# THE

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# NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Mr. Norman Angell has just accepted the editor-ship of Foreign Affairs. In an appeal for new sub-scribers by scribers he says:

"The issues of foreign policy . . . have become so complicated that the busy citizen is apt to find himself utterly lost in debates that run from Chinese Civil wars and the Singapore base to details of the Dawes Plan, Hungarian frontiers, German reparations, American debts, relations with Russia and the obligations of Article XVI. of the Covenant, the relations of Battleships to trained reserves, and of the Kellogg Treaty to the Locarno Pact.

"Yet it is the opinion of the ordinary citizen which ultimately settles these things. How can he keep abreast of them?" [Our italics.]

Mr. Angell's answer is that this citizen wants a "Periodical summary of the situation," a "stock-taking," an "interpretation," which will enable him to see "what the issues are," and to know "the essence of what the best authorities have to say make such a summary in a brief space is difficult, but not impossible. Anyhow he is going to have a try, and he hopes that the public will encourage him with their 4s. a year for Foreign Affairs (post free).

hypothetical ordinary citizen to "settle" these things. We will take any large newspaper office in Fleet ten. Here sits an editor. Behind him are—what? bulk, twenty, individuals of like passions to the create a policy and impact it on their readers. They create a policy and impose it on their readers. They will not admit it. Out of say, 100 inches of matter, they will tell they will tell you that 90 contain what the public want. But I go want they want the public want. But the ten contain what they want the public want. Want the ten contain what they want the public want. to want. And since the daily ten inches are continuous. And since the daily ten inches are continuous. tinuous, concentrated, and tendentiously coherent, while the while the ninety inches are discontinuous, diffusive and visually disconnected, the public are imperceptibly led to expect their ninety-inch entertainment and instruction on the ten-inch wave-length. To apply a musical analogy of they hear their news a musical analogy, as long as they hear their news

sounded on the ten-inch pitch, they do not trouble what kinds and combinations of overtones are added within the ninety inches. The policy-imposers set the pitch by three methods—the leading article, the leading news-headlines, and the leading selection of news. They employ simultaneously the frontal attack, the encircling movement, and the distant blockade. The first tells readers what they ought to think, the second suggests it, and the third withholds from them the material for thinking otherwise. The from them the material for thinking otherwise. The whole Press of the world does not present more than a vanishing fraction of the facts in the world. It cannot. So the "public" opinion mobilised by the editors and proprietors is their own opinion. Hence the doctrine of "Free Speech" means the doctrine of the "Free Press," and the doc proprietorship to create public thought-forms out of partial truth, and direct them to its chosen uses. This right corresponds exactly to the larger right conceded to the banking system of selecting and activating a fractional part of the country's economic power —a function exercised by the dispensing of credit. The freedom of the newspaper Press reflects the freedom of the note-printing and cheque-printing Press. The second freedom conditions the first. Just as the newspapers divide the public opinion into conditions flicting sections, so do the banks divide the newspapers. The world's high financiers are the world's ultimate Editors.

This chiefly concerns home news. When foreign news is brought into the survey other elements news is brought into the survey other elements enter to weaken the force of public opinion. The international news agencies select what news they will distribute to newspaper proprietors. The international diplomats select what news they will distribute to the news agencies. Sometimes the public hear the phrase "leakage of news," and when they read such news they are thrilled by the thought that it has been blown to them like a dandelion seed straight from the fact-field. Never. "Truth will out." Yes, but somebody lets it out, and that somebody knows that if he lets out true news against the

policy of all the censors, his career is finished. All leakages are permitted leakages. One hears of wheat-pools holding back supplies to maintain prices. But no one is told of the news-pools which do the same thing to maintain the value of the opinion-producing assets of the Press and the banks. You get your loaf only on conditions which enable the farmer to keep faith with his banker. You also get your news only on conditions which enable the editor to keep faith with his capitalist masters and they to keep faith with their financial masters.

We can now measure the value of Mr. Norman Angell's affirmation that it is "the opinion of the ordinary citizen" which "settles these things." It is not true. And even if it were true as a general proposition, at least such individual opinions would have to be formed independently of "what the best authorities have to say thereon." The most disinterested energalists can do no more than describe terested specialists can do no more than describe events and explain their immediate causes, whereas the settlement of problems requires knowledge of root causes. Mr. Angell's ambition seems to be confined to making Foreign Affairs a descriptive catalogue of diplomatic squabbles. Even so, it could be made a useful journal of reference—especially if he were occasionally to publish a copious index to the items—but useful only to those who hold the key to their meaning.

Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. International antagonisms are an extension of International antagonisms are an extension of domestic antagonisms. For instance, Mr. A. J. Cook may be regarded as the "Foreign Secretary" of the Mining "nation," just as Sir Austen Chamberlain is the Foreign Secretary of the British nation. Mr. Cook's so-called "Communism" corresponds with Sir Austen's so-called "navalism." They are both "direct-actionists." The reason is because neither can afford to rely exclusively upon peaceful negotiation as a means of securing what they are each tion as a means of securing what they are each obliged to demand by virtue of their respective responsibilities. These two responsibilities are one in nature, and differ only in dimensions. They are to secure permanent remunerative jobs for their clients. The penalty of failure is the ruin of the trade union in the one case, and the ruin of the nation in the other. Mr. Cook's insistence on getting remunerative jobs for the miners from the colliery owners in particular, or the British capitalist system in general is paralleled by Sir Austen Chamberlain's insistence on getting jobs for the British capitalist system out of this or that country in particular or the world in general. Sir Austen's policy contains Mr. Cook's policy and amplifies its militant tone. British productive capitalism must itself get jobs before it can give jobs. The reason, as our readers are aware, is that the industrial capitalist, being prohibited from creating credit, is powerless to create jobs either for himself or for his workpeople. All jobs begin in the bank. jobs begin in the bank.

Communism is militant Labour: Nationalism is militant Capitalism. And just as Capitalism considers military Labour a menace so does High Finance consider militant Capitalism. Communist strategy involves, among other things, the "occupation" of industrial factories as a manœuvre in a class war. The strategy of militant Capitalism involves the occupation of credit-factories as a manœuvre in an international war. The only difference is that whereas the Communist manœuvre is consciously determined beforehand, the corresponding Capitalist manœuvre is not, but happens, as it were, by itself. The Communist means to expropriate the Capitalist manœuvre is not, but happens, as it were, by itself. The Communist means to expropriate the employer, but the Capitalist does not mean to expropriate the banker. But their respective intentions are irrelevant: the point is that the expropriations

tion happens. Confining our analysis to external affairs, the outbreak of a great war floods the world with jobs. A world-war is a cosmic consumer whose needs must and will be satisfied up to the extreme limit of costic limit of limit of capitalism's resources of material and energy. When the satisfied up to the extrangle and material and energy. energy. When troop-trains are under steam it is no use for the beat use for the bankers to close the gates of their levelcrossings. They are no longer traffic-controllers, but merely signalmen whose financial signals have to obey the political time-table. Figures do not condition the event but the same table. tion the event, but the event the figures. The waradministration is the general manager of the line:
it is the effective banker. All that is left to the professional banker is two lungs to gasp with.

The reader may like to reflect on the following curious circumstance; namely that all the time a war is being fought to get jobs, the war is providing the jobs. Hence, a state of war realises the objective of war. While the fight is going on, the incentive of fight does not exist. Conversely a declaration peace creates the course of control war. peace creates the cause of another war. Capitalisms at war with each other find that they for abroad got at home what they have already got at home what they were looking for abroad work and money. It is a huge piece humour. Imagine two down-and-outs. Neither has a farthing on him. They are reclining in a there stable. Each reaches out a hand to pick the Their pocket, hoping to get the price of a drink, there the groups of the stable. stable. Each reaches out a hand to pick the Their pocket, hoping to get the price of a drink. It is groping hands meet. Then the row starts. A five manner of diplomats they address obscene viviculfs. "Notes" to each other, and soon fall to fisticulfs. Whereupon—wonder of wonders!—every time losh lick their hands preparatory to a new bout of Ector ing, each finds a ten shilling note stuck there.

That is the sign that the war-spirits vouchsafe to their devotees, in the low-lit chamber of under to until the peace-spirits can repeat the sign "form light of heaven man will continue to be sorrow as the sparks fly upwards."

