THE

INCORPORATING "CREDIT POWER."

A WEEKLY LITERATURE AND ART REVIEW OF POLITICS.

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# NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The National Bank of Australasia, in its monthly ulletin for Total review " Bulletin for February, publishes a "general review" of the effects of the Australian Government's policy. This review is in the form of a technical examination of several aspects of financial policy which have en prominent in political controversy. Immediately below the title of the review, in small type enclosed within broadle of the review, in small type enclosed "Contributed" within brackets, appears the word: "contributed" from which, presumably, the reader is to gather that the analysis. the analysis is offered without editorial responsibility the area of the area for the arguments it contains. A reflective reader might reason to the spectacle might reasonably raise his eyebrows at the spectacle of a bank—the supposed repository of the inmost and practice technical knowledge of financial policy and the consequences thereof practice technical knowledge of financial policy and being and the economic consequences thereof—and apparently unwilling or unable to formulate the case for sound against unsound policy author own responsibility. But there it is. The on its own responsibility. But there it is. The dusting Mrs. Harris. The correspondent who sent the word "tin has endorsed on the article in question signifies noun it signifies nonsense; as a verb it sent the manning away. Combining the two significances of the correspondent who sent in the correspondent who sent it is sent to the correspondent who sent it is the correspondent who correspondent who correspondent who correspondent Snifies running away. Combining the two signifiences we get the idea of running away from nontetreat from responsibility in case its contributor's cannot not be a chattering old fool, well Mrs. Gamp hown to be a chattering old fool, well Mrs. Gamp what Mrs. Harris says, can she? She, und s. Gamp, what Mrs. Harris says, can she? Suc, understand that she agreed with Mrs. Harris! Says, your banker everywhere. Whenever he does for himself he invariably (a) chooses a privimakes ambiguous declarations based on untested tress from; and (c) declarations based on untested tress from the control of sumptions; where he cannot be cross-sumptions; and (c) draws general morals, and then would have them translated into a practical policy.

"I know the way out," said Sir Robert Gibson be-fore the Australian Commonwealth Senate; "but that is the Government's responsibility." Such is the master formula of the money monopolist every-where. If ever there was a justification of the use of third-degree methods for obtaining information it would apply in this situation.

We do not propose to waste time in arguing the points raised in this article. Nor shall we pay the writer the compliment of quoting him. His article evokes the picture of a cross between a golf-course and rabbit-warren—a patch of polemical land which at first glance appears to be thickly studded with flags of direction; but when you approach any flag you find that it simply made a holt help. you find that it simply marks a bolt hole. The nearest that the serious student can come towards trapping a definite policy is to catch a glimpse of the tip of its tail disappearing down a hole. So we shall simply paraphrase the matter in the article which we propose to comment on.

"The writer commences with "Reduction of Costs and Real Wages." He says that if, when world prices outside Australia commenced to drop, all have Australia's internal costs of production could have Australia's internal costs of production could have been reduced proportionately, the incomes of the Australian people would have bought as much as before. At least, nearly as much but not "quite" (author's emphasis). The reason why "not quite" is that although world-prices outside Australia have fallen, they have not fallen so fast as quite " is that although world-prices outside Australia have fallen, they have not fallen so fast as prices inside. What he means is that the prices of things that Australia needs to import have not fallen so fast as the prices of " primary products," fallen so fast as the prices of " primary products," i.e., the products that Australia has to sell. Therefore " some loss of real income was unavoidable." With this complacent comment he leaves the out-With this complacent comment he leaves the subject and passes on to something else. But we will continue it. Let us deal with Britain and Australia and assume that the transactions between them are in machinery produced by Britain and wheat grown in Australia. Before the world price-slump let us assume that the price of a machine was 10 and

that of a bushel of wheat 5; also that Britain took two bushels of wheat in exchange for the machine. Next let us assume that after the slump the price of the machine is 8 and that of the wheat 2. This means that Australia would have to part with 4 bushels instead of 2 to get the machine. But since the cheapness of the wheat is caused by a glut of wheat, the parting with 4 bushels need not necessarily cause hardship. Assume a doubled harvest, then the doubled export would not matter. But the snag is this: Britain does not want 4 bushels. The British workman's fodder-ration remains at 2 bushels as before (even if so much). Hence Australia cannot buy a machine at 8 and pay for it. She must therefore go without it or accept it in exchange for 2 bushels, thus paying 4 and owing the other 4.

If the British machine is kept out by a tariff or by absolute prohibition (a) the two bushels of wheat are not exported; (b) the would-be buyers of the machine have to look round for an Australian-made machine like it or some substitute for it, in which case the Australian sellers, protected by the tariff, put up the price against the buyers. These buyers would be, or would include, the wheatgrowers; and therefore the latter would be faced with a cessation of revenue from abroad and an increase of expenditure at home.

If the British machine enters Australia, so does Sir Otto Niemeyer, with a bill for 4 in his pocket. He arranges with the Australian trading banks that the Government shall be pressed to add the 4 to the amount of current taxation or subtract it from the people's incomes. He also collaborates with the banks in "hammering" the Australian exchange to the extent of, say, 25 per cent. (it is actually nearer 33 per cent.), which means that the next machine imported at the price of 8 will cost Australia 10, the margin of 2 going to the banks as a fine on Australia for being in debt. Australia cannot get out of debt except by exporting wheat to the value of the debt. The price of wheat being 2, there must now be 5 bushels of wheat exported to pay the British exporter's bill and the bankers' fine. But, once more, the maximum requirement by Britain for wheat is 2 bushels. Australia cannot put the price per bushel above 2, because that figure is fixed by the worldprice of wheat. So even supposing that the wheat growers and their men work without profits or wages, the total money available to pay off the external debt will be 4, and no more. On the figures chosen this would wipe out the original balance of debt, which was 4, but only on condition that no further purchases of British machines had been made in the meantime. If there had, Australia would still be in debt. If there had not, then Australian buyers of machines would be fleeced in prices as already described. This fleecing in itself would not be injurious to the Australian populate a substitutional described. jurious to the Australian people as a whole; it would, so far, divert money from some Australian pockets into others, but would not rob the population collectively of money. But this is where the banks come into the picture once more. The Australian trading banks would either tap these excess profits directly by (a) speeding up the recall of outstanding loans from the profitable enterprises in question, or (b) by scaling down the issue of new loans to them and thus compelling them to plough their profits into the business instead of distributing them in higher dividends or wages: or they would tap the profits indirectly by forcing the Government to confiscate them by new taxation. The banks can do any one of these things, or all of them together.

Plenty more could be said in elaboration of this analysis, but what has been said is sufficient to show that the suggestion of the writer of the article in question that Australia could have adjusted her costs to the world-slump without any worse consequence to the population than making them "not quite " so prosperous in terms of purchasing power, is a fantastic distortion of the truth. The bankapologist's picture may show you a Devil; or it may show you a deep sea; but the reality consists of a Devil and a deep sea. So it is not surprising that the banker, who is responsible for this situation, declines to prescribe a definite means of escape. "That is the Government's responsibility"—as Sir Robert Gibson said. When people awaken to this truth, as they are now showing signs of doing, the situation will be reversed, and it will be the banker who is between the Devil and the deep sea.

We will alter our mind and quote one passage from the article, following it with two variants our own composition. The three passages ought to be side by side so as to be compared point by point, but that is rather awkward in a two-column page However, they can be cut out and mounted in that way if desired. (The headings are ours.)

If the Bondholder—

I. Interest naturally follows general tendencies more slowly,

2. owing to the terms of contractual obligations, rates of interest being arranged for fixed periods.

3. Interest differs from other factors another way, however. Rates of interest are fixed to include payment not only for the use of capital but also for the risk of the loss of that

4. In times like the present, the risk of loss becomes greater, and the owners of funds available for able for investment require greater compensation for possible losses.

5. If this cannot be obtained, they are clined to allow their capital to remain idle rather than take uncovered risks.

6. Consequently, there is a tendency for rates to increase rather than decline as contracts fall due for renewal.

7. The failure of the community to adjust itself to the changed conditions, has accentuated its of capital of capital.

8. Thus the natural fall in interest rates, which would have occurred in other circumstances, through the population of the circumstances, through the normal distribution of funds in accordance with the cordance with the demand in the various interest channels, was prevented.

9. Government loans have been floated at high rates of interest, and this has been another in ence in keeping up the rates of interest generally

Why Not The Wage-Earner?-1. Wages naturally follow general tendencies more slowly,

2. owing to the terms of contractual obligation tions, rates of wages being open to alteration and tenure of employment to cancellation, with out notice.

