BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

THE NEW AGE.

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS, LITERATURE AND ART.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

We may take it as final that the Budget has won. The "Times" has been followed by the "Daily Mail," and the "Daily Mail" will be followed by the rest of the Northcliffe pack. The word has gone forth: the Budget is won; and it only remains now to speed it through both Houses without the loss of more than a day or two's shooting. Instead of at Christmas, Parliament will probably adjourn for the Autumn Recess early in October. After the debacle the Lords will not venture to throw out the Budget, still less to tamper with its machinery. So the great fight which threatened has passed away.

Months ago we assured Mr. Lloyd George that he had nothing to lose and everything to gain, both for himself and his party, by bringing in a Budget of courageous beginnings. We had taken the measure of the Dukes, it is true, and made it pretty high. We certainly thought that at least they could command more intelligent service on their behalf. But we had also taken the measure of the popular demand and the measure of the force behind it; and we said emphatically, and we repeat it now, that no radical measure is too strong for the enthusiastic acceptance of the rank and file of the electorate. A far more radical Budget will be possible next year: a far more radical programme altogether. The surprising victory of the Budget must surely demonstrate the groundlessness of the fear that the country would not be behind a radical measure. The country, we repeat, is ripe for changes with the popular mind we prophesy an unbroken period of office for them during as long a period as they choose. Once, however, let them slacken or put on the brake and they will be condemned to exile from office, and in their place will be found Tories if Socialists are not ready, but Socialists if Socialists are ready.

We confess that we see signs of an ominous cleavage in the Cabinet. On the one hand are Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill, and we suppose we may say Mr. Sirrell, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. John Burns; probably also Mr. Samuel and Mr. Harcourt. These belong to and mainly compose the advanced section of the Government, to whom, under Mr. Asquith's amazingly able leadership, the resurrection of Liberalism is due. But on the other side, and constituting a very sinister and reactionary rump, are Sir Edward Grey, "the worst Foreign Minister England has ever had," Lord Crewe, a Colonial Minister of demonstrated cowardice; Lord Morley, a doctrinaire, lath painted to look like iron; and Sir Herbert Gladstone, a sentimentalist with all the brutality of stupidity.

The very presence of these men in the Cabinet is, we assert, a menace to progress. Not one of them is representative of anything or anybody but themselves. They have not even the merit of incarnating an ancient tradition of politics, either Liberal or Tory. Sir Edward Grey is not a Palmerstonian nor a Gladstonian nor a follower of Lord Salisbury. All these Foreign...
Ministers stood for at least one aspect, and a dominant aspect, of English character. Sir Edward Grey is merely a blank in the English mind: nothing, a gaping hollow, a misunderstanding. His foreign policy, supposed to be sublime, is really incomprehensible. He does not know it, and nobody can understand it, for the simple reason that there is nothing in it to understand. The "Daily Mail" is more competent than Sir Edward Grey to pursue a Foreign policy, and that is the most offensive remark we can make.

Lord Morley, too, in India, is obviously at his wits' end. The profound student of the French Revolution and of all that has been is simply dazed and faddled in the presence of the actual. Does anybody suppose that the relations of India and England are growing more mutually friendly in consequence of Lord Morley? After all, that is the test. We do not imagine that even Lord Morley would assert that they are. More subterranean perhaps, more secret; but just on the amount more difficult and more unfriendly. We are not going to suppose that a revolution will take place in India: the Hindus rank with the Russians and the Egyptians as the most incompetent revolutionaries in the world. Neither they nor the Egyptians nor the English know how to make a revolution; nor do they appear to have cohesion or intelligence enough to take a leaf out of the books of Japan, Turkey, and Persia. But that apart there will not be Lord Morley's fault this time in India. All the elements of smarting injustice are there increasing in bitterness month by month; and Lord Morley merely presides over the witches' brew and wishes he were well out of it.

The communication dotting an i of Mr. Mackarness's and signifying which appeared in the "Western Gazette" a few weeks ago was one of Lord Morley's ways of governing India.

Of Lord Crewe it would be unfair to speak in quite the unmeasured terms which apply to Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey. We do not forget several of Lord Crewe's predictions to Colonial Governors, a recent British African Governor among them, which were distinctly in the high tradition of politics. But in British East Africa, as the lamentable discussion of the gross case of official immorality clearly proved, Lord Crewe's attitude was nearer so much more to his views in India. There, where it was necessary, if ever it is necessary, to be hypersevere and exemplary, Lord Crewe was amiable and forgiving. Had natives been in question it was Lord Crewe's fault not that he did not do his worst, but that he did not do it. As it was an official, a white official, Lord Crewe unfortunately did nothing of the kind. He swam in sentiment instead of swimming to the irreparable loss of his own and England's prestige.

But his latest delinquency is infinitely more serious since it is done not in a corner but in the eyes of all the world. We take it that a Colonial Minister is in part responsible for England's relations with the self-governing dominions, but wholly responsible for England's relations with the dependent peoples. By virtue of her own predominance and political maternity England is directly responsible in particular for native populations throughout the Empire: nor can she wholly free her- 

self from responsibility by nominally transferring it to any of the self-governing dominions. Everybody knows that in South Africa at this moment the fate of the natives hangs in the balance. Hitherto it has been supposed that in the Protectorates directly and in the Cape Colony and Natal in particular it would be under the supervision of the English Government. In Cape Colony and in Natal, the African natives were receiving, if not abstractly just at least reasonably humane political treatment: they were, that is, not wholly and explicitly excluded by definition from the rank of citizens. Then came the movement in favour of South African Union: the linking together of the four Colonies of South Africa into a single political entity. And the question arose whether the two Colonies that had hitherto included native it and bungled it, and nobody can understand it, for the simple reason that there is nothing in it to understand. The "Daily Mail" is more competent than Sir Edward Grey to pursue a Foreign policy, and that is the most offensive remark we can make.