It will be

It will be seen that Mr. Norman Angell, Mr. Acd, and Sir Austen Chamberlain are all concernise in reality, with the job-problem, whether they reality it or not. It will also be seen that, as British ciphlem they are 

Even the pacificist section of the problem the job-problem.

delegate at the Congress feared that the Executive's programme would commit the workers to the "horrors of Free Trade"—namely, the stealing of British jobs. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald attempted to reassure him by undertaking to prohibit absolutely the importation of foreign goods made under "unfair conditions." We will discuss presently the implications of this proviso: for the moment the point is that Mr. MacDonald is a job-protector. The one eminent leader of the Labour Movement, definitely out of time with this instinctive policy is Mr. Philip out of tune with this instinctive policy is Mr. Philip Snowden. While Labour Ministers are, as it were, striving to spread seventy-five jobs over 100 applicants, the Banker's Minister bobs up and says authoritatively of Labour policy: "Only the rich idler need fear it, and I do not know that the Labour Party exists to show any consideration to that class.' So Mr. Snowden's solution of the problem consists in sending, say, 120 applicants after the seventy-five jobs. Of course, he may have discovered a process by which the demand for a job by an individual creates a job for that individual. Perhaps such a discovery was the basis of his secret Perhaps such a discovery was the basis of his secret plans, which he told the Congress that he was preparing as Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Labour Administration inconveniently fell out of office. office. If so, we can see the propriety of his offering to communicate them to Mr. Wheatley when that gentleman takes office as Chancellor, for Mr. Wheatley is particularly interested—almost inconveniently so in investigating aconomic and financial veniently so—in investigating economic and financial magics."

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In the meantime the job-problem remains as the initial obstacle to domestic and foreign peace. Leaving the ing the question of money aside for the moment, let us look at the problem from a physico-economic aspect. Now, in our present context, jobs are intrinsically would be a cought after because trinsically worthless. They are sought after because they are an indispensable condition of consumption.
"No work, no food" is the accepted common-law of the workless," would not be tolerated by the common law of hymponium them to be tolerated by the common law of hymponium them to a statutory law which prolaw of humanity, there is a statutory law which provides that the supvides that those who cannot find work shall be supported by those who can.

In a primitive community struggling with the forces of nature there is no need for the compromise. The community makes things to eat and eats them. The community makes things to eat and eats them. It is only large makes things It is only later, when the community makes things to make things the excess of people to make things to eat, that the excess of people over jobs to eat, that the excess of people scientific knowledge over jobs becomes manifest. Scientific knowledge lessens the quantity of human energy required for a given quantity of human energy of the ratio Riven quantity of human energy required for need quantity of goods. But lessening of the ratio community may decide to make more goods, in which case it and decide to make more goods, in which case it can provide work for all its members as before. If it does not so decide, some of them limits cease work. This can go on until one of two materials available are being converted into goods. materials available are being converted into goods methods which cannot be improved; or all the needs of every member of the community are being first, middle and factors in the development of middle, and final stages in the development of job-process. We will assume a population of hrst stage let main stationary throughout. In the first stage let the 100 people be producing 100 articles. In the middle stage let them be producing one of them be producing 500 articles, but only 50 of them working. In the final conceive them be producing 500 articles, but only promise of their living contentedly under the constall keep those out of work. If the total producing goods were equal to the total needs of the

100 persons, whatever share the workless section needed would be a superfluity in the employed section. It would not matter whether the so-called "right" of the "workers" to the whole produce of their labour were formally endorsed or not: they would be physically incapable of exercising the right. So when the tax-collector came round to gather in their superfluous goods he would be welcomed in much the same spirit as nowadays we welcome the dustman. If he did not come regularly people would send for him. (We recommend this vision to Somerset House, with the assurance that it can be realised.)

But this picture has to do with the ideal end of the process. What of the previous stages? We will tabulate all three of them : -

Stage.	Goods produced.	People employed.	People unemployed.	Worker's possible share.	Citizen's possible share.	
Primary	100	100	0	I	I	
Medial		50	50	10	5	
	. 500	I	99	500	5	

We have here assumed that during the primary period the total production has been gradually increasing; and that when it has reached the 500 mark shown in the medial period it has overtaken the total needs of the population. The satiated community now directs all its scientific knowledge to lessening labour instead of increasing production. The following progressions are shown:-

Output of goods, 100, 500, 500. Reduction of human service, 100, 50, 1. Increase of human leisure, 0, 50, 99. Average consumption per citizen, 1, 5, 5.

We may as well add a guess as to what happens in the primary stage as between the average consumption of the working citizen and the workless citizen. During that stage production is under the satiation mark of 500, progressing, let us say, in the sequence 100, 200, 300, 400; while employment diminishes in the sequence, say, 100, 80, 70, 60. In that case, the average possible share of the worker progresses (roughly) as follows:  $1, 2\frac{1}{2}, 4\frac{1}{2}, 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Now, we have assumed his average maximum capacity of consumpassumed his average maximum capacity of tion as a citizen to be 5. But he can live comparatively contentedly at a lower level than that, say 2 tively contentedly at a lower level than that, say 2 (for he began by living on I). Now, supposing the unemployed to be brought in to share equally with the employed, the worker's share, instead of progressing I, 2½, 4½, 6½ would progress I, 2, 3, 4. We can ignore the first item of each progression, because it refers to a point of time when there are no unemit refers to a point of time when there are no unemployed. The succeeding items show that even when the necessary deductions are made for the unemployed, the worker still enjoys a positive increase in his consumption. If, on the other hand (as is probable in the contract of the contract his consumption. II, on the other hand (as is probable in the early periods) the workers hold a moral prejudice against a "dole"-share being equal to a "wage"-share, and it is deemed expedient to give the unemployed a share represented by I for a time, the worker's share will then progress roughly 1, 24, 4, 6. He will thus reach the satiety level of 5 earlier than before. But as his comfort increases so will his prejudice waver, with the result that he will probably soon be offering a periodic increment to the unemployed.

Now all this sounds like a fairy tale. To those who think so we will excuse ourselves on the plea that we have not got it out of our own heads. have had it from the mouths of the world's scientists and industrial engineers. They may not tell us that they can fill the world to satiety this year or next, but they can prove modern industry to or next, but they can prove modern industry to possess to-day the energy-resources and materials requisite to fill the existing consumer demand several times over. The reason why it does not

make and deliver all the goods it can is that consumers are not empowered to take them. Unfortunately, the function of investing them with the power is denied to men of that genius which has solved the production problem. Mr. Baldwin once said playfully that Britain's economic difficulties would be alleviated if Germany, as a productive organisation, were to be sunk in the sea but her consumers were to survive. This is true enough in an industrial world fast pushing on to a position where there will be a factory provided for every customer. But we can trump Mr. Baldwin's joke with this: that the world's economic difficulties would disappear if we could drown our bankers, and let the power-engineers tackle the problem of pur-chasing-power. A short glance at the hypothetical case we have just presented will show the reasonableness of this suggestion. If he had got his goods-production up to the 500 mark he would have got his distribution to the population up to that mark. To his mind, it would be a prime axiom that the goods should be cleared right out of industry into the possession of the population. It would not concern him so much in what proportions various individuals or classes got them, so long as together they took the lot away and left him a clear run to replace it with another. Having settled that principle it would be child's play for him to devise a general licencesystem to instrument his policy. Suggest to him that he could not invent a licence mechanism that would enable him to transfer goods he had got to a population which wanted them, and he would ask what asylum you had escaped from. If he had not been able to solve much more intricate measurement-problems than that he would never have been an engineer. That is to say every power-engineer is a trained banker if he only knew

The adoption of this policy entails the adoption of a changed credit-policy. The Labour Party have decided to press for the Bank of England to be put under the control of a non-political corporation. Mr. Snowden, supporting the "non-political" qualification, argues that if a political Government were in control it could eliminate unemployment during its last few months of office, and use its success as an electoral appeal for return to power. So it could; and we are glad Mr. Snowden vouches for the fact. It is true that he added that the price to pay afterwards would be terrible. But one thing at a time: the thing could be done. This means that industry, if provided with credit, could increase production on a vast scale in that short time. It seems curious from vast scale in that short time. It seems curious from the physical aspect that the doctrine of "produce more" should entail retribution when practised. Of Course, Mr. Snowden is thinking of "inflation." But inflation is not a law, it is a bankers' device for assume that his hypothetical Government would pervice having the result of reducing instead of increasing retail prices? It could; for such a device has ing retail prices? It could; for such a device has been discovered and is pretty widely known in high administrative circles. We suspect that behind Mr. Snowden's attitude there is the bankers' fear that it might be tried.

This week we publish the second and concluding part of Mr. Symous's article "Social Credit in Vacuo," We ought to point out that Mr. Symons had completed the whole article before Major Douglas's article of last week appeared, and has not altered it since: hence it must not be read otherwise than as a reply to Mr. John Grimm who initiated the

# New Germany.

By Leopold Spero.

