

## NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

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MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECHES. Edited by CHARLES W. BOYD. With an introduction by the Right Hon. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, M. P. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

Political history plus personal interest—this is what we hope to find in the collected speeches of a statesman; and the two volumes of *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches* reasonably satisfy us in both particulars. Mr. Boyd appears to have made a just and representative selection from the materials at his disposal, with the result that the series of speeches he presents traces out in an interesting manner the career of a public man of power. The editor's supplementary narrative, and his comments, are sparing, but adequate. Mr. Boyd has neither spoiled historic continuity by arbitrary omissions, nor dulled interest by too great length or by monotony in the individual excerpts. As for the speeches themselves, not only are they singularly lucid and self-explanatory, but they convey, without much help from the editor, an impression of sincerity and ultimate consistency.

Joseph Chamberlain began his political career in 1869 as a member of the Birmingham Town Council. In 1873 he became Mayor of Birmingham, being re-elected in 1874 and in 1875. The speeches delivered during this part of his career are of two kinds—those which show him zealous for municipal reform and those which voice his then extreme hostility to the Church of England as a political power. As an advocate of municipal reforms, as a stirrer-up of sluggish imaginations and of proverbially languid public consciences, we find him sane and persuasive. It was, however, as a leader of Non-Conformists that he first made himself felt in national politics, being in 1870 one of the most resolute crusaders against Mr. Forster's Education Act. On this subject—a subject about which he subsequently modified his views—he is a sufficiently whole-hearted partisan. Nevertheless, two qualities stand out rather plainly even in his most denunciatory utterances—a genuine enthusiasm for human betterment, which is quite distinguishable from demagoguery, and, in the midst of much heat, a certain reasonableness and moderation. There are phrases, to be sure, in which the speaker refers to “the cause of the people against the priests,” or rings “the knell of priestly domination and sectarian rule”—phrases that strike one as pretty rabid. But

the tone of the speeches as a whole is more consistent with the character of a man capable of an honest change of opinion than would be a more rash and splenetic handling of the matter or even greater timidity or caution. In one of his few apologies the editor thus defends Mr. Chamberlain's behavior toward the Church: "Given to-day the Church of his youth (so far as he was informed about her), Mr. Chamberlain would probably say that his attitude would still be equally hostile. Churchmen for their part might admit, in some respects at least, its relevancy and justice in 1870."

In 1876 Mr. Chamberlain was elected to Parliament as member for Birmingham, and from that time until 1885 and after, we see him chiefly as zealous radical and practical reformer. In 1880 he became President of the Board of Trade—the very post, remarks the editor, for a man of his temper and talents. During this part of his career, much was immediately accomplished through his efforts; and much more that he originated or urged became law at a later time. To this period belong speeches such as that in support of the Merchant Shipping Bill, directed against criminal ship-owners who sent to sea the so-called "coffin-ships"—unseaworthy vessels insured far beyond their value; and also those speeches in which is set forth the "unauthorized programme," comprising, among other things, proposals for free education, the readjustment of taxation, and allotments of land to be created by compulsory purchase. All these measures are urged with vehemence and yet with that firm restraint of reason which enhances the force of utterance and insures ultimate effect. The speaker's genius for "getting things done" becomes apparent even to one who merely reads. Notable among the speeches contained in the group under consideration is one upon "The French Treaty and Reciprocity," delivered in 1881, which shows Mr. Chamberlain to have been, according to the strictest sect of political economy, a Free-Trader.

When in 1885 Lord Salisbury resigned and Gladstone formed his new government, Mr. Chamberlain was appointed to the Local Government Board. His acceptance was provisional, and turned upon the extent to which Gladstone would go in the direction of Home Rule. He himself, as his speeches make plain, was not unfavorable to the "principle of Home Rule"; but by that phrase he meant nothing more than local self-government. In less than three months, finding that Mr. Gladstone's views were quite incompatible with his own, he wrote to the Premier announcing his resignation. It is here, perhaps, that we may first see his "sense of imperial duty" taking the lead over his zeal for reform. Incidentally, one of the arguments which he used against absolute Home Rule is of particular interest just now. "Suppose," he said (July 8, 1886), "we got into a great war—I am afraid it is not altogether an impossible supposition—what would be the position of Canada and Australia? They would have had no part whatever in the policy which led to that war, and

they would have no part whatever in finding the cost of that war. . . . There are very many people who believe that the result would be, if we ever got into a war, that the relations between us and our colonies would be so strained that they would break adrift altogether, and I think this is not altogether impossible. My point is this, that these colonies are connected with us by ties which are really very loose, and if we got into a war or anything of that kind, practically they would break adrift and become separate countries. Is that the position that you want Ireland to occupy at the present moment?" With him, however, the practical perception of the looseness of the ties binding together the parts of the Empire was but one side of an idealistic determination to strengthen them.