So far as the discussion in South Africa went, it is clear that the reactionary Colonies won. They were unanimous, and unfortunately Cape Colony and Natal were not. Consequently the draft Act of Union introduced for the first time in plain black and white a distinction in the matter of citizenship which we do not hesitate to affirm is the worst blot ever made on English Imperial parchments. It was to the effect that only persons "of European descent" should be eligible in South Africa for political citizenship. Setting aside the obvious obscurity of the phrase—since "of European descent" is to be taken, not by white men—the intention of the phrase is clear. The majority of the representatives of white South Africa are willing to go back on the traditions of all our history by specifically declaring that citizenship of the British Empire, which is so far as they are concerned a matter of race and race only.

There was, however, one hope. As the custodian not of the whins and fancies of a single not very intelligent community, but of the Empire at large, the British Government might feel it its duty at any rate to delay, if not actually to refuse its sanction to the introduction into an imperial document of a clause of this reactionary character. There were plenty of means of doing this. Cape Colony and Natal might in equity have been supported in their demand for the retention of the status quo. It was not necessary to force the other two into progress; but at least the two progressive Colonies could not have been forced to retrogress. A strong Colonial Minister, we think, would have known how to arrange a compromise of this kind: and it was not for lack of suggestion that Lord Crewe failed, as he has failed, to discover it. His plea was that the Union was not worth the delay, if not actually to refuse its sanction to, the introduction of a reactionary character. There were plenty of means of doing this. Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey. Of them all his- 

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never at its outset a more rational, orderly, and legitimate political agitation in the world than the agitation by women for the franchise. If the Government had been Plato's guardians the mode of the women's demands would have been more restful or seemless. They rested their claim on arguments that could not possibly be controverted and on grounds against which even expediency was dumb. Has anybody yet discovered a single reason for denying women the vote now that they want it? There is no doubt that this is merely the preliminary foundation of an eventual demand by women for the franchise. If the Government had been a simple fact. It means, therefore, only one reason, if it can be called a reason, and it is simply that women do want it. But pure contrariety of this order of obstinacy is more related to nullification than to political sagacity. We should have thought at any rate that members of the Cabinet would have been free from the vice. But no, Mr. Herbert Gladstone has displayed it quite a quadrupled degree. He and his partners in the wretched business have bullied, mocked, imprisoned, harried, and lied to the women's representatives until the latter have been converted from the ancient peacable ways of agitation to methods that expose the scandal of politics in their most blatant forms. For the sake of the deep stone we have to thank Mr. Herbert Gladstone in ecclipsis. The women have not our blame, but our highest praise. Thank heaven that in a creeping age of political servitude, when men permit encroachments on their freedom their forefathers would have died to prevent, the women have had the courage to fight rather than to submit. If England is to be saved, it will be, as Ibsen said of Europe, by women and by workmen.

And now may we offer a little advice to Liberals who desire to retain the new life which Mr. Lloyd George has given them? That life, as we have said, will not be long unless it seek Socialism and ensue, it. We say that in all sincerity and without a trace of irony. It was a Socialist measure that renewed Liberalism; it will be Socialist measures that will keep it alive. Democracy and Socialism, these are the savours. Of the Conservative Party it is scarcely necessary to speak. If England is to be saved, it will be, as Ibsen said of Europe, by women and by workmen.

THE NEW AGE

AUGUST 12, 1909

What Socialists may expect if they fall into the hands of official Governments let the news that secretly comes from Spain bear witness. Everybody realises, we hope, by this time that the Spanish people have been sold out and are being shamefully and unjustly betrayed by their own rulers. It was enough almost to create a revolution to have a king so shockingly unprincipled as to be prepared to sell his country. Yet the wretched crowd on the Spanish throne had in view what he expected to obtain from the sharks of Europe, delirium tremens only knows. In any case, the origin of the five million shipbuilding order sent to this country has not been completely concealed from the Socialists of Spain: they who they had news of the latest act of treachery, namely, the plunging of Spain into a Moro-
can war on behalf of a French mining company, promptly attempted from Barcelona to inaugurate a revolution. The revolution unfortunately has failed, but not before some hundreds of Socialists outside as well as inside Barcelona were put to death on the mere suspicion of being implicated or even sympathetic.

In Sweden one of the greatest labour wars of modern times was brought to a close by an agreement that is precisely similar to those which have so often led to industrial wars in this country: an attempt on the part of the masters to reduce wages and their refusal to negotiate with the men's unions on equal terms. This attitude the Liberal Party so long pursued in the national affairs. The opinions of the half-a-million workers in Sweden, a quarter of a million are organised and the rest are in the main sympathetic. In consequence the strike is so widely spread as to be practically universal. We will not prophesy the result, but merely content ourselves with remarking that a quarter of a century's experience of strikes in Sweden convinced English workmen that the road to economic emancipation does not lie in that direction.

The power to strike is in essence not unlike the German contention that their Navy is not intended for offence, but is merely designed to make offence improbable. In fact it does so. The knowledge that war will be perilous and probably disastrous lends discretion to valour in international affairs. Thus there is not the slightest doubt that Mr. Churchill has been able to settle the Scotch dispute by simply producing the evidence that a Scotch miners' strike would be instantly followed by an English and a Welsh miners' strike. The mere threat, backed by power, was enough to bring the Scots masters to their senses. Threats without power are, of course, useless; but in an advanced community a threat of a strike sincerely and responsibly made is generally enough to settle a matter. We have therefore always urged Trade Unions never to abandon their right or to neglect their power to strike; but also never, if possible, actually to employ it.

The mention of the German navy calls to mind several conversations we have recently had with sailors of every rank at present serving in the Fleet. We may say at once that among the sailors themselves there is a disposition to regard either our own navy as inadequate or the German navy as a menace to the British national affairs.

