

THE NEW AGE

INCORPORATING "CREDIT POWER."

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS, LITERATURE AND ART

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Last week we discussed the question of the power of self-preservation possessed by the banking system, and showed that the allegiances which it can command are based on Machiavelli's "mercenary" principle, depending, not on sentiments, but on salaries. In reply to the possible hypothesis that ambition supplements or replaces a mercenary motive for allegiance, we pointed out that such ambition is of an ignoble quality that is gratified by dispensations from above, and is therefore simply an expression of the mercenary principle in a different form. A trifle of stipend, or a trifle of status—it is the same thing: neither, separately, nor both together, are "sufficient to make them die for you," as Machiavelli warns his Prince. The soldiers of the bankers will be loyal only so long as the bankers do not make war.

We may now proceed to notice another parallel from Machiavelli. He warns the Prince against using the kind of soldiers called "auxiliaries"; that is, against relying for victory on calling in the aid of another Prince and his own soldiers.

"Therefore, let him who has no desire to conquer make use of these arms, for they are much more hazardous than mercenaries, because with them the ruin is already made; they are all united, all yield obedience to others; but with mercenaries, when they have conquered, more time and better opportunities are needed to injure you; they are not all of one community, they are found and paid by you, and a third party, which you have made their head, is not able all at once to assume enough authority to injure you. In conclusion, in mercenaries dastardly is most dangerous; in auxiliaries, valour. A wise prince, therefore, has always avoided these arms, and turned to his own; and has been willing to lose with them than to conquer with others, not deeming that a real victory which is gained with the arms of others. . . ."

"I conclude, therefore, that no principality is secure without having its own forces; on the contrary, it is entirely dependent on good fortune, not having the valour which in adversity would defend it. . . ."

"And it has always been the opinion and judgment of wise men that nothing can be so unstable as fame or power not founded on its own strength."

To draw the parallel let us designate Mr. Montagu Norman as the "Prince of England," whose strong-

hold is the City of London. Last week at the Bankers' Association's dinner, he was congratulated by a sycophantic courtier called Mr. Baldwin, upon having won a great victory for England. The victory was described as the "re-establishment of the credit of London." The reality intended to be conveyed by this phrase must be taken to be that London had been restored to its old place and influence in the financial counsels of the world, with the consequence that from this stronghold the Prince could now once more abate the ambitions of rival Princes, and so retrieve the economic fortunes of his English subjects. Let us assume the "victory." The vital question is how it was won. It was won, not by Mr. Montagu Norman, the Prince of England, but by Mr. Benjamin Strong, the Prince of America. *The arms were those of Yankee auxiliaries.* The credit of London is held in its place by forces who "yield obedience to others"; and those "others" command the obedience in the name of the credit of New York.

And so even the inmost stronghold of the English Prince—the Bank of England—is now garrisoned by goatbeards. This modern Glendower may boast: "I can hire allies from the Western main," but Hotspur can reply: "Why, so can I, or so can any man; but will they go when you have done with them?" We need hardly recapitulate all the evidences that they will not go. Every business that spans the main channels of our domestic economic fortunes has been de-nationalised by dollar investments. Even so recently as a month ago Sir Hugo Hirst's patriotic attempt to make a sortie with his General Electric Company to raise the siege was frustrated before he could pass out of the gates. Our very currency has been de-royalised. Mr. Baldwin elected to advance two evidences of London's financial re-establishment; the one, that the "exchange had been stabilised"; the other, that "foreign balances now came to London and were left there." Both are evidences of defeat. The exchange is pegged where it is by the power and on the initiative of Wall Street, and with the objective of permitting the irruption of dollar balances. What

this means in terms of Machiavelli's sixteenth century parallels is that the drawbridges of British commerce are being let down by American auxiliaries to admit the exports of American manufacturers. Machiavelli refers to the case of King Louis the Eleventh, who abolished his own infantry and "began to enlist the Switzers"—

"Which mistake, followed by others, is, as is now seen, a source of peril to that Kingdom; because, having raised the reputation of the Switzers, he has entirely diminished the value of his own arms, for he has destroyed the infantry altogether; and his men-at-arms he has subordinated to others; for, being, as they are, so accustomed to fight along with Switzers, it does not appear that they can now conquer without them. Hence it arises that the French cannot stand against the Switzers, and without the Switzers they do not come off well against others." (Our italics.)

For Louis, the Switzers and the French, substitute Mr. Montagu Norman, the Americans, and the English—and this passage, written four hundred years ago, needs no other word changed to become contemporary history.

Mr. Baldwin spoke wisdom without knowing it when he said that the British banking system might need all its friends. In the first place the fact of his making the statement at all implied distrust of the reality of the "victory" he had just been eulogising. In the second, assuming for the sake of argument a patriotic intention to achieve for England her economic restoration—without which financial recovery as such means nothing at all—the Prince of England has to face the duty of telling the Prince of America that his auxiliary services are no longer required. If not, some other Englishman must eventually usurp the Prince's power and assume that duty. Until it is undertaken the bankers will have no friends. If and when it is, they will get all the friends they need. At present they have to stand by and watch the Kingdom being despoiled by alien auxiliaries; and in order to suppress the internal disorders which are thus being engendered, they have to rely upon disaffected mercenaries. If they think that this situation can continue they mistake human nature.

It appears as if they are relying on the patience of the despoiled shareholders and income-earners who constitute the whole of the non-banking population. It may be that they themselves have been studying their Machiavelli to find out how to keep their subjects quiet under hardship. This problem Machiavelli illustrates by supposing the siege of a city. The population withdraw from their fields and habitations and come in behind the city walls. They see the enemy arrive and destroy their property. Will this spectacle not weaken their allegiance?

"I answer that a powerful and courageous prince will overcome all such difficulties by giving at one time hope to his subjects that the evil will not be long, at another time fear of the cruelty of the enemy, then preserving himself adroitly from those subjects who seem to him to be too bold."

