in which a nation can exert influence upon others is by the dissemination of its 'language'. With the development of scientific and technological knowledge and the spread of democratic ideas, this becomes increasingly important. There was a time when the ordinary man could be satisfied with a tribal language or dialect shared by a few thousand others, though very early the intellectual minority found need for a more universal tongue such as Latin. Such conditions no longer prevail. On the one hand, the production of most of the books most needed everywhere depends upon sale in quantities beyond the purchasing powers of the few in the smaller countries who require them. For example, if an important, elaborately illustrated, specialized technical book can only be produced if ten thousand copies can be sold and if in, say Denmark, there are only one thousand potential users these latter will have to do without it and lack the information it conveys unless they can read it in English. It is true that books are

published in Denmark for so small a public that their very existence is a tribute to the intellectual and social determination of the Danish people and evidence of high standards of book use. Yet there are limits to what can be published in any language other than the five major western tongues—English, French, Russian, Italian and Spanish. In order to maintain their status in the world the active and active-minded people of all other countries must buy and read extensively books written in one or other of those five languages—and they do. Which of those languages they choose is of paramount significance. And when a language is shared by two great book producers, as English is shared by the British peoples and the United States, which producer they choose is not unimportant.

On the other hand many of the other languages—those of the Middle and Far East, and of Africa, for example—are, quite apart from the factor of numbers, most unsuitable for the dissemination of either scientific and technological information or the intellectual ideas or literary output of the west. Untold thousands may be able to read Arabic but the books written in that language are very definitely limited to religious and philosophical dissertations, to a literature strangely indigenous, to translations of a far from representative or worthy selection of western writings. The situation is rendered much worse by the fact that only a small minority of those who can speak such a language can read anything written in it, but that is another matter. These people—and they form a numerical majority of the world's inhabitants—because of their inability to read either any books at all or any books in a major tongue not only suffer immeasurable ills and handicaps but they actually cause them to be suffered by others, including the people of Great Britain. Deficiencies in the production of food and raw materials, caused largely by failure to conserve and develop natural resources and to control the diseases that affect men, animals and vegetation, and, equally, the social and political 'stresses' which threaten peace, all arise fundamentally from one cause—the lack of universal fundamental and technical and humanistic education of which books are the essential tools. Though the backward peoples may themselves feel the first and gravest effects of these deficiencies they hinder no less the prosperity and happiness of the most advanced. Thus, anything that can be done, with the aid of British books circulated abroad, to bring new regions under cultivation, to restrict the ravages of the locusts, real and metaphorical, to free minds from slavery, will benefit the British peoples.

Can it then be doubted that no British export will bring greater and more lasting benefit than the export of British books—unless, of course, we believe that we should lend our energies to the export of books by another nation instead? How export can be promoted is not a question only of merchandizing. We must consider the ways in which publishers can market their products, how they put them in the bookshops of the world, how their customers can pay for them (no simple problem in the world).

of to-day with its many barriers to 'free' trade). We must also consider how they can be made known to potential users. We must above all consider the two basic questions: how can the peoples of the world be helped to acquire sufficient knowledge of the English language, without which they can have no use for British books at all; and how can they be encouraged to provide, for themselves, library services, especially public library services. In, say Jamaica or India or Bolivia, those who have needs comparable with the people in Great Britain who rely substantially upon learned, specialized or public libraries, will not by some magic be able to buy all they want. On the contrary, they are more likely to need libraries, and the function of libraries in demonstrating the value of books is likely to be more and not less important.

The British publisher seeking to sell his books in the British market faces the most favourable set of circumstances, for here is his biggest potential market. He is aided by numerous reviewing periodicals, he can advertise, he has a known clientele, he has a well established marketing and distributing machinery, including a nation-wide chain of book-sellers. He would nevertheless tell you, with truth, that he encounters the greatest difficulty in selling sufficient copies of any worthy book to make his venture practicable. Once he enters a foreign market his difficulties increase many-fold. The potential market for a book in English is, in any country abroad, relatively very small. He cannot afford to advertise; only exceptional firms, with exceptional products, can maintain any marketing organization of their own. Often the book-selling machinery and the book shops are even for domestic products very inadequate. In India, for example, the Indian publisher of a book written in an Indian language by an Indian author for Indian readers has the utmost difficulty in selling it. How much greater the problems facing the English publisher seeking to sell an English book in the Indian market, and other markets are even worse. Obviously, British publishers need help such as can only be given by an organization which is able to promote British book sales not on any terms of immediate cash return but because it is its duty to promote on a long term basis the dissemination of British books, it being in the nation's interest to do so. Such an organization is the British Council.

Though the British Council is not directly concerned either to promote trade or to influence political opinion abroad, the prestige and goodwill its work fosters are clearly beneficial both to British commerce and British diplomacy. It gives others the opportunity to discover the kind of people we are, what we are doing, how we are living, what we like, what we dislike. The fundamental philosophy behind the Council's activity is that the first step towards international goodwill and co-operation is that the nations should take an informed interest in one another. This interest can be aroused in many ways—by the tours of our musicians and actors, by the circulation of art collections, by provid-

ing facilities for visiting specialists and students, and so on, but the most pervasive means, likely to interest most people and the widest variety of people, is the dissemination of the book and the periodical. To helping this a large part of the Council's far too limited resources are devoted.

For example it circulates information about British books by means of the excellent annotated list *British Book News* and, indirectly, in *The British Medical Bulletin*, *The British Agricultural Bulletin*, *English Language Teaching* and other publications. It also organizes many exhibitions, sometimes very small, to be shown at gatherings of specialists, or exhibitions of fine printing and good book production, to collections of perhaps 2,000 recent books on all subjects shown at trade fairs. Perhaps even more important, because the foreign periodicals in which they appear are read by many more than could actually attend exhibitions, are the reviews secured by the Review Department. These are not ready-made 'hand out' notices sent round for editors to use as a 'fill up'; they are reviews written by the specialist reviewers normally contributing to these journals—men specially chosen for their authority in their own country and for their interest in the matter in hand. In 1951 over 12,000 books were sent to such reviewers and over 10,000 reviews were secured. Apart from any sales that might have resulted, these reviews were their own justification. As a large part of the cost of providing books for exhibitions and for review purposes is borne by the publishers, the cost to the Council (and to the British taxpayer) is infinitesimal in relation to the value of this work.

To a limited extent (less than 10 per cent. of the Council's book expenditure) books are given to approved educational and specialist institutions and universities, mostly to those in the colonies, though there is a strong case for such presentations being made to foreign countries such as Argentina, Yugoslavia and Israel, in which British books cannot be bought because of political or financial difficulties.

Current periodicals are also similarly presented though to nothing like the extent to which this would be valuable. The same of course applies to books but the fact remains that, for all the difficulties and limitations to be encountered, the overseas distribution of books is easier and better organized. Indeed the export of learned and scientific periodicals lacks any organization or concerted machinery. Both the United States and Russia distribute their periodicals lavishly, recognizing that the periodical that is received regularly is a constant reminder of the country of its origin and of its achievements, and helps to sell the books it reviews and the materials and equipment that it advertises. The British Government have since the war drastically and progressively reduced the always inadequate expenditure on this work.

So has it gravely reduced its expenditure on what may well be its most valuable activity—the provision of libraries. A British Council library can and should serve two major purposes. It is, itself, a centre for those

who are interested in things British in literature, the arts, science and technology. It is a place at which local librarians and booksellers—and book buyers—can see a representative and up-to-date selection of British publications—serving thus as a constant shop window. It is a centre to which those seeking information about anything British (including British books) can take their inquiries confident that if these cannot be immediately satisfied from the material then available they will be passed on to the Council's officers at home, and maybe referred to specialists. It is an essential adjunct to all the Council's other local activities—one of which is the fundamental task of encouraging in various ways the learning of English and improving methods of teaching it.

These libraries are also living demonstrations of an institution which is itself essentially British—the public library. I do not say 'solely' because there are similar institutions in Scandinavia and in parts of certain of our dominions which have developed not uninfluenced by British example, and in the United States where development has been parallel and mutually beneficial. But I say 'essentially' because the ideal that all sorts and conditions of men should enjoy free access to all sorts and conditions of books and the ideas and information they can convey is one which has here been pursued with progressive success for over a century. The British Council libraries are British public libraries abroad—perhaps in miniature and with obviously limited scope and purpose. But their methods, their freedom, their 'open access', their general atmosphere of non-propagandist service tell those who use them that "this is our way of doing something which our people have found valuable and which your people would find valuable." In most of the countries where British Council libraries exist such an example is necessary. And those who see it functioning and desire for their own people comparable opportunities find encouragement and also practical help. And to us this is important because ultimately the best place for the British book is not the library of the British Council but the library—the many and varied libraries—of the peoples of those nations themselves. When we can be sure that in any country the doctor or technician who uses his own specialized library, the university student or professor who uses his, the ordinary man who uses a good public library, will find there British books in sufficiency side by side with those in their own language, then the British Council libraries will have performed their major task very well indeed. They will still be needed but the emphasis of their work will be different, for example, towards providing an information service to which librarians rather than individual inquirers will turn; and they will, of course, serve those who are themselves carrying on the Council's other work.