IV.—THE GREENWOOD TREE. Berlin's Tube is new and natty, and polished like a saucepan. And if you look very carefully at the tunnel walls, you will find all sorts of funny little sculptured boles, as if some Bohemian friend of the Chief Engineer had insisted on hanging around all the time the work was going on, and slapping out a frog or a live of frog or a lizard or a bumble bee whenever the big man's back was turned. But Berlin's buses are dingy, grey, and clumsy—though to be sure we are reminded that f reminded that five new ones have been ordered from London. And in the difference between the two colleague systems of transport, you find a significant landmark. For although the Tube was projected before the war when the fact town councillors before the war, when a party of fat town councillors in hem-stitched from a party of fat town councillors in hem-stitched from hats in hem-stitched frock-coats and runcible top hats made a solemn tour of Underground London for the purpose of seeing how it was not completed purpose of seeing how it ran, it was not completed until two or three years ago. The buses were product of the hungry and shabby days between 1019 and 1923. And then Berlin woke up one morning and 1923. And then Berlin woke up one morning feeling all fresh and young again, and finished of her Tube. It rups down again, and pleasant her Tube. It runs down now into green and pleasant suburbs like Dahlem, where new blocks of flats are arising gracefully in a framework of poplars arising gracefully in a framework of poplars and limes, flanked by their own lawns and kitchen gar dens, nodding affably to the bright little villas across the way, and winking at the eager piles of bright the way, and winking at the eager piles of stacked in readiness by the side of the smooth road-ways. Berlin's architecta have thrown off the yoke ways. Berlin's architects have thrown off the yoke of the speculative builder. They dot their houses generously here and there, picnic fashion, holding of the sin to leave wide spaces of green, and clumpsists. generously here and there, picnic fashion, holding of no sin to leave wide spaces of green, and clumpsist, trees intervening. And the air smells sweet, mothe and warm from the kiss of the kindly earth, as the tired city worker runs up the stairway Sud-West Corso.

In the city itself, there are changes which even tell Berliners do not quite understand. They will west you that the fashionable shops have all moved understand. In the fashionable shops have all moved with the fashionable shops are at to-do of building where certainly there is a great to-do of building to the fashionable shops have all moved and shops where certainly there is a great to-do of building the fashionable shops have all moved and shops are the fashionable shops have all moved and shops are the fashionable shops have all moved and shops are the fashionable shops have all moved and shops are the fashionable shops have all moved and shops are the fashionable shops have all moved and shops have all mov where certainly there is a great to-do of building cafes and restaurants of unusual aspect, and fronts designed against all the conventions of the fronts designed against all the conventions of Hobe a zollern architecture. But you might easily was fus dozen furious battles if you asked which in smartest street in Berlin. For the matter is until settles in her own mind just how smart she is consistent with cultured poverty. Come out at last in an expensive of Light, wealth anxious not to overdo any appearance in With Indiana and the settles in the control of Light, wealth anxious not to overdo any appearance in With Indiana and Indiana appearance. tent with cultured poverty.

come out at last in an expensive blaze of the same of Light, wearing anxious not to overdo any appearance of William and Stucco in There was far too much gilt and stucco in Th ever happened.

You are not likely to waste comment gly gh Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtnis-Kirche, rade through iastical wart which spoils your parade

fashionable West. Germany has the loveliest of Catholic churches. But oh! the horrors that Hohenzollern Evangelism has visited upon unhappy Prussia! The Londoner only realises how religious he is when he finds himself looking forlornly for something to compare with St. Paul's or the Abbey, or any of the forty lovely creations which Kit Wren scattered between Ludgate and Whitechapel. The impish guide, balancing himself precariously on the edge of our questing charabanc, turns with relief to point out the spreading, shady Legations, and the handson the handsome private villas now invaded by Com-

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But nowadays the smart thing to do is to go all rustic, build your shack in the Grünewald, and bob up suddenly with your plump wife to wave at us through the tall trees like an amiable brownie in a fairy tale. We read stories of naughty goings-on in the Green Woods, where they do say as how the worship of the Altogether is practised with whole-hearted anthus and the growing circle of hearted enthusiasm by a rapidly growing circle of devotees. Naturally, that makes fine reading about Berlin for London, Paris, and New York; and it is just about the control of the contr Just about as true as ever the doings of a few score fanatics can be true of a city of four millions. But the gage has been flung down to the gods of stuffiness. ness. In the streets of Berlin you will see many bare heads, young and old, bald and hairy, egg-shaped and bullet-round, cultivating the fresh air like fun. With the factorial of the sup off come the With the first encouragement of the sun off come the coats. And when in the summer weeks Berlin migrates westwards for its Sunday holiday, most things except bathing slips come off, not only on the sand. the sandy shore of Wannsee, but in the silent woods, where we have and where you live if you can afford to buy a house, and if not spend every precious hour of ease. Here, hiding among the care largees we light upon hiding among the pines and larches, we light upon houses of every shape and size, and "Settlements" of blue and size, and "Settlements" of blue and biscuit-coloured cottages line whole stretches and biscuit-coloured cottages line whole stretches of the pleasant roadside. An astoundingly light and graceful spirit has touched even the least of them. them, each with a subtle individuality of its own. It may be the sunlight, the scent of burning brushwood, the grave the grave guardianship of beech and pine, helping out the inguardianship of beech and pine, helping out the illusion. But surely the architects who planned these houses, and the builders who laid their bricks, had a surely the architects who bricks, had a surely the architects who laid their bricks. bricks, had notions of comfort and beauty in their minds

But here we are, by the banks of the Havel, an amusing stream with a penchant for capricious expansion into lakedom. It flows genially through the forests to the flows. forests to the west of Berlin, now spreading until one shore has the west of Berlin, now spreading, anon shore hardly knows what the other is doing, anon narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing to the west of Berlin, now spreading the narrowing the na narrowing to the intimacies of river life. Berlin, which regarded these parts for two centuries with takes libertice with every stretch of their sandy takes liberties with every stretch of their sandy beaches, with every dell and glade their woods afford. afford. Never was such a spreading of arms and legs, such a spreading of arms and legs, such a sniffing at the pines, such a display of neighbourd. Sniffing at the pines, such a display of neighbourd. neighbourly nudity as distributes itself from con-glomerate centres like Wannsee into the utmost recesses of the contract of recesses of these woods and waters. It is with very special relish that the new Republic disports itself learning the recessed Hohenzolover the preserves of well-compensated Hohenzol-lerns. To bathe in the sunlight, to take meals on the family, shoulder to shoulder to shoulder with a thousand other families, unembarrassed by the exposure of your own figure and the sight of your neighbour's; British proprietors of the word "bathe" take it to Great Idea, the New Mithraism. We mean just the application of water to the person. The mean just the application of water to the person. The speaks of to-day is not so narrow-minded. He enjoy by the side of waters in which a thousand himself throughout the season. If he does not like

what we call bathing, he is under no slavish compulsion to go in and shiver miserably against his own better judgment. In the past two years, and particularly last winter, Berlin and other German cities have laid out huge sums in the equipment of bathing sports grounds, to which the people are admitted for a few pfennigs. Here the middle-aged may bask, the young folks float and swim, the toddlers shout and roll on the grass, all in next to nothing. And here, from the boat which takes us over the quiet waters towards Potsdam, past the Peacock Island of Victoria Luise, and the hidden chimneys of Spandau, the yellow tongues of beach protruding from the green woodlands are blackened by a hundred thousand democratic heads.

#### Twelve O'Clock.

"Shakespeare strikes twelve every time."-Emerson. EXTRACTS FROM "THE NEW AGE."

#### Edited by Sagittarius.

- ". . . heavy capitalisations of industries need present no problems to a Government who can see straight."-Notes of the Week.
- "And what ought to appear stranger still is that the 'misery of unemployment' is not offset by any perceptible increase in the happiness of employment."—Notes of the
- "Our ancestors were afraid of bad harvests: in these days we are afraid of good ones."—The Fetish of Abstinence.
- "It is a roughly true generalisation to say that the wages, salaries, and dividends of the community are sufficient to pay only the direct charges on production. The overheads chargeable on that production must therefore be met by money provided gratuitously by the banks."—The Fetish of Abstinence.
- "Nobody can reasonably claim that the atrophy of female organs gives one a right to pretend to have male organs."—The Sexpress, T.D.H.
- "One can affirm superman or Utopia, and discipline one-self to bring it about."—Views and Reviews, R. M.
- "If sometimes she (Marie Ney) appeared a little self-conscious, that was not altogether a bad thing; it only indicates anxiety to go on growing."—Drama.
- "We said that the granting of the vote had nothing to do with gratitude to woman, or nervousness of them, on the side of the ruling class, but was part of a deliberate policy of diluting the franchise."—Notes of the Week.
- "At the date when the Trade Unions began to buy capitalist securities they began virtually to give the capitalists the grip on the shafts of their spears."—Notes of the Week.
- "Not entirely disconnected from these comings and goings and dodgings among the diplomats is the news that Mr. McKenna is shortly to publish his speeches of the last two or three years in book form. That means that the interests behind the Midland Bank, whose outlook runs parallel to the political tradition of the Chamberlains and Lord Milner, are keeping up their attack on the anti-national policy of are keeping up their attack on the anti-national policy of the Bank of England."—Notes of the Week.
- "The banks which treat with industry and industrialists direct are already finding themselves in opposition to the Bank of Fordand where proceed relaxation of the risours Bank of England, whose proposed relaxation of the rigours of deflation is an effort to buy off the enemy."—Current of defiation is Political Economy. \* \*
- "Similarly there is an increasing awareness that industrialists and trade unionists are not natural foes, or, at least, that there are at present common bonds of adversity to hold them in alliance against a common opponent."—

  Current Political Economy.
- "For the present economic output of this country banks are the one commodity of which there is glaring over-production. It is something that the disproportion between banks and shops is beginning to be noticed."—Current Political Economy.

