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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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Tied Lawyers?

DEVELOPING COUNTER-ATTACK ON COMMUNISM

Mr. John J. Campbell, the Glasgow solicitor who; with powerful backing in legal circles in Scotland, has so ably led the campaign against the introduction of "Soviet Justice" in this country, has sent the following telegram, dated April 6, to the Prime Minister:—

RESIGNATION OF CABINET MEMBERS FROM HALDANE SOCIETY AMPLY JUSTIFIES SCOTTISH SOLICITORS IN THEIR UNANIMOUS CONDEMNATION OF LEGAL AID BILL MODELLED ON HALDANE SOCIETY'S HANDBOOK ON SOVIET LEGAL SYSTEM. STRONGLY URGE H.M. GOVERNMENT TO STRIKE A BLOW AT COMMUNIST INFLUENCE BY WITHDRAWING LEGAL AID BILL

(Signed) John J. Campbell, 26b, Renfield Street,
Glasgow.

The Debates on the Second Reading of the Legal Aid and Advice Bill and Legal Aid and Solicitors (Scotland) Bill were reported in *The Social Crediter* in its issues of January 1 and 8, and other references to the sharp controversy aroused as well as to the affairs of the Haldane Society have appeared.

The incident to which Mr. Campbell's telegram refers was reported in a carefully worded news article in *The Times* for April 6. This began with the statement that members of the Haldane Society who belonged to the Labour Party had decided to form a new association of lawyers to be affiliated to the Labour Party, and that Sir Frank Soskice, (Solicitor-General), Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Mr. Stephen Murray (Chairman of the Haldane Society) had been appointed to a provisional Committee with Mr. I. Caplan as provisional secretary.

In other words, having failed to purge the Haldane Society (which published the pamphlet *Soviet Justice* with an introduction by Mr. Pritt) of its Communist members, the majority (less than two-thirds) leave the minority in possession of the now suspect name of the society and begin again. Among those resigning are Sir Stafford Cripps, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Jowitt), the Attorney-General (Sir Hartley Shawcross), and the Solicitor-General (Lord Chorley).

The Times quotes the following from a statement issued on April 5 by the resigning members:—

"It is probable that the Haldane Society will try to continue in existence as a non-political association. Those who are resigning feel it is almost impossible to try to cooperate with members who feel under a duty to use any organisation they belong to for purposes of anti-Labour Party and anti-Government propaganda and who regard the society's president and many other prominent members as almost Fascist.

"The new organisation will get on with helping the Labour Party in matters of law reform and kindred subjects, the purpose for which the old Haldane Society was originally

formed, and will be able to concentrate on this sort of positive and useful work without having its attention constantly distracted by having to parry flank attacks from members whose main interest has often appeared to be to attack the Labour Party rather than the forces of reaction."

Mr. Elton, hon. secretary of the Haldane Society, remains with it in that capacity.

We pointed out in our issue of January 1 that no member of Parliament had opposed *the principle* underlying the Bills on their Second Reading. This is what Mr. Campbell and his professional associates in Scotland are doing. They see that the introduction of 'the State' as a third party between litigant and advocate is a step, and an important step towards the subordination of the judiciary to entrenched Power. The Secretariat has, through the appropriate channels, emphasised the need for speed and vigour of action by all bodies known to it to be capable of mobilising opposition to the Bills on correct lines.

The Natural History of the Perversion of Ideas

We have previously published (June 14, 1947) a short extract from the British Museum *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings*, the text volume of which has the authority of the late Sir Sidney Colvin, bearing on the activities of the Hellenising Jews of Alexandria during the last century of the Roman Republic and of their followers in the first centuries of the Christian Era. (See also *T.S.C.* July 7, 1945, for John Ruskin's reflections on a closely related topic).

The more recent quotation in *From Week to Week* (January 15, 1949) of two passages, one from Origen, the other from Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilisation and Decay*, the latter describing the Protestant deification of the Bible as an expedient "evidently the device of a mercantile community," which, he said, disintegrated Christendom, has revived recollection of these earlier skirtings of what may be a major part of the substance of man's struggle correctly to relate and to apply ideas. In consequence, despite its seeming greater importance to artists than to men of affairs, and its undeniably specialist character, we have decided to print, with this all too short annotation, eight pages from the *Catalogue* dealing with plates C. I-III, fine-manner prints of the school of Finiguerra repeated in the broad manner.

Concerning L. Cornelius Sulla, mentioned in the text below as at least one personal inspirer of Alexandrian "research," students who wish to pursue the subject will find something at least in H. A. L. Fisher's *History of Europe*, wherein the Roman is described in terms which invite comparison between him and modern statesmen whose butcheries are also 'done upon a system.' He died in B.C. 78. It is not so clear from Mr. Fisher's text what relation there was between the lie factory at Alexandria and the corruption of Roman society. Alexandria, the "capital of paper" as Pergamum was the capital of parchment, received the Jews at

the hands of Alexander himself. "In later times they occupied two wards of the city, and overflowed into the other three. They contributed much to its trade and not a little to its turbulence." (H. M. Gwatkin: *Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem*). We need not suggest to the attentive reader on how many planes, in how many different 'octaves,' the following story illustrates the breach of 'the Canon.' No Idea can, unrevived by a true intuition of Itself, wholly survive representation in the wrong Sign..

"We now come to the interesting series of *Prophets* and *Sibyls* which occur in two different versions, first in the fine manner, and secondly repeated with variations in the broad manner. They are here mounted and catalogued together, the immediate comparison of each subject in its original shape with its modified copy in the broad manner being the readiest means by which the student can learn fully to grasp the differences between the two styles.