But those libraries will achieve none of these purposes unless they are good enough—which they are not. Clearly, if the British Council is to achieve its purposes it must be well organized and provided with the

necessary books and other materials. Above all each library must be in charge of a fully qualified British librarian. Preferably he or she should have one or more qualified British librarians on the staff. No-one else can administer a library on British lines, be sufficiently acquainted with British materials and sources of information, sufficiently capable of interpreting the British way of life. Yet, though the Council has nearly one hundred libraries it now employs only 14 trained, London appointed librarians. Admittedly some of these libraries are administered by Anglophil societies and others are situated in smaller centres and could be regarded as branches of the library in the principal city and supervised by the librarian of that main library; thus all do not require the whole time services of a professional British librarian. Nevertheless it is quite certain that the establishment of 42 such librarians which was agreed in 1950 by the Treasury would not be excessive and until at least all these are employed the work must be gravely prejudiced.

Similarly these libraries must offer adequate selections of periodicals and provide good representative book stocks kept constantly refreshed with new material. But, as the amount available for book purchase, never sufficient, has been progressively reduced in recent years, it has been impossible either to give such a library enough books to begin with or to provide adequate replenishment. For example, experience in similar libraries shows that if the book stock is to be maintained at its initial level of efficiency at least 15 per cent. of the cost of the original stock must be spent each year to replace out of date and worn out material and to add new publications. So, if a small collection was started with 2,000 volumes, unless at least 300 are added each year it inevitably deteriorates. Yet no more than 5 per cent. can be so expended on the British Council libraries none of which even began with enough books. Moreover it will be evident to anyone who studies the list of British Council libraries overseas that in many other places equally important work could be done were these to be established.

As already noted the most effective—and to the British taxpayer the most economical—result of British Council library activities will be the better development of local library services able and willing themselves to disseminate British materials. This objective can, however, be promoted in other ways. The territories in which library services are needed fall into two distinct categories: those for which the British Government and people have some measure of direct responsibility (that is, our colonies and dependencies), and the dominions and foreign countries and their colonies where we can do little except by example, co-operation and discussion. Ultimately the colonial Governments must themselves be responsible for the library provision and indeed already have the right and the power to decide for themselves what library services they shall provide for their people. This does not, however, mean that the British Government either cannot and should not do anything

in the matter. On the contrary they can and often must demonstrate and initiate services and afford such measure of financial and technical support as is necessary until the colonial governments are able and willing to assume responsibility for them, at first in part, eventually entirely. Without such a policy, without such aid from the British Central Government it is most unlikely that library services will be provided in any of our colonies within any effective period. For example, if it may truthfully be said that a colony cannot afford library services, this is because so far it has not attained sufficient standards of economic and social life and of education; as these will not be attained without libraries there is a vicious circle which can only be broken by means of British Government aid, which it is foolhardy to withhold.

Something has, of course, already been done—sufficient to show what can be done and to indicate fruitful lines of procedure. In this work the British Council, in association with the Colonial Office, has been active. Since the war it has helped to initiate library services in all four of the West African colonies, and that for the Gold Coast has already been taken over by the colonial Government to be administered by the Gold Coast Library Board. It maintains a library in Sarawak. In Jamaica it is building up an island wide service in co-operation with the Jamaican Government and will share in the responsibility until 1957. In the Eastern Caribbean, a very difficult region with several governments and unusual geographical difficulties, a fine scheme started by the Carnegie Corporation was taken over by the British Council and offers these vital services: a central book stock, expert assistance to the libraries in the islands, and a library school to train the staff without which nothing permanent can be achieved. Here at once is an example of the immense advantages accruing from regional planning under expert guidance and an instance of our national short-sightedness; arbitrary regard for budgetary allocations last year threatened to bring this scheme to an end before the colonial Governments were ready to take over, and though it has been granted a brief reprieve (with aid from Colonial Development and Welfare funds) its future is not secure.

Reference must also be made to a pioneer scheme operating in East Africa under the East African Literature Bureau with modest funds provided partly by the Colonial Governments and partly from Colonial Development and Welfare grants. From centres in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda small collections of books, some in Swahili but most in English, are circulated with the help of the District Commissioners to schools, village centres and the like in many of the small townships, and also in Kenya to individual readers in places too small or too isolated to have their own little 'libraries'. Some of the books are stories—and African writers are encouraged to write for publication by the E.A. Literature Bureau or by other publishers—but most are practical, simple books on things of fundamental importance—health, soil conservation,

building, mechanics, motor cars, and the like, and on citizenship, which is surely a 'practical' matter. It is not inappropriate to ask whether if more of this work had been done much sooner the troubles in this region would have assumed present proportions; surely the only permanent remedies are education and economic improvement. If more of the African people had had a better understanding of the social and political problems confronting them, had more of them begun to reap the benefits of better agricultural methods and public health measures, the influence of the propaganda of hate would have been weaker.

We should take our lessons of opportunities missed and responsibilities neglected to heart and press on speedily and effectively with far-reaching schemes for education and library provision. The outstanding lesson is, perhaps, that all plans for library provisions must be established from the outset on a sure basis ensuring permanence. It is not enough to initiate pioneer projects financed on a short term basis of grants from the British Council or the Colonial Development and Welfare. Since libraries must become the responsibility of the colonial Governments sooner or later, these must be interested in them from the outset, both in their management and their financing. But when in any territory for reasons of financial inability or lack of interest the colonial Government are unable or unwilling to bear the whole burden our own Government must assume and continue to provide whatever direction and cost is necessary, knowing that this is an investment which will in time pay rich dividends. But, instead, it must be said that our own Government appear to have been sadly uninterested.

Finally we must support more positively another agency which has done much—and can do much more—to promote library services—and thus aid the wider dissemination, *inter alia*, of British books. I refer to UNESCO. I confess that I am often annoyed and angered that so few people in this country realize that UNESCO could be doing one of the most valuable tasks at present within the power of men of goodwill to achieve—or indeed to see that, despite apathy and ignorance, UNESCO is doing work of first rate significance. For its main task is surely to see that people, throughout the world, shall be able to read and write and so make use of the knowledge that alone will permit them to live decent, useful, happy lives, to conquer plague and pestilence, to produce enough food to give themselves and their fellows reasonable standards of subsistence, to benefit from the scientific and technological advances of recent years, to enjoy freedom to think for themselves.

UNESCO recognizes that books and libraries are essential in each and every one of these objectives, and has done much to encourage the writing and production of books, to remove the many artificial barriers to their dissemination, to promote the establishment of library services. It has sought to widen the production of the raw material of the book, to overcome the handicaps to the international sale of books arising from

currency restrictions, to encourage the nations to permit 'free trade' in books by the non-imposition of 'duty' and other means, by stimulating the exchange of periodicals and books, and so on.

Since books can only be used fully if all would-be users are made aware of the material which exists and which they could advantageously use, UNESCO has encouraged the compilation of adequate bibliographies—lists of the books published in a country, or of the books on a specific subject, and so on. And, since books can only be truly fully available in a world where most people endure harsh financial limitations if all men have access to libraries of various types, it has sought to promote library development—especially the development of public library services, that is to say of libraries provided by the community for free use of all, whatsoever their needs, reading abilities and social circumstances. With this end in view it has sought to interest the peoples and their Governments in the idea of public library service; it has held seminars in Manchester, Malmö, Sao Paulo and last year in West Africa so that librarians and educationists may share their experience and find inspiration to do their vitally important task; it has published practical textbooks on library organization, and it has financed pilot projects, notably that in Delhi which serves as an example not only to those in India itself but to librarians sent there to study its operation from all parts of the Far East. And it is helping those international organizations (such as the International Federation of Library Associations and the International Federation of Documentation) which exist to unite workers in this field, that they may be better informed, and may more clearly appreciate that though the librarian has a first responsibility towards his own employer and public, he can and indeed must think 'internationally' if his work is to be fully effective.

It is one of the tragedies of our present world that when we think internationally we are more apt to think destructively and defensively than constructively and with faith in our fellow men. It is a most unfortunate symptom of this attitude that people—and people who should know better—ignore, decry or poke fun at international organizations and their work. Succumbing to irresponsible press men and failing to study the facts they regard the British Council and UNESCO, for example, at best as idealistic and ineffective, and at worst as unnecessary luxuries. They fail to see, what should be manifest, that their own future depends on how effectively the very people they deride succeed in promoting a united world of decently educated, sensible men of good-will, living in reasonable social conditions.

(Lionel R. McColvin, C.B.E., F.L.A., immediate Past President of the Library Association, is Vice-President and Chairman of the Public Libraries Section of the International Federation of Library Associations.)

CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS—XI

PALGRAVE ON THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF POETRY

(In this series of previously published FORTNIGHTLY articles these have been chosen for a number of reasons: either they review a now famous book, or their reviewer afterwards became famous, or he was already a famous figure speaking his mind about another equally famous, or about one who was later to be so. A further claim to inclusion is made for the treatment of a subject—then of pressing topical interest—which could be applied to, or point the moral of, or throw light on a problem of to-day. Although it is expected that their lessons will be instructive, this is incidental to the object of compiling a diverting anthology even when the writers are at their most serious.)

