

them. He did not fear them, but he would have liked to believe in them, had not his common sense prevented it.

In his manor house of Lew Trenchard—for this clergyman inherited an estate, and was the last of the squire-parsons, or “squarsons”—a ghost known as Old Madam walked as recently as 1918. Her footsteps were heard by Baring-Gould's mother and sister, many years ago, but it was in 1918 that two nurses left the house because of a mysterious female figure which walked in the nursery and bent over the children's beds. The author himself, on two occasions, heard strange creaking or swishing sounds. But, so far as the sounds are concerned, this sprightly old man, writing in his eighty-ninth year, had an explanation, and he gave it in one word: Rats. After a life spent in investigating goblins, pixies, wraiths, mermaids, and kobolds, he had to admit that he had never seen any of them. He refused, as a young man, to be terrified by the were-wolves of Brittany, although a local mayor and a priest warned him about them. And, as an old man, he was actually irreverent toward his family ghost.

## The Bok Prize Plan

**I**N substance the plan which has won Mr. Edward W. Bok's prize of fifty thousand dollars is a plea for the League of Nations with the Lodge Reservations. If it had appeared four years ago it would have been accepted by many who will disapprove it to-day. It comes now four years late.

That this plan as outlined was not adopted in 1919 was due to the opposition of President Wilson. He declared that Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was “the heart of the Covenant.” The prize-winning plan, like the Lodge Reservations, would remove the heart of the League. President Wilson withstood the demands made to modify the League as the prize-winning plan would modify it. But for him the United States would now be a member of the League of Nations on the terms which the prize proposal names. He staked all on a choice between the League as it was and no League at all, and he lost.

There is no indication that the country since then has desired to reconsider the decision then made.

With many of the activities of the

League the people of the United States have been in sympathy and the Government of the United States has been glad to co-operate. As has been pointed out by the writer or writers of the prize-winning plan:

The United States Government has accredited its representatives to sit as members “in an unofficial and consulting capacity” upon four of the most important social welfare commissions of the League, viz.: Health, opium, traffic in women and children, and anthrax (industrial hygiene).

Our Government is a full member of the International Hydrographic Bureau, an organ of the League. Our Government was represented by an “unofficial observer” in the Brussels Conference (Finance and Economic Commission) in 1920. It sent the Hon. Stephen G. Porter and Bishop Brent to represent it at the meeting of the Opium Commission last May.

Our Public Health Service has taken part in the Serological Congresses of the Epidemic Commissions and has helped in the experimental work for the standardization of serums.

Our Government collaborates with the League Health Organization through the International Office of Public Health at Paris, and with the Agriculture Committee of the League Labor Organization through the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

All such activities in which the United States has co-operated with the League are non-political. Not one of them affects political or diplomatic policies. Every one is administrative, like the operation of the post office or the health department of a city.

There is no reason why the United States should not continue to co-operate with the non-political activities of the League.

There is no reason, therefore, why the United States should hesitate to adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice with the reservations proposed by Secretary Hughes and President Harding, as this prize plan proposes; for this Court is a product, not of the political activities of the League, but of its administrative function, and we can as cordially co-operate with the League in erecting this Court, in which the country as a whole believes, as in the League's activities concerning opium or any other non-political subject.

There is no reason why this country should not cordially approve this prize plan's proposal that the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations should

engage in collaborating “for the revision and development of international law,” with the aid of a commission of jurists, for such work of codification of law is a non-political administrative activity.

In these respects the plan may be commended, as it can be for its recognition of the Monroe Doctrine not “as a regional understanding” (to use the phrase in the League of Nations Covenant) but as a policy of the United States Government; and for the emphasis the plan places upon justice as a factor in world peace.

But to its proposal that the United States should join the League of Nations as a political body assembled for consultation to determine international policies, we believe the country will and ought to display vigorous opposition.