"With regard to the subject of the series, the grouping of the semi-mythical Sibyls with the Hebrew prophets on nearly equal terms was of course a custom familiar in all forms of art both before and during the Renaissance. In all the confused retrospects of the Christian Middle Age upon the past, a tendency which existed from the beginning, and increased towards the dawn of the Renaissance was to regard with equal or all but equal reverence the personages and legends of pagan and of Hebrew antiquity. The past was the past, seen through mists indeed, but through mists of glory. The greatness of Rome and the wisdom of Greece had never really been forgotten; and in order to justify the fondness with which men turned towards the thoughts of those ages, they were accustomed to dwell especially on those characters of the Gentile world who could be regarded as endowed with the spirit of prophecy and some fore-knowledge of the true religion. Foremost among these were the Sibyls. The Church early adopted these virgin soothsayers, reputed to have lived in various regions of the ancient Roman, Greek, and Eastern world, into a kind of subordinate association with the Hebrew prophets. Throughout the days of the Roman Republic, the fame had been great of that Cumaeian Sibyl who had sold the dwindled remnant of her books to Tarquin for so great a price. When this remnant was burnt in the Capitol the dictator Sulla caused search to be made, in various lands where Sibyls were reported to have prophesied, for other of their oracles to replace it. Stimulated perhaps by the search set on foot by Sulla, a new literature of so-called oracles of the Sibyls sprang up in the first century before Christ among the Hellenising Jews of Alexandria, who forged and circulated, as the utterances of these mythic prophetesses, sets of Greek hexameter verses shadowing forth their own monotheistic creed and Messianic hopes. They were followed during the next three or four centuries by writers of other Alexandrian schools and sects—Judaising Christians, Neoplatonists, and apparently even Christian monks, who contributed to the floating body of feigned Sibylline literature portions conceived according to the spirit of the schools in which they were severally bred; but all dwelling on the oneness of God, and many pointing not obscurely to the coming of a Redeemer. Augustine determined the Church's view of the matter when, quoting a Latin translation of a Greek acrostic current in his day under the name of the Erythraean or the Cumaeian Sibyl of which the first letters formed the name and titles of Christ, he declared that it contained nothing tending to idolatry, and that its author must be counted among those belonging to the City of God. An earlier

Christian doctor and controversialist, Lactantius, had asserted of the prophecies attributed to the Sibyls which he had seen that none of them speaks of any God but one, and that therefore, from the midst of paganism they furnish arguments against the pagan creed. The same Lactantius quotes Varro on the number and names of the various Sibyls (a point on which antiquity itself has been much divided), giving their number as ten, and their names as the Persian, Libyan, Delphian, Cimmerian, Erythraean, Samian, Cumaeian, Hellespontic, Phrygian and Tiburtine. This list was repeated by S. Isadore; and later the ten became twelve by the addition of a 'Sibylla Europea' and a 'Sibylla Agrippa.' The chronological compilers always mention them and often give them dates. But what made them living personalities to the Western imagination in the later Middle Age was not this, nor the existence of their supposed oracles in Greek, which no man could read, nor the fact of their acceptance by the Church. It was, first, the ever-increasing fame of Virgil, itself greatly resting on that prophecy of a coming new age put into the mouth of the Cumaeian Sibyl in his Fourth Eclogue, written not without knowledge of the Messianic writings current among the Jews of his time, and afterwards eagerly interpreted in a Christian sense; and secondly, the popularity of a Roman legend of purely Middle Age fabrication, the legend of the *Ara Coeli*. This told how Augustus had sent for the Tiburtine Sibyl to his house on the Capitol, to consult her on the offer of divine honours made him by the Senate: how she answered that a King was coming from heaven who would reign for ever, and with that heaven opened, and he saw a vision of the Virgin and Christ in glory standing on an altar, and heard a voice saying, 'This is the altar of the Son of God.' Popularised in literature by *The Golden Legend*, this story was turned to account by art in all the schools of Europe from the thirteenth century down. So were the personages of the twelve Sibyls in general; who began to appear, all or some in company with the prophets among the sculptured figures of cathedral doorways and in painted windows and the carvings of choir-stalls. For the artists of the great age in Italy the adoption, into the society of the austere and aged prophet-forms, of these virgin shapes and countenances of the Sibyls, was a godsend. Everyone is familiar with them in painted cycles like those of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, and of the Sixtine Chapel and S. Maria della Pace at Rome. In the days of the earliest Florentine engravers their sculptured forms looked down already from the upper niches of the Campanile at Florence, or could be traced among the fringes of Ghiberti's Gate of Paradise, or the reliefs of the Baptistry altar-table; while they were habitually represented in living show and speech by Florentine boys in the processions and ceremonies in the Cathedral square on St. John's day, or at the mystery-plays, *sacre rappresentazioni*, given by the religious confraternities of the city in their halls or in the refectories of convents. In these performances Prophets and Sibyls were accustomed to enact their parts together, uttering alternate prophecies of the birth of Christ.