Francis Turner Palgrave—the lifelong friend of Tennyson, the Fellow of Exeter College who became an examiner in Whitehall's Education Department and then Professor of Poetry at Oxford—had published his *Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics* eight years before he delivered a lecture to the South London Working Men's College in January 1869. This being printed in THE FORTNIGHTLY, the concluding paragraphs are quoted here: a sample of his critical knowledge and appreciation and a demonstration of his importance as critic and interpreter.

* * * *

WE have, first, examined why the love of poetry is popularly referred to youth, and why it is, in fact, apt to fade away as men grow up. We tested the object of poetry, and of the other Fine Arts, and argued that it is pleasure; but pleasure of a lofty, lasting, and ethereal kind. Such pleasure, we next noticed, cannot be won easily; we found that, like taste in the true sense, it was really the product and reward of the natural instinct of the mind, when enlarged and enlightened by full knowledge of the principles, antecedents and processes, under which the Fine Arts are carried on, and which they manifest in their results. This led us to see that poetry, in a word, could only be truly enjoyed, or truly accomplish its purpose, if studied on a method analogous to the sciences. As knowledge is their final cause, and the physical advantage of man their secondary result, so in the Fine Arts the final cause is pleasure, the accompanying result the elevation and purification of the soul. We briefly compared the different modes in which landscape or architecture affect the scientific or the non-scientific more

difficult task, endeavouring not to take for granted, or to lay down, by an appeal to sentiment, reasonings capable, as I hope, of more exact and serious proof; wishing, so far as I can, to ground you in the science of the thing; and trusting, perhaps, to the future, for some chance of drawing out into detail what I can now only barely indicate.

For this last line of study is, truly, not only one of the most curious and interesting, but perhaps the most valuable, in pursuing to the furthest and highest the pleasure which poetry can give us. Poetry, under her own laws as a fine art, is, more perhaps than any other pursuit of man, from the peculiar sensitiveness of the mind necessary to produce it, the direct reflection of the spirit of every age as it passes. The mirror, in Shakespeare's phrase, which she holds up, is not so much to nature at large, as to human nature. The poet is indeed the "child of his century," even when, in the fine figure of Schiller, "he returns from his education under a Grecian sky . . . to teach and to purify it." His art not only gives back the "form and pressure" to the body of the time, but is itself the impersonation of its most advanced thought, the bloom and efflorescence of its finest spirit. The poet, as Shelley said, interprets the world to itself.

Unless we are qualified to observe this correspondence, we shall as little be able to know poetry as a child can follow the order of nature when he looks at the lion or the eagle in a collection, and knows nothing of the laws which bind in one the whole realm of living organisms. We shall not tell what the poet was aiming at; we shall be blind to the influences which animated him; we shall be ignorant of the limitations which confined him. A poem, read without knowledge of its age, is like a single shell found by the seaside, or a pebble picked from the quarry, in the hands of a ploughboy: he thinks it pretty, perhaps; perhaps he fancies it a gem, perhaps a bit of rubbish. But, in any case, he sees it only on the outside; he cannot *place* it. Some of you may have heard, or read, what such a pebble may become in the hands of the man of genius, who knows under what laws it was formed and deposited; what a story, and of what vivid interest, it may then tell; to what far-reaching trains of thought it may lead us. Such, and not less, it seems to me, in interest and in value, is a single piece of verse to the man who can study it in a similar spirit . . . I might take my fragment from the rock of old Parnassus, or gem somewhere from Avon-side, and show how *Hamlet* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream* reflect, the one the critical spirit awakening throughout Europe in Shakespeare's time, the other the romantic legends then fading away from the mind of man; how these plays, in their metrical form and structure, carry one back on one side to the "mysteries" of the middle ages, on the other to the theatre of Athens; how the thoughts and sentiments they convey take us, some to Christian sources, some to heathen, here to Greece, there to Syria, there to Scandinavia; how, more than all, they reflect the vigour and the life of England in the first strength of the

reformation in religion and in intellect; how they are the natural results of the age which saw Bacon in philosophy, and Raleigh in discovery, and Sidney in chivalry, and Burleigh in policy: names

that fill
The spacious times of great Elizabeth
With sounds that echo still.

I might go on to show why this golden age of poetry could not be for ever; how political and religious troubles under the first Stuarts gave verse, on the one hand, a more serious and manly note, on the other, the peculiar lightness of the Cavalier literature; how the solemn strength of Cromwell and the great men around him find their fit expression in the sublime melodies of Milton; how, as politics became less moving and personal, the interests of intellect and commerce, of advancing science and of critical thought, become predominant in the little understood poetry of the eighteenth century; how, finally, the larger and deeper emotions which everywhere stirred mankind 60 years since, mirror and identify themselves in that noble galaxy of poets who, during this century, form in Macaulay's phrase "the most enduring of the many glories of England." And then I might go up the stream of time; how Chaucer first showed the possibility of rivalling, in our native English, the poets of Greece and Rome, till then thought of as the gods were thought of by men of old, dim and inaccessible splendours . . .

August 1869.

PAUL IN PRISON

Iron ringing on stone; dark, curious eyes that stare
As if into my soul; cold numbing the bone
With a dull leopard bite, a blunt pang—
And the degradation—not prison alone, but the pitiless
Loss of all privacy. Like an old lion
Whose golden pelt is chafed by chains, whose burnished
Mask, a blunt head of Helios, is matted
And mangy, I sit here, bound. Somewhere the scent
Of bruised sage and rosemary is rising
As bare feet climb the hillside paths, somewhere
Brown hands draw aside the goatshair curtain,
And the smile which shines like light falling on a face
Illumines friends—their voices ring in my mind.
Only in prayer, the discipline, the secret
Liberty can I reach them. For I am free
As any man whose spirit, caged in flesh
Beats like a trapped bird. My body sits
Chained, and curious eyes stare in at it,
Yet at this moment Titus and I are walking
On hillsides blue with lavender and shadow,
Seeing below, from the hearths of friends, the warm
Smoke like a prayer ascending, hearing the crisp
Trill of the cicada in the brittle grasses—
Iron rings on stone—my sentry guards me well—
Yet One who is a stronger guard, a watchman
Eternal seals me. Knowing Him, returning
Love for that love (as the white moon reflecting
The sun's resilient gold blanches the sky,
Receiving, giving, fountain of love eternal),
I am at peace. May that peace guard you also.
You, who love me, hearing behind my prayer
Iron ringing on stone, remember the heart of stillness
Beats, as a dove calm in God's steadfast hand.

MARGARET STANLEY-WRENCH

DR. JUNG AND THE ALCHEMISTS

BY PHILIP MAIRET

Of old the world on dreaming fed,
Grey truth is now her painted toy;
Yet still she turns her restless head.

But ah! she dreams not now. Dream thou
For fair are poppies on the brow.
Dream, dream! for this is also sooth.

C. G. JUNG is one of the most influential of living writers. Within his special sphere of psychotherapy, the number of workers indebted to his method has steadily increased. Beyond this, in the realm of general psychology, his leading ideas are affecting those who approach the study of personality from the opposite standpoint. The schools of psychometry with their tests, measurements, factors of behaviour and statistics have no natural sympathy with the psychology of the unconscious; but even here the need for criteria of interpretation has led to a convergence of ideas which tends to give dominant importance to psychological types, with inevitable indebtedness to Dr. Jung even more than to Kretschmer—so, at least, it would appear from the weighty opinion of Eysenck in his latest work on personality. More widely realized is C. G. Jung's impact on religious philosophy, perhaps even on theology. After reading such works as those of the Dominican Father Victor White* and the Lutheran pastor Hans Schaer.† one asks oneself whether the theological writings of 50 years hence will have been affected as much by the chief theologians of to-day as by the veteran psychiatrist of Zurich, if only on account of the problems and provocations aroused by his work.

Upon the history of science, too, he has shed some light by his *Psychology and Alchemy*, a late work (1944) now available in English‡. This, Vol. XII of the new 18-volume edition of his revised and collected works, is the first to be issued—rather challengingly to those detractors who would like to dismiss his work as little better than another occultism. But the origin of chemistry in alchemy, as of astronomy in astrology, is well known; and Dr. Jung's revelation of how an element of animism is entwined with the roots of science is of the greatest interest. It is also of some philosophic importance if, as Collingwood and others have maintained, metaphysics is essentially the elucidation of the presuppositions upon

* *God and the Unconscious*. Harvill Press. 1952.

† *Religion and the Cure of Souls in Jung's Psychology*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1951.

‡ *Psychology and Alchemy*, by C. G. Jung, Translated by R. F. C. Hull (Vol. XII of the Collected Works of C. G. Jung). Routledge & Kegan Paul. 35s.

which the sciences of each age are working.