3. Wages differ from other factors in another way, however. Rates of wages are fixed to clude payment not only for the use of employed labour but also for the risk of the cessation employment of that labour.

4. In times like the present, the risk of unen ployment becomes greater, and the owners labour available for hire require greater composition for nor loss sation for possible unemployment and loss

5. If this cannot be obtained, they are inclined strike rather than the obtained, they are inclined to the obtained of the obt to strike rather than take the uncovered risk

living from hand to mouth with no margin for

6. Consequently, there is a tendency for wagerates to increase rather than decline as contracts fall due for arbitration.

7. The failure of the community to adjust itself to the changed conditions has accentuated its difficulties and increased the probability of loss of employment and wages.

8. Thus the natural fall in wage-rates, which would have occurred in other circumstances, through the normal distribution of jobs in accordance with the demand for labour in the various manufacturing-channels, was prevented.

9. Government administration has been carried out on high rates of salaries and wages, and this has been another influence in keeping up the rates of wages generally.

And the Ordinary Investor?

I. Dividends naturally follow general tendencies more slowly,

2. owing to the terms of contractual obligations, rates of dividend being open to alteration, and declaration withand declarations of dividend to suspension, with-

Dividends differ from other factors in another way, however. Rates of dividend are fixed to include payment not only for the use of invested include payment not only for the loss invested money but also for the risk of the loss of that of that money through foreclosures by debenture-holders (which is the subsequent ture-holders (chiefly bankers) and subsequent reconstructions "and "rationalisations."

4. In times like the present, the risk of loss of vested more like the present, the risk of loss of invested money becomes greater, and ordinary investors investors require greater compensation for possible writings of the compensation for the comp sible writings-down of their investments.

5. If this cannot be obtained, they are inclined spend their not be obtained, they are inclined than spend their money on themselves rather than take uncovered risks.

6. Consequently, there is a tendency for divi-end-rates than decline as dend-rates to increase rather than decline as annual dividends of the control of annual dividends fall due for declaration.

The failure of the community to adjust to the community to adjust to the changed conditions has accentuated ifficulties its difficulties and increased the probability of loss of invested money.

Thus the natural fall in dividend-rates, which Thus the natural fall in dividence-rates, stances, through the occurred in other circumstances, through the occurred in other circumstances. stances, through the normal distribution of funds in accordances the normal distribution of funds in accordance with the demand in the various investment characteristics. vestment channels, was prevented.

9. Government loans have been floated at high of interment loans have been floated at high rates of interest, and this has been another influence in keeping and the same of dividends generated at the same of the ence in keeping up the rates of dividends generally.

Among the reports of the text of the recent Papal contains, that published by the Daily Telegraph We give the following extract. We give the following extract.

tion Referring to the menace of trusts and the accumulating to wealth and power, the Encyclical states, according to the British United Press:

Dower booker because description the hands of those

This power becomes despotic in the hands of those possessing money, dominate credit and control loans. The people are in a sense distributors of the blood thout their permission. without their permission.

nomic ree competition has destroyed itself, and an economic has been been has taken the place of freedom in the hast of the whole economy has thus become terms of the hast of

There is a double current issuing forth. On the side is nationalism or economic imperialism, while other side, equally menacing, and execrable, is

banking internationalism or international imperialism in money, the progenitor of which is to be found where wealth is.

"Coming finally to the remedy, the Encyclical de-clares that it lies only in the return to evangelical doctrine embodying the precepts of Christ. Justice can remove evils, but charity unites the hearts and merges the wills of men. There is great need for soldiers of Christ to fight existing evils and substitute good in their

When we referred to this Encyclical on May 28 its text had not been made public, so we were without a clue to the principle on which the Pope founded his reprobation of "Socialism." It appears now that the Pope saw in the Socialist policy of levelling down social conditions a reflection of "international imperialism in money," and in Socialism itself an instrument of international financial repression. We are also constrained to revise our speculative reference to the possibility that the Pope's pronouncements might have the effect of mobilising Catholic opposition to Socialism in Australia. Although it is true that the "levelling" complex is prevalent among Australian Socialists, it is also true that they are nearer than any others to discovering and adopting an alternative policy-one which would not require the abolition of what the Pope described as "the differences in the social conditions of the human family which were wisely decreed by the Creator." The importance of the Enouglish is that it must recessarily engender in Encyclical is that it must necessarily engender in the minds of good Catholics a distrust of the pro-nouncements of international finance. It lays a moral foundation on which believers in a Social-Credit and the Just-Price economy can build up their case and turn this indefinite distrust of existing policy into definite trust in the new one.

The case against Lord Kylsant and Mr. Harold Morland in connection with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. was opened on June 3 at Guildhall. The hearing will be resumed on June 10, and continued on June 12, 15 and 17. Mr. D. N. Pritt, for the prosecution, brought two charges: (a) that Lord Kylsant, in the years 1926 and 1927, transferred money from the secret reserves of the Company into its Profit and Loss Account, thereby making it appear that a trading profit had been made in each of those years, whereas in fact a serious loss was sustained in both years; (b) that in June, 1928, he was respon sible for the issue of a prospectus which he knew to be false in a material particular. In the course of dealing with the first charge Mr. Pritt said:

"On the face of the accounts the prosecution said that a profit of £355,325 was shown by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company to have been made in 1926. The true position for that year was that there was an actual tradposition for that year was that there was an actual tradposition for £804,663. In 1927 an apparent trading profit ing loss of £804,663. In 1927 an apparent trading profit of £489,880 was shown, the true figure being a loss of £630,369. The figures were therefore wrong by £1,159,988 in 1926 and by £1,120,249 in 1927."

Referring to the subject of reserves Mr. Pritt made it clear that he was not challenging the legitimacy of their accumulation. He said (Times, June 3, p. 4,

" For the two years in question large hidden reserves. the existence of which was perfectly proper and legitimate, but which had never been declared to the sharemate, but which had never occur accurate to the share-holders, were passed off as profits so as to misrepresent to the shareholders that the company was in fact making trading profits.

Speaking of the prospectus, he said that it was dated June 29, 1928, and was for £2,000,000 Five per Cent. Debenture Stock :

"The prospectus stated that although the company had suffered from the depression affecting shipping, the ordinary accounts of the company would show that during the average annual belongs by last ten years the average annual balance had been suffi-

cient to pay the interest on the present issue more than five times over.

"' We propose to show,' continued counsel, ' that during the seven years preceding the history of the prospectus the company had made every year a heavy trading loss. That is the essence of this case.'"

On the question of Lord Kylsant's alleged knowledge of the alleged facts, counsel said:

"During the years 1921 to 1927 Lord Kylsant knew quite clearly that the company was losing money on its trading year by year and was living on its savings, and that nobody had any right to suggest, in June, 1928, that if the company went on as it was going before that in 1929, or any such year, it had any hope of meeting its liabilities on its Debenture stock.

of the true position that the company was trading at a loss. Week by week he knew the state of the bank balance. On January 1, 1928, the bank overdraft was £413,234. In the middle of May it was about £600,000."

Referring to Lord Kylsant's fellow directors (who include the Duke of Abercorn and Lord St. Davids) Mr. Pritt said that, so far as he knew, they were ignorant of what was going on.

The evidence on which the prosecution propose to rely was obtained in the following circumstances. Certain subsidiary companies of the R.M.S.P. Co. had been helped by the Government during the period reviewed in the form of guarantees under the Trade Facilities Act. In 1929 the R.M.S.P. Co. had to ask for some of its obligations relating to loans to be extended and made the subject of a moratorium. The authorities who were administering the Trade Facilities Act decided to have an independent report on the company's affairs, and appointed Sir William McLintock to make the investigation. On receipt of his report the Crown thought proper to make the present charges.

This summary covers the essential elements of the proceedings for the first day. As the law does not allow us to make public comments that might prejudice the issue, and as the actual judgment that will be arrived at is the least important feature of the whole affair, from our point of view, we can afford to sit back in silence and watch the lawyers get on with their job. In any case, having regard to the unique intimacy of understanding between us and our readers, we can always nudge them between the lines if we think it necessary. The significance of this case is not a matter of: Have certain parties done certain things?—but: Is it possible for such things to be done?—and is it possible that any parties can want to do them or can be constrained to do them? The answer is not in doubt: the mere fact that charges are brought against people that they have done them proves it. Besides that, everyone who has studied creditpolicy has realised that it tends to produce conditions which make the doing of such things probable, if not inevitable. The bringing of charges of this kind has beneficial consequences: it helps the public towards a realisation of the fundamental deception inherent in the investment system as a whole, no matter how honestly the system be administered. As a matter of fact, the more honestly, or—as the bankers would say—" soundly," the system is conducted the greater the confiscation of the ordinary investors' savings. It is mathematically inevitable—and the question of illicit administration described in the confiscation of the confiscat istration does not enter into it. We are reminded of the Rev. Dr. Campbell who came into promin-ence with his doctrine of "Divine Immanence" early in this century. He used to hold that in everything we did we were unwittingly trying to approach God-and he once shocked many Christians by declaring that a libertine's hunting after women was a form of, or a stage in, his search after God. Not everyone, even in these psycho-analytic times,

will stomach this idea; but its parallel on the financial plane is not at all hard to accept—for, as our readers know themselves—it is a simple matter to show that a financial libertine—that is, a person who takes liberties with the present orthodox, and unsound forms of accounting—is unwittingly searching for—or leading a search for—the new and true accounting prescribed in the Social Credit Proposals. The falsification of false figures symbolises a need for true figures, and may easily be a step in the process of finding them.