This advice has been exactly applied. Every January since the Armistice the bank chairmen have assured the public that "You're nearly there" and scared them with the warning "You won't get there if you don't obey our advice." And since all criticism has been boycotted they have adroitly preserved themselves from those subjects who seem to them to be too well-informed. They have probably derived further assurance from Machiavelli's next observation,

"Further, the enemy would naturally on his arrival at once burn and ruin the country at the time when the spirits of the people are still hot and ready for the defence; and, therefore, so much the less ought the prince to hesitate; because after a time, when spirits have

cooled, the damage is already done, the ills are incurred, and there is no longer any remedy; and therefore they are so much the more ready to unite with their prince, he appearing to be under obligations to them now that their houses have been burnt and their possessions ruined in his defence. For it is the nature of men to be bound by the benefits they confer as much as by those they receive." (Our italics.)

Accordingly, at the Bankers' dinner, Mr. Baldwin recalled feelingly all the hardships which English citizens had been suffering as a price of the great victory. What high courage was theirs to watch the flames of deflation devour the habitations and fields of their old markets, and therefore (by subtle implication) how much more close ought to be their ties with the Banker Prince whose strategy on their behalf necessitated the occasion of their heroism!

But there is a snag in this chicanery. Machiavelli follows with a tremendous qualification.

"... it will not be difficult for a wise prince to keep the minds of his citizens steadfast from first to last, when he does not fail to support and defend them.

Machiavelli's Prince did at least feed his subjects inside the beleaguered city. But British subjects have been pillaged inside theirs. The old Italian subject did not get less siege-rations because his crops were destroyed. But the British subject whose market is destroyed gets a demand to repay his overdraft. Reconstructions and unemployment are not means of "support" and "defence" of the thrifty and industrious subjects of the Banker Prince.

A prince, says Machiavelli elsewhere, may govern by inspiring fear among his subjects, but only so that he do not inspire hatred. If he proceed against life it must be for "manifest cause."

"Above all he must keep his hands off the property of others, because men more quickly forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony." (Our italics.)

The financial Government of to-day is based in principle entirely on inspiring fear; and its method is exclusively that of seizing property. That it has not incurred hatred is because its despoiled subjects have not known that their loss was its act, but have charged it against the immediate agents of their spoliation. Thus, popular "hate" is turned in towards the tax-collector, the rate-collector, the "profiteer," the trade-union, the employer, the landlord, and so on, thus creating a situation where every man appears a predatory enemy to his neighbour and the confusion drives them all to rely on the financial Government—the father of foul play in the mass—to see fair play in detail.

The stability of a Government which can maintain such deception seems impregnable. But today signs are multiplying that men are looking behind the acts of the financiers' agents to the policy behind those acts. Everybody now includes the subject of credit in his repertory of political opinions. Again, these agents themselves, as we have said, are discontented because of (a) the conditions of their work, (b) the unpopularity of that work. The inherent instability of the system is manifest. It has outlived the purpose for which once it was useful. Its sap has dried up. An old gardener told us recently that when you plant beans you must not expect them to climb up dead wood. If your sticks are more than two seasons old since cutting they are useless. He said: "You push in some old and some new sticks; and then just watch one of those beans. It will push out its runners; and you can have a dead stick right bang up against the stalk, but them runners will reach out past it and choose a live stick even so much as a foot further away. Ah,

they know what they want, they do," was his conclusion. "They'm as sensible as you and me." Even so are the runners of the new civilisation reaching out past the shrivelled supports of the Old Economics in search of the New. They have long been creeping in entangled disorder across the ground, but at last their green filaments have smelt the sap of new twigs, and soon they will be carrying the plant skywards to break into the crimson blossoms of an economic and cultural renaissance.

The bankers have put the fragments of glass into the Kaleidoscope, but they cannot impede the multitudinous vital forces which are imperceptibly turning it. They think they have stabilised for ever the translucent pattern of their power, and then, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye—one click. The epochal event will have happened. The Ascension of Humanity will have come to pass. "And all eyes shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

To descend from visions and imagery to objectives and policy, everyone who believes in the inevitability of economic emancipation necessarily desires to hasten its coming. The puzzle is to know whether the event will be precipitated by the conscious act of a powerful usurper of financial power, or by the unconscious acts of the multitude. Will the resolution of the credit-monopolists weaken against a purposeless and diffused passive resistance or be overthrown by a purposeful and concentrated active attack? Men will answer according to their natures. Those fitted to lead, plan and organise will favour the attack. Those without those qualities will choose to disseminate the truth in the faith that it will prevail in some way which their reason cannot see. One thing may be taken as axiomatic; that no word of persuasion and no act of revolt will be wasted, however trivial in itself. Every method chosen will supplement every other in the general scheme of things.

The passive method needs no discussion. It is the active method which presents the problem. The function of THE NEW AGE is to encourage both. It is immaterial to us out of which estate of the realm a usurper may appear. Other things equal, the more highly placed he is, the quicker the decision. His qualifications in any case must be (a) that he knows exactly what to do if he attains to power (b) that his motives shall be trusted (c) that he has the courage to enforce obedience. Knowledge; popularity; resolution—these are the three virtues necessary in an alternative leader or group of leaders who propose to change the old order by force. Ideally, these suggest a combination of the genius of statesmen and of the soldier in the one man or group. Such a combination is obviously to be looked for first among what Machiavelli would have called the nobles; for their opportunities of acquiring those qualifications are much more numerous than those of master-craftsmen or apprentices. But if they do not awaken their responsibilities and take the part of the people, the people will take their own part. There is no doubt about the fact; the difference is in the time. The more lowly the social nucleus of the revolt the longer it will take to develop.

Within the last eleven years two chances have been missed of putting the financiers where they belong. One was when the last war ended and capitalism disarmed without having first had a reckoning with them. The next was at the end of the General Strike when capitalism was again mobilised on a quasi-military basis to clean up the consequences of bankers' interference with the mining subsidy. We are not hinting at anything sub-

versive, and certainly nothing disloyal to the King. And supposing we were, we can conceive nothing which is more flagrantly subversive than for a Prime Minister in the name of Parliament publicly to assign the effective government of the King's subjects to a private institution which, if not owned by Americans, is at least controlled by Wall Street. There is bound to be a crisis sooner or later, and when it occurs the heads of the King's forces will have a chance to make Government declare martial law, under which, while doing those things necessary to preserve order, they can take parallel steps to re-establish the financial supremacy of the King's Government, if necessary over the heads of his faithless Ministers, who could think themselves lucky if they escaped impeachment.