In the four years that have intervened since the Senate stood ready to adopt the League of Nations Covenant with the Lodge Reservations it has become increasingly clear to the people of America that peace is not the product of any scheme or organization. The argument that in lieu of any other organization the League of Nations ought to be accepted has lost its point. To the question, What permanent organization do you propose in the place of the League? a perfectly reasonable answer is, None. Those who believe that the world can be saved by the writing of a document or the holding of an assembly or the organizing of a committee are not as numerous as they were four years ago.

The prize-winning plan recognizes now what opponents of the League recognized four years ago, that the dream of a league that could force peace upon the world is only a dream—and a bad dream. But this plan still reposes hope in the League as a political agency. As long as the League has any political functions, even if those functions should be without any compulsory power, the United States should, and, we believe, will, remain outside of it. Those political functions would remain in the League even though Article 10 and Article 16 should be excluded. Article 11 and Article 12 would remain and would keep the League a definitely political body. Article 11 declares war or threat of war to be of concern to the whole League and provides that “the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.” Article 12 commits every nation

## Summary of the Prize-Winning Plan in Mr. Bok's American Peace Award

### STATEMENT OF POLICY COMMITTEE:

#### The Question to be Voted upon

*The substantial provisions which constitute plan Number 1469, selected by the Jury of Award, and upon which the vote of the American people is asked, are hereby submitted as follows:*

#### I—Enter the Permanent Court

That the United States adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the reasons and under the conditions stated by Secretary Hughes and President Harding in February, 1923.

#### II—Co-operate with the League of Nations, Without Full Membership at Present

That, without becoming a member of the League of Nations as at present constituted, the United States Government should extend its present co-operation with the League and propose participation in the work of its Assembly and Council under the following conditions and reservations:

1. *Safeguarding of Monroe Doctrine.*—The United States accepts the League of Nations as an instrument of mutual counsel, but it will assume no obligation to interfere with political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign State.

In uniting its efforts with those of other States for the preservation of peace and the promotion of the common welfare, the United States insists upon the safeguarding of the Monroe Doctrine and does not abandon its traditional attitude concerning American independence of the Old World and does not consent to submit its long-established policy concerning questions regarded by it as purely American to the recommendation or decision of other Powers.

2. *No Military or Economic Force.*—The only kind of compulsion which nations can freely engage to apply to each other in the name of Peace is that which arises from conference, from moral judgment, from full publicity, and from the power of public opinion.

The United States will assume no obligations under Article X in its present form, or under Article XVI in its present form in the Covenant, or in its amended form as now proposed, unless in any particular case Congress has authorized such action.

The United States proposes that Articles X and XVI be either dropped altogether or so amended and changed as to eliminate any suggestion of a general agreement to use coercion for obtaining conformity to the pledges of the Covenant.

3. *No Obligations Under Versailles Treaty.*—That the United States will accept no responsibilities under the Treaty of Versailles unless in any particular case Congress has authorized such action.
4. *League Open to All Nations.*—The United States Government proposes that Article I of the Covenant be construed and applied, or, if necessary, redrafted, so that admission to the League shall be assured to any self-governing State that wishes to join and that receives the favorable vote of two-thirds of the Assembly.
5. *Development of International Law.*—As a condition of its participation in the work and counsels of the League, the United States asks that the Assembly and Council consent—or obtain authority—to begin collaboration for the revision and development of international law, employing for this purpose the aid of a commission of jurists. This Commission would be directed to formulate anew existing rules of the law of nations, to reconcile divergent opinions, to consider points hitherto inadequately provided for but vital to the maintenance of international justice, and in general to define the social rights and duties of States. The recommendations of the Commission would be presented from time to time, in proper form for consideration, to the Assembly as to a recommending if not a lawmaking body.