We have just received a cutting taken from the Evening Standard dated July 15, 1929, which deals with the slump in Royal Mail shares. It reported that there had been a fall of nearly £4,000,000 in their value during the previous year or about one-quarter of the company's total capital of £15,000,000. It mentioned that Ordinary stock had fallen that day from 50 to 45 The 5 per cent. Debenture stock stood then at 81 (We see in The Times of June 3 that it now stands at 20.) Recently, newspaper headlines were talk ing about 10s. being the price of £100 of Ordinary stock. At the date mentioned dealers were declining to buy Ordinary stock at more than 45 and declining to sell it at less than 55: and their margin in respect of the two Preference stocks was as high as 20 points—40 and 60 in one case and 50 and 70 in the other. This shows the degree of uncertainty then provides tainty then prevailing concerning the company position. We have no comment to make at the moment. We record the items in case later on we find them useful, in conjunction with other facts, in writing a thesis entitled "Banks Know First and Get Out First."

Mr. Snowden's so-called land-value tax has been actively discussed by Social-Credit advocates in London during the past few weeks. There is a consensus of opinion that no measure hitherto proposed by any Government has been open to attack from such a multitude of directions as is this one. glance through the correspondence columns The Times is sufficient to show that there is hardly any sort of person or any sort of activity which would not be adversely affected by its administration. At the one end is different by its administration. tion. At the one end it threatens to interfere with the remote village cricket-team, and at the other it is a "serious menace" (according to the F.B.I.) to "British Industry." Punch has pictured its character faithfully by showing a lady, about plant a little rose-bush in her little garden, hesitating and calling to her husband, did he think that is she put it in it would not the land to the little garden hesitating and calling to her husband, did he think that is she put it in it would not the land to the land she put it in it would put the land-tax up? bearing of this fact is that every supporter of Social Credit, whatever his social status or business perience, will be able to turn his knowledge to ac count among his immediate friends, and need not move outside his immediate rriends, and need unities for useful a won orbit of life to find opportunities for useful a work of the control of ties for useful propaganda. Potentially, hostility to this measure is universal, and the object of pro paganda should be to turn it into actuality, and far as possible to give direction to the resistance which people will want to engage in.

The latter part of this objective will not be easy to accomplish. Already numerous groups, such as the Landowners' Association and other organisations, have been publishing their criticisms of the measure, and, for reasons already stated, the lines of criticism fall into so many categories that there is bound to be disunity regarding what to do about it. And the matter is further complicated, from our point of view, by reason of the fact that the executives of these protesting organisations are unlikely to understand what ought to be done, and more unlikely still to stand for it if they did understand.

can be tolerably sure that in every influential organisation whose function it is to get its members a "fair deal" in respect of financial legislation, there will be one or more persons at the head of it who will have close affiliations with the financial interests represented by the City, even if they have not actually been appointed to their positions as "observers" by the City. Naturally, the unsophisticated members of such organisations will see nothing incongruous in such a situation unless they are made aware that the penalising of landowners is, and always has been, a deliberate policy of the City.

It is rarely that we allow ourselves to discuss and recommend lines of action when we cannot see any probability of their being carried out. But we cannot bell be being carried out. not help remarking how frequently the opposition to proper the property of their being carried out. to proposed legislation takes a form which facilitates the tates the passing of such legislation. It happens like this like this. You have, let us say, a proposal by a group "A," in office, to acquire power to use a particular weapon of extortion from groups "B," will be playing their own game sensibly if they conwill be playing their own game sensibly if they con-Jointly challenge the principle underlying the proposal or the first posal or the principle underlying the proposal, or the fairness of its incidence. But if each goes on to supply in fund of specialised experience, on to supply information showing where and the proposal manufacture in practice, this how the proposal would break down in practice, this not opposition would break down in practice. And the is not opposal would break down in practice, this not opposition at all but expert advice. And the all cases this is provided by the fact that in nearly to modify the effect of this "opposition" is merely its enactment. If some fellow picked up a gun and its enactment. If some fellow picked up a gun and the posed to sharpened to know proposed to shoot you, and you happened to know that there was something wrong with the gun and you happened to know that it would have the something wrong with the gun and you. that it would burst in his face if he pulled the trigger, you would be a fact in his face if he pulled the trigger. you would burst in his face if he pulled the triggs, Shoot and be damned! "—which he would be if he

Nearly every day somebody or other pops up in newspapers of information the newspapers with a new item of information about the consequences of the proposed land-tax information which is carefully digested and filed in Even if this the bankers, which is carefully digested and med information, intelligence-departments. Even if this intelligence departments and of the measure, information caused the withdrawal of the measure, in would facilitated the withdrawal of another hav-Would facilitate the construction of another having the same object but reaching it by a less con-Spicuous route. It is quite on the cards that this object but reaching it by a less contained that the spicuous proposal has proposal has introduced not with the inand tax proposal has been introduced not with the formation which the threat of the tax has evoked. ormation collecting a tax but of collecting the mation which the threat of the tax has evoked. Which easily be a piece of financial feinting by the pleople are decired into leaving unguarded people are deceived into leaving unguarded ace where the deceived into leaving unguarded. This theory is the bankers really mean to hit them. theory is rendered the more credible when reflects the reflects that the expropriation of landlords is for practical but the expropriation of landlords is for complete already, practical purposes virtually complete already, wing been accomplished by more subtle methods ing been accomplished by more subtle methods the last complished by more might well during been accomplished by more subtle methods ask what necessity there is for the sudden adoption of the present crude method of finishing off the job. the present cruder method of finishing off the job. Course it pleases the Socialists, and not a few romals; but that would not rank as a "necessity" bankers, point of view. They are more thouse of embroiling the House of Lords with the control of the commons, in which event they would be consuing course it pleases the Socialists, and not a few that that would be socialists. thouse of Commons, in which event they would be selection, which would be all about the place the place of the Rankers above the Constitution. place of the Constitution instead of about place of the Bankers above the Constitution. I hope that the organisations who are resisting resist the Bill, but will realise that to allow it to

go through unchecked will be the quickest constitutional method of killing it.

But killing a particular Act is not enough. What

has to be done further is to expose the identity of

the interests who are responsible for the prime initiation of such legislation, and call upon them to justify the principles on which they found their policy. These interests, not being subject to political control, are unaffected by changes of Government. Turning out the Labour Government for a Conservative Government only alters the form of legislation: it does not alter the underlying policy. The rights of ownership in land will be no better safeguarded under the Chan-cellorship of, say, Mr. Churchill than they are under that of Mr. Snowden. It is a mistake to suppose that the concept of the landowner as the obstacle to economic progress originated with Socialists. Henry George, the apostle of the Single Tax, who made this idea an active political issue, was a purebred Capitalist; and his crusade, which was launched back in the seventies of the last century, had the backing of one or two pure-bred Plutocrats. There was Big-Business money behind him, and for Big-Business objectives, and the only reason why the Single-Tax movement has lapsed to-day into the leadership of obscure persons on the left wing of politics is because Big-Business reached its objectives in another way. This so-called Red policy is an obsolete White policy. It would still be a White policy if landowners were rich enough to pay the whole tax-revenue of the Government (which was the "Single-Tax" idea), but since they are bled dry the policy falls to the ground. Two things happened to produce this result—Free Trade and Succession Duties. Free Trade has largely substituted foreign for British land-products, and thus diverted revenue away from landowners. Succession Duties have made progressively increasing levies on the landowners' progressively decreasing revenues. These two items of fiscal policy are sufficient to assure the extinction of "landlordism" without the aid of any land-tax. So it will be nonsense for landlords, now that they are stirred up by this new attack, to focus their whole attention on it and to ignore the past policy of which this is the culminating stroke. Now that they are getting together to revolt against the "last straw" they can just as easily revolt against the whole load. The same money and energy as they are applying to the one purpose will suffice for both. To do so will, of course, impose on them the duty of basing their policy on a principle embracing wider interests than their own. Any Government has a stock answer to every group which seeks to escape a new impost or revoke an old one: it is this: "We have got to raise so much money to balance our Budget. Will you kindly tell us where to get it from if you don't pay." That's a settler every time, for all the rest of the community naturally take sides with the Covernment, forms that they may have to with the Government, fearing that they may have to pay somebody else's whack. But, as our readers know, there is now a perfectly good answer to the Government which will not cause anybody to fear. It is to assert the existence of a National Secret Reserve Fund—and to assert that it is large enough to cover, not simly the amount now levied on this or that group, but the sums levied on all groups. Accompanying these assertions should be a formal application to the Government to appoint a tribunal application to the document of judges and technicians to hear evidence in proof of