The *Civil Service Argus* for May reprints the whole of our Notes of April 11 in reply to Mr. Goldberg's article criticising the Douglas Scheme. There is also a rejoinder by "E. W. H.," the correspondent whose contributions evoked Mr. Goldberg's article. "E. W. H." points out that the *Argus*, as a Ministry of Labour Staff journal, is not the vehicle for propaganda of any one school of economic ideas, but at the same time has a general interest in the subject of unemployment, which is the Ministry's chief problem. He disclaims the intention to do more than point out what application Major Douglas's economic analysis has on that problem. We noticed a remark of his in an earlier issue of the *Argus*, which is worth recording:—"Money can bring goods into being, but goods cannot bring money into being." This is an excellent epitome of the truth that Douglas has made familiar and Mr. McKenna has since endorsed, that the volume of money in a country is solely dependent on the action of the bankers in issuing and withdrawing credit, and has no causal relationship at all with the amount of production that is offered for sale. That is why, as a rule, bumper harvests are a financial disaster to the growers instead of a financial gain. "E. W. H.'s" formula is nicely applicable to employment schemes. For instance: money can bring houses into being, but houses cannot bring rents into being. Enterprise in any new direction does not create its own financial reward: when it gets such reward it is because it has diverted money from other enterprises. Thus, in the papers there is a lot of talk of the new spirit of enterprise in the Post Office, which is going all out to render better service in order to raise more revenue. But under the present financial system its success can only be won by capturing revenue now being earned elsewhere.

There was a Convention on Counterfeiting at Geneva on April 20. Thirty-four States were represented. The representatives were nominated, not elected. Nomination is the process by which democracy is counterfeited. So the thirty-four bankers met, and in the names of their respective Governments declared the counterfeiter a world-outlaw. Under the Convention, if you commit the crime anywhere in the world you will be punished under a standardised code wherever you are subsequently found. Extradition rights have been renounced. Even Russia is party to this compact; and it is significant to read (*The Times*, April 22) that "this is the first occasion on which the Soviet Government has adhered to an international convention of League origin." Here's an inspiring opening to the Great Russian Experiment in the supersession of capitalism. Were the Soviet Government earnestly at war with capitalism, its most powerful weapon would lie in its forging Western European currencies or in declaring its territory sanctuary for every private

forger of such currencies, whether a Russian subject or not. What could produce a greater effect than to cause the average Englishman, Frenchman, German, and so on to doubt the authenticity of the bankers' paper-money, and to demand again what he renounced in 1914—gold coins? But no: the Soviet Government prefers to fight capitalism according to the rules of capitalism. Imagine it. An enthusiastic Russian Communist in England thinks he will strike a blow for his faith by passing £1 notes. The police smell it out, and he hurries back to Moscow. As soon as he arrives, his Government locks him up. "All power to the Soviet!" Scratch a Russian and you find a martyr.

The Convention is going to do the thing properly. There is to be a "central office in each State working in close contact with (a) the local institutions issuing currency, (b) the police authorities, and (c) the central offices of other countries." The terms of the Convention "make possible the ultimate creation also of a central information office." In brief, an international Secret Service organisation at Geneva controlling national Scotland Yards in all the world's Capitals solely to protect the bankers' monopoly of the manufacture of counters.

The notion that these superlative precautions are necessary to protect the public is pure bunk. The danger to the public who accept bad notes in good faith does not arise out of the badness of the notes but out of the fact that the banks refuse to redeem the bad notes by exchanging them for good ones. Seeing that the banks plant their own paper on the public without consulting the public, it is their duty at least to supply notes that are uncounterfeitable. Since they appear unable to do so, clearly they should sustain the loss occasioned by forgery, and not leave the public to suffer by it. Why should every citizen in the country be obliged to turn detective every time he receives a bit of paper money? There seems to be an unwritten law that "ignorance of the nature of a note is no excuse for being landed with it." Again, suppose the banks redeemed the forgeries, what would be the real nature of the "loss" they formally incurred? If we put out a thousand bad £1 notes to-morrow and got goods for ourselves with them, and the recipients of the notes changed them for good ones, all we should have done would be to create an imperceptible amount of inflation by causing the banks to add one thousand pounds to the pre-existing volume of circulating currency, and to do so without charging interest. We should have set up a little trade boom—the very thing that all our neighbours are now sighing for. The loss to the public occasioned by our withdrawal of goods from the market would be spread evenly over the whole population. On the other hand, we should have provided employment for the replacement of the goods. This is not a plea that counterfeiters should not be punished. It is an argument that the banks should recompense their victims.

"For several weeks production remained about a million tons a week for the Welsh coalfield, the reopening of a number of long-closed pits to secure a further expansion in supplies being neutralised through the quick spread of influenza amongst men and horses. Men who had been idle two or three years were particularly susceptible to the epidemic."—*The Iron and Coal Trades Review*, April 5, 1929.

Sir,—Mr. St. John Ervine, lecturing on his recent experiences in America, told a large audience in Lewis' Lecture Hall, Manchester, last Tuesday that he saw more drunken women in New York during his stay than he had seen in England in seven years.—Letter in *Daily Express*, April 22.

Current Democracy.

When Lord Beaverbrook promised to revive the hustings for the entertainment of the people, the natural response was to say that that, for whatever reason done, is what he would do. He has provided something which compares with the hustings as picture-going compares with fair-going; something neither vulgar nor alive. Proprietor of an organ of adult education, complete with cross-word puzzles for the exercise of wits and general knowledge questions for the self probing of scholars, he worships democracy, his heart being where his treasure is. His revival of the hustings proves on experience to be the perfection of a technique for converting the electorate into a jellyfish. The proceedings, when two candidates for cabinet minister-ships oppose one another, begin with community singing; this produces the correct emotional condition for the receipt of political messages. The proceedings end with the singing of Auld Lang Syne, in which the opponents join hands. Thus a debate on the future policy of the British Empire is regarded as a sporting event, with no more significance for anybody present or not present. But let us repair to the Albert Hall.