C. G. Jung sees the motivation of the alchemists' work as mainly though never wholly unconscious. It was conscious and scientific in our sense of the words, in so far as it was a desire to understand the nature of material substances, or, in the case of the astrologers, of the heavenly bodies. But the alchemists had no verifiable knowledge or experimental method to go upon. For the most part they were contemplating phenomena without a clue to their meaning. Any complex of phenomena contemplated with a passion to understand but no means of doing so becomes a focus for the contents of the unconscious, like the crystal globe of the chiromancer, a sphere into which subliminal ideas are projected. When man first asked himself what metals or plants or planets were in themselves, the answer could only come from within. The ideas that came into his head were images formed by his own deeper preoccupations or ideals. The seven metals became identified with psychic principles, just as the astrologers' planets embodied the gods of Olympus, themselves archetypes of human experience. The alchemist with his furnace, retorts, pestle and mortar conducted experiments which did, gradually, build up a body of fragmentary knowledge about metals, acids, alkalis, etc. and laid the foundations of modern chemistry and physics. But he was also reading his own complexes and spiritual struggles, his individual psycho-drama, into the successes, failures and unexpected discoveries that occurred in the course of these labours. He was uncovering things in himself of an interest more absorbing than his material operations, and somehow indissolubly mixed up with them. Thus it came about that most practitioners believed that the success of their experiments depended upon spiritual disciplines of prayer, meditation and purification. They thought of the supreme operation, the production of the *lapis philosophorum*, as somehow coincident with the salvation or deification of the alchemist's soul: which is the more 'real' objective, and sometimes which is being talked about, remains almost maddeningly unclear throughout the centuries of alchemy's voluminous literature. The psychological lore which they accumulated is also expressed with distracting differences of languages and symbology. The first investigator to find a coherent pattern of experience in all this, and to relate it to the productions of the unconscious in psycho-analysis, was the Viennese doctor Silberer. C. G. Jung's work amplifies Silberer's from his own distinctive point of view, and makes the alchemists a good deal more humanly understandable.

If we accept our own age of scientific enlightenment at its self-valuation we must, of course, dismiss the alchemists' psycho-philosophy as a meaningless mystagogy, which merely stultified their efforts and delayed the attainment of experimental method upon which all human progress depends. But for the psychologist a cult of such persistence

must have had some meaning; if Dr. Jung is right, it meant something of abiding human significance. Moreover, the belief of the alchemists, implicit in their practice, was that man's power over nature could be increased only *pari passu* with a growth of his moral being, or his spiritual redemption. We do not yet know that they were altogether wrong in this. Our complete autonomy of scientific method is relatively new. Gratified as we must be by its successes, we are already not so sure that it is a gift to man 'without strings attached': sometimes we even think of it as a Pandora's box. At all events, when we cry out that man's power over things has increased faster than his moral capacity to use it, we should be willing to think there may have been some wisdom in the alchemists' identification of the two aims.

C. G. Jung's account of alchemical philosophy is governed by his well-known general view of psychology. A brief reference to one of his leading ideas is necessary at this point, and will be forgiven by readers already familiar with it. He has always seen man's self-conscious personality, his latest gift and attainment, as precarious, and the maintenance of it as his deepest problem. It depends upon a balance between conscious and unconscious, and between different psychic functions, which is always liable to be upset either from within or without. When this happens, and the psychologist comes to the sufferers' aid, the cause may be hard enough to unravel, but much more mysterious is the process of re-integration if and when it eventually follows. Dr. Jung thinks nobly of the soul, and finds in it a principle of wholeness, or at least a desire and potentiality for redemption, for the reorientation of its activity. What brings this about is often inscrutable. But the whole of Jungian doctrine hangs upon the observation of cases in which re-integration is heralded by dreams and imaginations of a symbolic or mythological character, full of correspondences with religious symbolism, Christian and pre-Christian. In this imagery, certain archetypal consistencies can be discerned—certain paradigms, as it were, of racial or universal human experience. The sufferers cannot have known these, and would not have understood them if they had. The restoration of psychic balance and the achievement of wholeness follows upon obedience to what this language of the unconscious is trying to convey, which invariably means the acceptance, by the subject, of an element in his make-up to which he had denied expression. This is the 'inferior function', which had been the cause of the deadlock, and now becomes the key to a renewal of life and freedom.

It is this paradigm of psychic renewal that C. G. Jung traces in the alchemical literature: symbols almost identical with those that arise in psychiatric practice abound in the illustrations to alchemical books. The unspecified substance through which the *lapis* is to be found is always something ignorantly despised—*vilis vile*, a thing thrown away. It seems, from evidence offered in this book, that the typical alchemists

were solitary souls in more or less acute psychic tension. Whatever drew them to the occult art, their notion of its nature and purpose was a projection of their own striving for a liberation of spirit, which was also expected to bring about a renovation of the body. The aim of their material experiments was a projection of the same idea into matter; almost all of them were agreed in thinking that, hidden in the *materia prima* common to all substances, a divine principle or essence of nature was imprisoned. By the right series of operations, knowledge of which was vouchsafed only to the few, this essence could be extracted in the form of the *lapis* and employed in the transmutation of the elements. Transmutation was conceived less as power over the world than as a kind of redemption of matter, a purpose of God delegated to man. The hope of finding out how to produce unlimited gold was what attracted fools to the craft: presumably it also persuaded patrons to finance many an alchemical laboratory. But, as is well known, the leading practitioners were seeking an *aurum non vulgi*, not the gold of the mob.

The alchemists, then, were 'earth-bound' souls seeking the best of heaven and earth at the same time—a common, in a sense universal, human predicament of which theirs were acute cases, verging upon psychic instability or deadlock. This, as every psychologist knows, is a condition relieved if only one can do something about it. The laboratory was, in part, what we should now call their 'occupation-therapy'. We know that it never did, or could, attain its ostensible goal, the invaluable *lapis*. Was it, nevertheless, a means whereby the alchemists themselves experienced personal salvation? This difficult if not unanswerable question remains unresolved in their own descriptions of the work; they represent it as infinitely difficult and the attainment of the spiritual goal as extremely rare, dependent as a rule, if not always, upon something other and more than the adept's own efforts. In Dr. Jung's view, however, the alchemists' way must sometimes have led to personal reintegration; or how could it have produced the synthesis of symbols which, according to his experience, emerges only when the redemptive process is taking place?

Any theory about the cure and conversion of souls trenches upon the ground of soteriology, which is a department of theology. But the relations of the alchemists with the universal Church of their days seem not to have been hostile. More study is needed upon this point: but alchemy did not constitute a secret society, nor had it the conspiratorial character of witchcraft, that moral scourge of the Middle Ages which survived long into Protestant times. Involvement with witchcraft, if it sometimes occurred on the disreputable fringes of alchemy, was too rare to discredit the art. For we know from a humanist writer Patrizi, quoted by Dr. Jung, that the hermetic philosophy of the alchemists was not felt to be inimical to the Christianity of the Church. That writer claimed that, on the contrary, people regarded it as a mainstay of Christian faith,

and he petitioned Pope Gregory XIV to substitute Hermes for Aristotle as the approved pre-Christian philosopher. The abundant use of neopagan symbolism and allegory in alchemical literature, which was evidently tolerated, was more usual and less suspect among the learned of those days than we might now suppose. So long as Christendom felt secure in the possession of a formal unity of doctrine there was also a freedom of hermeneutic language and interpretation that succeeding centuries might have envied, had it not then become so important for their divided churches to prove one another wrong.

However, alchemy did not need to be persecuted; it withered away in the prevailing atmosphere of thought when things spiritual fell apart from things secular. The severance had already begun within alchemy itself; its leading practitioners became more devoted to the religious side of their work while on the other hand, experimental method developed, in their laboratories and elsewhere, into a technique with a logic of its own, and was no longer capable of reflecting the psychology of regeneration. Of this inevitable schism the great exemplars are Paracelsus and Boehme; the former is the alchemist turned scientist, the first physician to use the metals in medicine, curing the great pox with mercury (though he still administers it with a prayer for the spirit of truth). Boehme is one of those who a century earlier would surely have been a practising alchemist: he still writes in the language, but his use of it is now purely allegorical. He has no laboratory; he is a saintly mystic of the Reformation, great in the history of mysticism. As C. G. Jung puts it: "Paracelsus and Boehme between them split alchemy into natural science and Protestant mysticism."

Psychology and Alchemy is an astonishing work of reconstruction and interpretation, although many who will be fascinated by it may remain imperfectly convinced. In order to demonstrate correlation between his contemporary psychological experience and the alchemical tradition, Dr. Jung gives a long case history of a patient under analysis, interpreting the dreams and other unconscious products according to his hermeneutic method. Not a few readers are likely to boggle at the intricacies and paradoxes of the explanation and will be haunted by doubt whether this is not a method by which anything could be made to mean anything else. Upon such a maze of relations actual and possible, is not the most conscientious investigator liable to impose a pattern of meaning which is, after all, what he feels *a priori* it ought to mean? Before dismissing Dr. Jung's case upon this ground it is however only fair to remember that various philosophers, from Vaihinger to Wittgenstein, have advanced analogous reasons for doubting the truth of all our scientific generalizations, which nevertheless yield results. And in psychology, the observed and the observer are of the same nature. The realities of the psyche, like the ultimate truths of theology, can only be conveyed in terms of paradox and parable; the understanding that grasps

them must be intuitive as well as intellectual. It is true that empirical principles have played an essential part in the psychologies that investigate the unconscious, including C. G. Jung's psychology: but in the end no conclusion or interpretation in this field is factually demonstrable: it convinces, if at all, just to the extent that one's own experience responds to it. In that way only has Dr. Jung found something authentic in the alchemical tradition, and in no other way will his readers be persuaded of his findings. But he writes so directly to our present condition that something in his discourse generally awakens intuitive assent, and a disposition to follow him further than we can see ourselves.