"It was doubtless in illustration or reminiscence of such popular religious plays and pageants in Florence that our series of engraved *Prophets* and *Sibyls* was designed. The verses engraved at the foot of the prints practically correspond in most cases (with unimportant variations) to the text of a *sacre rappresentazione* attributed to Feo Belcari, of which the earliest edition appeared in Florence without author's or printer's name towards the end of the fifteenth century. On six of the *Prophets*, however, and on as many as nine of the *Sibyls*, the verses given by the engraver are quite

different from those in the printed edition, while in certain cases verses are transferred from one character to another, e.g. those spoken by David and Jeremiah in the mystery-play are given at foot of the prints to Aaron and Solomon respectively. It is clear therefore that the play itself must have been known and acted some time before it was printed, and it is likely that the variations are due to some earlier version current orally or in manuscript. If the engraver had kept strictly to the idea of the play, one might have expected the last plate to have represented the 'Annunciation.' The fact that the two supplementary plates of *Mary* and *Joseph* form a *Nativity* is not, however, sufficient reason against counting them as part of the set to which they correspond so absolutely in style. The attributes and costumes of the various Sibyls were described by Filippo Barbieri in his *Discordantiae Nonnullae* printed in Florence in 1481, but there is no reason to think, with M. Emile Mâle, that the correspondence of the representations in the prints is any argument for their being of later date than the book.

"The earlier or fine-manner sets of *Prophets* and *Sibyls* have all the characteristics of the Finiguerra school in the period which follows the death of the master in 1464. That is to say they are contemporary with or a little earlier than the Otto prints. In the Picture-Chronicle Finiguerra himself had drawn figures of *Prophets* and *Sibyls* in what was supposed to be the chronological place of each in the world's history. But these are standing figures, and the scheme of the engraved series required them seated. Accordingly the engraver does not go direct to the Picture-Chronicle for his designs, but gets them from various sources, some foreign. In the case of the *Prophets* some of the figures are entirely Pollaiuolesque in character, with accessory ornaments in the manner of Finiguerra.* This category includes the plates of *Noah* (C. I. 1), *Moses* (C. I. 3), *Aaron* (C. I. 4), *Samuel* (C. I. 5), *David* (C. I. 6), *Solomon* (C. I. 7), *Elijah* (C. I. 8), *Elisha* (C. I. 9), *Jeremiah* (C. I. 10), *Baruch* (C. I. 11), *Joel* (C. I. 14), *Jonah* (C. I. 17), *Nahum* (C. I. 18), *Haggai* (C. I. 20), *Zechariah* (C. I. 21), and *Joshua* (C. I. 23). The design of the *Samuel* especially recalls one drawing, that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the Picture-Chronicle of Finiguerra, while the attitude of the *Joshua* suggests the figure of *Hope*, executed by Pietro Pollaiuolo, among the *Virtues* formerly in the Mercanzia at Florence. The figures in the remaining plates of this series have been copied, wholly or in part, from earlier German prints. Prof. Max Lehrs first pointed out that the figure of *Ezekiel* (C. I. 12) has been closely copied, in reverse, from the figure of *S. John* (B. 31) in a series of plates of the *Apostles* by the Master E. S. (Bartsch, vol. x. pp. 20-2, 28-39), while the head has been taken, in reverse, from the head of *S. Peter* in the same series (id. 28); that the figure of *Amos* (C. I. 15) has been copied, in reverse, from the *S. Paul* (id. 38), the *Obadiah* (C. I. 16) from the *S. Peter* (id. 28), the *Malachi* (C. I. 22) from the *S. Simon* (id. 36), and the *Isaiah* (C. I. 24) from the *S. James the Greater* (id. 30), all likewise in reverse, and from plates in the same series. In every case the Florentine engraver has adapted these designs to his purpose, and added some accessory ornament in the manner of Finiguerra. Again the plate of *Jacob* (C. I. 2) is clearly reminiscent of some German original: indeed, the action of the right leg appears to be taken from the *S. Matthew* of the same series by the Master

E. S. (id. 39). The right hand and drapery over the right arm of the *Habakkuk* (C. I. 19) have clearly been copied from the *S. Simon* of the Master E. S. in the same series (id. 36); the *Daniel* (C. I. 13) is taken direct from the seated *Pontius Pilate* in a print by Schongauer (B. 14). In the plate of the *Habakkuk* especially do we seem to gain an insight into the methods of the engraver of these plates, who, 'having no gift for design himself,' copies here, imitates there, and then overloads his patchwork with ornament, in order to hide his want of invention.*

"On the other hand the designs and series of the *Sibyls* have been derived from at least three distinct sources. The *Hellespotic Sibyl* (C. II. 8) has been copied, in reverse, from the plate of *S. Thomas* in the same series of *Apostles* by the Master E. S. (id. 34). Three other plates of the *Sibyls* have been taken from another series by the Master E. S., of the *Evangelists* (Bartsch, vol. vi. pp. 23-4, 63-6), namely, the *Libyan Sibyl* (C. II. 2) from the plate of *S. John* (id. 65), the *Delphian Sibyl* (C. II. 3) from the *S. Mark* (id. 64), and the *Tiburtine Sibyl* (C. II. 10) from the *S. Matthew* (id. 66). The designs of certain of the other plates are clearly of a Pollaiuolesque character; such are the *Cimmerian Sibyl* (C. II. 4), the *Erythraean Sibyl* (C. II. 5), the *Cumaeian Sibyl* (C. II. 7), the *Phrygian Sibyl* (C. II. 9), and the *Sibylla Agrippa* (C. II. 12). Two of the other plates, the *Persian Sibyl* (C. II. 1) and the *Samian Sibyl* (C. II. 6) seem to have been derived from some French or Burgundian source; from some miniature, perhaps, or tapestry. In all these plates, the accessory ornament has been added in the manner of Finiguerra; in one instance, that of the *European Sibyl* (C. II. 11), while the ornament has thus been contrived in the manner of the Finiguerra, the scarf has been imitated from some German print, and the petticoat from some French or Burgundian design.