#### The Growth of Mind.

In calling his book "Poetic Diction," Mr. Barfield has suggested a limitation of outlook which is quite absent from the work itself. His main contention, which runs from cover to cover, is that the most fundamental concepts are of the nature of a mass-impression, and that it is only as our mental apparatus improved in complexity that this mass impression became subdivided into the more concrete things and attributes with which we now deal, and that many of the wide-reaching ideas used by the poet, or found in ancient languages, have not been reached by a process of synthetic thought, as is often assumed, but are the raw material from which our more limited ideas, which, as it were, radiate from them, have been produced by analysis.

Hence, he maintains, in order to be able to understand the poet, or the ancient writer, or the savage of to-day, we must be able to put ourself into the frame of mind which he was using.

He quotes the description, by a South Sea islander, of a steamer: -

"Thlee-piecee bamboo, two-piecee puff-puff, walkalong-inside, no-can-see,'

and continues.

"Now, when I read the words I am for a moment transported into a totally different consciousness. I see the steamer, not through my own eyes . . . for a moment I shed Western civilisation like an old garment and behold my steamer in a new and strange light."

And again a few pages later,

"Thus, an introspective analysis of my experience obliges me to say that appreciation of poetry involves a 'felt change of consciousness.' . . . Appreciation 'telt change of consciousness.' . . . Appreciation takes place at the actual moment of change. It is not simple that the poet enables me to see with his eyes. He may indeed do this, as we shall see later. . . . It depends on the change itself."

Would that some of our psycho-analysts had more acquaintance with this change, which may in an instant "magic" us out of our "normal" twentieth-century world, where all is set, dead, defined, and cotalogued into that world of the next where and catalogued, into that world of the poet where all is alive, and "things"—in so far as there are any!—only the changing lights on that wonderful Bubble that we call the Universe.

"Now my normal everyday experience," he continues, of the world around me depends entirely on what I bring to the sense-datum, from within. . . . Where it was tinguished."

Here he is but following Kant and Bergson, who in their turn followed Heraclitus, Thales, and the rest, but it is a clear statement of the situation which many may grasp to whom the name "metaphysics" is as a warning to trespassers. It is, however, very probable that Mr. Barfield has not followed Kant or Bergson, for there is considerable evidence in the book that he has gone for much of his inspiration right back to that well of wisdom, the old oriental literature. Here, too, he is doing a service, for without the fundamental *feel* of things which can only be got from this well, all modern thought, and the modern philosophy which true in harness with it the modern philosophy which runs in harness with it, is but indiscriminate guessing, with no coherence between the different guesses.

Whether the guesses be called Religion or Science, the form which they now take depends almost entirely on Me, and ignores that great Mother of All, whose very name, Substance, has been removed from our modern vocabulary, though it is only through a knowledge of Her that the "I" which religion seeks (not to be confounded with the Ego of the Egoist) can be born.

M.B., OXON.

#### \* " Poetic Diction. Owen Barfield. (Faber and Gwyer, Ltd. 9s. net.)

# Criminals in the Making.

The close connection between juvenile delinquency and mental deficiency has long been recognised. Dr. Grimberg,\* however, after studying 498 delinquent girls, shows that delinquency and mental deficiency are by no means interchangeable terms. On the contrary, his cases fall naturally into two groups, first those who show marked mental defect when subjected to intelligence tests, and, second, those whose Intelligence Quotient is either definitely within or on the lower border of the average group. All the cases, however, showed definite emotional disturbances, in the form of waywardness, impulsiveness, and lack of emotional control; and along with this there was often notable aberration in the endocrine system, especially in the thyroid gland.

Dr. Grimberg, therefore, concludes that the essentially faulty sphere in the delinquent is not the intellectual but the intellectual but the emotional one, and that this in turn depends upon a second one, and that the internal one, and that the second one in turn depends upon a constitutional and inherited inferiority in the feriority in the endocrine system. A delinquent is thus a criminal in the making, but not a 'born criminal.' Her delinquency is the result of the impact of an unsuitable environment. of an unsuitable environment upon her constitutionally defective environment upon her constitution the ally defective emotional make-up. In studying the influence of environment several interesting influence, is unimportant sizes the delignments become ence, is unimportant sizes the delignments become ence, is unimportant, since the delinquents become pickpockets or react, pickpockets or prostitutes from impulse, and never from a thought-out policy of "bettering themselves economically." Indeed many of them leave such fortable homes in a fit of temper to follow such fortable homes in a fit of temper to follow such

In the family environment, vice, drunkenness, crime, and lack of discipline are obvious factors, though many of the delignments. though many of the delinquents, as has been said, come from good belonguents. come from good homes. But, as an American observer, Dr. Grimberg notes also the large percentage of delinquents coming from an Anglo-Saxon age of delinquents coming from non Anglo-Gazon families. This he attributes not only to the delinquent's inability to adopt he all to family life, but quent's inability to adapt herself to family as a whole also to the inability of the foreign family as a milieut to develop harmonical. to develop harmoniously in the American though the This must be a very real problem, though help author's bias shows too plainly, and one of a the sympathising with the foreign parents onceive quent who were "entirely unable to familiar nature of American freedom." As a cases with influence also, the author notes one or two cases been a definite Oedipus complex, which might have exorcised by a psycho-analyst.

a definite Oedipus complex, which might have exorcised by a psycho-analyst.

The case histories of the girls show an apparance of the girls show and religious wayward decription in a nightmare. There is no individualisation in a nightmare. There is no individualisation is in part the fault of the method. The auce, social and religious conventionality is, at it gond strength and a weakness. On the one which his him a definite and clear cut norm with hinders pare his cases, while on the other it hinders pare his cases, while on the other it hinders psychological understanding of them.

The reader will look in vain for epoch-making a coveries or illuminating of view, portent

The reader will look in vain for epoch-making of the coveries or illuminating points of view, more of thoroughgoing research correlating the postems of findings in the nervous and endocrine such cases, if undertaken from the point of this book, ought to prove fruitful.

such cases, if undertaken from the point of the this book, ought to prove fruitful.

At any rate, if Dr. Grimberg helps to hands the tendency to take the delinquent out of the her in the lawyer and the policeman, and to place he will not care of the doctor and the psychologist, he have laboured in vain. NEIL MONTGOMERY, D.P.M. \* "Emotion and Delinquency," By L. Grimberg, M.D. (Kegan Paul. 7s. 6d. net.)

#### Views and Reviews.

OCTOBER 11, 1928

AN EMINENT VICTORIAN.

By Maurice B. Reckitt.

"Autobiography," it was once acutely remarked, "is often occasioned by a fear of biography. Hyndman, the author of two of the liveliest volumes of political autobiography in the language, may have had this motive in publishing his "Record of an Adventurous Life" and "Further Reminis-cences." Yet he might have known that the hope was a vain one. The object of so continuous a piety, the chieftain of so devoted a clan, could not reasonably hope to escape the biographer. The S.D.F. after all, was never much more than an extension of Hyndman's personality, vivid certainly, since that personality was vivid, but of little significance apart therefore vivid, but of little significance apart therefrom. Mr. Gould, whose respectful veneration, though characteristic enough of the S.D.F., strikes an unusual note in this age in which biography has become a department of social satire, claims for his hero the title of "Prophet of Socialism." The title is one that may be disputed. The type of Socialism that Hyndmann borrowed and readapted from Marx was something that has not only signally failed to find itself established by the events of British social developments, but has never made any appeal to those in this country who have desired to claim the Socialist name. Apart from a few "piecemeal reforms" (as the S.D.F. itself would have described the second of the second have described them), nothing that Hyndman "prophesied," in any sense, has come off—unless it be the Great Way sense, has come off—unless it be the Great War, in respect of which Hyndman scarcely presented himself to the public in a characteristic. acteristically Socialist guise. Hyndman spent half his life in the socialist guise. Hyndman spent half his life in proclaiming "the cosmic inevitability and omnipotence" of Socialism, and the other half in finding rockets. finding reasons why the inevitable was not happen-Ing and why the omnipotent was proving impotent. Mr. Gould seems to have fastened upon the title Hyndman as anything else. He was not—in either the better or the was not—in even the better or the worse sense—a politician, and even his biographic his biographer seems to think that the electorate of Burnley and the seems to think that the electorate to Burnley showed a correct instinct in refusing to return him to Parliament. He was not—though he wrote much wrote much—essentially a writer; still less could it be claiment. He was not—thought it be claiment. be claimed that he was a thinker. What he most truly truly was was an intelligent Victorian aristocrat, disgusted by the selfishness and stupidity of his own soverning. soverning class. If he was a prophet it was only in so fars. in so far as he lived out his strenuous life without

honour in his own country.