In what sense however are the findings true? They exhibit a syndrome, as it were, of symptoms sometimes observed to accompany the recovery of psychic health after a crisis of emotional disorder. Accepting this as correct, and that it is more or less representative of all or many other cases, is the cure of authentic and enduring value, or only patch-work? To try to answer this would be beyond our present concern and would involve us in the theological controversy that the Jungian method has aroused, for which the present writer lacks competence; but it may not be out of place to try to indicate the main issue. At first sight it seems odd that theologians now seem on the whole better disposed towards the Freudian psychology, which dismisses religion as a noxious illusion, than to the Jungian which affirms it as a condition of human wholeness. But so far as theologians take this view, they have a reason for it. Dr. Jung's doctrine of reintegration, with its indebtedness to mythology and comparative religion, looks to them like another syncretism implying a view of God as 'immanent'; for does it not assume some self-righting, self-saving potentiality within the individual soul? The age-long tradition and experience of the Church is that cults which do not emphasize the transcendence of God, in both the creation and redemption of man, are sect-forming; that they tend to the disintegration of doctrine and commonly to the confusion of morals. They suspect that this is another teaching of the 'gnostic' kind which the Church has always found inimical to the faith.

C. G. Jung has vigorously opposed these arguments, in the present treatise and elsewhere. The main line of defence is that he is a psychologist; in which capacity he cannot deal with the ultimate verities of religion, with God or the Church, except so far as they are reflected in the psychic material before him. The images or redemptive symbols arising in the soul show that God is a psychological reality, but not that he is limited to, or only immanent, in, the soul of man or of all men. The psychologist cannot, *ex officio*, communicate the doctrine of a Church or recommend a religion, he is dealing with people who cannot be helped by instituted religion in their existing situation; sometimes they have been damaged by it. As for the indictment that his teaching reduces religion to mere 'psychologism' (which Dr. Jung strongly denies) he retorts that

such an accusation only shows how the intellectualism of the age has degraded the idea of the soul even among religious thinkers. This battle has now fairly begun and is likely to be prolonged. It may well be to the good of both theology and psychology.

It is a curious reflection that the alchemists' successors, when they dis-embarrassed their experimental researches from any analogies with Christ or the soul, and at length became pure physicists, did eventually discover something with the properties they had been looking for. The fissile atom is almost a perfect caricature of the imaginary *lapis*, revealing the hidden nature of all substances, making possible the transmutation of metals and promising unlimited power. As Goethe (in a sense the last great alchemical philosopher) prophesied in his *Faust*, "the spirit who denies" has kept his side of the bargain. Can modern man escape payment of the price? His compact was to give the sovereign value of truth to thinking about sensations. Thinking and sensation are not however the only functions of his soul; feeling and intuition are equally important, and the demotion of them to inferior status distorts man's being and saps his freedom, till he feels that his own works are dragging him towards perdition. If the devil is after all to be cheated, it can only be through those in whom the true alchemical operation is re-enacted, through their renunciation of what they had dismissed as negligible. The *aurum vulgi* must be dethroned; the *vilis vile* exalted.

It is because C. G. Jung has always been interested in the mystery of cure, even more than in the causes of disease, that he has been able to produce his powerful phenomenology of psychic reintegration. Of this he now claims corroboration in the obscure and long-discredited works of the alchemists and, to the present writer at least, his evidence is impressive. But still more so is the defence of his position for which it gives occasion, the relevance of his argument to the present condition of western man. For Dr. Jung has, with the spontaneity and skill of a great expositor, the wisdom and insight of a seer. Even here, among the alchemists, where he might seem to be seeking the living among the dead, his real concern is with the resurrection of the dead among the living—or partly living.

(The author was for many years the Editor of The New English Weekly, and in 1920 was one of the founder members of the Adler Society which introduced to Britain the psychology of Alfred Adler.)

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

INVESTIGATING POVERTY

BY JAMES E. MACCOLL, M.P.

In the honours list for the Oxford B.C.L. in 1903 appeared the names of William Beveridge and Andrewes Uthwatt. It would have been an appropriate gesture to the smallness of the world if Sir Montague Barlow and Sir Leslie Scott (both distinguished lawyers) could have appeared also. For the social reconstruction of post-war Britain owes to each of them with their respective committees a unique debt. Lord Beveridge has the most remarkable span of them all, from establishing Labour Exchanges in 1909 to building new towns one hopes for an indefinite period in the future.

It is a fascinating story of a great man and a formidable personality that lends itself to autobiography.* But Lord Beveridge regards himself above all as a scientist. To write a chatty account of his notable career would be too much concession to human romanticism. This has to be called *Power and Influence*, "the chief alternative ways that things get done in world affairs." Power means the ability to give others orders; influence the changing of others' actions by persuasion.

I like concessions to my romanticism; I would have enjoyed reading about the young Beveridge at Charterhouse and of Balliol at the turn of the century, as one enjoyed reading of the young Keynes at Eton and Kings. On the other hand an uninhibited treatise on the manipulation of public affairs by such a master might have been the best thing since *The Prince*. Most of us are ashamed of our lust for power and coy about admitting our influence but would read such a book avidly under the bed-clothes. Lord Beveridge has not enough scientific ruthlessness for his appointed task. He cannot resist letting us see that really he is a normal sort of chap, who likes walk-

ing in the mountains and playing tennis with Uthwatt. The result is a medley which on both its personal and political sides arouses interest which it does not satisfy.

Corresponding to power and influence is a conflict which runs through his life without being resolved. It begins early on when Caird, the then Master of Balliol, advises his young men "while you are at the University, your first duty is self culture not politics or philanthropy. But when you have performed that duty and learned all that Oxford can teach you, go and discover why, with so much wealth in Britain there continues to be so much poverty and how poverty can be cured." This is the language of a Hegelian Idealist. For Lord Beveridge the contrast has been between the dispassionate scientific investigation of poverty and going down into the arena to do something about it.

The Director of the London School of Economics "told the young people that most of them would not go into the world as scientists. They would be dealing with practical affairs and I hoped they would have plenty of reforming spirit for there was much to be done. But at the School they should seek something of the scientific spirit." So the Director longs to abandon the serving of tables and tells his governors: "W.H.B. wishes to try to do scientific work in the field of Economics applied particularly to social problems." He goes back to Oxford as Master of University College, which would "give me the chance of doing the scientific work that I desired." But fate and the war-like habits of nations were against him. He who had declared that "Members of Parliament cannot be scientific or impartial"; who had rebuked the party-minded Laski as being like a chemist

* *Power and Influence*, by Lord Beveridge. Hodder & Stoughton. 30s.

beginning the impartial study of the properties of leather by joining the directorate of a tannery, became Liberal Member for Berwick. "For me the academic life, for which I came here, is and always will be the best life, the life of ideas and reason and fellowship, and the mingling of generations." But to rebuild the framework of civilization "is a political task and we must all in future be more political than ever before."

Lord Beveridge's relationships with other men of influence in his long day form an intriguing undertone to the book. There is, for example, no mention of Sir Robert Morant, so like him in many ways and engaged at the same time in introducing social insurance. Of Lord Keynes he records: "Controversy never affected our friendship." There is only one reference to Lord Reith. In one of the Director's famous mock trials at the School, a group of students explained how they were preparing to be Politicians of the Future: the future Liberal Prime Minister studied Beveridge on Unemployment; the first Dictator of Britain did "dictation in the morning and in the afternoon read the life of Sir John Reith." In due course that life was written but it was called not *Power and Influence* but *Into the Wind*. For the incurably romantic Reith longed to be a sailor as persistently as Beveridge pined to be a don. Instead the two Tritons met incongruously among the minnows of the new towns corporations, when both were becalmed after their wartime fall from favour.

To the story of that "Beveridge Boom and Boycott" this book has little new to add. It is promised in another work by Lady Beveridge. Churchill and Bevin are cast as the villains. The author was clearly shocked to find that "Bevin wanted power and his own way as urgently as Churchill did." But it is hard to see why that should have surprised one who had himself no self delusions in that direction. He faces up unflinchingly to the astonishing error that led him to believe that not only could he have a permanent place as a Liberal M.P. but

that he could bring up the Party with him.

I am glad that Mr. Herbert Morrison failed to persuade him to join the Labour Party in 1944. The middle class rationalist who joins the Party needs something in the nature of a conversion if he is to settle happily into the movement. With Lord Beveridge the association would not have lasted and the peculiar abhorrence and contempt which Labour Party members have for the apostate would have made a sad ending to a career that had given so much to human welfare.

As a footnote, to indicate that the reviewer has really read the book, I should record with surprise that such a master of all the intricacies of public administration should on page 314 make the schoolboy error of confusing the Financial and Parliamentary Secretaries to the Treasury.

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN SUDAN. The Life and Letters of Sir Douglas Newbold, by K. D. D. Henderson. Colonial and Comparative Studies, edited by Margery Perham. *Faber & Faber*. 30s.