But we have often enough warned English officials what they might expect.
Concerning the subject of vivisection on which we wrote some paragraphs a few weeks ago, the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Bernard Shaw at the annual meeting of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection, will be of interest to our readers. We take the report from the "Animals' Friend" for August:—

"One of the difficulties that you have to deal with in this particular controversy is that all those people who have a natural sense of honour in dealing with animals not require any sort of conviction at all on such a ground. There are some subjects on which no amount of argument will move a man; and to anybody proposed to me to boil my mother I daresay my attitude towards that subject is entirely unscientific; I feel like a murderer, and I want to write a book about it. You are a mean dog, but your object is the pursuit of knowledge, and, therefore, we endow you with the Research Fund of this country in order that you may commit further such barbarous acts. You will find that the line which scientific men take, and the line which gives them a tremendous sense of conviction, is that the pursuit of knowledge justifies everything, and if you once begin to argue about that position, you will find yourself landed in some very queer dilemmas. Suppose you did come to the point of admitting that knowledge was so precious a thing that it justified all methods of increasing it, with practically anything you pleased, I am very sorry but we must hang you. The third murderer says, 'I committed the murder because I wanted to know what it feels like to be a murderer, and I want to write a book about why she should be boiled. But, as a matter of fact, I am not prepared to argue it; I know from outstanding conviction that vivisection is a German warship affair.' That is the sailorman's reply to the war-scare.

I declare that every man who becomes a vivisector has discovered a method of torture, and probably found a part of science for a dis honourable and probably barren part. If you take one of the most useful discoveries of recent times—the X-rays, by which a short time ago, a place of research for the physiology, if all the scientific ambition which has been directed towards vivisection in the physiological laboratory had been torn from me and my inheritance to the property; we are very sorry, but we must hang you. The third murderer says, 'I committed the murder because I wanted to know what it feels like to be a murderer, and I want to write a book about why she should be boiled. But, as a matter of fact, I am not prepared to argue it; I know from outstanding conviction that vivisection is a German warship affair.' That is the sailorman's reply to the war-scare.

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Of all the witnesses before the Select Committee which is enquiring into the matter of the Censorship, Mr. Bernard Shaw appears to be the only one who thoroughly knows his own mind. We reproduce here his summary of conclusions as contained in a pamphlet privately printed and distributed by him amongst members of the Committee. It is unforgivable that Mr. Shaw was not allowed the privilege of addressing to others of his witnesses his views either by speech or, officially, in the pamphlet referred to. Only his answers in examination are, it appears, to be recorded. This, we need not say, stamps the Committee as anything but impartial.

The general case against censorship as a principle, and the particular case against the existing English censorship and against its replacement by a more enlightened one, is now complete. The following is a recapitulation of the propositions and conclusions condemned for:—

1. The question of censorship or no censorship is a question of high political principle and not of public policy.

2. The toleration of heresy and shocks to morality on the stage, and even their protection against the prejudices and superstitions which challenge their existence in their serious and avowed forms, but unintentionally gives the special protection of its official licence to the most extreme improvidence that the lower classes of London players will tolerate in theatres especially devoted to their entertainment, licensing everything that is popular and forbidding any attempt to change public opinions or morals.

3. That the Lord Chamberlain's censorship is open to the special objection that its application to political plays is taken to indicate the attitude of the Crown on questions of domestic and foreign policy, and that it imposes the limits of etiquette or the historical drama.

4. That a censorship of a more enlightened and independent kind, exercised by the most eminent available authorities, would prove in practice more disastrous than the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain, and that the least possible it would be for them to accept the responsibility for heresy and immorality by licensing everything that is heretical or immoral.

5. That the toleration of heresy and shocks to morality on the stage, and even their protection against the prejudices and superstitions which challenge their existence in their serious and avowed forms, but unintentionally gives the special protection of its official licence to the most extreme improvidence that the lower classes of London players will tolerate in theatres especially devoted to their entertainment, licensing everything that is popular and forbidding any attempt to change public opinions or morals.

6. That a reconstructed and enlightened censorship would be armed with summary and effectual powers which would stop the evasions by which heretical and immoral plays are now performed in spite of the Lord Chamberlain, and that such powers would constitute a tyranny which would ruin the theatre spiritually by driving all independent thinkers from the drama into the uncensored forms of art.

7. That the censorship regarding all stage plays in their written form, and of witnessing their performance in order to see that the sense is not altered by the stage business, would, even if the same question were put, and he answers, 'Because the man whom I murdered stood between me and my inheritance to the property.'

8. That the censorship regarding all stage plays in their written form, and of witnessing their performance in order to see that the sense is not altered by the stage business, would, even if the same question were put, and he answers, 'Because the man whom I murdered stood between me and my inheritance to the property.'

9. That in order to prevent the powers of the licensing authority being abused so as to constitute a virtual censorship, any Act transferring the theatres to the control of a licensing authority should be made also a charter of the rights of dramatic authors and managers by the following provisions:—

A. That the public prosecutor (the Attorney-General) alone should have the right to plead, in person or by counsel, against a proposal to withhold a licence; and that the licence shall not be with. out the ground that the proximity of the theatre to a church, mission hall, school, or other place of worship, edification, instruction, or entertainment (including any other theatre) would draw the public away from such places into its own doers.
Immorality in Public Schools.

The sentimental and misleading adulation about public schools that pours from the lips of mercenary and un- serving syphons is often amazing. Headmasters almost appear to vie with one another in boasting of their success in the production of the wonderful pheno- menon known as the English gentleman. Their tire less labours of the public school product would to a very large extent be excusable were they impelled by a realising sense that aggressive and stringent efforts are necessary, or were being made, to bring the public school system with the best educational thought and purpose. They tell us that the character of the true gentleman is the product of many subtle and secret influences. But so is the character of the "vagrant," so called. The difference is that they regard the latter as bad and consider the former good, while the real distinctions between both types mainly consist in trappings, veneer, and tone. These schools turn out characters as void of initiative and enterprise for noble ends, civic responsibility, and all inclusive co-operative outlook, as the people who were termed vagrants by the forefathers of these flabby, boneless scions of aris- tocracy. They do not produce public-spirited men imbued with broad, just, and comprehensive views of citizenship proportion to their opportunities. Their scope and purpose are isolation and exclusiveness for selfish ends, instead of marking or crowning the stage of a wise and well-ordered sequence in educational organisation. In service to the will of the poor or the just, their justification for their existence is founded on stealth, force, and exclusiveness due to the possession of the sources of wealth and a false theory of education which failed to satisfy other than a modicum of human nature and the class whose interest is based upon it. The theory is a bastard kind of cross, consisting mainly in about five parts indulgence and scarcely one part stoic- ism, the latter being practical and proclaimed on every opportunity to the multitude, while the former is brazenly practised. This blighting and blasting blend causes many kinds of abuse and the prostitution of almost every shred of self-respect traceable to scandals secretly known to the authorities but hushed, and others they are reluctantly compelled to bring to the notice of the law courts. It works through the body politic and terminates in the dirty sore that poisons all sections and strata of the community exemplified in debasing customs, spurious forms of sport, and the degrading treatment of juvenile and adult offenders, vagrants, inmates of prisons, reformatories, poor-law institutions, and smaller schools of all kinds, by flogging. In no other way can we account for Mr. Justice Philimore's late decision in the case of Mansell v. Griffin, with its con- sequent effect upon the N.U.T. and the smaller fry of elementary school teachers, who are unconsciously con- taminated and ape the practice of these sources of contumacy.