Yet Hyndman's life, though he renounced the approval and surrendered the leisured ease of the comfortable class from which he sprang, and never gained the confidence of more than a fraction of the masses he confidence of more than a singularly happy masses he sought to serve, was a singularly happy one. He gained, through the Federation he founded and which he treated throughout as a feudal lord might treat him. might treat his vassals, the means to express his essentially sentially egostistic nature in an altruistic mode; he was for for was for forty years the unchallenged leader of a devoted clienty years the unchallenged leader of Patriotvoted clique; he indulged the sentiments of Patriotism and Internationalism alternately without the least consciousness of incongruity; he was served and adored by the served by the serv adored by two women; and by escaping political responsibility. Let work and by escaping position in the sponsibility by the secaping position in t sponsibility he was never placed in a position in which events could plainly prove him wrong. Consistency was him to displace was him to displace the smalled him to displ which events could plainly prove him wrong. Consistency was his métier, and it enabled him to dispose with good conscience (as he heartily did) forms it had stigmatised as disastrous when first ness of the Fabians and the sentimental incoherance of the Fabians and the sentimental incoherance of the I.L.P. For pure Torvism Hyndman had wholly shake off; but about Lloyd George, Sidney

Webb, and Ramsay MacDonald he said, and enjoyed saying, much the same thing—and it was not complimentary, though generally true.

Hyndman's consistency, and even monotony, of utterance has added to his biographer's difficulty in composing this book.\* Stirring speeches and challenging manifestos of 1920 are apt to contain almost precisely the same material as those of 1890, yet Hyndman's life consisted so largely in the output of these things that a biographer cannot wholly avoid them. Mr. Gould's enthusiasm never abates, so that his style at times appears fulsome, and he is apt to fall into the sentimental, especially in relation to Hyndman's second marriage, which Mr. Gould's intimacy with Rosalind Travers has led him into treating at somewhat disproportionate length. The contrast between the astringent qualities of Hyndman's autobiography and the ethicalist heartiness of this biography is rather striking, and it is from the former rather than the latter that posterity will get the truer taste of Hyndman's authentic quality.

Mr. Gould is commendably anxious to avoid offence, but the subject of his biography was not so by any means. The result is not only to blur the picture of an essentially combative personality, but at times (e.g., in regard to the break with Morris, which is most inadequately treated) to make it difficult to discover what it was that Hyndman was quarrelling about. Mr. Gould does, however, take some pains to make clear Hyndman's national outlook, and to reconcile it with his view of Socialism as an international movement. Hyndman being by instinct a violent patriot, really persuaded himself that England was the country in which the Social Democratic Revolution, duly voted in and initiated (therefore!) in orderly fashion, without any of the vulgarity of Direct Action, was historically destined to begin. Any opponent of Britain, therefore, was an initial of postion and an armonic for the contraction and armonic for the contraction armonic for the contraction and armonic for the contraction and armonic for the contraction and armonic for the contraction are contracted as a contraction and armonic for the contraction armonic for the contraction and armonic for the contraction an instrument of reaction and an enemy of Socialism as even German Socialists (of whom Hyndman had a low opinion) ought to be able to see. Similarly, for low opinion) ought to be able to see. Similarly, for a revolution to break out in the name of Marx in a notoriously "backward" country like Russia was not only an economic impertinence of the first magnitude, but an affront to Hyndman's national pride. Lenin had usurped the rôle which economic destiny had intended for the Founder of British Socialism. had intended for the Founder of British Socialism, and his contempt for the orthodoxies of political action only made his offence the more glaring and un-

For all his astuteness, there was something naïve about Hyndman. No man ever believed more profoundly that he had Providence (a strictly secularised providence, born in Germany, but naturalised in Britain) wholly on his side. Mr. Gould, in excusing the failure of some of his prophet's prophecies, dethe failure of some of his prophet's prophecies, declares in an epigram that "prophets correctly see things happen at the rate of their own enthusiasm."

We need not complain that nothing has ever happened at the rate of Hyndman's enthusiasm. More pened at the rate of Trystoman's chemical and radical inquiries are whether what he thought was happening was what was actually happening, and whether in any case it ought to happen. Mr. Gould makes large claims for the subject of his study. His "success is engraved in British history. totally fresh direction taken by the community mind." What is that direction? Is it a consciousness of community the community was a formal and a collection. ness of corporate inter-dependence, and a collective hope? Or is it submission to centralised initiative in the (largely false) expectation of material benefits?
If the latter represented the quality of Hyndman's Socialism, then his success may yet be only too dis-Socialism, then his success may yet be only too disastrously engraved in British history. To be fair to him, it does not. While he never penetrated through the shams, fallacies, and inadequacies of political

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Hyndman: Prophet of Socialism." By F. J. Gould. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

democracy, while he never took real pains to distinguish between official centralisation and a system of co-ordinated liberty; while he was blind to the validity of the guild aspirations of the trade unions, and to the nature, if not to the fact, of the primacy of the financial elements in the capitalist control of society; yet he did care for the dignity of the common man, and it was on his account ultimately that he took his stand under that Socialist banner which has cloaked so many miscalculations and such incongruous diversities of outlook. The gesture was far more significant than the creed. "I did start Socialism as a cause in England, and I did keep the courage of the revolution high," so he cried in his old age. The former may be his claim to remembrance; the latter is his title to our gratitude and

#### Social Credit in Vacuo.

By W. T. Symons.

II.—PRACTICE.

"It is necessary not to fall into the error which has its rise

"It is necessary not to fall into the error which has its rise in Darwinism; that change is evolution, and evolution ascent. It may be; but equally it may not be. That is where the necessity for the revolutionary element arises; using, of course, the word revolutionary in a constructive sense.

"A comparatively short period will probably serve to decide whether we are to master the mighty economic and social machine—or whether it is to master us, and during that period a small impetus from a body of men who know what to do and how to do it may make all the difference between yet one more retreat into the Dark Ages, or the emergence into the full light of a day of such splendour as we can at present one more retreat into the Dark Ages, or the emergence into the full light of a day of such splendour as we can at present only envisage dimly. To have a clear understanding of the principles which underlie the problem is essential to those who hope to play a part in its solution. While the evolutionary process depends most probably on the formula to which the present civilisation is working, and, given adherence to that formula is independent of human

given adherence to that formula, is independent of human psychology, it is fairly obvious that the effectiveness of "constructive revolution' does depend, to a large extent, on this latter factor alone." "Social Credit," by C. H. Douglas.

John Grimm has perhaps left his study of Individual Psychology at the point of its preliminary rejection of egoism as the road to human fulfilment; he has not pursued the constructive path of encouragement which follows.

The mere negation of egoism would indeed be dangerous; and if Individual Psychology led to passive acquiescence in servility, which is undoubtedly the objective of the present financial world-government, Mr. Grimm's fear of its influence would be

very fully justified.

The truth, however, is quite otherwise. The psychological analysis shows on its negative side the ineffectiveness of revolt against social injustice inspired unconsciously by mere desire to occupy the tyrant's pedestal. But that analysis is followed by the constructive observation that the same energy expended in opposition to the same evils, for achievement of human freedom, is health-giving to the reformer and is socially valuable.

Individual Psychology justifies in the individual a revolutionary attitude towards the present world order. But it safeguards him against exploiting his own a-social or anti-social tendencies under the guise of public spirit. Dr. Adler presents no "coherent scheme" of social or political procedure, for the same reason that any specialist working in one sphere refrains from detailed plans except in the

sphere of his own knowledge.