To witness the exhibition bout between Jix, the Highbury fancy, and Jim Thomas, the Welsh heavy-weight—the chairman assured us that these men were better fitted to govern the Empire because they had pet names—9,800 people had foregathered. After community-singing reminiscent of negro spirituals and a similar desire to drown the pain of consciousness, the chairman, acting as Master of Ceremonies, called for the pugilists. A trumpet sounded; a figure dressed in red coat and gartered breeches demanded the presence of the combatants in the ring. Over a doorway as far from the platform as possible, a searchlight shone from somewhere in the dome; and there emerged Jix. Under the moving beam he pranced to the platform; to be followed by Jim, also glowing with delight under the spotlight. "What about Cochran, now?" asked my companion. For a one-night show Cochran must give Beaverbrook best, for Beaverbrook can compel the audience to attend a show without providing artists. His stage-manager deserves congratulation; second to the achievement of taking over Parliament as sole lessee, with which Beaverbrook himself must surely be credited, the stage-manager of this puppet-show, and, perhaps "Lights," were the heroes of the occasion.

Jix spoke first. His effort made one hesitate between wondering how the Empire managed to creak along at all; and marvelling at the cleverness with which the governing classes carried on their policy while making democracy believe itself in agreement with it. Jix began by making an antithesis between Constitutionalism and Socialism. He spoke the word constitutionalism like a priest pronouncing a benediction, and gave his audience a feeling of complete self-righteousness at being on the side of any thing that God so much approved. But Jix spoke so much obvious rubbish with such tactlessness that his audience demolished his case before Jim rose to set it up again. Intending to say that there are a million and a half people now receiving pensions, who would not have done so but for his Government, Jix paused rhetorically after "there are in this country a million and a half"; and a person in the audience who had not merely awakened from the community lullaby, but had placed himself by luck or fate where the microphone and amplifier served him as well as Jix and better than Jim, bawled out "unemployed." Indeed, on the rare

occasions that anything brought the house down, it was a Harlequin in the audience entering into the job of choosing a Government in the best English sporting spirit who brought it off. Jix spoke in paraphrase of liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent; and sentimentalised individualism, remembering apparently neither conscription nor financial mergers. When he mentioned the duty of the Government to protect the country it seemed for a moment as though he was going to propose the sale of the barracks and the navy to private enterprise. Jix neither congratulated, however, nor did Thomas taunt, the Government on the skilfulness with which Government and big business had made sure of electricity being for ever the pigeon of private enterprise, nor did Jim even suggest that private enterprise is rarely cried for any other purpose than to protect unenterprising dogs in the people's managers. Jix's great point, repeated, was that experiments might be tried in young countries, but not, for God's sake, in old countries, especially not in Jix's country.

The objects of Jix and Jim were far from seriously opposing one another. Jix, with his hand somewhere near his heart, said what a fine fellow Jim was, but he didn't like Jim's friends, not all of them. Jim, with equal sincerity, said what a fine fellow Jix was, but he didn't like Jix's friends, anyway, not all of them. Jix quoted MacDonald to prove that the Labour Party agreed with him; and admitted with a show of perplexity a duty to the audience, not easy to carry out, of finding something to talk about on which Jim and Jix did not agree. Jix hardly blamed Jim for the General Strike, as who would? He just asked Jim what it cost, and Jim did not ask Jix what the war cost. Had he done so neither would have answered organisation and printing, since neither was particularly interested in organisation or in that particular sort of printing. Jix just stood for constitutionalism and freedom, and for the stability of our institutions, meaning presumably the Church, which is obsolete, the family, which metropolitan civilisation and industrialism have broken up; and marriage, to break up which his clan abandoned Roman Catholicism; but certainly meaning the institution of property which enables inefficient, idlers, dull-wits, and Conservatives to prevent the decent human organisation of their country. Finally, Jix asked Jim if he played bridge, and Jim, with a mixture of eagerness and defiance, replied that he did. Indeed, they practically fixed up a rubber, though the names of the ladies who would be invited were, in the best English gentleman style, not divulged. Jim told the world that he was as sure of beating Jix at bridge as he was of being a better Cabinet Minister.

But let Thomas have his innings, as he proved himself a sportsman, which is to say, fit to govern the Empire. Thomas, however, was a bad actor. He refused to speak to the microphone. He would go over to Jix's corner and bawl into his ear. If only he would have shaken his fist under Jix's nose as well, there might have been an event worthy 9,800 spectators and the Albert Hall tradition. Thomas demanded a job in the new Government, on the ground that he was far more imperialist than the Tories. Never in his Colonial ministership had he done anything so unimperial as to sanction the Singapore base, and then give the order for the machinery to America, as Jix's Government did. The Tories, said Jim, do not monopolise the Union Jack, nor patriotism, nor any of the other fine symbols and ideas by which the peace of the world is to be maintained. Finally Jim, disdaining equality, claimed that equality of opportunity there should certainly be, thus proclaiming himself bourgeois and

anti-Socialist. Between Jix and Jim there is nothing to choose. They think alike, and have the same ambitions. The only excuse there can be for an election is that it provides a variation in the sort of entertainment advertised by the music-halls, rings, theatres, and picture houses. While their country decays the politicians fiddle for the mob.

P. B.

The Philosophy of Social Credit.

[Compiled from the Writings of Major Douglas.]

A conception which is very closely connected with the theory of rewards and punishments is that of "value." In effect, value may be defined, to fit the orthodox conception of it, as that quality which gives to anything maximum exchangeability under present conditions. Rewards and punishments, justice, i.e., the assessments of deserts, and "value," i.e., the basis on which deserts are assessed, may be said to be the corner-stones of the Semitic structure of society.

Now, so far as this attribute called "value" can be said to have any basis in the nature of things, it consists in that quality which renders a given object serviceable in the attainment of a given end.

the value of anything which has a use is, according to the popular idea, enhanced by its scarcity, and it is quite fair and unimpeachably logical that a world which seeks after "values" should proceed to create them through the agency of scarcity.