Proper instruction in the laws of sex and facilities for giving right direction to such instruction are tabooed, either because of spurious notions of delicacy or a haughty and superior disdain of the suggestion that neglect leaves great possibility for disaster. The fact that immorality in public schools is not efficiently cope with is not because its existence is altogether unknown to headmasters. A pamphlet on the subject by a promi- nent public schoolmaster has been printed for private circulation. Speaking of solitary vice and quoting the opinions of others as to its prevalence in English public schools, he expresses his own opinion thus: "I cannot resist the conclusion that the practice of solitary vice among boys is prevalent to a most dangerous and deplorable degree." He gives reasons for thinking that the habit is in most cases contracted at preparatory schools, and he quotes another schoolmaster as saying: "What my experience tells me is that certainly as many as five boys out of six, probably nine out of ten, who enter public schools from preparatory schools have knowledge of evil beforehand, and that in no vague way." The writer of the pamphlet argues that dual vice at public schools is the direct outcome of secret vice previously practised. "If solitary vice could be stamped out," he says, "dual vice would be almost unknown." And solitary vice, he has stated, "is prev- alent to a most dangerous and deplorable degree." The inference is obvious. The greater evil is only less prevalent than the smaller. Is it surprising that the same person should tell the Congress on Moral Instruc- tion in Schools that boys "listen to moral exhortations with wonderful forbearance but the character remains undeveloped." It is not enough for the public school- master to admit the fact, and that is bad enough, that the public school boy possesses more power over those of his own kind than the man who is put over him.

"Do what we will," says one, "the bigger orabler or stronger boys will obtain influence." The influence for good is vastly overborne by the influence for evil, which shows no appreciable sign of diminution. The "Heads" of the chief of these establishments are obliged to play the tune chosen by their masters, and they do it against better feelings. They seem to make I would wait upon I dare not; or else here can we account for the titular head of the profession allowing bare hunting, while himself a vegetarian, and admitting that he felt he could not have flogged a boy before the official presentation of the birch, their vaunted and highly priced emblem of forcible and brutal domination, irrespective of proportion to their opportunity and morality? Again, the parent of the headmaster of one of the leading public schools lately wrote: "My son was Headmaster, as you say, of———— College, and ruled that school with very great success, without using corporal punishment; and I am quite sure he would be willing to govern any school by the same methods as he adopted at—— College. But when he went to the—— School he had to administer the school according to the methods which had been in use throughout its history."

At the International Moral Education Congress a representative said that public school government is government of the community by itself. It is a negation of the kind. It is delegated autocracy pure and simple, and the delegated autocrats are chosen to give practical expression and form to the idea underlying the kind of government they may possibly later be called upon to administer. They are chosen, says one, "to give them preliminary training for the higher positions which some of them will hereafter fill, so that greatness may not be too suddenly thrust upon them"; and the incidents of Nairobi and Denshawetc., show its spirit. Leading representatives of the public schools admit the huge failure of these places in training for social service and citizenship. The great mass of young men, many times more numerous than ever they were before, pass through them and reap the advantages of their rich foundations, which, in some cases, have been turned from their original purpose. These men go out into life without any sense of obligation to society. Filled with a sense of their own superiority they disdain themselves from the fellowship of their kind. They hold their own species at a distance, ignore them whenever and wherever possible, and despise them as much as they dare. They possess no sense of indebtedness to their fellows, but rather regard them as existing for the satisfaction of the needs, comforts, and luxuries of their own privileged class. R. H.

Clifford's Inn School of Journalism.

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Spain and Sweden.

The insurrection has been quelled in Catalonia, but it is not dead. War in Spain, as Macaulay noted, has peculiar characteristics of its own. "It is a fire which cannot be raked out, and long after it has to all seeming been extinguished bursts forth more violently than ever." That spontaneous, unpredicated uprising has already taught a lesson that shall endure. Not wholly in vain have the people of Barcelona lost their lives in the street-fighting and in the fortress of Montjuich. The death-rattle will reverberate throughout Europe; it will resound in distant Germany, where its echoes will swing a wider amplitude in our own land.

Journalists and politicians may each invent a dozen reasons for the outburst—one cause stands out with sufficient clarity. The first spark was the refusal of the people of Spain to engage themselves in the Rif War. Governments have never failed to rely upon a foreign war to divert attention from their misdeeds at home. The Boer War kept Mr. Chamberlain's ministry in office, the Japanese War staved off reform in Russia; and even here we met the first rumbling of that new spirit; though the Russian peasants went forth to the slaughter fields it was in so sullen a mood that their masters will not hastily renew these diversions. The Spanish people have protested more actively; it is the first attempt in a modern State to stop a war at the outset.

Recognising that they have no quarrel with the Moor, that their blood is to be split for the enrichment of the owners of French and Spanish capitalists, the working people would forcibly detain their young men while in Morocco the Government has already abandoned its grand plan of campaign. King Alfonso will not doubt but that some kind of revolution will be made by the plutocracy, who with their powerful organisation should be able to carry out its work with much effect. In our own country we are glad to acknowledge that Socialism has made great headway during the last few years in the Navy and the Army; more especially perhaps in the senior service, where its spread is not confined to any one rank.

It is, then, by these two ways—resistance to increase in the armed forces and propaganda in the services—that we must seek to avoid or prevent conflicts.

The workers have another weapon.