Now to be quarrelsome with Mr. Grimm, and take up "points" in his article entitled "Adlerian Sociology." The distinction between soul and body, upon which the greater part of the article is based is which the greater part of the article is based, is wearing thin in modern medicine under the influence of psychology. It is at least doubtful whether any mental or emotional trouble can now be diagonised as due to "exclusively psychic disturbances." Individual Psychology traces in the body's efforts to

compensate for any local disability a general deflection of energy which affords a key to psychic illness, for an unbalanced physical effort produces the evil of over-compensation and so strains the whole system. Thus the psyche is drawn into the struggle; and the individual seeks over-compensation for his fallows. tion for his feeling of weakness amongst his fellows, by subjecting other people to his purposes.

In this matter Dr. Adler has been the pioneer scientist, whose conclusions have the more weight that a great reputation in the field of biology preceded his greater reputation as a psychologist.

His method is scientific not polemical. He does

"teach that every individual (1) owes a duty to the community; (2) his performance of that duty is essential to his mental health."

Dr. Adler observes that every individual is in greater or less degree inhibited from feeling other men's interests equally with his own, and that from his failure to "love his neighbour as himself" follows in like degree a painful feeling of isolation, which he strives to overcome by reducing his "neighbour" by infinitely varied devices to a position of subjection finitely varied devices—to a position of subjection to his will. This to his will. This observation suggests a basis in natural law, which has in fact been discovered by Dr. Adler Dr. Adler.

The law of human equality is proved to be naturally the fact that notify by the fact that neither the extravagance of "loving" the neighbour method the extravagance of sistance the neighbour more than himself nor the resistance of "loving" the of "loving" him less serves to remove the individual's unhappiness, whereas the attainment of an attitude of human equality is curative.

The weapon the psychologist would add to the

The weapon the psychologist would add to that armoury of the economist is precisely accuracy which may be consisted. accuracy which may be expressed in the mathematical formula 50—50. formula 50—50, the political formula of Equality, the economic formula of Social Credit, or the religious formula "love your solid Credit," gious formula "love your neighbour as yourself neither more nor love.

neither more nor less.

Consequently, whilst the answer is emphatically "yes" to Mr. Grimm's question,

"whether the adoption of the Social Credit Proposals will not of itself eliminate the prime cause of nine-tenths of observed Social mal-adaptations," and rests the declaration in the latest and rests.

the declaration in itself has no volition, and rests upon the superficial validities to the off. upon the superficial validity which attaches to the off repeated statement that Social Credit demands repeated statement that Social Credit demands acceptance from anyone repeated statement that Social Credit demands acrifice from anyone. It does not demand any sally rifice which would be felt as such by a psychicathe healthy man. But it demands that which costs human soul in our Western civilisation the greatest human soul in our Western civilisation the greatest human soul in our Western civilisation the greatest sacrifice—that of inequality with its intriguing that human soul in our Western civilisation the greatest sacrifice—that of inequality, with its intriguing other sibility for each one, of superior welfare over an or over all others. This heavy sacrifice—tredit, pect at any rate—is demanded by social process of dividends of all, who under the conception of "dividends for all, who everyone above the destitution level, everyone The has any kind of position in the social structure. And that the true inequality of ability and variety which enhanced in the social structure of the true inequality of ability and variety which enhanced in the social structure. truth that his actual position in the social structure. and that the true inequality of ability and variety object enhanced is small compensation to his nervous step tion to the elevation of his "neighbour," on stic for below himself. The simple fear that domeset for vice will be hard to come by and that resply monetary position as such will be completely men is an immense factor in blinding the eyes to the salvation that lies in Social Credit. The sacrifice by the oppressed of his revenge upon the tyrant is only the other do the revenge upon the the Labour Party do tive of revenge against the rich!

Can John Grimm devents the great, solid necessions are considered.

were relieved of the blindness induced by the of revenge against the rich!
Can John Grimm deny that the great, solid ons sistance to Social Credit, apart from the object the of the hierarchy of financial power, is of the acter, however much it may be dressed up on one hand, as conscientious scruples against giving one hand, as conscientious scruples

more liberty to people unaccustomed to its use; and on the other, as righteous passion against oppression? The scruples are more or less honestly held; the rage is believed to be divine fire. But the psychological in the psychological i

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chologist's "why?" pierces the moralist's armour.

It does more. It pierces his armour, but it does not reduce him to despair; for in revealing his egocentric aim, it reveals him only as a man amongst his fellows, paither better nor worse; and gives him the fellows, neither better nor worse; and gives him the weapon of an enlightened understanding. It gives him the technique to prove for himself the peace and exhilaration which may be his, by substituting conquest over his inherent weaknesses for the conquest

attempted in strife to "take it out of" other men.

The "objective the psychological practitioners have in view " is the release of that happy, free, responsive individual whom every man might be. Individual Psychology does not "picture an ideal society," but it does—keeping to its sphere—propose to create a civilisation of spiritually free people. It is surely such man to whom Major Douglas re-

It is surely such men to whom Major Douglas refers in the words quoted at the head of this article. He claims that "the effectiveness of constructive revolution" depends "to a large extent upon human psychology alone"; and that without minds capable of constructive revolution, civilisation will remain the absolute victim of a distorted Darwinism, the absolute victim of a distorted Darwinism, drearily repeating "the survival of the fittest" as the world becomes netted more completely by the small gang whose "fitness" is now known to be an extreme form of psychic perversion, unrestrained by any properly human criterion of the "fit."

This, psychology has come to remedy; and Dr Adler, working in the whole rich stream of psycho-

Adler, working in the whole rich stream of psychological research, has discovered the demoniac force expressed in the "social neurosis" of which men and cultures are dying, and by which Civilisation is so gravely imperilled.

so gravely imperilled.

How many "just men" are needed to turn the scale, and whether numbers have much to do with it, are needed to turn the scale, and whether numbers have much to do with it, are needed to turn the scale, and whether numbers have much to answer. So is Mr. are questions impossible to answer. So is Mr. Grimm's question whether "the people" must be made desirous of Social Credit or fit for it. As many as possible as possible must be made both desirous and fit; but how must be made both desirous and fit; but how many in either or both categories will "tip the beam", no man can know.

And it is here that John Grimm and Dr. Adler may be left to here that John Grimm and Dr. Adler's

be left to shake hands, for the flower of Adler's wisdom is expressed in the arresting phrase "Dare to attempt of men and institutions to impose "perfection" upon others, and to set up a fantastic image of upon others, and to set up a fantastic image of perfection for themselves, comes of the striving for anti-social power. Come down, say Adler and Grimm; male power. Grimm; make mistakes in good fellowship with other men. You will be mad in a mad society without that fellowship will be mad in a mad society without charteness. fellowship in imperfection. Any man who achieves a balanced relation with his fellows will be giving an impetus. Impetus, the force of which no one can calculate, to Major Douglas's vision of—

the emergence into the full light of a day of such splendour as we can at present only envisage dimly."

proposed by Thomas R. Preston, president, American annual convention of that organisation: 'I would recommend the forming of an International Bankers' Association.

If the United States is to maintain its financial and sell abroad. Foreign business will be more important in a meeting of representatives of all the banks of the world at Berlin, at intervals of two to three years. The initiative in inviting such a conference, not in a patronising mutually beneficial to all.'"—Report of American Bankers' Association, I think, should take the way, but in full recognition of the fact that this would be Association, October 2.

#### Drama.

The Master Builder: Everyman.

The idea that Ibsen fashioned "The Master Builder," as an allegory on the theme that who would rise high must mount alone holds only a little water. It may be that he started out with that idea. But he had too much common sense, as well as genius, to believe that rising alone was ultimately worth much. Indeed, rising alone represents that form of suicide from one's fellow creatures. Up above the world so high may be very well for stars, but it is death for gods and men, who must fall from their heavenly estate into that of common humanity to get any satisfaction whatever out of creation. Solness on the tower recembles. Nietzsche signing himself "The tower resembles Nietzsche signing himself "The Crucified." In each case the victim could not jump the gulf that separated him from common mankind. Unable to become one with it, he had to pretend to

It is astonishing that people should ever have supposed any virtue in Solness's allowing himself to be egged on by Hilda Wangel. The only reason posegged on by Hilda Wangel. sible for the perception of virtue in it is that a host of souls have in the last generation sought to excuse themselves in advance for a similar kind of suicide. Ibsen, in short, had to pass through a temptation and a travail similar to those which afflict every intelligent person. Is the crazy, stupid, wasteful world worth saving; or should we not, to avoid being driven frantic, urging the apathetic people to assert themselves, just save ourselves; and dwell aloof on our own towers like mad saints protecting themselves. our own towers like mad saints protecting themselves from contamination. The evidence of Ibsen's truthfulness of vision was that Solness fell. The evidence that there was this conflict, for those with minds to appreciate it, is that Solness could not turn to the building of homes for the people without wanting to build towers on them. build towers on them.