"The engravings of E. S. thus copied or adapted in the fine-manner *Prophets* and *Sibyls* may very well date from about 1460 or the years immediately following; the only dates which actually occur on his prints (1466 and 1467) being generally recognised as marking the latest period of his activity. As to Martin Schongauer, his birth is commonly placed about the year 1445, but the perfectly genuine autograph date, 1469, which occurs on a drawing of his in the British Museum (by no means in his earliest style) renders it probable that he was born considerably earlier, so that his *Passion* series, a figure from which is copied, as we have seen, in the fine-manner *Daniel*, may well have been produced by or about 1465.

"As to the personality of the designer responsible for those of the fine-manner *Prophets* and *Sibyls* which have not been borrowed from Northern sources, it is impossible to speak with certainty. They are of a marked Pollaiuolesque character without betraying the hand of either of the Pollaiuolo brothers themselves. To us it seems not impossible that among the hands called in to supply designs to the workshop after the death of its head was the young Botticelli in his period of service with, or at any rate inspiration by, Pollaiuolo (about 1466-1469); the Botticelli, that is, of the Uffizi *Fortitude*. Certainly some of the *Sibyls* are very much in the spirit of that piece both in general design

(continued on page 8).

* The detailed account of the matter given . . . down to the words 'French or Burgundian design,' is taken almost *verbatim*, only with alteration in the form of the references, from Horne, *Botticelli*, pp. 79-80. (original note).

* For further instances note the veil in the *Woman with an Escutcheon* by the Master E. S. (B. 92), which serves in the *Prophet Haggai* (C. I. 20) and in the *Libyan and European Sibyls* (C. II. 2 and 11); the head of the *Obadiah* (C. I. 16) which may have been suggested by the *S. Mark* of E. S. (B. 64), and the head of *Joseph* (C. III. 2) by that of *S. Peter* (B. 28). (original note).

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Saturday, April 16, 1949.

From Week to Week

The skilful and persistent denigration of British rule in India which is carried on by the "B".B.C., or Big Bankers' Consortium, is fresh evidence, if such were needed, that the powers of Evil in this world have at their disposal the best brains which can be bought with money, or any other bribe. Prestige is the key to that rule; and its destruction, even in memory, is essential. We have never been under any illusion in regard to the fact that, by ordinary standards, the chances of a triumph of Right over Might are so long as to be negligible, apart from the *petitio principii* that Socialist Might is right. That does not, of course, close the discussion.

But such brains as are concerned with policies divergent from the Big Idea can do much worse than ponder over recent broadcasts on India, comparing them with broadcasts on "Israel." India, and the British connection with, and separation from it, mean far more than the average listener to the "B".B.C., as well as many people who have a superficial acquaintance with the sub-continent, suspect; and it is to this wider significance that we desire to refer.

It is noticeable that, in the main, the broadcast attacks are delivered by individuals who were not permanently in India, were outside the main streams of employment (which may account for the "holier than thou" pose), and were temporarily resident in the large cities. Apart from the usual antagonism between the country and the town, India provides special reasons for suspicion of any argument which regards them as homogenous. And this trick of homogeneity runs through the whole attack; Indians are all alike, the British are all Colonel Blimps—*pukka sahibs* is also useful as a term of derision and has the advantage of local colour—and none of them does any work because their time is wholly occupied in drinking. No explanation is forthcoming as to why any State or commercial organisation should pay them, as is the case, if not lavishly, for the most part adequately.

Outside the great Presidency towns, British India, the "India" of song and story from the Mutiny to the first world War, was a bureaucracy—and was almost uniquely suitable to perhaps the finest bureaucracy the world has ever known, staffed from the cream of the British Isles. Even at its brilliant best, it had, nascent, the inherent faults of bureaucracy, but the disproportion between its numbers and those of the populations governed, the quality of its personnel in its early days and the wide distances which separated the District Officer from the Central Government, threw upon him the necessity, as well as the desire, "to deal with circumstances as they arose," the antithesis of normal bureaucracy. It is essential to realise that this bureaucracy, with the Indian Civil Service at its apex, dealt almost entirely with native

India, and it was this special relationship which justified it; the British mercantile, non-official community, most concentrated in the large cities, barely met it, nor did the interests of the two sections noticeably conflict, even if they did not converge. The cardinal failure of the I.C.S., its tenderness to the moneylender, ensured this. It would be interesting, but would require too much space, to examine the conquest of the invader, the British, by the caste system of the invaded; it is by no means unlikely that it has a bearing on recent history, which is fundamentally the deposition of the ruling caste, both British and Indian, by the Moneylender-Trader, the Brahmin by the Vaishya, the Bannia.

As communication by rail and telegraph, as well as the great arterial roads, improved, almost entirely as the outcome of the British Administration, the inevitable urge to centralisation set in, and Power became localised in the Presidency Towns, where it found the large Banks and mercantile community in local control. The bureaucracy knew little or nothing of High Finance; the attractions of the pioneer Services diminished; the *personnel* deteriorated; and the immensely wealthy and not too scrupulous Anglo-Scottish mercantile firms began to co-operate with their opposite Parsee, Jewish and Hindu numbers to apply pressure on the organisation which had kept the peace and developed the sub-continent, to "mould the scheme of . . . things nearer to the hearts desire" of the Marconi-Isaacs, the Sassoons, and the other international organisations of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. For the moment, we may leave the picture at that stage, merely noting that five years of Vaishya-Bannia organisation have seen more bloodshed, misery and destruction in India than did ninety years of the Rule of the Anglo-Indian Brahmin. And neither in India nor in Burma, or further East, has the tragedy more than opened.