We have just had a capital instance of the power possessed by them if carefully used. The threat of a general strike among the 30,000 miners was followed by a concession to their demands. We have no mind to quarrel with those who think that the result was achieved by Mr. Churchill's charm and ability, and not by the grim determination of the miners. A general strike is now proclaimed in Sweden. The "Daily News" protests that the strikers "have no quarrel with the Swedish Government, which is neutral in the struggle." If we turn from that editorial to the news column a rather different story is unfolded. Our dispatches of cavalry out in the early morning to meet and guard farmers driving to town with stores of food. This is at least an armed neutrality.

We refuse to believe that the Swedish leaders, if they are resolved on a general strike and on victory, are so foolish as the newspapers would have us believe. Half measures are obviously worse than useless—since they will only entail much suffering without the prospect of victory. We take it that the leaders have seen to it that the workers will follow a general call, that the railway men, the carriers, the factory-workers, the compositors, the municipal workmen will promptly come out. Such a general strike must win, whilst one limited to a few watermen has little hope of success. An appeal has been made to English trade-unionists for assistance. That appeal will, we hope, meet with a hearty response as soon as it is known that the Swedish strikers have organised themselves for victory by striking all along the line.

To fight disciplined troops armed with modern weapons by barricades and revolvers is a crime. We can understand that Barcelona was provoked into taking whatsoever means lay at hand, but we, who have at heart the interest of the workers, must repudiate such a system—it is too costly in human lives. We do not doubt but that some kind of revolution will ensue ere the workers finally come into their own, but that revolution will be made by the plutocracy, who will not give up their wealth and power without a struggle. For that struggle we must be ever preparing ourselves. Seeing the power conscription gives to Continental rulers one way of preparing ourselves is to resist every effort to enfranchise such a system upon our own country—it comes disguised as a measure for promoting physical efficiency or as a citizen army.

Useless to blink at the facts. Give a man a uniform and a gun, place him in the ranks, and he is another being. He will shoot upon father, mother, brother, comrade at the behest of his officer. We have seen instances of this in such a citizen army as Switzerland possesses.

The explanation of this aberration is of little moment; the fact is all important. We have had too unfortunate an experience in revolutions whereunto we were ourselves witness to have any doubts hereon.

Opposition to conscription must be carried a step further; existing armies must be even in the insurrectionary mood.

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THE HASLEMERE WOODWORKERS
VNDER THE BEST TRADITIONS OF DESIGN AND EXECUTION
VNDER THE BEST TRADITIONS OF CRAFTSMANSHIP
FURNITURE & WOODWORK OF EVERY DESCRIPTION
AT THE WORKSHOPS HASLEMERE SYRREY. SKETCHES AND PHOTOS ON APPLICATION.
The British East Africa Protectorate.

How the "Circular" Works.

Some interest has been aroused concerning this Colony—one of the latest additions to the vast Empire beyond the seas—in connection with official immorality, to which attention was drawn by a letter from Mr. Routledge in the "Times" last year.

The revival of the matter in the discussion in Committee of Supply on July 27th last was of such a remarkable nature that any third from my notebook must deal with this question of moral delinquency. This question, and the manner in which it has been dealt with by the authorities in British East Africa, I hold is only one symptom of the general rottenness of the administration out there. Once gain a clear conception of this and you have a clue to the general tenor of the way in which the whole interests of the Protectorate, land, finance, taxation, native labour, etc., are treated.

I write (without prejudice or political bias) plain facts, the members of the Service. Their admirable work and the lack of a strong personality at the head of the Government lies in the fact that it is not possible for the Government to countenance such immoralities, and that any member of the Administration to countenance official immorality must be promptly stifled, "hushed up." In this instance the case seemed clear enough.

A striking commentary on its efficacy occurred about the same time. A certain lady in Mombasa commenced proceedings for divorce from her husband. He was one of the "old gang" (i.e., officials who had been in the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and had been taken over by the Government when that company was transferred). Now it is a maxum that the "old gang" are immaculate. But a pleasant rumour had it that any member of the immaculates must be promptly stifled, "hushed up." In this instance the case seemed clear enough.

Not only had the official had a child by his wife's native nurse in Mombasa, but at a recent date, whilst up the coast on Government business, he had had an "arrangement" with one (at least) native woman. Everybody in Mombasa knew all about the affair. What happened? Head Quarters at Nairobi were made aware at once of the impending scandal. One of the head officials sent a despatch once to Mombasa to avert the danger. Such an errand was not a new thing to him. A short time previously his high standing, ability, and his genial popularity had saved a notorious seconded military man from bringing a blemish on the Legislative Council (of which he was a temporary member) by his suspension from the Mombasa Club. On that occasion the messenger of peace relieved the Governor from a painful duty. On this occasion he was equally successful. After considerable difficulty the lady was prevailed upon to abandon the suit for divorce, the necessary steps to secure maintenance of herself and children and separation were completed, and she left Mombasa for England. The official still holds his position, still airs his virtuous nonchalance at the Club, for the Circular hasn't done him any harm. To him it is just so much waste paper. To any man of common sense the second and third paragraphs of the Circular read as if in such a case as this the responsibility of the Governor was clearly defined, yet here he was the instrument and his envoy was an instrument in hushing up a far graver scandal than that of Mr. Silberbarr. Again one wonders what sort of a report reached the Colonial Office of this first (and prompt) result of the Circular. One thing, at any rate, is certain. The appointment of married men does not solve the problem. You must search deeper to get at the source of the corruption.

In Mr. Silberbarr's case the "Leader" of Nairobi said: "The practice of hushing up any case connected with an official scandal is bad for the country and unfair to the official." In the case I quote the correspondence have been much stronger and more pointed, but no attention was drawn to it in the Press. The risk is too great. The Press in British East Africa have business interests which would suffer materially if publicity were given to such laches on the part of Government officials who ignore the instructions given from home. And the clergy are dumb. It is to their interest to stand well with the powers that be so far as their business is concerned. The Church has much to expect from the Government. Any animal version upon such a scandal as I describe is the last thing we should expect to hear from the pulpit in Mombasa.

Let us profit from this "efficacy of the Circular." It is an example to enforce the necessity of a Commission of Enquiry.