Starting out with the idea of creating an allegory on the loneliness of genius, the truthful Ibsen truthfulness was his supreme virtue—could not help truthfulness was his supreme virtue—could not help showing all the facets. Gradually, as the work grew, he kneaded in his criticism as well as the extreme proposition he began with. The result emphasises not the glory of standing alone so much as the opposite; that the sufferings of loneliness are deserved, and that will-to-power and will-to-power alone leads to self-destroying isolation. Genius, when it is whole, is at one with human-kind, as were Shakespeare and Beethoven, and, if one like to add him, that mythological folk-creation. Christ add him, that mythological folk-creation, Christ. add him, that mythological folk-creation, Christ. Solness was for Solness—and against mankind. He was tormented by bad conscience for exploiting the younger generation to his private glory; for holding young Ragnar Brovik's brains, for instance, in his young Ragnar Brovik's brains, for instance, in his young service, without recognition or reward, when own service, without recognition or reward, when the youngster ought to have been well on the way to becoming a master-builder on his own account. Solness had bad conscience about the power of his wishes. He tortured himself with the belief that wishes. He tortured himself with the belief that his evil wishes called up devils to realise them. He believed his wishes responsible for the fire which destroyed his wife's ancestral home, and which, incidentally, gave his lust for a monopoly of glory its

Ibsen's art is the expression of an age of dis-Ibsen's art is the expression of an age of diseased consciousness, in which instinct, thwarted and abused for a long time, could give no impulse for the future without its being entangled in all the conflicts of the present. Homes for the people or spires to the glory of unique men is one of the problems still unsettled positively, though rapidly problems still unsettled positively, though rapidly which idolatory of uniqueness passes away. Hilda which idolatory of uniqueness passes away. Wangel might well be the instinctive soul of Solness. Wangel might found her, ten years before, she had thrilled and danced to his voice. Then, the

only occasion in his life when he had himself hung the wreath on a spire of his designing, he had told the Almighty, "henceforth no churches, but only homes for the people." Hilda, clean-limbed, cleareyed, young, single-hearted, pursued him after ten years, to prove to him that man cannot rashly make promises. His alternative to creating the kingdom which he had promised in the ecstasy of finding her was to kill her, or, what would have been the same thing, to turn her out again. Her conduct was directed to winning him back for mankind. She forced him to give Ragnar his freedom. In her mind homes with spires was apparently the solution of the conflict between homes or spires. It is almost a rebus for "every man a nobleman." There is plenty of evidence, however, that Solness fails to understand her. "I may say that you alone must build," she says, "but you may not." In the passages on castles in the air there are similar signs of cross-purposes. He betrays himself ready to run away from the real issues into fantasies. Without doubt Hilda slew Solness, and if this interpretation be correct, it was because he finally chose isolation above mankind instead of communion with it. "Every man a nobleman" may be a form of snobbery.

All this psychological symbolism of the inside of Ibsen's mind-and of the modern conscious attitude as a whole-is, of course, elaborated by Ibsen the artist into characters whose very complexity and contradictoriness renders them more alive. They invite study as living persons invite study. Indeed, they compel thought about them just as living persons with neuroses due to heroic efforts to solve the social and spiritual problem compel thought. If Ibsen had been able to affirm his yea, state his nay, choose his line, and go for his goal, he would have been afalse reflection of modern consciousness. He would thereby have yielded to finding contentment in an aesthetic solution of a problem of which nobody has yet found the satisfactory solution in actual thought and conduct. The last century witnessed an overwhelming widening of human consciousness. Newspapers, with all their vices, brought the world to Everyman's door. Problems of religion, which hitherto had ebbed and flowed on a tide which never got entirely out of control, became a whirl of chaos. Politically, men who had been the unconscious drudges of class culture became aware of their wrongs and insistent on their rights. Out of that whirl the only result yet established was the civil war of Europe. That Ibsen failed to dissolve the problem even in his plays goes to show that he faced it. That is perhaps one of the reasons why these plays, so vague in their themes, so liable to being understood either way, have undeniable grip and greatness.

The present production is good. As Halvard Solness Charles Carson is no romantic idealist, but There is enough of lunacy in his manner to throw the issue open; and enough of character to convince one that here is no propagandist allegory but a living soul on a dilemma of the spirit. One strikingly impressive touch was the Faust-like expression that he sometimes gave to Solness, which illuminates Ibsen more than any amount of impersonal allegory. For the conflict of this time is the Faustian, as optimists and pessimists from Dr. Jung to Dr. Spengler perceive. The spire built by Solness irresistibly recalls the tall tower from which Satan offered to show Christ all the kingdoms of the world. Florence McHugh's performance as the young and arrogant Hilda Wangel was a very delightful effort, so pleasing at times that one was almost prone to forget that it was Ibsen, and to enjoy one's self. While she has a right to be congratulated on her aliveness, her deports on the congratulated on her aliveness. aliveness, her deportment and her diction, which is a long and happy remove from the general, it is also necessary to warn her against a tendency to fixity of

facial expression, and to appeal to her not to pronounce girls as geairls. Josephine Wilson rendered the clinging Kaia Fosli as entirely pathetic, which, feminine and charming though it was, hardly illuminated this parasitic climbing on the older generation. Mand folliffs? tion. Maud Jolliffe's Aline, wife of Solness, was a work of understanding.

THE NEW AGE

PAUL BANKS.

# "The Third Line."

an environment cause is itself the greatest barrier to the removal of the morbid stimulus from which it arises. That is why civilisation recovered to the shock, or That is why civilisation seems only salvable by shock, or by a Sanjour?"

(C. H. Douglas, The New Age, October 4, 1928.)

At the outset I wish to make it clear that what is set forth in this article is entirely off my own bat, and does not represent agent sent anyone but myself and my own views as an individual.
What I shall true to What I shall try to put forward seems to me to be logically sound, and it is all the sound and it is a sound, and it is along these lines that I am working and intend to work. intend to work. The question is sufficiently important to claim the careful consideration of everyone interested in Social Credit. Indeed, it is, I think, the only question which we have to deal, and I believe it will force itself upon every credit reformer with greater and greater insistence as every credit reformer with greater and greater insistence as each day passes.

reach day passes.

The question is: Is it possible, or will it ever become possible, to put the Social Credit proposals into operation, and, if so, how could it be done? Major C. H. Douglas solumade a correct analysis and has worked out a logical That tion to the economic problems of modern civilised man. provbeing so, there is no need for us at any rate, to go on provbeing so, there is no need for us at any rate. being so, there is no need for us, at any rate, to go on proving that the Douglas analysis and proposals are right. Knowing what is wrong and how it sught to be gut right, the ing what is wrong and how it ought to be put right, the job is to work out a plan of action which can overcome present wrong financial evertament the Exact Price present wrong financial system and bring the Exact Price into operation.

ing what is wrong and how it ought can overest prite job is to work out a plan of action which can overest prite present wrong financial system and bring the Exact property of the prints raised in the Editorial form of a reply to each of the points raised in the Bowdon form of a reply to each of the points raised in the Editorial footnote printed at the end of the letter from Mr. H. Bowdon in The New Age for October 4, page 275.

Mr. Bowdon my tackling these points, since it whished letter (following Mr. P. T. Kenway's original letter published under the heading "What Next?") which appears to the footnote to Mr. Bowdon's letter asks, "What is a practical set "The Third Line" controversy going. The Editorial footnote to Mr. Bowdon's letter asks, any policy of policy." The answer is, in this case, any policy of policy of action which aims at, and has a chance of accomplishing the overthrow of the present financial system and the eventable lishment of the dictatorship of the Social Credit Theorem. I hope that can be accepted as a perfectly sound reason fining what is meant by the words "practical policy" so confining what is meant by the words "practical policy is still as the line of reasoning which I wish to "We are and cerned. The Editorial footnote continues: know which here follow the following seven questions to each of here follow the following seven questions to each of here follow the following seven questions to each of here in property.

I What is the immediate objective? The immediate of head.

here follow the following seven questions to each of I make reply:

I. What is the immediate objective?—The immediate objective is the organisation and training of and finant disciplined human instrument which aims at, and financh and chance of accomplishing, the overthrow of the present Social cial system and the establishment in its place of a credit regime.

Credit regime.

2. Is the method to be open or secret?—The method in to be open and above-board. That is to say, declared; we instrument and its objective should be openly to be used by this instrument, let it be open which is possible without defeating its own objective.

3. How many people are required to achieve the word "it" refers to the human instrument is, at sary mind and core of the campaign—the answer is, at sary mind people. If the word "it" refers to the human instrument by the mum of 250,000 people organised and officiered by this unarried Mass Pressure) would be required.