*In order that the vote may be taken solely upon the merits of the plan, the Policy Committee, with the acquiescence of Mr. Bok, has decided not to disclose the authorship of the plan until after the referendum, or early in February. The identity of the author is unknown to the members of the Jury of Award and the Policy Committee, except one delegated member.*

(Signed) JOHN W. DAVIS  
LEARNED HAND  
WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON  
ESTHER EVERETT LAPE  
(Member in charge)  
NATHAN L. MILLER  
MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT

MRS. OGDEN REID  
MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
HENRY L. STIMSON  
MELVILLE E. STONE  
MRS. FRANK A. VANDERLIP  
CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR.  
(Treasurer)

member of the League to the pledge that in no case will it resort to war until three months after an arbitral award or a report by the Council. It is not sufficient to say, as the prize plan says, that the United States "will accept no responsibility and assume no obligation in connection with any duties imposed upon the League" unless Congress in any particular case authorizes action; for, if the United States becomes a member of an international political body, no disclaiming of responsibility can prevent the United States from becoming involved in political situations and consequent obligations. A foreigner who becomes a naturalized citizen of America may decline to participate as a voter in American elections, but he cannot escape being involved in the political situations which arise in his community. No more could the United States when once a member of an international political body escape obligation by merely disclaiming it.

The only condition on which the United States should enter the League of Nations is that the League should divest itself wholly of every political and diplomatic function. That condition is not likely to be fulfilled in the near future; for it is not likely that those who have tasted the excitement of discussing great policies will easily be led to confine themselves to work on commissions whose activities will be purely administrative. Such activities stimulate no oratory. They make no pretense of instituting a new and mysterious world order. They simply provide the means by which nations can do together the things that can be done better together than separately. They form a habit of international co-operation, and of compromise on non-essentials, that is itself an essential in civilized life. But to hope that the League will divest itself of its more spectacular features and become a purely humdrum and useful body is probably to expect too much. When it does transform itself, if it ever does, it will be time for the United States to think about joining it; and, by that time, joining will be purely a formal matter, for in most cases America and Americans will be participating fully in its activities.

Mr. Bok has already achieved what he purposed in offering this award. At a comparatively small cost, he has achieved one of the greatest of feats in publicity. He has resuscitated by advertising an issue which most people had supposed to be beyond resuscitation. While he was advertising, we wish he had chosen to



advertise, not peace, but justice, for the dove of peace is a shy bird that is averse

to publicity and nests only where justice prevails.

## George Borrow

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

Contributing Editor of The Outlook

**I** MADE the acquaintance of George Borrow thirty-one years ago last August—to be exact, on August 29, 1892, having been introduced to him on that memorable day by the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, of the Inner Temple, London. The introduction was not made in person, of course, because Borrow died in 1881 and I never saw Augustine Birrell in the flesh, although he is one of the contemporary English men of letters whom I should most delight to have known. The introduction was made through the medium of Birrell's vivacious essay on George Borrow, which essay readers—a small tribe at any time and just now very much in eclipse—may find in the little volume entitled "Res Judicata," published by the Scribners in 1892. The date when I met Borrow is noted on the fly-leaf of this delightful little volume—delightful in format and in contents. This was the form of Mr. Birrell's introduction:

The author of "Lavengro," "The Romany Rye," "The Bible in Spain," and "Wild Wales" is one of those kings of literature who never need to number their tribe. His personality will always secure him an attendant company, who, when he pipes, must dance. A queer company it is too, even as was the company he kept himself, composed as it is of saints and sinners, gentle and simple, master and man, mistresses and maids; of those who, learned in the tongues, have read everything else, and of those who have read nothing else and do not want to. People there are for whom Borrow's books play the same part as did horses and dogs for the gentleman in the tall white hat whom David Copperfield met on the top of the Canterbury coach. "'Orses and dorgs," said that gentleman, "is some men's fancy. They are wittles and drink to me, lodging, wife and children, reading, writing and 'rithmatic, snuff, tobacker and sleep."