It is true that Sir James Hayes Sadler has been transferred to another Colony, and that an able gentleman has left behind him cannot be remedied in a week. The Government at home have in Sir Percy Giraud appointed a real live man to govern British East Africa. His work will be heavy, his duties and responsibilities great enough without being saddled with the burden of cleansing the stables. A Commission would relieve him of such a burden, hasten the rectification of abuses, and instil energy and confidence into the whole community, whose efforts and interests have been so thwarted and neglected.

Mombasa.

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accepted by the Service as an appeal for loyal co-operation in vigorously repudiating and officially condemning all such cases of concubinage between Civil Servants and native women whenever and wherever they are detected.
The Motherland of Revolution.

It has become the fashion of late in this fat England of ours to be moved with pious horror by the thought of revolution. I don't know exactly why this should be, and am sometimes constrained to put it down to cowardice. But one should be wary of generalisations. There are many causes of this horror, probably the very fatness of England. "It is a grievous thing to grow poddy," said Edward Fitz-Gerald, and this grievous thing has actually happened to many of our pillars of society. We look up to these disinterested lips of our Aveburys, Roseberys, and Rothschilds amount to something very like treason, treason against the people of England and the English tradition.

In the light of our history it strikes one as absurd, to use a mild term, when one hears these landed and moneyed gentlemen denounce proposals in the Budget as the act of revolution. One of these days we may awaken to the fact that frantic denunciations of revolt from the disinterested lips of our Aveburys, Roseberys, and Rothschilds amount to something very like treason, treason against the people of England and the English tradition.

When we are not revolutionary it is probably due to the same reason as the Normans, the Normans became bandits once more, and, like our piratical forebears, roved the high seas, seeking whom we might devour. Our national heroes belong to such periods of imperial revolutionism, men like Raleigh and Drake, and in recent years Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson. Such people, whose one desire is to go on doing the same things down the ages, are simply revolting to the change-loving English temperate. This constitutional rebellion is again revealed in the national tendency to grumble, and a grumbler is nothing but an impatient revolutionist: a person who desires a change but who is either too idle, too cowardly, or too weak to get it. We have not been revolutionary it is probably due to one or the other of these failings.

In spite of these difficulties we find revolutionism getting some of its own way, even in the most unexpected quarters. The Conservative Party, for instance, is in revolt against the very meaning of its own name. This is so evident that even the Liberals have had to acknowledge this political freedom has must not be forgotten that this political freedom has always won in a thoroughly rebellious manner, as the women are winning it now; and it could be shown very substantially that those who have advised the English against revolt have generally been foreigners, peace-loving Celts, Hebravs, and other submissives. The English race began in revolt, it has lived long, and will probably die with its back to the wall in a burst of rebellion, and has shown the claim of the original Britshers whose form the English were a horde of freebooters (much as they are to-day), who, under those delightful pirates Hengist and Horsa, pounced on these shores and jumped the claim of the original Britshers whose form the English were a horde of freebooters (much as they are to-day), who, under those delightful pirates.
Souvenirs of Bayreuth.

By Francis Grierson.

I.

When I visited Bayreuth, during the season of 1891, it was a centre of attraction for the whole artistic and musical world. It was a veritable Mecca for both the famous orchestra leaders—Colonne and Lamoureux from Paris, Walter Damrosch from New York, the Directors of the Imperial and Royal Theatres of Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, Prague, Budapest, and many more. "Tannhäuser" was to be given for the first time at the Bayreuth Theatre, and the mere announcement caused a sensation.

The three works billed for the season were "Parsifal," "Tristan and Isolde," and "Tannhäuser," but the last named aroused a curiosity that can hardly be described. Musical directors flocked to see, once for the last named, how this opera should be presented in singing, act, costumes and scenery. After such an experience there would be no more cause for wrangling over the staging of this celebrated music-drama.

Considered in the ensemble this great work has never been given with such artistic perfection, the mise-en-scène revealing one picture after another of enchanting beauty, memorable even when one has witnessed the very best that Vienna, Paris, and New York can produce. Herr Alvary sang the rôle of Tannhäuser and Fräulein de Ahna (now Frau Mottl) made her debut as Elisabeth. Fräulein Mailhac was the Venus—an artiste with a classical face and figure, reminding one of some goddess of Greek mythology.

The artistic work required in the production of a Wagnerian opera at Bayreuth is almost incredible. A singer is often required to practise on a single phrase two or three days to correctly render Wagner’s meaning. While studying, the artistes try to lose their character. There is no striving after sensation, no pandering to the public. In all other countries the singer is often required to practise on a single phrase a whole evening's entertainment like ordinary mortals. For all through this scene, with the single exception of the opening song of Tannhäuser, the music is in harmony with the artistic ensemble. More than in "Parsifal," one is made to feel the approach of a hard and bitter strife between the powers of virtue and the devices of the world of pleasures.

In the second act, in spite of its noble and optimistic harmony, the current of melancholy that runs through it again prepares the mind for a catastrophe of love. We are carried away to the most romantic epoch of the middle ages.

In the second act of "Tannhäuser" the grace of movement, the picturesque attitudes, the dignity of the ensemble surpassed anything ever seen on the stage of the Bayreuth Theatre. One forgot that Fräulein de Ahna made an unexpected sensation by her wonderful portrayal of Venus in this scene, but her exquisite appearance and the remarkable grace of her gestures made one forget many vocal defects in her singing. Herr Alvary, as Tannhäuser, acted better than he sang. The part requires a fine physique and a strong, imposing voice that can be made to suit both the action and the meaning. In the last act Alvary seemed fatigued, but again the fine acting of Fräulein de Ahna carried the audience with her.

The artistic setting of the third act was one of the most effective things ever accomplished by the scenic artists of the Bayreuth Theatre. The Wartburg Castle is seen on a hill beyond, and the whole valley is illuminated by a glorious sunset, which lasts for one and a half hour, changes in colour as the light grows fainter; overhead the rich foliage forms an arch of transparent green, so real that the leaves seem to move with the wind. The stage is made to look like a placid lake, with the current of air. The pilgrims, coming back from Rome, now arrive from the forest to the right, coming down a rocky slope in solemn procession; Elizabeth is there, expecting to greet Tannhäuser among the pilgrims. And here Fräulein de Ahna makes the unexperienced pilgrim understand the artist's manner of dramatic intensity and the whole scene one of great solemnity.