The Forces, and to quite a considerable extent, the persons, who have worked to substitute an Empire of Business for an Empire of Ideals in India, have utilised the Labour and Trades Union movement (Mond-Turnerism-P.E.P.) to bring about the Work State in "Britain." And the consequences may be even more tragic, and are even now evident both materially and morally.

We have had occasion to mention a columnist, Mr. Elmore Philpott whose rather turgid articles are widely syndicated in the Canadian Press. Mr. Philpott balances an almost hysterical adulation of the Dean of Canterbury and Soviet Russia, in that order, against a whole-hearted dislike of the British connection.

A correspondent sends us an advertisement of a Lecture under the auspices of the Vancouver B'nai B'rith (Jewish Freemasons) on "Israel—A New Nation is born." It is to be introduced by Mr. Elmore Philpott. Curious, isn't it?

A civilisation is the dead body of a culture. The Gothic cathedrals, the chateaux of the Loire, the Great Court of Trinity, the works of Shakespeare, are the fixation of a mode of thought, a point of view. When Earl (Bertrand) Russell wrote, "The effect of mass-production and elementary education is that stupidity is more firmly entrenched than at any other time since the rise of civilisation" he was, whether he knew it or not, predicting the pre-fabs, the chemical works, the chain stores and the Planners. Fortunately, the decay in much shorter time than the duration of its predecessors, can be prophesied for this civilisation with equal certainty.

PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: March 23, 1949.

Consolidated Fund Bill—Germany and Eastern Europe

(Extracts continued).

Mr. Driberg (Maldon): . . . The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Saffron Waldon referred the House to the Motion standing on the Order Paper—(*Conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty*)—in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Stalybridge and Hyde (Mr. Lang) and a number of other hon. Members on the question of religious persecution in Eastern Europe. The hon. and gallant Member referred in his speech to the risk of “the end,” as he put it, “of Christian civilisation.” Again, the other night, on the Motion for the Adjournment, my hon. Friend the Member for East Islington (Mr. E. Fletcher) spoke in similar vein, and said that there could be “no doubt that,” in what have been called the satellite countries, “there is complete suppression of religious liberty.”

It seems to me that these statements are, at the very least, gravely over-simplified, and I feel that it would be wrong if it went out from this House, and if my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary took to America with him, the idea that that over-simplification is typical or represents the whole of Christian opinion in this country or in this House. It is not so. Christians are deeply concerned about this matter, but they are not by any means unanimous about it. Many of them, for instance, in this House, who are members of the Parliamentary Socialist Christian Group, produced last year a pamphlet which enjoyed a very wide circulation in the country and which does approach this problem from a radically different point of view. On this aspect of East-West relations and on Russia, for instance, this pamphlet says:

“A British Christian citizen will not consider Russian Soviet citizens as inevitable enemies, but as a group of fellow-men who are, in his view, in error in certain important respects. He will seek to understand the mind of these neighbours and to value all that is best in their policy and practice—some of which is, from a strictly Christian point of view, in advance of anything yet achieved in the West.”

. . . I do not, of course, want to accuse of hypocrisy any of the hon. or right hon. Gentlemen who have spoken today, but some of them seem to be to be quite unconscious of the unreality, or rather the half-truth, of what they are saying when they talk about these deprivations of civil liberties and human rights in one half of the World. I say half-truths because one eye seems to be permanently closed: they seem to be blind in one eye—blind to every infringement of human rights that occurs West of the Iron Curtain. . . . It may well be that, in Western countries with a much longer tradition of liberal institutions than they have in the Balkan countries, the infringements of liberty, although the same in principle, are expressed rather less violently. . . .

. . . If one looks at South Africa, which is, after all, part of the Commonwealth, one sees the grossest persecution, not on religious, but on racial grounds, which, in my opinion, is almost as bad if not worse. Furthermore, that is a form of persecution or discrimination which does not exist in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union at all, so far as one knows. Some time ago a young English-born Anglican clergyman, who is now in this country, was imprisoned for some months in South Africa, not for any black-market currency offences

and not for plotting against the Constitution, but merely for insisting on living among his parishioners, who happened to be coloured. He insisted on going to live in a compound or enclave in which white people were not allowed to reside. He was imprisoned, but there were no great protests in this country or in this House, no marches through the streets about the Rev. Michael Scott. He has now come here to try to speak directly to the Government on behalf of the persecuted African people to whom he has devoted his life.

I need hardly do more than refer in passing to the discrimination which is almost universal in the Southern States of the United States of America, but anybody who has been there—I am sure any hon. Member from either side of the House who has been there, as I have—is bound to find that shocking to the last degree. It is perfectly true that one can understand the historical causes of it, and one tries to do so, but one also tries to understand the historical causes of the crudities and even savageries which sometimes occur in Eastern Europe, or one ought to try to do so, I suggest. It is so one-sided and such a half-truth to concentrate all the time on one-half of the world and to pretend that the other half is completely blameless. It seems to me at least as gross an affront to the essential dignity and brotherhood of man that a Negro Methodist in Georgia is not allowed to sit in the same church, or in the same congregation, as his white brother Methodist, as that a Hungarian Cardinal should be imprisoned for alleged black-market currency offences and for political offences which would certainly be regarded as treasonable or seditious in this country. . . . of course, it is one's duty, so far as one can, to try to find out the merits of the case about which one is protesting, and I must confess that I find it extremely difficult to come to a final conclusion about the case of the Cardinal. It seems to me a tragic case, but I find it extremely difficult, as I think do many Roman Catholics in this country, to come to an absolutely final conclusion about it. If one had to try to imagine a parallel to it, I suppose it would be almost as though a Bishop of the Established Church in this country were to start intriguing for the restoration of King Edward VIII. That would obviously be far more than mere political opposition to the Government of the day. I suggest that in this country that would technically be seditious. Whether he would be prosecuted or not I do not know; I rather doubt it. . . . when hon. Friends of mine talk, as they talk in this Motion on the Order Paper, and in Debates like that initiated by my hon. Friend the Member for East Islington, of a complete blackout of religion in Eastern Europe, they are being, if I may say so with respect, a little presumptuous in, as it were, unchurching completely the great Orthodox churches of Eastern Europe. It is all very well for people to sneer at those churches and say that they are simply stooge churches, puppets of the State, and have always been so since the time of the Emperor Constantine. I do not think that gibes like that come very well from those of us who, like myself, are members of the Established Church of England. The Orthodox churches at least have the liberty, to a considerable extent, to appoint their own bishops and to order the details of their own liturgy without interference from secular parliaments, which we have not in this country.