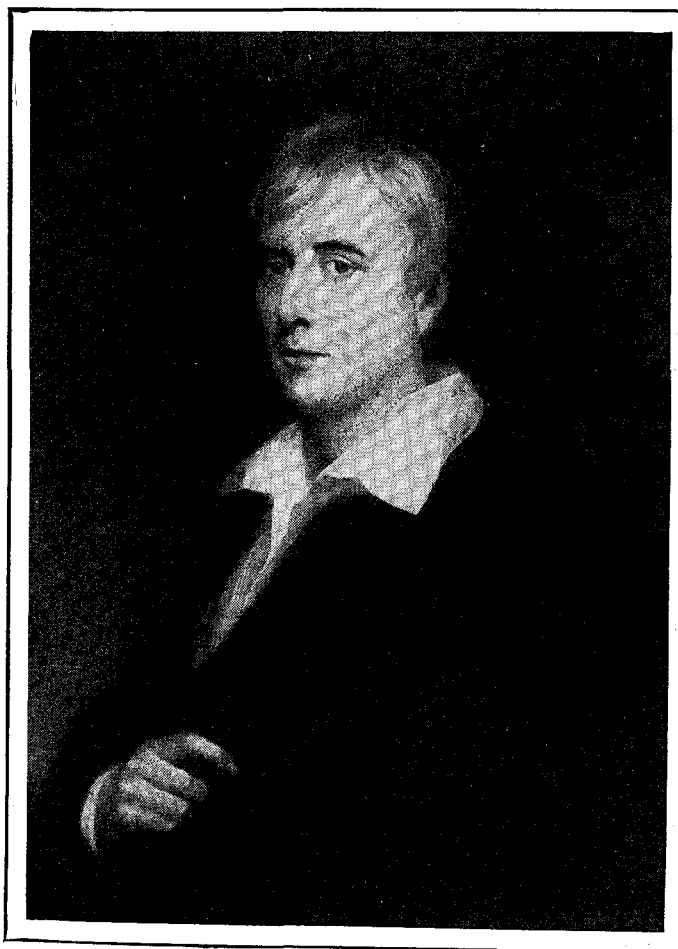
Is it any wonder that after such an encomium I was eager to know more of Borrow and find out for myself whether he deserved such praise from a man like Augustine Birrell, who numbered among his special friends in books such persons as Samuel Richardson, Edward Gibbon, William Cowper, Cardinal Newman,

Matthew Arnold, William Hazlitt, and Charles Lamb? I began by reading "The Bible in Spain," of which I now have two or three different editions. It was not the first book Borrow wrote, but it was the best one, although there are those who think that his Gypsy novels, "Lavengro" and "The Romany Rye," alone entitle him to a high place in the list of English literary geniuses. At all events, "The Bible in Spain" was the book that made Borrow famous and is the one I should advise to be read first by those who are curious to know why there is a joyous company of lovers of literary adventure who call themselves Borrowians.

George Borrow's impresario, if I may use that term, in England is Clement Shorter, the editor of the very beautifully printed definitive edition of Borrow's works which is now being published in sixteen volumes under the imprint of Constable & Co. in London and Gabriel

Wells in New York. But the definitive biography is that written by the late Professor William I. Knapp, of Yale University. The edition of "The Bible in Spain" which I personally prefer is one in two volumes issued a little more than twenty years ago in New York by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, because it contains a map of Borrow's extraordinary journeys through Spain afoot and on horseback nearly a hundred years ago.

Entirely apart from his literary achievements, George Borrow was one of the oddest geniuses that England has ever produced. He was born in the County of Norfolk in 1803, his father being an enlisted private soldier who later obtained a commission, and his mother the daughter of a tenant farmer. His boyhood was a wandering one as his soldier-father moved from post to post and barracks to barracks. But he went to school, and as he had an inborn genius for language he studied Latin, perhaps some Greek, but especially the Romance languages, French, Spanish, and Italian. When he was sixteen years old he was articled as a clerk to a law firm in Norwich, but as he gave more time and attention to the study of languages—of which he fairly well mastered seven, besides becoming more or less familiar with seven more—than he did to the law, he



George Borrow