Let us imagine ourselves in front of a hypothetical committee of common-sense and independent-minded men entrusted with the defence of all the interests threatened by the land-tax, and consider how they might react to this suggestion. They

would probably say that the proposed submission to this tribunal was preposterous nonsense, that it was impossible for such a "Fund" to exist, let alone be available for the purpose described. should reply that inasmuch as the situation of the Exchequer on the one hand and the taxpayers on the other seemed, according to all the known evidence, to verge on the impossible, would it not be worth while for the submission to be investigated? Whether it could be sustained or not could be cleared up in a fraction of the time occupied by the Macmillan or any other of the hosts of Commissions, Courts, and Committees, which have been seeking a solution during the last ten years. On the point of antecedent credibility we should point out to the committee that when Mr. Justice Wright's judgment for the Bank of Portugal against Messrs. Waterlow and Sons was pronounced, we made the "preposterous assertion" that when a bank issues £1,000,000 worth of new currency to buy in and destroy an equivalent quantity of forged notes, the loss to that bank is no more than the cost of printing the notes; and that on appeal Lord Justice Scrutton endorsed that assertion. Might it not be, we should ask, that some other of our preposterous submissions might similarly be sustained when gone into by a competent tribunal? And supposing not? Well, that would be that; very little time would have been lost, and polydy would be competent. been lost, and nobody would be any the worse off for the loss of it. Time's cheap enough when nobody can find any business to do. We should also point out that we were not asking the committee to endorse our claim. If we failed, it would be our reputation which would be compromised, not theirs. Their attitude need be only this: they would say to the Government: "We are advised that this proposed taxation is unnecessary, and our advisers say that they are prepared to prove this. We look to you to give them an opportunity of doing so before you proceed with your proposals." Would there be anything unreasonable or foolish in such an attitude? We think it would be regarded by the public as a plain duty arising out of the function of the as a plain duty arising out of the function of the

Further, concerning the intrinsic credibility of the submission, we should advance this argument: namely, that since it is possible for the directorate of namely, that since it is possible for the directorate of a company, in charge of the accounts of that company, to conceal the existence of fluid assets from the knowledge of its shareholders, why is it not possible for the controllers of British banking, in charge of the accounts of the nation, to conceal the existence of fluid assets from the knowledge of the existence of fluid assets from the knowledge of the public?

We see no ground on which such a committee should hesitate, once granted that it was independent enough not to listen to arguments about the "inadvisability in the public interest" of having such an inquiry—which, of course, is the obstacle. When Sir Patrick Hastings can say in Court, as he did say in the action of Mr. Leon Franklin against the Westm the action of Mr. Leon Franklin against the West-minster Bank, that "even a suggestion that anybody had a claim against the Bank for £450,000,000 might have, and in fact had had, a prejudicial effect on the minds of people" of less than ordinary intelligence. ligence, what would not be done to deny publicity to our suggestion that the Bank was holding unrecorded assets of a multiple of that value belonging to the Crown? How the disclosure to the people of this country that they possess more money than they thought they did can produce a prejudicial effect on their minds we cannot fathom—unless it means that they would conceive a prejudice against the officious banking moralists who cannot trust us to behave un-

### Drama.

The Heir: Kingsway.

The future projects for entertaining the members of the London Playgoers' League promise both interest and variety. "The Heir," by Prince Antoine Bibesco, as might have been expected from him, shocks and embarrasses part of the audience, and, certainly, for part of the time, keeps the others rippling and gurgling with delight. It compares satisfactorily with most plays now being given. Nevertheless, it ought to have been a very much better play, for the sake of a little extra labour. The old man who marries a young wife is drawn with a detail to be expected only from a descendant of Dürer. The Marquis of Sark marries for the good companionship of another clean and disinterested mind, and makes foolish aristocratic promises of discarnate love which cost him heavily to keep. Under the influence of his beloved, however, he has emerged from misanthropy and miserliness to humanity, superior to all conventional meanness and jealousy. Prince Bibesco converts a character which threatened which threatened at first to be instinctively repulsive into an almost lovable person with whom one would be glad to share, over a brandy, the final joke of the "heir." The latter part of the play contains several moving, one may even write touching, episodes, in which the audience experiences the whole mind of the old man, sympathetically, in defiance of all the conventional rules of the love-

All the other characters, however, are puppets serving one or other of two purposes; either to reflect the development of the old man, or to mark out the lines of the plot. The old man has to have both a nephew and nephew and a niece with expectations of his fortune merely so that they can keep the audience informed about the plot. Doctor Percin is a wax-figure with the same purpose. Note of Percin is a wax-figure with the same purpose. same purpose. Not a fraction of the careful observa tion and thought which went into the figure of the old man was given to the making of his wife. In short the whole play, while it has dramatic situations, is conceived in the style of what may be called the central character novel," and the plot develops in the style of the story. During the performance one finds oneself transactions the style of the story. finds oneself transposing the action into narrative. "Then, while the old man was out, his nephew rang up the result of the state of th rang up the young lady doctor, and . . The stage-version would have been improved by a thorough weeding out of stock-phrases. Prince Bibesco's style is an alternation of clichés and brilliant with liant wit such as is tolerable, though not pardonable, only from a Charlet librable, though not pardonable, only from a Churchill or Birkenhead, certainly not from a dramatistic of the state from a dramatist. No drawing-room comedy may, contain such phrases as "What I feel is unless they are being deliberately satirised. Finally, it looks as if Prince Bibesco changed his mind in the writing of the ale writing of the play, and confirmed the change while producing it. The early part is farce, calculated to evoke the guffaw; later it is sympathetic comedy. Mr. Esmé Percy's performance as the old man was good enough to make one have that he will be

was good enough to make one hope that he will be occupied in character acting for a long time.

Percy kept his oratorical power well in hand, and produced, especially after the control of the control o produced, especially after the guffaw-season, a restrained, precise work of detailed draughtsmanship through which the characteristics. through which the character shone brilliantly. The young lady doctor who subsequently married old man Miss Circumstances. old man Miss Gieta Keller did less than she should to fill the blanks I Keller did less than she critical to fill the blanks left by the author, and at critical moments when she might have bridged a gap she failed to act at all. With only a puppet-part as the niece, Miss Agnes Lauchlan, in a style too reminiscent at times of Edith Evans, nevertheless made on ready to see more of her. As the nephew Mr. Robert

Donat exercised a good voice and diction, marred by an occasional mispronunciation, and a make-up which I did not understand. Was it intended to portray a sort of clean-shaven Mephistopheles who had to shave at least twice a day? Whether or not, as seen from the auditorium it produced an incongruous effect, and the stable of the stable effect, and the sight spoiled the pleasure given by the sounds.