Incidentally, when one examines the case of the Orthodox Archbishop of Cyprus and considers his position *vis à vis* the British Government, it is really like a through-the-looking-glass parallel to the case of the Hungarian Cardinal *vis à vis* the Hungarian Government, although it is true, so far as I know, unless he has been arrested in the last few

hours, that at the moment the Archbishop of Cyprus is at liberty.

I want to conclude by referring to a message appealing for peace which was issued by the Patriarch of Moscow on the occasion of the recent celebrations of the quincenary of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is an extremely impressive message. Although I will not read it, because it is lengthy, I should like to read a comment on it which appears in a small but extremely valuable periodical which I think must be known to some hon. Members—the “Christian News-Letter.” It cannot be suspected of Communist sympathies. A correspondent writing in the “Christian News-Letter” seems to me to make one of the most profound statements on the whole of the religious situation in Europe that I have yet seen. I hope I may be forgiven if I quote just a few sentences. There have been many long quotations from the other side of the House, too. Referring to this Russian Orthodox appeal to Christians to co-operate in building up peace, this writer says:

“The document . . . is a reminder to Christians in the West that there are Christians in the East: it is also a reminder of the fact that the two immense forces of Russia and the West find themselves face to face not on the Elbe or in Berlin but in the very depth of European mankind. People in the West particularly in America and Britain . . . have become accustomed to oppose ‘Christian civilisation’ . . . and Communist Russia.”

That is precisely the antithesis which has been repeatedly presented to us today—in the first instance by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bromley (Mr. H. Macmillan), who referred to “Western and Christian civilisation,” and subsequently by other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen. The “Christian News-Letter” contributor says:

“This is increasingly becoming a conventional war cry on the lips of those who have little awareness of what is meant by either Christian civilisation or Communist Russia. I am simply not impressed by this hackneyed attitude, which is fit for military purposes, but, by simplifying, confuses the issue. The Russians are, of course, by no means free from a similar attitude . . . but with them it is largely due to a kind of persecution mania, which, as is well known, easily turns into aggressiveness, whereas in the West”—

and this is a tremendously important point—

“it is the result of the sin of pride, of cultural *hubris* which issues in what Professor Toynbee calls the posture of the civilised lord of creation. It is perhaps a somewhat tragic comment on our predicament today that it is necessary for Western Christians to be reminded that there are Christians in the East. There is no such thing as Western (Christian) civilisation over against Russian (non-Christian) civilisation, and I for one am conscious of the excellence and the tragedy belonging to a world torn asunder yet fundamentally one: indeed, it is this very unity, this terrifying one-ness, of the historical destiny of European man that makes me embrace and appreciate all our present tensions and conflicts.”

I have already read too much from that contribution and I apologise, but it seems to me a profound statement. The writer goes on to emphasise the essentially European character of Russia and Russian Christianity ever since the first days of the “second Rome.” . . .

House of Commons: March 28, 1949.

Sugar Ration

Mr. De la Bère asked the Minister of Food whether since he is at present unable to de-ration sugar, he will consider increasing the existing ration of 10 oz. a week per person to 1 lb. per person a week, until sugar is de-rationed, in view of the increased supplies expected as a result of the

current negotiations with Cuba.

Dr. Summerskill: No, Sir. To increase the ration to 1 lb. per week would take a large amount of dollar sugar the only extra sugar available today, and this we cannot afford to buy.

Mr. De la Bère: If not, why not? Is not the right hon. Lady aware of the constructive suggestion made by my hon. Friend the Member for Chippenham (Mr. Eccles) in the Adjournment Debate on sugar? Is it not a fact that in Cuba there is a huge unsaleable surplus which it would be possible to acquire for preserving fruit as well as for increasing the ration? If we cannot get the dollars, why not negotiate in sterling, if there is a will on the part of the Government to obtain that sugar? Are we not one of the worst-fed nations in Europe?

Dr. Summerskill: I think that the hon. Gentleman will agree with me that a week last Friday I went into great detail on this matter. I know that I can never satisfy the hon. Gentleman by my replies, but I endeavour to do so. The answer is that the amount of sugar for which he has asked in this Question comes to about an additional half a million tons, which would cost 56 million dollars, and we cannot afford it.

Mr. De la Bère: Why not offer to pay in sterling when there is a huge surplus which is unsaleable because there are no dollar buyers?

House of Commons: March 29, 1949.

Public Appointments (Selection)

Mr. Keeling asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the recent letter from the Treasury to the Bank of England asking for the names of persons in the City willing to be considered for appointments in socialised industries was sent with his approval.