1. The word 'practical,' "says this Editorial note, ditor in the question." But this Editorial note, ditor in the control of the campaign of the control of the campaign of

the question." But this will not do at all, for first place, rest the footnote to my letter: "The Wew Age practical policies, but does not adopt any one of the practical policies, but does not adopt any one practical policies, September 13, page 239.)

are 2,000,000 Unemployed from which to recruit. A quarter of a million should be possible.

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What economic casualities may they sustain?-If the question means how many economic casualties, the answer is that before entering upon a campaign it is not, as a rule, possible to estimate the number of casualties which may be sustained. We can say this, however, that the less money-power this Unarmed Army is able to rely upon the fewer the account and the same than the s fewer the economic casualties; for those who have but little have little to lose. Therefore, the body-bulk of Unarmed Mass Pressure should be drawn from those who are (a) industrialist-producers on the "bank dole," and (b) Surplus Labour on the "tax dole."

5. How much money will it require?-It may " require ? some millions,\* and, given the right kind of leadership, the human instrument might be able to call forth very great financial support, especially if circumstances place the producer in such a position that he is able to see the common sense of, and the necessity for, the Economic Runnymede. However, this is a very remote possibility. What we should sense of, and the necessity for, the Economic Runnymede. However, this is a very remote possibility. What we should bear in mind is the fact that it is not the money that will be so all-important. The important thing will be Real Wealth in the form of goods and services. In other words, Unarmed Mass Pressure must have its Supplies—bread, boots, transport, petrol, camp equipment, etc. If it can get the goods, the money does not matter. As the industrialist-producer begins to recognise that he is undergoing trialist-producer begins to recognise that he is undergoing financial strangulation, and when he sees Surplus Labour already Assistance Pressure, already taking shape—organised form—as Mass Pressure, the minority convention (the organisers and leaders of the Economic Revolt) may be able to get sufficient Supplies "on credit" from the convention and so he able to outfit credit'' from the actual producers, and so be able to outfit the rank-and-file taking part in the Economic Insurrection.

This, certainly, should be aimed at. There is just a chance.

6. How long will it take?—No one can tell. It depends upon the rate of coordinates of the concerning economic

upon the rate of acceleration of the oncoming economic disintegration and collapse—the possibility of another General Strike—the date of declaration and the duration of the Next Great War—changes, if any, in banking policy—stalemate in the political world, etc., etc. Circumstances could bring about a "tidal wave" of events which could carry the human instrument into position within a year or carry the human instrument into position within a year or two from now. On the other hand, circumstances may time-table look silly. It is a great mistake to foretell the plans, to know how to improvise suddenly, to help to speedplans, to know how to improvise suddenly, to help to speed-up the crisis or the crises, and to attempt to bring together as one comprehensive and properly co-ordinated whole all the threads of the loom of events which we may be able to lay our hands upon.

7. How far, when done, will it have advanced us towards our ultimate objective?—The Editorial footnote which asks this question described. this question does not, please note, define what is meant by ultimate objective." I shall, therefore, define it. The ultimate objective. I shall, therefore, define it. ultimate objective." I shall, therefore, define to and every in the economic security of each and

every individual.

There are, as a rule, three degrees in the process whereby any great social changes are brought about: firstly, the dominant or outstanding mind of an individual (the Douglas analysis and proposals give us an example); secondly, the selective human instrument—the few—which forms the vehicle for the idea (where is it?): thirdly, the reaction of the many—the masses—to that idea as a result of the energetic efforts of the first two.

If, by means of this process, the present financial system is one of the process.

If, by means of this process, the present financial system is overcome and in its place is established a Social Credit regime. I take it the ultimate objective of the New Economists. I take it the ultimate objective of the New Economy, in that case, the National Credit Account Office will have been established and every man, woman and child in these have been established, and every man, woman and child in these islands will be in receipt of the Industrial Dividend on the on the interest of the whole community. based on the productive capacity of the whole community. If there is a still further objective, so far as the New Conomics is concerned, I should like to know what it is.

I hope these answers, as far as they go, open up a reason-social Credit impasse. I submit that this very rough and will, be done, gives a glimpse of what is the only practical believe which has so far been inspired by Social Credit impasse.

\*In view of the answer to question (4) above, this may right a curious contradiction. What is meant is that it value and before Finance determined to cut off credit suplifies at the top in order to quell insurrection at the bottom. Heel, but it would speed-up insurrection. We may note, find financial support. It is the middle position of hesitation is always left stranded.—G. J.

propaganda, using the word "practical" as defined at the beginning of this article. I hold that we have to face and prepare for highly organised Non-Violent Insurrection, or lie down under the Bankers' Invisible Dictatorship—and perish. I do not think there is any practical alternative, but, if there is, let us have it explained.

GORDON JACKS.

[It should be self-evident that The New Age, by disseminating the Social Credit analysis, is inspiring all policies having a Social Credit objective. These include "practical" policies, if any exist. Our challenge: "What is a practical policy?" meant "Do any practical policies exist?" If they do they are equally products of our inspiration whether we know what they are or not, or even whether we can define the term "practical." On the other hand, anybody who comes forward with a public claim to hand, anybody who comes forward with a public claim to have devised a practical policy, must necessarily describe it. Mr. Jacks does not do so. Instead, he takes our seven test points, refers them to evidence which he withholds from our readers, and pronounces judgment on his own answers. This will not do at all. We enumerated our seven points to indicate the nature of the evidence which ought to be submitted in support of any proposed scheme—not to elicit the inventor's opinion of it.—ED.]

#### Reviews.

Sheila Both-Ways. By Joanna Cannan. (Benn. 7s. 6d.)

This is a dull, honest, competent novel about a young lady who marries the son of a successful draper. The son is also in the firm, which is a family affair. They have children. The husband joins up during the war, comes safely through it, and returns to business. The wife becomes interested in another man for a short time, but nothing comes of it, for she is very respectable. So the two of them iog on into for she is very respectable. So the two of them jog on into old age, and that is the end of the story. The dialogue is real, dreadfully real. It would make an admirable bed-time

Joris of the Rock. By Leslie Barringer. (Heinemann,

7s. 6d.)
For the crackpot's library, as "A. E. R." used to say, this tale is well enough. It is all about outlaws in the days of the broadsword and the bow and arrow, full of adventure, slaughter, and love. It is the mixture as before, and the dispenser is competent.

J. S.

#### LETTER TO THE EDITOR. "PSYCHOLOGY IN VACUO."

In his article entitled "Psychology in Vacuo," Major C. H. Douglas makes this statement: "The point I wish to make, however, would be equally applicable to the theories of Drs. Freud or Jüng." I have either misunderstood Jüng or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of his writings that have escaped Major or I have read some of Have escaped Major or I have escaped Major or quackery here. To eath according to his freedom of the in-him to fully develop his personality. Freedom of the in-dividual. Nevertheless, I think that the clue to the psychodividual. Nevertheless, I think that the clue to the psychological barrier that we are trying to waylay is to be found in the latter part of the above quotation. The fearful fact is that mankind in the mass don't want freedom. The minority who have been brought in contact with the Douglas minority who have been brought in contact with the Douglas who have heard about them and would not know what to who have heard about them and would not know what to do if they were free will have nothing to do with them. Both the minority and majority are drawn from all classes Both the minority and majority are drawn from all classes of the community. Sooner or later we will have to face the offerful fact "that we are a minority trying to compelure under economic pressure—the majority to do something they don't want to do, i.e., be free. "Scot."

"Letters to the Editor" should arrive not later than the first post on Saturday morning if intended for publication in the following week's issue.

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# "THE AGE OF PLENTY

and New Economist Review."

#### OCTOBER NUMBER

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charged into the price of consumers' goods. It is a vital
fallacy to treat new money thus created by the banks as
a repayable loan, without crediting the community, on
with the value of the resulting new capital resources.
This has given rise to a defective system of national loan
accountancy, resulting in the reduction of the community
to a condition of perpetual scarcity, and bringing them to a condition of perpetual scarcity, and bringing them face to face with the alternatives of widespread unem-ployment of men and machines, as at present, or of inter-national complications arising from the struggle for

The Douglas Social Credit Proposals would remedy The Douglas Social Credit Proposals would remedy this defect by increasing the purchasing power in the hands of the community to an amount sufficient to previde effective demand for the whole product of industry. This, of course, cannot be done by the orthodox method of necessarily gives rise to the "vicious spiral" of increased currency, higher prices, higher wages, higher costs, still higher prices, and so on. The essentials of the scheme are the simultaneous creation of new money and the regulation of the price of consumers' goods at their real cost of tion of the price of consumers' goods at their real cost of production (as distinct from their apparent financial cost under the present system). The technique for effecting this is fully described in Major Douglas's books.

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