It is not only logical, but, what is very much more important, it is what happens. The process of creating "values" by creating a demand which is in excess of the supply is called advertisement, and by restricting a supply so that it is always less than the demand is technically known as "sabotage." It is, of course, the only theory, if it can be so called, underlying the strike, the assumption being that if the whole of the available labour can be taken off the market, the financial value of it immediately increases. The higher manifestations of it are slightly more subtle, but identical in principle. The modern objective of big business is to obtain the maximum amount of money for the minimum amount of goods. Or, to put it more accurately, to obtain a maximum total price for a minimum total cost.

In the case of a nation [it is] to make its receipts in taxation equal or exceed its expenditure, and, in addition, to have as large a surplus as possible with which to pay the interest on loans created by the financial hierarchy and to "sustain the nation's credit" in view of future loans.

If we can conceive, what is in fact the case under the existing financial system, that money is a commodity in exactly the same sense as is tea or sugar, and that there is a powerful, if unobtrusive, business ring which deals in money as a commodity, it will be readily understood that the balancing of budgets and the repayment of loans by taxation is a prime interest of those interested in the commodity.

the visible government of a country is obliged to take its orders and to shape its policy, and particularly its financial policy, in accordance with the instructions of the dealers in this indispensable implement, so long as they hold a practical monopoly of it.

Just as the artificial theory of rewards and punishments is a distorted reflection of the automatic process of cause and effect, and the orthodox idea of value has possibly its root in something which may be described as suitability, so that that questionable abstraction to which we refer under the name of justice may have a groundwork in the nature of things. One instance of this, and an instance having immense importance at the present time, is contained in the theory of "cultural heritage."

The early Victorian political economists agreed in ascribing all "values" to three essentials: land, labour, and capital. But it is rapidly receiving recognition that there is now a fourth factor in wealth production, the multiplying power of which far exceeds that of the other three, and which may be expressed in the words of Mr. Thorstein Veblen as the "progress of the industrial arts." Quite clearly, no one person can be said to have a monopoly share in this; it is the legacy of countless numbers of men and women. . . . since it is a cultural legacy, it seems difficult to deny that the general community, as a whole, and not by any qualification of land, labour, or capital, are the proper legatees. . . . The chief owners and rightful beneficiaries of the modern productive system can be shown to be the individuals composing the community, as such.

Drama.

Mary Rose: Haymarket.

The very name of "Mary Rose" is magic. It fixes her in the audience's mind as a flower-child that winter may kill, but not wither. If we could think of her as Mary Rose Morland, or as Mrs. Simon Blake, these names would destroy the witches that preserved her youth. Barrie allows her, of course, to be called Mistress Blake in the second act; but he does not make a firm impression; he merely prepares a semblance of actuality prior to further magic. For Barrie's great mother heart is so saddened by the idea of anyone growing up that he cannot call Mrs. Blake's adult soldier son, Harry Blake; but leaves him just Harry. While Barrie still practises the same old magic in "Mary Rose," however, he betrays signs of suspicion that it may be black magic. The theme can be read as Barrie's confession that those who grow old carry enough of childhood with them, apart from enjoying a second one, whereas those who do not grow up suffer from the pathos and poverty of vital cowardice, aggravated if they should realise their condition.

Mary Rose retains her youth at the cost of forfeiting experience of life. While she dwells oblivious to the passage of time on the "Island that" not only "Likes to be Visited," but, according to tradition, is sometimes not there, her loved ones arrive at old age. Their growing old together, however, warms the winter of their content, whereas she, returning with her Spring upon her, perishes. Her restless spirit wanders after the baby she has not seen mature. The caretaking hairs of Mrs. Otery are whitened by terror of the ghost that prowls disconsolately in search of its lost years; which gives a more deterministic meaning to the Countess Diane's: "the years a woman subtracts from her age are not lost; they are added to the ages of other women."

"Mary Rose," then, is far from a simple fixation on the Golden Age. Consciously or unconsciously, it contains the degradation and sacrifice of the object of love. In it Barrie shows himself at greater ease about allowing the rights of the second childhood than about perpetuating those of the first. What is most human and charming in the first act, for example, is not the narration that the nature of Mary Rose has in it something faery, cleverly as Barrie leads us into a readiness to develop goose-flesh. It is the childish egotism displayed by Morland and the parson as they quarrel about their flair for pictures; the manner in which Mrs. Morland brings them together as a firm mother would command two naughty children to be friends; and each one's insistence, in reconciliation, that the other is the finer fellow. Here Barrie is almost a satirist of the child in the man; a caressing satirist, loving and forgiving, rather than one of those lashing satirists who expect no better of us after cutting us to pieces. The dialogue between Cameron and the married Blakes in the second act, where the scholarly fisherman demonstrates the ineptitude of the English for everything except governing wiser peoples, is true comedy of manners, with a bite in it. The subsequent second disappearance of Mary Rose into oblivion on this uncanny Hebridean island is unconvincing by comparison. We could allow fear and superstition to be portrayed; we could allow consequences to follow. But we can so little allow the magic that Barrie provides that we find ourselves looking for technical words to describe the particular sort of mental aberration for which her disappearance is so euphemistic and sentimental a symbol. We have

seen the children who fail to grow up; they are congregated at places like Epsom Manor. We no longer believe that the devil has taken them, nor that they have swallowed the devil; nor in moonshine.

Again, in the third act, the repetition of the quarrel between the parson and Morland about pictures is delightful comedy. It is good art criticism and good criticism of mankind. When the old people, expecting Mary Rose and Cameron, as well as Simon Blake, confess that time heals grief, though it be deliberately cherished for a Mary Rose, the sentiment is pure. At old Morland, child-likely seduced into a more lively interest in a new dress suit when conscience demanded that he should with old woes his dear time waste, we bow our heads in humble communion. At times the pathos of Barrie rings with truthfulness and reality. If he could have sacrificed the permanent child completely and satisfied himself with pre-occupation over the immanent child and transcendent child, as Chesterton did, the pair might almost have defended the family and the English home from the machine of industrialism and the reason of Bernard Shaw.