Mr. Geoffrey Cooper asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he authorised the letter which was sent recently by the Treasury to various institutions in the City, asking for names to be given of any young men who might be willing to serve on Royal Commissions, committees or public boards; what is the list of institutions to which this letter was sent; what methods of selection are used to decide what are suitable institutions to which to send such letters or to ensure the suitability of the names submitted; how many replies have been received; and what is the number of names put forward.

Sir S. Cripps: The request to which these Questions refer was one for names of persons thought suitable (not of persons willing to be considered) for important public work of all kinds, including service on advisory committees and the like, and had no particular reference to socialised industries. The arrangements for improving His Majesty's Government's lists of such persons—of which this request was a part—are necessarily of an informal and confidential nature, but I can assure the House that they have my entire approval.

Mr. Keeling: Will the Chancellor say whether he expects that this appeal, which was circulated through the City by the Bank of England, will be successful in rescuing these organisations, which certainly included the socialised industries, from their difficulties about directing and advisory staff?

Sir S. Cripps: There is no question about it being successful for any such purpose. It has long been the custom

to keep a list of such persons at the Treasury and from time to time it is necessary to renew it.

Mr. Cooper: In view of the overwhelming importance to the Government of men being chosen for public posts entirely on merit and suitability for the job which is vacant at the time, would the Chancellor give consideration to the adoption of some selection procedure which is clearly recognised and which is most likely to throw up the most suitable man when the occasion demands?

Sir S. Cripps: The way in which people are selected for different posts differs according to the post. The responsible Minister is responsible for the selection.

Canada (Trade)

Mr. De la Bère asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will now consider modifying his fiscal policy so as to ensure that Canada is not shut out from the sterling market areas, with special regard to the difficulties which exist at the present time.

Sir S. Cripps: We are making a sustained effort to increase our trade with Canada precisely in order that we may have the means to pay for Canadian goods which we greatly desire to import. In this connection it is hoped that the limited concessions recently made by the British West Indies the Bahamas and Bermuda in regard to hard currency imports will have proved of benefit to Canada.

Mr. De la Bère: Is the Chancellor aware of increasing Canadian anxiety about the trade position? Why is it that the contract formerly placed with Canada for timber, bacon, apples and newsprint has been given to Iron Curtain countries?

Sir S. Cripps: I think I appreciate the object of the hon. Member's supplementary question. The reason why we cannot buy all the things we should like from Canada is because we have not got the dollars.

Mr. De la Bère: The right hon. and learned Member is not trying very hard.

House of Commons: March 31, 1949.

National Land Fund (Properties)

Mr. H. D. Hughes asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how many properties have now been accepted by the National Land Fund; to whom have they been transferred; what costs has the fund incurred to date; and what expenditure has the fund incurred in acquiring tracts of country for public use, and in assisting the National Trust and other appropriate bodies.

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Glenvil Hall): Seven properties have been accepted, at a total cost of about £275,000, of which five have been or are about to be transferred to the National Trust, one to the Youth Hostels Association and one to the Minister of Agriculture. This expenditure has served the purposes mentioned in the last part of the Question, but there is no statutory power to use the Fund for paying grants or for acquiring land other than land offered in lieu of Death Duties.

Mr. Keeling: Will the right hon. Gentleman make it clear that the National Trust receives no annual grant from the State?

National Parks and Access to the Countryside Bill

Order for Second Reading read.

The Minister of Town and Country Planning (Mr. Silkin): I beg to move "That the Bill be now read a Second time."

... The Bill before the House is directed to arresting and reversing these various trends. Its objects broadly are, first, to preserve and enhance the beauty of the countryside; and, secondly, to enable our people to see it, get to it, and enjoy it. This Bill is the culmination of the pioneering efforts of many public spirited persons who devoted themselves to the open-air cause through the agency of voluntary organisations. Some of them were formed as far back as the second half of the last century. If I may, I should like to mention some of the names of these organisations, and in doing so I hope I am not leaving out any body which ought to be mentioned. There is the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, the Ramblers' Association, the Cyclists' Touring Club, the Youth Hostels Association and many others. Their endeavours to interest and arouse public opinion have been slow but steady.

Today, for example, there are, I understand, 150,000 registered ramblers, walkers, cyclists and climbers, and other similar organisations have large memberships. Youth hostels are being put up in increasing numbers all over the country. . .

... Just as all life is dynamic and circumstances and conditions change, so must we be prepared for necessary and inevitable changes in our national parks. Any other outlook would be fatal to the success of the national parks themselves. Among other changes, there may be a need for further afforestation, and there will be discussions between the Forestry Commission and the National Parks Commission before it takes place. Other forms of development may also be necessary. The Bill does, however, recognise the special position of agriculture and forestry. In Clause 4 (5) it provides that both the National Parks Commission and the local authorities are to have due regard to the need for securing that agriculture and forestry as established in the parks shall be efficiently maintained. . . Incidentally, I hope that the national parks as well as the areas of exceptional beauty will be well signposted, and that, while I do not visualise anything in the nature of a physical fence running round them, the public will nevertheless be informed when coming into a national park or an area of exceptional beauty—and when they are actually in such an area—and will learn to take a pride in it and feel that it belongs to them.

... I shall now briefly describe the proposals in the Bill for national parks. The proposals are contained in Parts I and II. It is proposed to set up a National Parks Commission. This will consist of a chairman, a deputy chairman and a number of members. The Bill does not prescribe the number of members. I think that we should probably begin with a small number and increase them as the number of national parks and areas of exceptional beauty increases. . . .