The late Sir Douglas Newbold was one of the most original and inspiring as well certainly as one of the most devoted of those Englishmen who have served in the Middle East. He was a member of the Sudan political service of which, from 1939 until the time of his death in 1945, he was, as Civil Secretary of the Sudan, the moving spirit. He finds an appropriate biographer in his former colleague Mr. K. D. D. Henderson. Even more appropriate, perhaps, is the appearance of this book in one of the several series on Colonial studies which owe their existence to the inspiration and the editorial energy of Miss Margery Perham, who was herself Newbold's friend and correspondent.

The standard of government in the Sudan has been almost uniformly high since its re-occupation by Anglo-Egyptian forces under Kitchener at the end of the last century. No doubt the problems of its administrators were, at

any rate until comparatively recent years, less complicated than those of many of their colleagues in other territories. The area was, in fact, administered as a trust and it is interesting to find Newbold in a letter written in 1933 and full of legitimate criticism of the "sillyness" at Geneva, adding "the mandates' idea is magnificent and unassailable." He goes on to express his belief that the Sudan Government's ideals and principles have for many years been in accord with that idea. He makes pertinent comment on a question of the late Lord Lugard as to how the Sudan Government would like a Portuguese to go round inspecting them. He writes: "I hope they would welcome it; the thing that matters about any inspecting officer is his wisdom and experience, not his colour or race." It was an expression of the genuine opinion of a man of whom it may be said that all who knew him would agree with the justice of his claim—"I do not hate or despise Dagoes and colour does not worry me at all."

Newbold made a significant exception in his claim that the Sudan Government had acted in accordance with the mandates ideal. This was education and in his work as Chief Secretary, burdened as he was throughout his term of office with problems arising directly out of the 1939-1945 war, he gave ample evidence of the importance which he attached to the education of the Sudanese as the most essential step in that progress to self-government which he regarded as his major duty to further. Much more than any other man he is entitled to the credit for the conscious transformation of Gordon College into a university college with academic standards sufficiently high to allow of its close alliance with the University of London.

External circumstances have thrown the privileges and burdens of self-government upon the Sudanese sooner than even Newbold, widely regarded as something of a hothead in these matters, could have expected or, perhaps, even have wished. The outcome cannot fail to depend in large measure upon the

adequacy of Gordon College and since difficulties will undoubtedly arise and since they will equally certainly catch the eye more often than achievements, it is permissible to express the opinion that the historian, safe in a relative objectivity of the future, will be able to say that this instrument of Sudan's independence was founded and designed in wisdom. Such would indeed be an appropriate epitaph on the work of a man who rejected several offers of further advancement and who wrote in 1944: "The only job I'd like in a colony is Principal of Makerere" adding "for which I am unqualified *in toto*."

H. S. DEIGHTON

THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA,
by Richard Hiscocks. *Oxford University Press*. 18s.

QUESTIONS OF EAST AND WEST, Studies in Current History,
by G. F. Hudson. *Odhams*. 15s.

Austria has passed through many vicissitudes; in turn, a shifting bundle of family estates glorified by association with the Holy Roman Empire, a single monarchy, a dual empire, a socialist republic, a province in Hitler's Reich. Today it exists under four power occupation, yet with a Federal Government which obstinately refuses to conform to the popular conception of a Europe clearly divided into east and west; in the words of Dr. Figl, its post-war Chancellor, it stands "in the centre of Europe as a sort of fossilized monument to the second world war."

Has this new State any justification for existence, any prospect of success? Is it a viable State capable of successful democratic government? Can it inherit the traditional rôle of the Habsburgs as the mediator between Germans, Slavs and Magyars? Does a cultural heritage exist that is not merely a bait for tourists?

Professor Hiscocks's book gives an unambiguous answer. He believes that an Austria has emerged "that is confident of her destiny," democratic, internationalist, "that can make a contribution to world order out of all propor-

tion to its political power," that the lessons of the inter-war years have been well-learned. Such conclusions do not entirely convince. Not that this is an irresponsible, undocumented, prejudiced book. Quite the reverse, for Professor Hiscocks, who lived in Vienna from 1946 to 1949, has written a most comprehensive account of the development of post-war Austria, a thorough and objective study of contemporary conditions in the Republic. The author has had access to unpublished departmental papers, he has talked to and known many of the landing personalities in post-war Austria and his interest in Austrian culture is deep and warm. He gives a lucid account of Austrian politics from the foundation of Dr. Renner's provisional government in 1945. Five chapters are crammed with statistics and facts on social change, the economic legacy of the war and the process of recovery initiated by UNRRA and Marshall Aid. The

endless negotiations with the Russians to secure a peace treaty are discussed at length.

This is a useful reference but dull reading and is warmed only by the author's conviction of the Republic's inherent strength. One would like to share it. But the Republic is dependent on the Great Powers: it can be as easily broken as made. The Jews and the old Social Democrats—the pillars of the pre-*Anschluss* State—are destroyed. Vienna is a mutilated, decaying, top-heavy capital. An account of an Austrian Resistance movement to the Nazis based on the large number of deserters from the *Wehrmacht*, time-wasting by military bureaucrats and the refusal of aged civilians to join the *Volkssturm* in the doomed autumn of 1944 does not convince of Austrian patriotic sentiment. Austrian culture cannot live indefinitely on the past, on baroque and gothic architecture, on that characteristic

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mixture of gaiety and melancholy in the music of Mozart and Schubert. It would be pleasant to share Professor Hiscocks's certainty: it is very, very difficult. Dr. Figl's description is more realistic than are the Professor's hopes.

Mr. Hudson's position as an authoritative writer on international affairs, particularly the Far East, has been firmly established. This new volume of essays published over the last five years will add to it. It is a series of eighteen penetrating and often highly provocative essays on events of the last two decades in Europe and Asia, events springing directly or indirectly from the Russian Revolution. This is the theme connecting essays of such varied subjects as the death of Maxim Gorky, the Red Army purge of 1937 (both brilliant examples of historical detection), a cold and logical account of the economic and political implications of the use of forced labour in the Soviet Union and a probing analysis into that conspiracy of silence which still surrounds the Katyn Wood massacres.

In seven essays dealing with the Far East examining the factors underlying East-West relations, the containment of Communist aggression in Asia and the implications of localized war in Korea, Mr. Hudson writes as a European liberal. He has little sympathy with Asian nationalism; Asian hatred of the west is attributed entirely to "the frustration instilled in Asians by their backwardness . . . a feeling of dissatisfaction with themselves": India, Burma and Indonesia can be excluded from a projected Pacific pact if "they wish to continue their present 'neutralist' policies." But to Muslims, Hindus, Chinese and Japanese the west has seemed the arch-aggressor of modern times and the remark of a wealthy Malayan Chinese hearing of Chinese victories in North Korea, "for the first time in my life I feel proud to be Chinese," is at least understandable. These essays are as provocative as they are scholarly and incisive.

ROBERT BLACKBURN

MACKENZIE KING: THE INCREDIBLE CANADIAN, by Bruce Hutchison. *Longmans*. 25s.

As an interpreter of the Canadian scene and the Canadian potential, Mr. Bruce Hutchison has few equals. His book *The Unknown Country* should be put into the hands of every immigrant. His biography of Mackenzie King seems to me less valuable, for the writing of this is a formidable assignment. For one thing, it is hard to isolate Mr. King's personal achievements in a long, eventful term of public life, during which Canada survived the danger of disintegration and attained a new stature. All one can do is to say with Mr. Hutchison: "His monument was a nation." Another obstacle in the biographer's way was Mr. King's own reticence. True to his in-born Scots-Canadian caution, he seldom revealed himself. To his fellow-Canadians he appeared trustworthy rather than likable and it is this external view that Mr. Hutchison presents for most of his book. The intellectual side of Mr. King's character and his human charm were better indicated in Emil Ludwig's "portrait sketch" published in 1944.

Mackenzie King, we learn from Mr. Hutchison, was a walking paradox, a revolutionary in morning dress, a bit of a humbug, something of an old woman, ambitious, ruthless and superstitious. Characteristically, he put money in his purse (and the bank) whenever he could. Characteristically, too, in his will he left almost everything he owned to Canada, "asking for himself only 'a piece of rough Canadian granite' beside his parents in Toronto, with nothing but his name carved upon it, and a memorial tablet to his grandfather in Dundee."

Mr. Hutchison gives an anti-King version of the 1944 conscription crisis, remarking, rather naïvely: "Probably there are a few pertinent documents as well as King's diary." Probably there are. For a brief statement of Mr. King's side of the question, the reader may refer to Mr. Reginald Hardy's shorter, simpler and better-indexed 'life' *Mackenzie King of Canada* (Oxford

University Press). In his postscript Mr. Hutchison establishes the fact that high officers of the Canadian army brought pressure on Mr. King by threatening to resign *en bloc* and virtually forced him to introduce overseas conscription. The Prime Minister may have exaggerated when he called their threat "a revolt" but he was sound in the belief that a democratic Executive must control, and not be controlled by, its military advisers.