The return of Mary Rose in the last act re-introduces unreality. Her entrance with the now aged Cameron—the island affected neither him nor Blake—is one of the rare points in a Barrie work which is unactable. Here craftsmanship cannot serve magic. Mr. George Curzon, scarcely acting at all, did no worse with the incident than his predecessors. Unfortunately, Mr. Curzon was in every other respect miscast. For me Cameron's scene on the island was raised to heights of glory by Ernest Thesiger's performance in the original production. That performance stands in memory as the one piece of undeniable magic. It was a great disappointment when Mr. Curzon both spoke Welsh and behaved Welsh; striving to obtain by agitation an effect that must depend on restraint and presence. The man who holds the trumps up his sleeve, sure of playing them, sure of winning, does not behave as though his whole object was to make the others pat him on the head and console him for his misfortunes. The rest of the cast is excellent. As Mrs. Otery, Miss Frances Rutledge tells between her lines the whole story of how she sticks to the terrifying job of caretaking a haunted house that no English woman can bear. Mr. Francis Lister's Simon Blake was excellent at all stages, much better than his Harry, whose accent seemed to me to need explanation. Angela Baddeley's Mary Rose was rendered ethereal by delightful diction; her presence in the last act was beautiful. Miss Hilda Trevelyan played Mrs. Morland again; it is hers. As Morland Mr. J. H. Roberts gave, in the last act, what appealed to me as the star performance of the evening. For the sake of his picking up the copy of "Punch" and finding that, while not what it was, it is not so bad as it might be, this revival is worth while.

PAUL BANKS.

THE REAL PROBLEM.

(Answer to Miss Megan Lloyd George, May 13 broadcast.)

"Denied the opportunity of Toil,"
I sigh with pleasure;
And, not alarmed "lest my morale should spoil,"
Employ my leisure.
The only Problem which my mind engages
Is, that of Wages!

L. S. M.

ARTIST?

I am an artist!
Are you an artist?
I never knew an artist,
Who said he was an artist,
Who was an artist.

KNUD STORFENSSON.

Views and Reviews.

THE COMPLEAT INSULT.

By W. T. Symons.

All former abuses of human credulity fade to insignificance beside the scale of abuse practised in modern American Salesmanship. The two-sided significance of the vile phrase "sales resistance": its contempt for human dignity, and its ruthless determination to overcome the exercise of free intelligence, is conveyed by the mechanistic suggestion of the words themselves. No self-respecting engineer would so insult the inherent properties of the steel in which he works; he regards his material with too much respect.

The clever conceit of The Consumer in the modern world as Alice in a Wonderland more fantastic than the invention of genius, affords the authors of this entertaining book* scope for a survey of "the new competition"—the competition to sell in a financially restricted market, regardless often of quality, use or the most elementary honesty in description—which never loses sight of the main fact that

"the financial structure being what it is, it became more difficult for the ultimate consumer to buy back the capacity output of the new mills and factories. . . . Plenty of machines, plenty of plant space, plenty of raw materials, plenty of willing workers, plenty of consumers bursting with wants, but the purchasing power in terms of money simply was not there. We note the fact only; the wherefore of it is another story. . . . Our money system is based on the economics of scarcity, while our technological plant is built on the economics of abundance. The two systems fail to interlock, and out of their frantic and largely futile attempts to do so, the new competition emerges."

Our authors have their feet on the ground, and exhibit an admirable appreciation of the game, which saves them from a futile moral indignation. What fun it is, when once you have abstracted yourself from human reality by creation of such phrases as "merchandising vacuum," "sales resistance," and have learnt to regard the consumer as a "prospect," to embark upon a career of "sales psychology," in which every imaginable type of ingenuity finds a place, and in which, above all, the rewards of success are far greater than those reaped by any real contribution to the wealth of the community.

With the slogan "Repetition is Reputation" for text, the college-bred man of charming manners becomes a "contact man," immaculately maintained in club and drawing room, handing his victims over at the psychological moment to the "closing man" and the "go-getter." Every common commodity is disguised under some trade-name, and "selling the package" to the consumer, at many times the previous cost of its contents, replaces selling the article.

Shoddy and sound goods are confounded together to the inevitable disadvantage of the latter. Organizations exist to supply the endorsement of products by royalties, famous persons, film stars, athletes, at a fee for the exclusive use of a star between \$150 and \$2,500 depending upon the standing of the star and the length of time the exclusive use is required—Famous Names, Inc." Your house is built after a severe struggle between the Lumber Manufacturers and the Brick Institute, whilst "The National Slate, Red Shingle, Sewer Pipe Tile, Sun-kissed Hopper and Tar Associations" wrangle with you for permission to supply the roof.

Vast sums of money are expended to make the consumer

"lumber-conscious, shoe-conscious, silk-shirt-conscious, solid-mahogany-conscious, personality-perfume-conscious, balloon-tyre-conscious, sauerkraut-conscious—before his bank account becomes unconscious."

* "Your Money's Worth." Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink. (Jonathan Cape. 8s. 6d.)

All these efforts are expended in the salesmanship of comparatively reputable commodities. But when the same tactics are applied to the "patent medicine" trade we enter a region of sordid and injurious lying which is scarcely believable. Whilst the range of adulterants—in confectionery, furniture, paint, soap, jewellery, clothing, furs, leather, silk; and of fraud in the matter of weight and measure—examined by the Federal Trade Commission of the United States and other public bodies of inquiry, disclosed an astonishing variety and unscrupulousness of attack upon the uninformed public.

"The process"—even of comparatively honest boosting—"is on the way to a *reductio ad absurdum*," for when every car is the "best" and "greatest"; household appliances, shoes, soap, disinfectants, and every article of use or superfluity presented under a thousand disguises, each claiming superiority over all others, the palate becomes jaded. And when at the bottom of it all, the proportion of purchasing power to consumable goods is steadily diminishing—

"In spite of mass production, fixed prices, wide distribution, the general price level considered in decades moves steadily upward"—

we have the makings of tragedy beneath the bizarre comedy. Moreover, the British imagination of American prosperity is rudely shocked by the statement that

"two-thirds of all American families live below the budget of health and decency, as computed by the United States Department of Labour."

One result is the degradation of all standards—the better article being frequently swamped by the worse through more extensive advertising; a cultural injury of great magnitude. Another is the continually enlarging scope of the units of competition, summarised thus in "Your Money's Worth," quoting from a banker's analysis of the situation

(1) The growth of competition across horizontal lines; vertical competition.