Mr. Chamberlain's break with the party in which he had originally seen the only hope of progress hardly needs explanation for the attentive reader of his collected speeches. The truth seems to be well summed up in the brief saying of Mr. Boyd: "Things changed; he grew." The sense of consistency remains to one who feels the personal character in the speeches. Difficult as it may be for contemporaries to find consistency—that sometimes overprized jewel—in the career of a politician who was, being practical, a good party man, and at the same time, being a thinker, something bigger than that—one does feel that sincerity, intellectual honesty, the qualities of true consistency, are always there.

Mr. Chamberlain, who at one time had seemed "the rising hope of the starkest Radicals," went over to the Conservative party, which adopted his domestic policy and made most of it law, before the party went out in 1892. Meanwhile, in 1887, Mr. Chamberlain was chosen by Lord Salisbury as chief British plenipotentiary to negotiate with the United States a treaty regarding the Canadian and Newfoundland fisheries. Though the treaty failed of ratification in the Senate—for the reason, it is said, that the Irish-American vote had been ordered against Mr. Chamberlain because of his opposition to Home Rule—the plenipotentiary did succeed in arranging a *modus vivendi* which continued to regulate the attitude of the two countries, and he returned home with reputation considerably enhanced.

From this point on we begin to see Mr. Chamberlain more and more as "the missionary of Empire." In 1895 he became Colonial Secretary, in which position he had to deal with the difficult affairs of South Africa, from the moment of taking office to the eve of his resignation in 1903. The Jameson Raid, the consequent Parliamentary inquiry, the war itself, and the process of reconstruction after the war, are all handled in the speeches of this period. Through these, and still more through the series beginning in 1903 which deals with "Imperial Union and Tariff Reform," we gain a real insight into the policy and motives of a sincere and rational imperialist. We also gain, perhaps, something of that sympathy which lucidity of thought and fairness of spirit, on the part of one whose point of view may be

other than our own, can hardly fail to inspire; and such sympathy is of no small worth to historic insight or to political understanding.

The eloquence of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, so far as it can be appreciated through print, seems easy, unaffected, business-like. Deftness in the handling of detail is very apparent—and, with this, a certain effect of dealing with a matter *in extenso*, without undue economy or primness of speech, when in fact the treatment is very compact, colloquially drawn out though it may seem to be. By contrast the speeches of most modern American public men seem rather stiff and lumbering, though not necessarily less impressive. Instead of what is commonly called brilliance, one often finds in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches a shining common sense that is even more to be desired.

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THE ENCHANTMENT OF ART. By DUNCAN PHILLIPS. New York: John Lane Company, 1914.

The pleasures of the artistic life are Mr. Phillips's true theme. A certain attitude or mood corresponding to that of the so-called "intellectual life" is impressed upon us by his subtly composed and daintily worded essays. Though these are in spirit not at all didactic, they are thoroughly rational. The author makes his chief aim, indeed, the deepening through suggestion of the feeling for beauty, yet at the same time he outlines general ideas with sufficient clearness. So far as his ruling purpose is concerned—the purpose of stimulating his readers to enjoyment by sharing with them his own inward sense of beauty—Mr. Phillips is conspicuously successful, the enchantment of a highly cultivated literary art contributing no little to the total effect. His general conceptions, extracted from their interesting context, have a significance of their own, and call for separate consideration.

Beauty, Mr. Phillips is content to believe, is, in the last resort, a personal matter. "We can no more make all people appreciate the same beauty than we can make all people dream the same dream. Beauty is as vague and various and variable as human personality itself." The appreciation of beauty, then, is essentially the same thing as the appreciation of life—"not life in the abstract, but our *own* lives, our *own* experiences, our *own* moods and emotions." It cannot be, therefore, that what we really mean by beauty is identical with, for example, Greek idealism of form. It is something very much freer, more personal, more varied and variable than that. Since beauty is of this nature, it follows that impressionism is the true and universal mode of expressing it, and impressionism is really the secret of all true pictorial art. Emphatically, according to Mr. Phillips's view, the term should not be confined to the designation of a certain peculiar technique. What, then, is impressionism? "In its only logical sense," replies Mr. Phillips, "it means the concise expression,