The Sign of the Seven Dials: Cambridge. Many times I have pleaded for an English enter-tainment, descended from the music-hall, which should be for England what the Russian "Chauve Souris" and other Continental registing are for their Souris " and other Continental varieties are for their respective of the Seven respective countries. "The Sign of the Seven Dials; is a good start. It is rare to see a revue whose patter I enjoyed, called it "nearly a revue" which one can so confidently recommend to intelligent persons with a sense of humour. Let it be telligent persons with a sense of humour. Let it be admitted that three or four of the items are weak and should be the and should be replaced, and go on to speak of the rest. There for some people it is the "Hampton Club," a short melo-Seymour Hicks plays Henry Forbes. As the prying journalist who becomes the victim of the suicide club, Seymon Till to be that his touch is club, Seymour Hicks demonstrates that his touch is as sure in pathos or blood-freezing as in comedy. Nevertheless and not be-Nevertheless, I prefer him in comedy, and not because it has I prefer him in comedy and not because it has I prefe cause it has come to be expected of him. Many in comedy he is unique. It is good to have met him slightness is atoned for by its being off the beaten science drawn out into fine wire and hung with festigned to the control of the co science drawn out into fine wire and hung with festoonery and by Seymour Hicks's unequalled treat-wrap, every person in the theatre receives a lady's When he is alone on the stage the tritest words beable wit. As with mind here a law, the words with the stage the tritest words beable with the stage the stage the stage with stage w come wit. As with mixed hors-d'œuvres, it is prob-Which of the items stand out in merit. Apart from and original variations are the theme of the Seven Dials for the Seven themse of the Seven Park, delighted me unusually. "A Perfectly Lovely oden Soldiers'; but for what it has in addition, thanners and institutions it should become every manners and institutions, it should become every te a delight. The Wooden Soldiers." The doll-hen delight. There is no Routique fantasque about delight. There is no Boutique fantasque about they are plain, practical English. "A Slight entering and leaving a station, first out of sight home. The stage staff," which presents a locomother in yiew of the audience, deservedly brought then in view of the audience, deservedly brought house down iden in sand leaving a station, instance house view of the audience, deservedly brought iden shouting to the playful uncle who does not be bear with them all the time, "Do somewelse." Perhaps the outstanding item of all, instance of was Miss Elizabeth Pollock's impersonating aughted to be taken out by the naughty bear was realised—that Miss Pollock, inthe and of sauntie. I feared when I had seen the first-sad of fear was realised—that Miss Pollock, instanting, would stop at quarter-past eleven. I that I cry out for more and more and more. that to cry out for more and more and more. that I have tried to put into words about the self-ollock expressed in deeds. This, I said to sent is dramatic criticism by a method of re-Reservation with Stephens of the Secretary of the Secreta

### Music.

Wireless and Opera.

A short broadcast song recital by Olszewska a week or so ago was interesting but hardly either musically or artistically a satisfying occasion, which was a depressing, indeed one might say a horrifying, demonstration of the vocal deterioration of a great artist and the inroads made by pernicious vocal habits. Olszewska is now unable to produce a steady even tone, maintain a homogeneous vocal quality, or carry a firm cantilena line through a phrase. The singing goes by a series of goops, scoops, whoops, splurges, belching sforzandi. The whole pervaded by an ubiquitous shakiness that is rapidly on the way to become a wobble. It is, indeed, infinitely shocking and deplorable that one should have to creak thus of a singer of Olegowyka's should have to speak thus of a singer of Olszewska's rank, but her singing is now so bad that one can name quite half-a-dozen mediocre English contraltos who are far more agreeable to listen to. And, of course, with the technical blemishes in the singing, fine artistry of interpretation, phrasing, and so on, have become impossible, and as one would have expected, the singer now takes refuge in the usual devices of expression-mongering and emotion pumping to the ruination—as goes without saying—of old Italian vocal music such as Benedetto Marcelo, it being now more or less impossible for this singer to produce any sort of tone without working herself up over it. Head resonance and "support," or appoggio, as the Italians call it, has practically disappeared, high notes are reached by a horrible forcing up of the thick chest tone, making any nuance or tone gradations (filando la voce) out of the question. Will this brilliant artist be guided, one wonders, and take herself in hand before it is too late, setting to work to extirpate the faults that have insinuated themselves into her singing. Others have done it. Jenny Lind, the classic instance, had, I believe, almost totally lost her voice as a result of bad method, but recovered it after careful work with

The next interesting Wireless occasion was a two-piano recital by that remarkable pair of artists—real spiritual twins they are—Ethel Bartlett and Rae Robertson. The combination of two pianos with four hands is not one that I greatly care for, it has a horrible tendency (but less, it must be confessed, than the abominable piano duet) to sound like a barrel organ, but I must confess that this Künstlerpaar (as the Germans would call them) have succeeded in raising the two-piano combination to unsuspected heights of excellence. Their marvellous
unanimity of precision, the absolute oneness of mind controlling the technical and interpretative sides of their art—the fineness and subtlety of their interplay of pedalling, for instance, is an endless delight, and the variety of tone colour at their dual command is astonishing, while the springy elasticity and resili-ence of their rhythm, which sparkles like champagne, must be heard to be appreciated. I wish these two splendid artists would one day give us that magnificent and almost unknown work of Roger, "The Introduction Passacaglia and Fugue," which, as far as I know, has never been played here.

Fledermaus. Covent Garden.

I confess that had it not been for the superb spirit and entrain of the performance this work would have been beyond my endurance. Apart from one or two intrinsically delicious waltz themes which are treated, as far as I could see, with no which are treated, as far as I could see, with no imagination or resource, the score of this work struck me as wretchedly poverty-stricken, barren of invention and thoroughly amateurish and incompetent. As Mr. Newman was so justly pointing out last Sunday, incidentally I have myself for

years been drawing attention to the same thingamateurishness of technique has nothing whatever to do with lack of academic training, for the most highly expert in the manipulation of academic tricks betray a profound amateurishness which comes to doing creation work of their own, and that a composer's technique is something which he forges and develops for himself, from within himself; and no routine work will ever give it him if he lacks it. Johann Strauss is a conspicuous example of this. He can invent charming ideas but cannot invent divers ways of handling them—just repeats them over and over again, hypnotised by them, as do later technical imcompetents without a tithe of his invention even—two glaring examples in our time are Igor Stravinsky and Manuel de Falla. And one has only to compare this work with a genuine operatic masterpiece of comedy, the adorable and sparkling "Barber of Seville," of Rossini, to see how weak, how deficient, on every ground Fledermaus is. The performance was delightful. Lotte Lehmann showed that she possesses great powers as a comedy actress, and she was admirably partnered by Herr Willi Wörle as Eisenstein. Gabrielle Joachim must also be congratulated for her admirable male impersonation (if not for her singing, which was on nothing like the same level) of Orlovsky. Adele Kern, as the Stubemädchen (whose name in the opera escapes me) acted with plenty of piquant spirit and impertinence, but yet again her singing was not on a level with her acting. Walter's conducting, as so often of late, erred on the side of heaviness and massiveness, and the laborious portentousness of his treatment of the score, so far from concealing the bald and threadbare patches with which it teems, only expressed them the more cruelly, while he was often grossly inconsiderate to the singers, an unpleasant tendency that he has developed of late years. Why does he allow his tympanist and heavy brass players such outrageous head? These gentlemen, at every tutti passage, just take the bit between their teeth, dynamically speaking, baseing and blaving average, dynamically speaking, banging and blaring away to the utter effacement of everything and everyone but their aggressive selves!

KAIKHOSRU SORABJI.

# The Films.

The Man With the Movie Camera: Tatler.

This is a very joyous and high-spirited affair, partly in the manner of "Berlin," by a director who is a master of technique. Dziga Vertov has made a day in the life of Leningrad, but while Ruttman's picture essayed no tricks—I am not using the word in any derogatory sense—"The Man With the Movie Camera " is full of them. And great fun they are. Buildings slide in half and the halves lean over towards each other; tramcars and crowds suddenly decide to move backward; railway trains travel at incredible speeds; slow-motion pictures alternate with complete cessation of motion; and there is some ingenious double photography. Some of the sequences are also characterised by a remarkable rhythm. I advise everyone interested in the possibilities of the screen to see this picture; it is probably not to everybody's taste, but should be seen for its cleverness and unusual quality.

### My Wife's Family.

Only a British studio could possibly have made this picture, by which I mean that its brand of humour is essentially English. The humour is not refayned," and people who do not care for the mother-in-law of the music halls and the comic papers, and are not amused by jokes about henpecked husbands, marital jealousy, and babies, will

get a pain in the neck from it. My critical sense compels me to say that "My Wife's Family a terribly bad film on extremely old-fashioned lines; candour also compels me to admit that I, in company with a large audience at the private showing last week, laughed considerably, for which a pleasant day at the Derby was perhaps partly responsible. should draw attention to one merit; this film is really fast moving, an essential ingredient of farce, but one lacking in most English pictures. I do not re-commend "My Wife's Family" to highbrows, but I imagine that the theatres which book it will find it very good box-office stuff.

#### This Week's Films.

"Le Million," which was put on at the Phoenix for a fortnight and stayed there over six weeks, 15 now at the Rialto. Do not miss it. The Academy now at the Rialto. Do not miss it. The Academy has a remarkable programme — Dovshenko's "Earth," Chaplin's "Champagne Charlie," and the first picture made by The Pickford. De Mille's "Madam Satan" is at the Stoll and Tussaud's, and Cape Forlorn" and "Glamour," both British, are at the London Pavilion. "A Yankee at King Arthur's Court" is at the Regal. The particular star of the last picture is Will Rogers, the ci-devant cowboy. I am told "there is now on foot a serious cowboy. I am told "there is now on foot a serious movement, sponsored by the American motion-pic ture industry," to nominate Mr. Rogers for the Presidency of the United States. Why not have a lady President and offerthesis. lady President, and offer the job to The Garbo? DAVID OCKHAM.