Mr. King ruled his cabinet and officials autocratically but he kept the doors of his mind open to the views of the common man, and tried to understand what he was thinking. Mr. Hutchison is not always fair to him. Nevertheless, he has done his memory a service in faithfully reporting so many criticisms of the Premier, thus enabling the reader to see them for what they often were—the carpings of overworked understudies, rival prima donnas and jilted managers, uttered in the discomfort of the political green-room. The book also reminds us that the political conflicts of the Mackenzie King era were between idealists as well as ambitious men.

LESLIE BISHOP

THE REFORMATION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, by Roland Bainton. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 21s.

At long last the educated man has the possibility of reading a history of the Reformation which keeping closely to the actual facts yet keeps them in a proper perspective and, at the same time, describes them and draws out their significance in language which it is a delight to read. The book is so readable in fact, that it would be easy to dismiss it as another popular presentation of its subject meant only to interest but not to instruct.

Such a judgment would be as wide of the mark as it is well possible to be. Professor Bainton's ease of style is the ease of the master not the cultivated facility of the literary *flâneur*, and his learning is manifest on every page. It would be hard to find a history of the

Reformation which in so short a compass gives so clear and convincing a picture of a very complex phenomenon and the period in which it was set. This is the point at which to say that, even had his style been pedantic and heavy, it would have been vastly lightened by the 24 excellent woodcuts. Both illustrations and prose play into one another's hands to give us a vivid and lifelike picture of both the events which together constituted the Reformation, the temper in which the issues were fought out and the nature of the issues themselves.

Professor Bainton is surely right in seeing that the real break with Rome came at the point of the understanding of the meaning of the Mass. All other differences between Luther and the Pope might conceivably have been composed, but not this. To deny that the priest could at the appropriate moment and by using the proper words change the elements of the Mass from bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ was to strike directly at priestly power, deliberately to controvert the express authority of a papal pronouncement by Innocent III, and, if it were allowed to pass, the bond which was the invisible cement of the medieval Church would have been irreparably broken.

We are given here a concise account of the faith which Luther held and the reforms which they prompted, and the spread of both the ideas and the reforms, often vastly different from Luther's own, into German and French Switzerland, thence into England and Scotland, Italy and Spain and the New World. The story of the fight for the freedom of both the Lutheran and the Reformed faith is brilliantly told, and due recognition is given to the place of the sects in their battle for religious liberty. A special chapter is allotted to those who, like the Anglican Church, sought the way of comprehension between the Catholic and Protestant understanding of Christianity, and, last of all, the effect of the Reformation on politics, economics and domestic life is described.

To the present writer it does not seem as if the author sufficiently recog-

nizes the development of the inner logic of the Reformation from Luther to the later expressions of the Reformation spirit, and the large part played therein by the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, nor does he account for the general popularity of Protestantism. May it not be that Luther's insistence on justification by faith, in setting man on his feet in his solitariness firmly before God, provided a validation of individual responsibility and worth which, rightly or wrongly, men believed was not found in the medieval interpretation of Christianity? Hence the popularity of the Reformation and its power to re-awaken living religion in the sixteenth century?

B. C. PLOWRIGHT

ON THE AIR, by Roger Manvell.
André Deutsch. 16s.

Dr. Manvell's *Film* was among the best books of its kind, an excellent piece of exposition, and at the heart of it was a pictorial anthology of classic 'stills', tiny in photogravure, but so well chosen that it had a singular fascination. *On the Air* would not have the appeal of its predecessor, even if it too were one of the chubbier Penguins, and comparably illustrated (but how?). A study of broadcasting seems rather dismaying—such is the pervasiveness of this medium—to be about everything that is happening to-day, and to be addressed, not to a comparatively compact body of addicts but to everybody, breathing indifferently the contemporary atmosphere. The film in its half-century won an affection expressed even in its lowest terms, by a choice, in the act of cinema-going; whereas broadcasting, even though "a good radio programme should be, and in fact actually is, an event", flows by now unbidden through public and private life and tolerance has only been achieved by largely disregarding it (though if the stimulus be withdrawn a mild discomfort may be experienced).

In the extraordinarily heated debate on the future of television, with which the publication of this book has coincided, a prime assumption has been that

there must be, at any rate, more and yet more of it. The ideal to be striven for is that all tastes must be catered for all the time, so that ultimately nobody can switch on his set and risk having to switch it off again, unappeased. The next most salient fact has been the concern that everybody feels for the effect that these new unfathomed powers may have on everybody else; the Archbishop, who, if one may say it without irreverence, has given one of the greatest of TV performances, expresses this as strongly as the crossest of unphotogenic politicians. A poor third in the tumult comes the plea for the possibilities of excitement, beauty and revelation in a selective use of the new resources. For this party Dr. Manvell is a worthy spokesman.

He is well aware however of the horrors latent in the mass-acceptance of the Nonstop conception of radio. He has experienced in a hotel bedroom in Cleveland the desolation of switching the set "from station to station, only to find almost the same kind of 'commercial' accompanying almost the same kind of light musical programme on each jerk of the knob." More significantly still, he is obliged to end a careful chapter on the nature of TV by declaring roundly that "there seems to be no end to the monotony of our future lives as they become increasingly controlled by the inventive genius of our technicians and engineers."

For the most part, however, the book is an appraisal of positive achievements—in the vast field of documentary and reportage, in drama and the occasional release of comic fantasy. Mainly the achievements recorded are the BBC's (but there is a most useful summary of the various broadcasting systems of other countries), and one feels that this hardly falsifies the perspective, for the only other broadcast that is ever quoted—Orson Welles's Martian stunt—is also here. Vintage listeners will realize with a pang that Tyrone Guthrie's *Squirrel's Cage* is as fresh in recollection as yesterday, and they will one and all resent the omission of the incomparable A. J. Alan; for the author is at his best on the tech-

nique of the individual speaker.

The tripwires that lie across all modern print have muddled the table of frequency ranges (p. 3) and have added to the bibliography (p. 193) an inexplicable work on Society Russia. But they cannot harm a sensible and searching book. It is to be hoped that too many people will not be too bemused to read it by such spectacles as Lady Barnett being huggled by a cat impersonator.

G. W. HORNER

MY GYPSY DAYS, by Dora E. Yates. *Phoenix House*. 16s.

COUNTRY FOLK, by Norman Wymer. *Odhams*. 15s.

For her picture of Gypsies, Miss Dora Yates has employed rainbow colouring with a background of white-wash. Her association with the nomads extends over half a century and has left her deeply impressed by their colourful independent lives, their wanderings and sufferings. She is the Honorary Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society and "Gypsies" she writes "have ever been the salt of my life."

Among those who have shared her interest she can cite Sir Richard Burton, Hans Breitmann, Augustus John and Arthur Symons, while the annals of the Society she serves so faithfully testify to the widespread interest taken in its work. At the same time one ventures to criticise her approach; surely it should have been made to the uninformed and not have taken a measure of knowledge for granted.

An initial chapter giving the history of Gypsies in Europe, or at least in England, would have gone some way to disarm legitimate criticism and to substitute sympathy for suspicion. Against the fascinating background of *Lavengro* and *The Romany Rye* the average country man or woman must set certain hard, unpleasant facts. If he has not met the aristocrats of the scattered community, such folk as the Rumanian coppersmiths, he has probably encountered stray companies of men and women who mingle a little hard work with a lot of hard beg-

ging, who are horse-copers and, not content with poaching, steal poultry and tell fortunes to the credulous. It may be small consolation to a man whose henroost has been raided to be assured that the raiders are men and women of some distinction with a very interesting past or that "he must love them ere to him they will seem worthy of his love."

That there is much of the gay and pleasing in the lives of Gypsies; that some can dance and sing in agreeable fashion, that they have a few handicrafts to fall back on, is beyond all question. Is this enough to console those who suffer from their practices? Even the honest enthusiasm of Miss Yates does not supply the answer.

Mr. Norman Wymer has undertaken to tell us how the country lives. In a couple of dozen chapters of *Country Folk* he covers all or most of England's rural industries, introducing us to an *omnium gatherum* of fell mongers and lace makers, rush workers and salmon trappers, dowers and basket makers, and closing his story with bell ringers. So far as this reviewer, to whom most but not all these industries are known, can judge, Mr. Wymer is a safe and sound guide who has mastered his subject. The worth of a book like this is that it leaves the reader well-informed; it discloses harmless secrets of some country friends and enables us to approach their work on terms that are almost intimate. There is not much to take the reader by surprise except the chapter on the Cokelers, a sect akin to the Peculiar People, narrow, bigoted and unconventional enough, but devout, Godfearing and praiseworthy; of all Mr. Wymer's country folk none are more outstanding.

History is woven in the story of many of our English industries. The Galees of the forest of Dean for example are a group of men well worth study; upholders of a great tradition, true sons of their native soil. But no matter the direction in which the author turns his pen, he can tell an arresting tale because he combines full knowledge with genuine appreciation. There may be some to

whom the records of sport do not appeal; one might go farther, but let us remember that it takes all kinds of recreation to fill our lives and that gambling, drink and blood sports have a place in the regard of many. We may hope it will be a diminishing one, but we must not overlook ways of life because their appeal is not for us.