But in spite of the perfect instrumentation in the last
two acts of "Tannhäuser," in spite of the ideal conception of the work as a whole, there are many who think that such an opera should not be performed at Bayreuth. In fact, the real Wagnerians believe that "Tannhäuser" is the work that ought to have a place here. I have seen some critics so far influenced by the Wagnerian fever as to deliberately close their ears to the beauties of the composer's earlier works and join the chorus of fanatical enthusiasts who would obliterate all melody and sentiment from music in general. The longer one remains in Bayreuth the more trying does here.

The conception of the work as a whole, there are many who bring harmony to Bayreuth, and the discussions, the squabbles, the violent disputes which constantly occur have made the place anything but agreeable for those who love peace and repose. Each new arrival brings with him a fresh supply of kindling to keep the flame of passionate disputation from dying out. Saturday evening a fresh batch of visitors arrive, the others having left the town the day before.

They come from all quarters of the globe, and one would wonder at the artist, the musician, the poet, and the cultured man of the world would be in the majority, but the reverse is the case. For every artist and critic that arrives there are fifty merchants or others who are not supposed to know exactly what they come to Bayreuth for, but even among the German brewers and bakers there are plenty of true Wagnerians to be found who will tell you that Wagner was the only musician who understood the real meaning of music. To the majority of the German minds Richard Wagner's dramas represent a universal type of the Teutonic spirit; everything he did and said is to be accepted on the basis of absolute beauty and artistic truth, and the writer who is hardly enough to take exception to some of his maxims is apt to be dealt with rather harshly.

An hour's intermission between each act gives the audience plenty of time for refreshments and a stroll in the woods around the theatre, and, I may add, the student of human nature an excellent opportunity of observing the different "types." All the same in the world are here represented: snobs who have come to be seen and fanatics who have come to be heard. Every capital of Europe and America sends at least one proponent of the artist, the musician, the poet, and the cultured man of the world would be in the majority, but the reverse is the case. For every artist and critic that arrives there are fifty merchants or others who are not supposed to know exactly what they come to Bayreuth for, but even among the German brewers and bakers there are plenty of true Wagnerians to be found who will tell you that Wagner was the only musician who understood the real meaning of music. To the majority of the German minds Richard Wagner's dramas represent a universal type of the Teutonic spirit; everything he did and said is to be accepted on the basis of absolute beauty and artistic truth, and the writer who is hardly enough to take exception to some of his maxims is apt to be dealt with rather harshly.

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Mr. Heinemann in two light, attractive volumes. Critics it, and it contained almost exactly two hundred thousand words. You might hundred and twenty thousand words. But what is three hundred and twenty thousand words? Mr. de Morgan's novel contains three hundred and twenty thousand words. You might say. "But 'The Virginians!'" Well, I would sooner read Mr. de Morgan than 'The Virginians.' In fact, I am prepared to read Mr. de Morgan without charge; but I would sooner be a suffragette engaged in a hunger-strike than be sentenced to read 'The Virginians.'

Next week appears the first number of a new magazine, "The Tramp," of which the editor is Mr. Douglas Goldring. The prospectus is diverting. It says: "'The Tramp,' as its title indicates, will bring before the public the best and most spontaneous work of men who love the open air." A wonderfully indicative title! "The merit of a contribution will be of more importance to the editor than the name of its author, and the proprietors are confident that a public which has shown an interest in the more vigorous work of younger, if sometimes less known, writers will "make no concessions to the vulgar." I should like to shake his hand, and then expire. I await "The Tramp" with a certain eagerness.

JACOB TONSON.

REVIEWS.

The Art of Health. By Upton Sinclair and Michael Williams. (Health and Strength, Ltd. £3. net.)

We agree with all that is implied by this arresting title—health is an art. It is something to be acquired, and though we may not subscribe to the exact doctrine as here preached we are in cordial agreement with the authors that health is to be attained as the result of experiments in food and living. Mr. Sinclair once asked a doctor for advice as to the best way of living; the reply was: "Try to go right on and live as you have been living, and don't get to thinking about your health." This was completely satisfactory from the doctor's point of view, for a few years later he was paying the same doctor fees for advice as to what medicines he should now take. These gave temporary relief, but no real improvement, until after studying the works of Mr. Fletcher, Professor Chittenden, Dr. Kellogg, and others, and Mr. Williams has now found the way of right living through selection of food and moderation and method in eating. The writers are living in co-operation along the lines marked out at Hebron Hall. "The party consists of eight adults and two children. Half sick from eggs.

"We eat but twice a day, and the menus are made up entirely of fruits, grains, nuts, vegetables, with the occasional use of eggs. . . . When we came here (Bermuda) all our children were half sick from too long contact with cities, and we were not used to the climate, and so one of them caught cold. With this exception there has not been a day's sickness among them, nor the remotest trace of an ailment."

It will be seen that a good many factors other than

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ESTIMATES AND DESIGNS SUBMITTED.

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food are involved in this experiment. At Bermuda we and our children could perhaps manage to be healthy on the ordinary meat diet and imperfect mastication. To show how simple the whole thing is the authors are led into contradiction. Thus at one place they state that it is ridiculous to have "food notions, or the opinion that certain foods are 'wholesome' and that certain foods should be avoided as injurious, even if deleterious in the extreme."14 Elsewhere, however, they taboo mushrooms "as practically unfit for human use," meat, fish, beer, tea, coffee, etc., etc., all of which are regarded by most persons as delicious to the taste. "Abolish the frying-pan," one section is headed, and do not grudge him any recommendation that will gain for him a larger public. Steadman is also another unfamiliar name, and some quotations from his translations of Theocritus seem to suggest that the whole would be worth studying. We are sorry to find that Mr. Wilkinson so entirely dislikes Matthew Arnold, both as a poet and a critic, but we cannot say that we wish to imply that because Mr. Waite is a mystic first and a litterateur afterwards—everywhere there is evidence that his equipment in the latter capacity does not equal his attainments in the former—he has not made the Quest of the Holy Graal, with its covering of mystic samite, an artistic achievement.
Korea, amid evidences of the bloodiest outrages that have ever disfigured her history." Our chief criticism against Mr. Hamilton is not that this aspect is so bad, but that while he is writing on the Hedjaz Railway, or Korea, Persia or Turkey, he manages to be so insufferably dull and prosaic; a Foreign Office report is, in comparison, an exciting and literate piece of work.