# The Hon. Sir Charles Parsons.

By James Golder.

IX.—THE PHILOSOPHER.

In bringing this series of biographical chapters to a close it does not seem inappropriate to claim Parsons as a reproduction of those practical, mechanical, physical and chemical philosophers of bygone days whose humble are reverential researches into the wonderful works of nature have raised the credit of the area in which the thind His vertical. have raised the credit of the age in which they lived. His versatility recently and the credit of the age in which they lived. satility passed the bounds of the steam turbo-power plants associated with his name, and when the details come to worked out, it will be found that the details come genius improved the genius improved the quality of every auxiliary to the of power engineering.

With characteristic shallowness, one of the Newcast evening papers on the night of his funeral alluded to as a great captain of industry, and, less excusable, industry room gossip referred to him as a great employer of labour exploiting the gifts and qualities of others. He was doctor remote from these types as a college don, or a doctor of divinity. Like Watt, he was a physical philosophile as distinct from the decidence of the control o as distinct from the classical and sophistical brand. Watt, he was also a worker. Unlike Watt, he was also a worker. Unlike Watt, he was not talker. What Parsons had to say would not go to be believed. The baby science of thermo-dynamics inarticulate. The work of Parsons confirmed and interest trated its laws and a new language was constructed by his aid.

He ocularly demonstrated and practically proved the matter and energy are two different aspects of the same thing; and further, that a perfect conversion of the one into the other, by transformation or exchange, is that in which all the losses are conversion of the further of all the losses are accounted for and cannot be further of duced. This knowledge was a great gain, by no means not fined to the professional state. fined to the profession of power engineering in its influence upon the future history of the race, and the fat that Parsons persisted against unbelievable odds places him among the world's greatest more and cannot be professional for an and cannot be professional for an and cannot be professional for an analysis of an analysis o among the world's greatest men.

However much he owed to his able collaborators and plenty-it was to his able collaborators which it had plenty—it was his own inherent qualities which produced the first machine. And concerning this machine, the President of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers and it except the multiple stages, yet, Heaven be praised, this is and the courage to persist and to try again.

Parsons had the courage to persist and to try again.
His invention of the multiple compound steam to employ a biological term, has been called a sport.

like it had been seen before, except 150 B.C. It was progress on a new tack. It broke away entirely from well-established lines. To quote Sir J. Alfred Ewing in his James Forrest Lecture, delivered at the Institute of Civil Engineers, 1928:-

"In the world of engineering the genius of Parsons opened up a new kingdom. He produced a prime mover wholly povel in soften and design capable of the higher wholly novel in action and design, capable of the higher efficiency, with a concentration and magnitude of effect never even imagined before."

Unlike many others of the world's benefactors Parsons had the satisfaction of seeing his work finished. The thermodynamic chart of seeing his work finished. dynamic chart of Molliere sets out graphically the seven different values of Molliere sets out graphically the seven from this chart different values of the properties of steam. From this chart the work of the properties of steam. the work of a perfect prime mover can be computed. Parsons machines have reached the practical limits of perfection. If he had a perfect prime mover can be compared to the practical limits of perfection. fection. If he had any other visions they were not in the direction of improving the state of th direction of improving his prime mover. They were rather in the direction of improving his prime mover. in the direction of improving its use.

One of the projects associated with his efforts, is the bore hole which will one day be made into the earth in order to extract and utilise its heat energy direct, without consider the modern order to extract and utilise its heat energy direct, without consider them down in furnaces. mining extract and utilise its heat energy uncer, manages. Sir Charles had ideal breaking them down in furnaces. Sir Charles had ideas, specifications, plans, and even prices for a hole thirty miles deep at which point it was calculated hot rocks. red hot rocks would be found as a ready source of heat flow which could be found as a ready source of mankind.

flow which could be found as a ready source of some which could be regulated for the purposes of mankind. Surely humanity moves forward on the credit which such surely humanity moves forward on the credit which such the steam engine was born, electricity discovered, and the evolutionary processor of an aborted raises the credit of evolutionary processes of nature charted, raises the credit of the control of the every citizen born or yet to be. It is inherent in the best these, who make to love and cherish such great patrons as tender, who make it the very business of their lives to able for the use and beautiful materials and forces available for the use and beautiful materials. able for the use and benefit of man.

Now what is the essential philosophy of power engineer-ing as seen in Parsons and his turbine power plants? The answer is fairly simple. It is the philosophy of the mover as distributed in the philosophy of the philosophy of the mover as distributed in the philosophy of the philoso prime answer is fairly simple. It is the philosophy of the line mover as distinct from the driven or process machine. spite of great variety all mechanisms fall into two disdomains between which a definite gulf is fixed in the nature of things. On the one hand the prime movers, on the other the driver of things. the other the driven machines. The former destroys static it in its visible and concrete form, and reproduces simply invisible abstract description. it in its visible and concrete form, and reproduces simply reverses the cycle. It absorbs or destroys the installar energy. coming reverses the cycle. It absorbs or destroys the instatic matter again, or transforming it either back to to cheat. It is a moral philosophy, because it is impossible the her laws, and she has no blind eyes, or deaf ears for errors.

In this is a moral philosophy, because it is impossible ther laws, and she hesses only those which illustrate there of commission or neglect. either of commission or neglect.

Parsons had to keep close to nature in taming and trainwhat is virtually an explosion, and if any reader and into a modern and explosion, and if any reader walks what is virtually an explosion, and if any reauch treads into a modern power station let him reflect that he electric the crater of electric grid he does it with a slice off an earthquake.

This power philips it with a slice off an earthquake.

his power philosophy is also a moral order. It contests the principle of priority. Being essentially dynamic terplants are essentially unidirectional. The revolving on and the descentally unidirectional. The revolving The revolving and the essentially unidirectional. The revolving The flowing energy, never change their directial, and the energy always flows from the high to the low and for the direction of rotation is constant. Nature, methods.

seven years of association with Sir Charles, I was anything like his valet.

Consequently he was anything like his valet. a hero to me. Whenever I met him in London it with him in his Brook Street home not many months as departed. I found him estill full of eager interest he departed, I found him still full of eager interest discussed a word, tired.

discussed own word, tired.

discussed a phrase in Sir James Ewing's lecture when the war came, I realised the moral failure of the war came, I realised the moral failure of the war mechanics." Charles' comment on this was the control of the contr

perience was the end of my acquaintance with Sir Charles retired admiral. Blue reefer suit. Fresh ruddy combadance had my blue eves. He was quite unconscious of Dreamy blue eyes. He was quite unconscious of had done. His service, like the navies he trans-

### The Democratic Débâcle.

How grandly does Democracy trample all our fine notions of government under her feet, never giving a thought to the pursuits which make a statesman, and promoting to honour anyone who professes to be the people's friend. These and other kindred characteristics are proper to Democracy, which is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike.—Plato. The Republic. Bk. VIII. 588 (Circa 410 B.C.).

High hopes were once formed of Democracy; but Democracy means simply the bludgeoning of the people by the people for the people. It has been found out.—Oscar Wilde. The Soul of Man Under Socialism (1895).

The history of civilisation presents a number of democratic experiments which have been conceived in a spirit of political idealism and executed in a spirit of political misunderstanding. Every demagogue has suffered from the delusion that once the people are in a position to exercise their birthright of ruling, nothing further remains to be done in order to produce a Government which will be the apotheosis of political equity and foresight. Thus Abraham Lincoln's rhetorical bons mots at Gettysburg to the effect "that Government of the people by the people for the people shall not perish from the earth " mean no more than the right of majorities to coerce minorities, quite apart from being a hypocritical utterance from a politician who was wont to speak of how the people were "fooled" by their real rulers. The Southern States realised this with grim dramatic irony after the Civil War, while in England the neat strictures of Oscar Wilde upon the democratic mode of Government were even quoted within the sacred precincts of Saint Stephen's. The enunciation of a few pious platitudes will no more turn a mass of comparatively illiterate voters into a political unity than (in the words of Bluntchli) it will turn a heap of sand into a statue. So-called democracies have, therefore, been always short-lived by reason of the sheer inability of their constituents to understand the art of ruling, and they have, in fact, if not in form, soon developed either into oligarchies or into dictatorships. The democratic framework of the Constitution is usually preserved for the sake of appearance long after the centre of political dressits have diffed long after the centre of political gravity has shifted.