Whatever the nature of our concern with the country scene, we must enjoy Mr. Wymer's company and guidance. Wherever he takes us he has a story worth telling, one that has the savour of observation and personal experience. Be they canal boatmen, well-dressers or fell mongers, their skill or daring evoke wonder and admiration; we desire more of their acquaintance. It is hard to write about the country to-day without setting down something tedious as a twice told tale, but where most writers fall Mr. Wymer stands erect. There is not a dull chapter in his story, and one feels that if all industries were blotted out the most of them could be revived by careful study of what he has to tell. This book is the fruit of much patient labour and is well worth the pains that went to its making.

S. L. BENSUSAN

THE NET AND THE SWORD,

by Douglas le Pan. *Chatto & Windus.*
10s. 6d.

MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON,

by Gloria Komai. *Sylvan Press.*
7s. 6d.

When, in 1948, Mr. le Pan's first collection of poems *The Wounded Prince* was published, it was clear to the critic that this young Canadian was potentially a poet of some stature. True, there was a certain facileness, and at times even obviousness, in his work; a tendency to pick up from the corporate poetic store, uncritically and at second hand, outmoded or discarded terms and tricks which had become clichés. But this was far outweighed by a kind of nobility of conception. There was a vivid, visual quality about his poems, and at the same time a depth which suggested that further dimension,

that heightened consciousness, which it is the business of poetry to communicate. If, one felt, he could discipline his language and at the same time learn something more about poetic image and metaphor, he might become a poet indeed.

Mr. le Pan's new volume is based largely on his experiences as a soldier in the Italian campaign. It is more ambitious than the earlier book, including two long poems, "Tuscan Villa", and "Elegy in the Romagna", and it attempts an imaginative resolution of the "broken images" of war. Does it succeed?

First, the old power of projecting dramatically from the page his central figure is still dominant. The past heyday of his Tuscan villa, its perfumed elegance and luxury, where now: "Explosions seep through the thick walls as rumours" is felt as powerfully as the present distress of this aristocratic house, whence "The birds have vanished like thoughts from a calcined skull" and where now

The straw-thin winds

Are grist to the grating weathervane
As it cockily struts and grins.

One feels, with the poet, the death-throes of a once living, breathing organism. When, however, the first impact of "Tuscan Villa" has passed, there is found to be still an immaturity, an obviousness, in too much of it. The "Elegy" shows more development. There has been a violent attempt here, by the poet, to purge imagination and language of the irrelevant and superficial. One result is a far more powerful manipulation of image and concept. Unfortunately, another is that thought and expression are now out of control. There are occasional felicities—"The brown and bat-winged air", for example—but in much of the poem there is a clumsiness, a heaviness, as though the poet were struggling with powers not yet developed, but which even so, have already taken him far beyond his beginnings. There is, however, a shapeliness, an elegance in this long poem, due to an ear for the rhythm necessary between the

alternated movement and poised 'waits' or 'rests' of a poem. One needs musical terms to convey this quality.

The shorter poems are, on the whole, more successful, and some are first-rate. The sensuous summer warmth of "Idyll", the imaginative power of "Legend", the hectic sick-room fantasies and swooning temperature of "Lion, Leopard, Lady", the delicate interplay of fact, fancy and legend in "Interval with Halcyons"—all have distinction. "The New Vintage" is perhaps the most accomplished poem in the book—in spite of a false final note, and what will seem to some people the taking of an unwarrantable liberty with the parable of the Prodigal Son. A good poet, then, still in the making.

Mountains of the Moon is a beautiful production. It is the first volume, printed and published in England, to be set in the diethelm antiqua type face of

the Haas Type foundry, Munchenstein, Switzerland. Gone indeed are the days of austerity book production, when this bold and clear type can be allowed to set out so spaciously these fragmentary poems. Those who were fortunate enough to hear "Five Impressions"—the group of poems which opens this collection—broadcast in the Third Programme feature, "First Reading", will be interested to know that, though there seemed to be a peculiarly aural quality about them, this faultless presentation of them in print enhances them further. Their delicacy is served well, both by the setting and by the two designs of Aleksander Werner. Readers of THE FORTNIGHTLY will be familiar with two poems in this collection, "Grass and Summer" and "In the Water", and can be confident of finding the same quality throughout the book.

LOVEDAY MARTIN

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

In this, a token contribution, no more than token can be the thanks for five books whose reading has in fact let joy be unconfined. Appropriately enough the first is PLEASURE: A Discursive Guide by Doris Langley Moore (*Cassell*. 16s.) to what she calls "human nature's most wholesome nourishment." In treating of creature comforts, luxuries of the mind, entertainments, personal relations, she exposes the evils of both puritanical fear and self-indulgence. Her progress between the pitfalls of attenuated culture and vulgarity is wary, and she has no facile recipes for the happiness that after all depends on sensibility. And if her "ethics" climax has been reached by way of some involuntary autobiography, her book is thereby enriched.

At the turn of the century

The first part of David Garnett's autobiography THE GOLDEN ECHO (*Chatto & Windus*. 21s.) is indeed of

"an all youth", sounding through a deceptively casual style; without emphasis or the apportioning of blame and praise, the learnedly 'cranky' household is revealed as it were in our flashes of shrewd conjecturing. Thirty years ago we honoured Edward and Constance Garnett and when their son published *Lady Into Fox* it was pounced upon for their sakes, the curiosity in what kind of a writer their son would make only giving way before the intrinsic enjoyment of his book. Now we see the three, secluded in a wide circle of friends, some of these so unhackneyed in portraiture as to be revelatory; in this category come D. H. Lawrence and W. H. Hudson. Alas, more than 20 jottings having been jettisoned, the adulatory nature of these must be taken on trust. If the second volume, which is to leave a long adolescence behind, is as powerfully appealing, a just reviewing must and will be attempted in these pages.

Stirring times

Another volumed project—in nine parts—begins with *THE TUDOR AGE* by James A. Williamson (*Longmans. 25s.*). The series *A History of England* is under the general editorship of W. N. Medlicott and will range from Roman and Anglo-Saxon times to the contemporary scene. Thus the present book comes nearly mid-way and, evidently getting off to a flying start, has breasted the tape. Probably this was intentional, and fitting that discussion of the period which culminated in the death of the first Elizabeth should have appeared before the coronation year of 1953 had ended. This historian sees the age “as a stage in the making of modern England and in the shaping of the national character and mentality.” In that concept, there is always room and a welcome for a new history. For the monarchy, which in 1485 had three million subjects in England and Wales, had by March 24, 1603, seen the position of the country based in relation to the continental powers and its prosperity on world-wide contacts.

Kaleidoscopic statesman

Pending the exact place of Britain's Prime Minister in history, Charles Eade has edited *CHURCHILL BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES* (*Hutchinson. 25s.*). They all seem agreed on a measure of immortality for him, from Sir Gerald Woods Wollaston on the Harrow schoolboy to A. L. Rowse's summing up of a “fabulous figure on the small stage of the modern world.” One who has done a lot of heroine-worshipping of Mrs. Roosevelt turned eagerly to her “Churchill as a Guest” and was not disappointed; nor with the ‘close-ups’ of his secretary and his bodyguard. Then there are the experts discoursing: Ivor Brown on “the master of words”, Sir A. P. Herbert on “his humour”, Professor Bodkin on “the artist” and, startlingly, Sir Compton Mackenzie on “the novelist”. The specialists too have their say: “Churchill and Science” by A.

M. Low, “the broadcaster” by Richard Dimbleby, “as an ally in war” by Dwight Eisenhower, “racing” by Geoffrey Gilbey, and “the orator” by Sir Norman Birkett. All these and more, with the good and varied portraits, the italic brief biographies of contributors, the many-paged index and the handsome format, add up to an impressive volume dedicated to one whose length of days seems to bear little relation to his spirit.

Down the hill gently

That the two need not be entirely inter-dependent is one of the lessons gratefully re-learned from *OUR ADVANCING YEARS* by Trevor Howell (*Phoenix House. 16s.*). The ultimate effect of this “essay on modern problems of old age” is to reassure: the old themselves on what may be done to lighten the burden; the relatives who in the exercise of patience and wisdom have charge of them, and, all of us who worry about a nightmare future wherein we are uncared for and unwanted. But—apart from this being an antidote to self-pity—with a steadily ageing population to contend with, the chapters on trends and expectations of life, economic conditions and housing, psychological and physiological changes, “old folks at home”, institutional procedure, organizations for welfare, nursing and medical care, and advances in geriatric research and teaching, have a national practicality and application culminating in “Conclusions and Recommendations” which no Government dare ignore. Blest “‘chronic sick’ hospital in Croydon” where, among his other medical and lecturing duties, we are told the author is consultant! His book (most perceptively illustrated too) has an unwonted glow of warmth; this is generated by Dr. Howell. To him old people are not tiresome problems, necessary or unnecessary evils, miserable reminders of mortality. He loves them—and every page of his is lit.

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“Take counsel together, and it
shall come to nought; speak the word,
and it shall not stand;”

“LET GOD BE YOUR FEAR,
AND LET GOD BE YOUR
DREAD.” (Isaiah viii.)

“*And it shall come to pass,
that WHOSOEVER shall CALL
on the name of the LORD shall
be delivered.*” (Joel ii. 32)

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