The Place of Animals in Human Thought. By Constance Martineau-Cesareano. (Unwin, 12s. 6d. net.)

We are very much taken with this collection of anecdotes, lore, and folklore about animals drawn from many lands and many literatures. We are especially attracted by the funny views held by so many natives, especially Eastern natives, about animals, going so far as to beget the idea not to permit them to kill or ill-treat any living thing. "All breathing, existing, living sentient creatures should not be slain nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away." What an extraordinary point of view! We like animals, of course, well enough in our way—that is, in the way of beef or bacon, and can find a good deal to say for those creatures who serve us so admirably as antigenic shock absorbers. But fancy regarding them as having feelings like our own, or of thinking that "the scorpion has as good a right to live undisturbed in his domestic ant-hill as you have in your suburban villa. What a time the Anglo-Indian must have had to make the desert." To say the least, the official the Hindu, like his forefathers in remotest antiquity, respects the life of tiger and snake." A people who can think like this is certainly not enlightened enough to understand President Roosevelt or to be granted self-government after the English pattern. There are some delightful illustrations in this book; that of the "Real Dog of Ivan" from the Louvre is excellent, and the Egyptian Cat is a perfect joy.

Reflets d'Histoire. Par Paul Gauthier. (Hachette, Paris, 5fr. 50.)

Beyond the setting to work to analyse the Louvre and Versailles as the best buildings to illustrate his thesis of Art as the mirror of history, the author devotes an interesting chapter to scene painting and the history of stage scenes. This chapter makes us acquainted with the early forms of crude suggestion when labels were used to denote stage "props," and carries us down to the "pieric," hair for hair fidelity of the present day, when "nothing appears on the stage which is not authentic," and even to the real Turkey with chestnut stuffing. Without any malicious comparison, an exciting and literary piece of work. There are chapters on nearly every aspect of its national life, written by (we suppose) well-known French authorities. History, the Judicature, Education, Finance, Trade, Religion, Literature, Art, are all adequately dealt with. Dr. Sima Tropovitch contributes a chapter on "Animals in Human Thought." The authors have no doubt whatever on the subject; in their introduction they call the principle of Land Values Taxation "the fundamental remedy for social injustice." For all those who are anxious to follow the authors' proposals of taxation, then by all means let us pick up "The New Age."
perversely interesting chapter on "Manners and Customs," from which take the following: "In Servia's and still more in other Servian lands, parents prefer to have a son rather than a daughter. . . . There are some who do not mention their daughters when asked how many children they have." A woman may never retire to a drawer, but must jump to her feet; if she is spinning she must thrust her spindle behind her. A Servian woman may never cross the road when a man is passing: The respect and awe with which a husband is regarded are also evident from the fact that the wife never calls him by his name. Throughout the Servian lands the woman is considerably more burdened with work than the man. She is the first to rise in the morning and the last to retire at night. Many have no time to rest, doing the entire housework. . . . She spins, weaves, washes, knits, sews, embroiders, cooks, makes bread, milks the cows, makes cheese, minds the children, nurses the sick (male and female), usually doing that herself. Many of the industries are entirely carried on by women, for instance the manufacture of the Firou carpet and of pottery. The men are fathers, kings, soldiers, legislators, and other easy professions — a fair division of labour we consider it!

The Lady Calphurnia Royal. By Albert Dorrington and A. G. Stephens. (Mills and Boon. 6s. net.)

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plements of war, and tomorrow Democratic Budgets, Free Trade, and individual Freedom raised sky high! Yes, Sir, it is done—to the satisfaction of the tools in the gallery; but the judicious caller cannot press and return until the show busts up, and History writes over the ruins the old verdict:—

"The Press, and the Czar's Visit."

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE NEW AGE."

"The Birmingham "Daily Post," and the Birmingham "Gazette and Express" both reported Shaw's description of Sir Edward Grey, and Thorne's account of how the Czar is cheered in the British blue-jackets! Ugh! What Russian methods and how pleased "H.M." His Imperial Majesty be!

One wonders what sort of reception H.I.M. might have received had it not been cordial.

"A Cheerer."

THE PRESS AND THE CZAR'S VISIT.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE NEW AGE."

The Press and the Czar's Visit."

Mr. C. H. Norman has contributed an article to "The New Age" under the above heading in which he speaks of Dhingra as "a man who understands and is in sympathy with the Socialist movement."

Mr. Bland of misrepresentation. REGINALD WADE.

Mr. Bland of shocking misrepresentation when he

When asked by a European what would be the result of the evacuation of India by the British, Pertab Singh, the old Sikh warrior, recently quoted in the Press, seems very apt to confirm Mr. Bland's contention. When asked by a European what would be the result of the evacuation of India by the British, Pertab Singh is said to have replied:—"I shall not leave India to-day, no matter where I may be, in the saddle, and in a fortnight there would not be a virgin or a rupee left in Lower Bengal." Mr. Norman, by alleging mis-

conduct on the part of Anglo-Indian troops, is defending Mr. Bland of misrepresentation.

REGINALD WADE.

THE CHEERING OF THE CZAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE NEW AGE."

Scene: H.M.S. "Dreadnought" (Type).—Captain on Bridge to Commander:—"Yes here is the Royal yacht. Pass the word any man not cheering properly will be severely dealt with."

Boy's Mate piping:—"Do you hear there—any man not cheering properly when the royal yacht passes will be severely dealt with."

A voice lost in responsive booing:—"Damn the Czar! Curse the Czar!"

The royal yacht passes between the anchored line of battleships gaily decked in bloom, etc. etc. etc. the "air is rent" with cheers from each ship as the yacht passes with the King and Our Friend, the Czar. What a lesson for the Labour M.P.'s. Why not let us cheer the Czar! (32)

"A CHEERER."
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