In modern communities this development has been greatly simplified by the increasing number of complex features indicated by contemporary conditions of life. The transition involves the sale of the political birthright of the people for a mess of putrid economic potage; in other words, it means the sacrifice of the political liberty enjoyed by the individual citizen for a limited amount of economic security. Among the first to emphasise this awful truth was Mr. Hilaire Belloc in his essay *The Servile State* (1913) when he pointed out its brutal manifestation in recent collectivist legislation in this country. This legislation comprises (1) laws which compel the proletariat to work, e.g., minimum wage, compulsory arbitration; and (2) laws whose effect is to subordinate the different social groups to financial authorities, e.g., National Health Insurance, Employers' Liability, Income. Tax Acts, etc. Administrative lawlessness and bureaucratic Tax Acts, etc. Administrative lawlessness and bureaucratic tyranny have been the inevitable results of such an enlightened legislative policy, and public attention has lately been drawn to these evils by Lord Chief Justice Hewart in The New Despotism (1929) in which the author demands an adequate safeguard of the Rule of Law as a necessary prelude to the restoration of the Sovereignty of Parliament. A further warning which deals with the social and economic as well as with the political and legal aspects of the problem has come from Mr. Alderton Pink, who has written a book exposing the limitations and dangers of the modern demoexposing the limitations and dangers of the modern democratic system\* in such a convincing manner as entitles the writer's statements and opinions to the most careful consideration from the reader. It is a work deserving of more publicity than what it has hitherto received.

Mr. Pink is quick to seize upon the watchword of modern democracy—" Progress "—whose misconception by the majority of the community he holds responsible for the present according imposses present economic impasse.

"Progress towards what? The popular mind is not "Progress towards what? The popular mind is not very clear on this point, but the current view, when it becomes articulate, would express itself, I suppose, something like this: Civilisation (by which is really meant the particular civilisation developed in Europe and America)

\*" A Realist Looks at Democracy." By M. Alderton Pink. With a Preface by Aldous Huxley. Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d. net.

is moving forward to an ultimate condition in which man will find greater happiness than at present.'

The theory of progress was unknown to the ancient world. As an interpretation of history it was enunciated with Victorian optimism by Herbert Spencer, popularised with school-room exegesis by Mr. H. G. Wells, doubted with true philosophic caution by Lord Balfour, and overwhelmed with destruction positionism by Herr Covald Spencers. destructive pessimism by Herr Oswald Spengler. Mr. Pink agrees with the sceptical view that the progress-theory has no logical justification, and he condemns its employment for their own ends by contemporary democratic leaders.

"There is no harm in a belief in the forward movement of mankind; on the contrary, as an article of faith it may obviously be a valuable stimulus to human effort. Unfortunately, however, it has degenerated among the masses into the fanciful supposition that we live in a specially favoured age, in which humanity is being carried upward and onward by some mechanical force which acts inde-pendently of the human will; and this widespread notion of our civilisation as a sort of automatic machine is being fostered by the facile optimism of the Press and of many of our public leaders . . . The possibility that mankind had taken a wrong turning is scarcely contemplated. Few people seem to be able to conceive the world of the future in any other terms than an intensification of present conditions. Captains of industry, Ministers of Labour, and pundits of the Press, tell us, with the most determined optimism, that the remedy for over-population and overproduction is more production: if the home consumers cannot buy the goods, give them higher wages so that they can; if foreigners are not in a position to take them, advance them credits so as to keep the wheels of commerce turning. If markets do not exist, they must be artificially created. Our mentors talk as though there were no end to the process. If the industrial machine still fails to produce profits and employment in sufficient quantity, it must be "rationalised." By amalgamation of interests, by scientific management, and by colossal advertising campaigns we must ensure that whereas one person in seven owns a contribit work one person in six shall own seven owns a car this year, one person in six shall own one next year, and whereas n million gramophone records were sold in this country last year, n + 1 million shall be sold this year. Progress, it appears, leads in the direction of indefinite industrial expansion. (My italics.)

The outward and visible sign of democracy is universal suffrage (male and female), and Mr. Pink cannot advert too frequently to the political consequences of the inflation of

" In our social and economic life there are at work on millions of human beings fresh influences of incalculable extent and penetration . . . Knowledge of mass psychology is being increasingly exploited for political and commercial purposes. Is there any limit to the process of drugging the public mind? Will this process so sap the vitality of the democratic states as to bring about the breakdown of the democratic states as to bring about the breakdown of their political system? Or consider our economic structure. Modern methods of mass-production provide an ever-growing number of cheap standardised articles which manufacturers must cajole the public into buying. Many of the articles are quite unnecessary, but they must be sold. The difficulty of finding markets for accumulations of manufactured goods is bound to lead to serious political complications. The whole trend of present-day industrial organisation is towards a dengerous cityation. organisation is towards a dangerous situation. The process of amalgamating large firms into huge combines manipulating an enormous capital, proceeds apace. The principal industries transcend national limits and have become powerful extra-political organisations. In their world-wide competition for raw materials and markets, they may at any time provoke international conflicts. (My italics.)

The bulwark which Mr. Pink postulates against the The bulwark which Mr. Pink postulates against the march of the present *régime* is education, but not the State-controlled education of the masses, either through secondary or public schools, which is as much calculated to foster an active intelligence in a child as the ukases of the Inland Revenue Department are to promote an understanding of the elementary principles of taxation. In any case, the process "the masses is likely to continue indefinitely that is, until a change in the present economic system brings enlightenment. Perhaps this is what Mr. Pink has in mind

"The financial and industrial corporations find it even easier now than before the extensions of the franchise to exert the pressure necessary to gain their ends. The newspapers and other forms of propaganda provide them with weapons of the range needed to reach the swollen electorate. How money influences the political life of America is notorious . . . The methods of the English plutocracy are, perhaps, more discreet, but they are no less insidious. While the voters are going through the motions of choosing whom they will for their representatives, the captains of industry and the international financiers are determining behind the scenes what persons shall be allowed to become candidates, and are organising attacks on public opinion to be carried out either by open assaults or by the subtlet method of psychological penetration, and after the elections ministers and party leaders can be kept well in control by the wielders of economic power and the up holders of class privilege." (My italics.)

In submitting that education should be primarily concerned with the few, the writer reverts to the Platonic idea of "training a class of guardians who shall use their special

ability to serve and preserve the State." With regard to Mr. Pink's magnanimous views on education (a subject on which experience should have well qualified him to act which experience should have well qualified him to act which experience should have well qualified him to be a subject on which experience should have well qualified him to be a subject on which experience should have well qualified him to be a subject on which experience should have well qualified him to be a subject on the subject of fied him to speak), it is not proposed to offer any criticism here, beyond saving that the proposed to offer any criticism here, beyond saying that the production of an enlightened few cannot of itself be sufficient to forestall national ruin unless the economic of the control o less the economic system undergoes a bouleversement at the same time. When every citizen obtains the share of the national dividend to which he is entitled, the need for such devices as "improved sales and a such that the need for such devices as "improved sales are such that the need for such that the need fo devices as "improved salesmanship" and "advertisement campaigns," and the various forms of mechanised entertainment now employed to bemuse the masses and impair their powers of judgment will have disappeared. Then must the schoolmaster turn his talents to profit and those of his pupils by teaching not only the formula the school will be to all the sch pupils by teaching not only the few but the many to utilise their leisure to the corrections. their leisure to the enrichment of their understanding and to the perfection of human to their understanding and to the perfection of human endeavour. Only in such a society will it he possible to the perfection of human endeavour. will it be possible for any democratic experiment succeed, because it will unite the maximum of political liberty with the maximum of economic security.

ERIC MONTGOMERY.

### Reviews.

Marriage, Freedom and Education. By H. Crichton-Miller M.D. (Student Christian Press. 1s. net.)

Dr. Crichton-Miller, an analytical psychologist of wide experience, reminds us that the influence of the parents and the home is of much more importance in moulding the child's life than that of the child's translife than that of the school, and that its effects are from mitted to succeeding generations. If parents "suffer these unformulated fears the transfer that its effects are unformulated fears the transfer that its effects are unformulated fears the transfer that its effects are unformulated fears the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer to the transfer transfer transfer to the transfer transf unformulated fears that arose in the nursery . fears will be transmitted to their children." From ill-effects, "no unwanted child is ever free." "Marriage exists primarily for the child is ever free." exists primarily for the preservation of the race," not the convenience of society, and really effective parenthon is only to be secured by is only to be secured by monogamy. Monogamy is also the liberty of the individual." There is an alarming excess of males must go unmated. Yet to depart from the rule and detriment of order to cater for them would certainly not monogamy in order to cater for them would certainly have a detrimental effect. a detrimental effect on the children. The author does mention the effects of our present economic system in codemning potential parents of good quality to celibacy distribution artificial sterilists. artificial sterility, and in subjecting the child to the belief that it was one of the "unwanted" because it man extra mouth to feed.