(2) The competition of one industry organised through a trade association, with another industry similarly organised, selling an alternative or substitute commodity. Lumber against bricks, for instance.

(3) The competition of one industry with all other industries for as much as it can get of the national income.

(4) The competition of one community with another. Town boosting; Florida versus California.

(5) The growth in intensity of international competition.

The interesting fact for THE NEW AGE readers is the widespread recognition that each unit of competition is battling for a larger share of a national income which is, in any event, totally inadequate to the mass of goods offered for sale. Hence the extension of purchasing power, first by taking a mortgage on next year's wages through instalment contracts—

"\$5,000,000,000 of 1926 purchasing power was mortgaged in 1925."

Then, when even the diamond merchants are advised by the *New York World* to finance a "get-engaged oftener" campaign! to meet the slump occasioned by dumping of crown jewels on the market since the War, whole communities are pitted against one another, populations shift, land values suddenly rise or fall, "local merchants go to Europe or go into bankruptcy." In the end the dread result of international competition for the world market is reached, and the discovery made that every modern community is in similar plight, and that

"many are the potential wars which lie in that competition. But this channel . . . is beyond our immediate problem."

Our authors are writing within prescribed limits, and whilst well aware of the financial provocation of the world difficulty, are concerned to describe the

situation in a clear and well-documented manner, and to propose that science be given "a fighting chance" to retrieve the jaded palate by establishing standards of quality, weight, measure, terminology; not standardisation of design and pattern which is

"submerging individual tastes and differences in a vast pattern of uniformity. . . . It is our hope that more standards for industrial processes, and for quality in goods will eliminate sufficient waste and lost motion to provide the leisure and the independence for *less* standardisation and more individuality in the vastly more important business of living."

The suggested road of reform is not altogether untrodden. The United States Government, for its own purchases, submits all commodities to the Bureau of Standards, totally disregarding the advertisement hoarding, fancy description, glorified packing, and the blandishments of super-salesmen. In many States the quality in large-scale necessities, such as gasoline, fertilisers, paint and food has been greatly improved by public authorities. The extension to private consumers of this enquiring attitude, and the provision of facilities for its satisfaction, appears to the writers a hopeful programme in itself, whilst affording an indirect attack upon the sources of consumer credit in the magic field of its creation, above the gigantic, degrading scramble precipitated by a money system still operating upon the economics of scarcity. The final remedy is indicated by our authors in a phrase: "It so happens fortunately that "when men are economically free, individuality flourishes."

Individual and Community.

In his introduction* Dr. Wexberg writes:

"Individual psychology neither includes nor assumes any doctrine of morals. . . (it) may be described as a normative science only in the sense in which scientific hygiene is normative when it studies the bacterial flora of drinking water. . . .

Later, in the next paragraph, indeed, he writes:

"... the individual-psychologic-norms are in many ways closely related to the behests of every community ethic. . . . prophets and founders of religions have in great part framed their revealed ethics in harmony with an obscurely felt mental hygiene whose aim is one in principle with that of individual psychology."

Then Dr. Wexberg distinguishes between the essence of ethics and Individual Psychology, as the difference between maxims in the form of categorical imperatives having a transcendental basis, and this mental hygiene.

The alleged obscurity of the founders of religions is a question on which disagreement might arise. One reason, enough in itself, for the apparent obscurity of prophecy, is a thousand to two thousand years of effort to make it mean what it refuses to mean without the help of a mental and spiritual squint. The sayings of Jesus Christ, as Nietzsche saw in a vision as vivid as Paul's, are obviously a mental hygiene for people whose conduct of life has destroyed their peace in the world and the universe. Nietzsche, of course, scorned the mental hygiene of Jesus, not because it was non-vital for Jesus, but because it had been interpreted non-vitality by mankind. The Christian message has been used for almost every purpose except mental hygiene, for contenting the lower classes with dreams of post-mortem compensation for their poverty; for excusing the destruction of political and scientific revolutionaries; for justifying the payment of huge salaries to soul savers appointed, as Emerson said, by the dictates

* Individual Psychological Treatment. By Dr. Irwin Wexberg. (Daniel.)

of the Holy Ghost in invariable agreement with the recommendations of the Queen. All that has been looked for, in short, in the sayings of Christ, is confirmation that upper classes are upper classes by divine right, and that the duty of all men is to submit to that eternal truth. It is a great wonder, with every interfering hand thus guided, that the sayings of Jesus, open-mindedly viewed, still communicate a mental hygiene. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," appears in the vernacular as "Don't cross the bridge until you reach it."

The founders of religions stated with authority that the man who lived in a certain way would enjoy life and receive blessings; if he lived in certain other ways, he would have a bad time. What he should believe rather depended on what he meant to accomplish than on the eternal truth which modern philosophy and science regard as hidden in a box within a box in a house at the bottom of a well. The doctor of physic treats his patients similarly, promising physical health not with pills and phials, but for a regime based on vital discipline. The mind doctor does the same thing. As the physician advises his patients to take nourishing food, fresh air, sunlight exercise, and abstain from worry, the mind doctor advises, in addition to the same things, analogous things for the mind. As the body needs good food the soul needs to love and be esteemed of worth in the world; and the spirit needs to know its place in creation. Mind doctoring closely resembles body doctoring in that if the patient is sick he feels sick, though up to now pride has compelled men to blame mind-sickness on their wives, jobs, or civilisation, whereas they have been persuaded that physical sickness may be due to wrong—not evil—conduct.

From Dr. Wexberg's introduction the suspicion arises that individual psychologists themselves are in the grip of an inferiority feeling which drives them after a fictitious goal when they show themselves so anxious to be called scientific. If the description of science is to be applied to every mode of mental activity where care and truthfulness are exercised and generalisations drawn from facts, the scope of science is going to be unhelpfully widened for the sake of sheltering other useful activities under the umbrella of a new respectability. Individual psychology is a branch of the art of healing, and surely the more consciously and whole-mindedly it recognises itself as such, the better it will be for the art of healing. Its findings are valid because they heal the patient, not because they are necessarily scientific. The patient's wholeness depends not on the attainment of a definable norm but on his own sense of well-being, and his capacity to live at peace with himself while serving his fellow-creatures to the limit of his power. The norm of mental health is perceptible only intuitively. It is manifestly present only to the free spirit. Whole civilisations may be so neurotic that it requires the self-sacrifice of a Nietzsche or a Whitman, both of them diseased, to give even the vision of health as a light at the other end of a tunnel.