... I now want to discuss the powers of the Commission. This is one of the matters upon which the Bill has received some criticism. It has been said that the Commission will not have sufficient powers and that it will merely be an advisory committee. I want to tell the House what those

powers are. They are unfortunately distributed throughout the Bill, for reasons which are inevitable; they arise under different aspects of the functions of the Bill, under access, footpaths, national parks, areas of exceptional beauty, and so on. . . .

. . . The first task of the Commission will be to select the areas of designation as national parks. They will be asked to look at the areas recommended by the Hobhouse Committee first, and it may be that I shall ask them to look at specific areas from the point of view of urgency. It is more urgent to deal with some areas than with others, and I hope that that will be the criterion for selecting the first areas for designation. The Commission will advise the Minister on how park planning authorities are to be constituted; that is, on the question of joint boards, joint committees, special committees and so on. They will advise the Minister as to the persons to be nominated for co-option to the park committees. They will assist the park committees in formulating detailed proposals for administering the national parks and providing facilities, and generally keep under review the activities of local authorities in the national park areas.

They will advise the local authorities and the Minister on the development plans in the national park areas and in areas of special beauty. They will be consulted on particular proposals for development—whether by private persons, local authorities, statutory undertakers or Government departments—as well as generally. They will recommend to the Minister what grants are to be paid to local planning authorities. That is very important. The power of the purse is perhaps the most important of all, and although no Minister would consent to be bound by the recommendations of a Commission, I am sure that the House will agree that equally no Minister would lightly disregard the recommendations of a Commission. They will be responsible for telling the public about the park, about its history and its features, where accommodation is to be found, and where buildings of architectural and historical interest are and all about such buildings. In this respect, they will function as an information service.

Generally the Commission will be responsible for drawing attention to any question affecting natural beauty in any part of England and Wales. . . . They will also be responsible for selecting the other areas of natural beauty to which special powers are to apply. These areas are defined in Clause 70. They will be normally smaller in extent than the national parks and for that, or some other reason, therefore unsuitable for designation as national parks.

The Commission will also be responsible for selecting the long-distance footpaths. . . .

. . . The Bill provides that at least a quarter of the board or of the committee shall be appointed by the local planning authority on the nomination of the Minister, after consultation with the National Parks Commission. This will enable the Minister to ensure that persons are appointed to the parks committee without local interest or prejudices, who are able to put before the committee the so-called "national" point of view, whatever that may mean. Probably what is meant is the amenity point of view. At any rate, these people will be on the committee and they will be of a calibre and with qualifications which will enable them to put the wider amenity point of view to the committee.

(To be continued)

HISTORY OF PERVERSION (continued from page 3)

and in fantasy of decoration and costume, however much weaker in effect; but for such relative weakness the engraver might well be held responsible. Mr. Horne, however, the closest and most competent of all Botticelli students, does not recognise the presence of the young master among designers for the fine-manner workshop at this moment of its history, but limits his activity in relation to engraving to later years; conceiving him to have done drawings for that workshop only about 1480 (the drawings for the *Laudino Dante* of 1481), and for the broad-manner workshop at an indeterminate date, probably later still.

"That the board-manner series of *Prophets* and *Sibyls* is later than the fine-manner series is obvious and incontrovertible, but by how wide a gap it is not easy to say. They stand to the fine-manner series in the relation of copies or free adaptations, from which the archaic spirit has partly gone, and with it the excess of ornamental pattern and detail. The drawing is more accomplished, especially in the hands; there is a greater feeling for grace as well as simplicity; the German borrowings have been either discarded altogether and replaced by new designs as in the prophets *Ezekiel* (12) and *Amos* (15), or else so transformed and softened as to harmonize with the rest, e.g. *Malachi* (22). In the series of *Sibyls* the crouching pose, which had been suggested by the *Evangelists* of the Master E. S., is entirely discarded. The texts also have been revised and the slips and illiteracies of the first engraver corrected. The figures, as Mr. Horne has shown, are now very much in keeping with the mature, middle style of Botticelli, so that it seems likely that they were redrawn, if not actually by him, at any rate under his immediate influence. Technically, the mode of cutting is almost identical with that of the *Life of the Virgin*, the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, the oblong plates of the *Deluge*, the *Story of Moses, David and Goliath, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the Adoration of the Magi*, and other typical examples of the broad manner.

"There are impressions of a series of rough Italian copies of the fine-manner *Sibyls* in Rome and in the collection of Prince Trivulzio, Milan. They probably belong to the last decade of the fifteenth century, but we are unable to venture any localisation. They are perhaps by the same hand as four plates of a series of *Warriors of Antiquity*, which are preserved in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome (two of which are described by Passavant, V. 20, 28b and 29, from impressions in the collection Friedrich August, Dresden).

"The *Cimmerian Sibyl* is wanting; impressions of the others are as follows:—*Persian Sibyl* (Rome and Trivulzio), *Libyan Sibyl* (Rome), *Delphian Sibyl* (Rome and Trivulzio), *Erythrean Sibyl* (Rome), *Samian Sibyl* (Rome), *Cumaean Sibyl* (Trivulzio), *Hellespontic Sibyl* (Rome and Trivulzio), *Phrygian Sibyl* (Trivulzio), *Tiburtine Sibyl* (Rome), *European Sibyl* (Rome and Trivulzio), *Sibyl Agrippa* (Rome)."

A Bibliography of references to C. A. von Heinecken, Bartsch, Ottley, Passavant and Kolloff in Meyer's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* is given.

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