I. O. E. an extra mouth to feed.

Money Writes. By Upton Sinclair (T. Werner Lauril 7s. 6d. net.)

Although the creative artist may claim to "look he scorn on all mass emotions," Mr. Sinclair contends, as much at the mercy of High Finance as the rest of Indeed, the stage of "mob emotions" is gone Also they are dictated by those who control money. Artist himself "is a creature with a stomach that must filled and a skin that must be covered." "There are dozen men commanding billion dollar resources, who utility dozen men commanding billion dollar resources, who shall be, and create the propaganda machinery to exactly that," and, through the publishers of houses when they need a few millions for their mergers," they settle "which authors shall sell insurance or dig the ground." Upton Sinclair analyses the work of modern a system. in Wall Street offices and decide what American Upton Sinclair analyses the work of modern Americanthors. Some succeed in which we work of modern systems and the succeed in the work of modern systems. authors. Some succeed in glorifying the existing and have their books sell by millions, and hotel and estate subdivisions named after their heroines; some the truth, and either fail to sell or, if they are great with are exiled or imprisoned. Some, refusing to take "withdraw into an ivory tower of art," specialising

technique and working only to please the rich; some advocate sex promiscuity, "ready to try anything once"; some purvey "delicately perfumed excrement"; some expand their complete and perfumed excrement "; some expand their complete psychic impotence to arrive at a decision in Six novels, three volumes of short stories, a collection of poems, a note-book, and two autobiographies"; some, after a lifetime of effort, come to the "novel and striking doctrine, 'The wages of sin is death'; and some devote themselves to wages of the themselves to cynically exposing the vagaries of the solution was a solution with the series of the most, a comprehensive guide to contemporary Transatlantic literature: but it is more than that, it is a penetrating analysis of the literature in the same of the literature is the same of the literature is the literature of the literature is the literature of the lite analysis of the effects of the current economic system on the world?

Two Vagabonds in Spain. By Jan and Cora Gordon.
(John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd. Week-End

Admirers of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, several whose books have already been noticed in these columns, ill be glad to have already been noticed in these columns, will be glad to see this cheap re-issue of one of their early travel-records travel-records. For some months they lived in small the people around and trying to enter into the realities of ested, not in the past as a processible in museums and hisested, not in the past as preserved in museums and his-toric buildings buil toric buildings, but in the living present. The essential economic life of their outlook is shown by their notes on the economic life of agricultural Spain as compared with that of Work, But, indeed, unnecessary work in mere foolishness. The great blessing to be sought for is leisure. ishness. But, indeed, unnecessary work in mere foolishness. But, indeed, unnecessary work in mere foolishness. The great blessing to be sought for is leisure. The great blessing to be sought for is leisure. Spaniard recognises leisure as a benefit. He has he has no proper means of filling that leisure. But do not a virtue if Spaniard's desire for inactivity as a crime; it is told begary in Spaniard's desire for inactivity as a crime; it is told segary in Spaniard was horrified when Jan Work?, then, can those do who are unable or unwilling to ployed would question that two million English unemployed would be glad to answer.

Can those do who are unable or unwning to ployed would be glad to answer.

English unem-

On the Shores of the Infinite. By G. Stuart. (Simpkin Marshall. 5s.) Marshall. 5s.)

Wanderings of a "spirit"—whatever that may be—in the extremely rude about this book, but this would mean extremely rude about this book, but this would mean no extracts from it and out nonsense does not seem quoting extremely rude about this book, but this would mean to me extracts from it, and such nonsense does not seem that this worth the space it would fill. The publishers say the cult work is "essentially of Theosophical interest." the cult we readers of this journal who are interested in what the readers of this journal who are interested in what the cult would fill. there are readers of this journal who are interested in the they will be sold the policy of the policy they will be sold the policy of the pol cult they will know better than an outsider whether Mrs. ordinary will know better than an outsider whether Miss. Ordinary writings are considered worth attention. To an fiction as it is more work seems more pernicious to good fiction as it is more work seems then the average female fiction as it is more pretentious than the average female care.

Caravanning and Camping. By A. H. M. Ward. Pitman's.

2s, 6d, net.)
This od, net.)
Ornate comprehensive guide to caravanning and the more forms of camping contains critical notes on the the mapped camping districts "of these islands, with hints tail, freading; comments on various modes of transport, transport, of tents and tent materials; notes on equipments of tents and tents are tents. t, from Bandalasta ware to two-burner stoves and election Bandalasta ware to two-burner stoves and election on camping to chapter on stores, catering, and cookery, and a few degal to caravans and trailers and some remarks on bills. there appears and trailers and some remarks on the appears are tabulations of the details of various tents and some remarks on the appears are tabulations of the details of various tents and trailers. The book is a handy size, and is well pro
I. O. E.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. POLICY OF "THE AGE OF PLENTY."

onden was rather surprised to find printed in the corhe was columns surprised to find printed in the corhe was columns of your last week's issue a letter a last of your last week's issue a letter a last of publication in hould plenty. Had I refused publication of that understand its reproduction elsewhere. In I 'ge of Plenty,', Had I refused publication of that the could quite understand its reproduction elsewhere. In the editorial policy. This policy I have pursued been open to anyone to state a case against the

prevailing financial system. If Mr. McKenna or any leftwing banker would care to submit to me an article embodying his proposals for monetary reform I should be willing to print it in our pages.

I have my own views, and these I propound from time to time. My views are practically identical with those of Major C. H. Douglas.

Reverting to the offending article, I may say that in my opinion "Junius Junior" provides food for thought on the subject of the theory of value. The writer does not advocate a Gold Basis for the issue of financial credit. What he advocates is a Gold Standard for value measurements. We must have a unit of value, otherwise how is it possible to arrive at price expressed in terms of £ s. d.?

You say that the article in question "is of no educative value." I must respectfully differ. The writer proves I must respectfully differ. The writer proves that when the banker tells us that we are now on the Gold Standard we are being humbugged, and he shows that if the banking system were true to its assertion and issued all credit and currency on a strict gold basis, the system would go smash. Such information is educative and of great value to our propagandists in meeting the defenders of the existing system.

H. E. B. LUDLAM

(Editor, "Age of Plenty").

["What do they know of Money who only Money know?"—Ed.]

Sir,-With this I enclose a copy of a letter which has been sent to the Editor of "The Age of Plenty."

IAN ALASTAIR ROSS, General Secretary, Kibbo Kift.

To the Editor, "The Age of Plenty,"
12, Grantham-street, Coventry.

May 29, 1931.

Sir,—On behalf of the Kibbo Kift we wish to register the fact that we consider the article, "The London Fog," by Junius Junior, published in your No. 5 issue, can have the issue; and we entirely but one effect: that of fogging the issue; and we entirely dissociate ourselves from the views expressed, which we look upon as fundamentally unsound.—Yours faithfully, JOHN HARGRAVE,

Head Man.

BM/KIFT, London.

RAYMOND J. DIXON, Deputy Head Man.

### THE LEGION OF UNEMPLOYED.

The following letter has been received by the Legion from the Bank of England:

Bank of England.

Sir,—In the absence of the Deputy-Governor I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 22 and to say, in reply, that the Governor is not prepared to alter the decision which was conveyed to you in the final paragraph of the Deputy-Governor's letter of May 14.

l am,
Yours faithfully,
C. P. Mahon,
Comptroller.

GEORGE HICKLING, Esq.

The Legion has replied as under:-Legion of Unemployed, Head Office,

54, Poole Road, Coventry, Warwicks. June 3, 1931.

C. P. Mahon, Esq., Comptroller, The Bank of England.

Sir,
On behalf of the organised unemployed of Coventry, I
thank you for your letter of May 27.
Realising that the Governor of the Bank of England is,
Present the Governor of the Legion of perhaps, too busy to see a deputation of the Legion of Unemployed, will you please let us know who will see us?

I am, sir,

I am, sir, Yours faithfully, G. HICKLING, Organiser, Legion of Unemployed.

The Bank has replied as under:-

Bank of England, June 5, 1931.

Sir,-I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 3 in further reference to a deputation from the Legion of Unemployed. In reply I have to say that the Bank of

England are not prepared to receive the suggested deputa-tion.—I am, yours faithfully,

C. P. Mahon, Comptroller. George Hickling, Esq.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. Evans.—We have sent your letter to David Ockham, who will reply direct or through this journal. J. C. Dawson.-We have sent your letter to Frances Prewett, who will reply direct or through this journal.

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