We endanger our own prospects by charging the founders of religion with obscurity so as to increase our comparative stature. We have as yet neither arrived at a social form nor established a discipline of soul and spirit as fitted to our means and civilisation as theirs may have been. As every man and woman ought to know, the truth is a lie until it has been experienced, when it is a miracle. Individual psychologists are themselves forced by their findings to treat the community as well as the individual, to treat parents as well as children, sometimes to doctor husbands when wives complain.

"norm" of such a healing art cannot very well be defined as yet, for the reason that it is as yet not created. It is still becoming.

A great deal towards the goal of clear seeing and the establishment of a discipline of well-being has been done by individual psychologists. In it the norm does take, though only roughly, a shape. Between the man who, absorbed in his task, is accomplishing something social and attaining a well-being, and another who is pursuing the goal of a failure's vanity, it is possible to distinguish. It is possible to make the individual conscious of the unrealities he is harbouring, and it may become possible to render societies conscious of their false will-to-power motives. The old distinction between good and evil has disappeared among students of the human being's motives. The criminal merely pursues legitimate desires for worth which cannot be satisfied by criminal life. The child offender is more likely the injured party than the injurer. Possibly the greatest truth in individual psychology is that not only is the individual responsible, but society is responsible. There is neither economic nor other necessity in the way of satisfying aspirations recognised as legitimate. Throughout my reading of the work of individual psychologists they appear to be fumbling for the ideas of the common inheritance and the social dividend.

On this question of the relationship between the individual and the community, Dr. Wexberg's book is weakest. It is a territory marked as Central Africa used to be on the maps of the world, with one or two rivers and a great space of blank. His chapter is too short, and apart from the fact that healthy tendencies are shown, deep misunderstanding is possible.

"We have frequently found in neurotics a tendency to mysticism and superstition of every sort, as expression of the wish that there may be supernatural powers, because for life as it is he does not feel adequate, and therefore would gladly comfort himself with a hope in miracles."

This, of course, is perfectly true. There are mysticisms and mysticisms. There may be a faith, as Orage once said, on which a man bets his life; and a horse on which he bets what he has because he owes so much, and wants a dream of release as a cocaine taker dreams of release. Whether the mysticism of a man who does as much for his fellow men as, say, Æ, is neurotic would be a long question; whether Sir Oliver Lodge's faith in ghosts is due to inadequacy or the need for consolation is another story. That

"Neurotics are to be found congregated in the extreme and radical wings of all parties and beliefs. . . . is also true; but it may not be an entirely good thing to "adapt them to the community" until the community has adapted itself to its powers and obligations. Yet, as Dr. Wexberg realises, whether the neurotic should be advised to go on and compel the community to learn how to live with him, or to learn how to live with the community would depend more on his manner of expression than on the content of his views. All said and done, individual psychology is incomplete without a mankind sociology; a fact to which, happily, many of those individual psychologists not in agreement with it, at least preserve an open mind.

R. M.

"There is a suggestion that the new Papal State should have its own bank, on its own territory, and that this Papal Bank should be the centre of a world-wide system of Catholic banks, catering chiefly for small depositors. Wealthy American Catholics, it is stated, have already expressed their willingness to provide the requisite capital."—*Daily Herald*, April 27.

The Screen Play.

"La Marche des Machines."

Mr. Ogilvie has placed lovers of film art under yet another obligation by publicly exhibiting Eugène Deslaw's "La Marche des Machines" for the first time. (Avenue Pavilion.) We have as yet in England had but little opportunity of seeing "pure" or "abstract" film, so that "La Marche des Machines" will reveal to many people possibilities of the screen which they may hitherto not have realised. The theme of this very short—too short—picture is indicated by the title. It is characterised by a remarkable rhythm, has some shots of the most compelling exotic beauty, and despite its apparent mechanisation I found it curiously exciting. It would have given the author of "Erewhon" a nightmare.

"Submarine."

The best thing about this film (Marble Arch Pavilion) is its title. The story is a somewhat crude version of the eternal triangle, characterised by clichés which one had thought that Hollywood had abandoned by now. The production gives the impression of two separate films, hastily welded together, one a spectacular affair with the American Navy as the background, and the sinking of a submarine as its "high spot," and the other concerning the relations of two men and a woman. This is not a "talkie," but has a continuous sound accompaniment, which is good enough, although the excellent orchestra of the Marble Arch Pavilion would have done much better, and the sound effects do not appear to have been made until after the completion of the film. The photographs of naval scenes are excellent, notably the pictures of a smoke screen, but producers must really learn that good photography does not make a good film.

"Submarine" contains some characteristic American "Mammy" sob-stuff, and reveals that the United States Navy shares with its Army a comic opera discipline, and is a school for sentimentalists in which hard-bitten and somewhat epileptic officers dash tears from their eyes, and address N.C.O.'s by their Christian names in moments of emotional stress. Another American characteristic is the use of sub-titles offensive to a cultured English audience, including the employment ad nauseam of "Big Boy" as a term of endearment. Jack Holt, Ralph Graves, and Dorothy Revier were good, the last in an unsympathetic part, and it is to be hoped that she and Mr. Holt will be given worthier roles in their next picture.

"Backwaters."

Our prudish censorship appears to find something peculiarly offensive to the moral sense of the community in the word "street." Bruno Rahn's "La Tragédie de la Rue" has had to be renamed "Backwaters," in deference to the wishes of the British Censor, before the ban was lifted and it could be shown at the Avenue Pavilion. The editing by the censorship includes the conversion of a *souteneur* into the prostitute's brother, a sea change which Mr. Ogilvie slyly characterises in his programme as an "adjustment" which "does not interfere with the development of the story." "Backwaters" reintroduces to British filmgoers that distinguished actress, Asta Nielsen, who has been absent from our screen for some years. Her playing and that of Oskar Homolka, who contrives to make the role of the pimp sympathetic, are the outstanding features of this film

DAVID OCKHAM.

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