

tariat and of the *bourgeois* aristocracy, with the result that more and more the legal and administrative functions of the state (particularly among Latin peoples) become the object of contention of the various factions, each faction seeking to use them as a weapon in the struggle for its own economic advancement. Hence subordination of the play of truly political forces to the economic struggle and the farce of government by coalition—that is, by deals among many factions, no one of which has a constructive political policy or could secure sufficient control to put it into effect.

Yet notwithstanding the gloomy present, Professor Ruggiero looks hopefully to the future in the belief that economic currents are in process of producing a new middle class (the “particularized” industries as distinguished from the broadly organized “heavy” industries), and that the creative and constructive force of Liberalism will turn in upon itself and its own institutions and put its house in order to meet the perils that loom before it.

London Time

By P. W. WILSON

“By the Clock of St. James’s,” by Percy Armytage, C.V.O. E. P. Dutton & Co.

On every stage there is one man at any rate to whom, if to no one else, the play must be the thing. As the scenshifter of the British Court, Mr. Armytage has had to take himself seriously. At weddings and funerals, at jubilees and coronations, it has been his duty to see that everything and every one is in the right place at the right time. In these vivacious pages he tells us how he managed so ticklish a galaxy of illustrious puppets.

Suppose that pageantry be no more than a picture of power. Even so, the picture should be perfect. Nor is it enough that grandeur be gorgeous. It must be precise. In Westminster Abbey, thronged with notables, King Edward, with the Crown on his head, did not fail to notice that a judge had appeared without his collar of the Bath, and he inquired about it. He wanted to know the reason.

The palette from which the picture must be painted is precedence. As Mr. Armytage puts it, “There can be no above if there is no below.” At a presentation none but an earl’s daughter or woman of higher rank might receive the kiss, and a bygone Princess Amelia was only prevented from saluting the wife of a knight by a gentleman usher shouting in her deaf ear, “Don’t kiss her, your Royal Highness, she is not a real lady.”

For the coronation of King George

the leading royalties of Europe had to be packed into two special trains and unpacked at Victoria Station in their correct order. Mr. Armytage fixed labels on their respective compartments and chalked their names on the platform of arrival. Each suite on alighting was thus greeted by the footmen assigned to it, and all would have driven away without a hitch if one minor potentate had not held up every one else by insisting that his wig-case be taken with him. Although there were complete arrangements for all the luggage to be delivered in time for dinner dress, he dared not take a chance on his bald pate.

Into the *mêlée* there were plunged the Eastern princes. The Maharajah of Jaipur alone brought 200 servants, and, on religious grounds, he insisted on having a white cow, shorthorn, and also water that never touched a metal pipe. Happily, Campden Hill furnished a residence with a paddock and a well.

The Shah of Persia rode a white horse with a pink tail and at the Albert Hall preferred the tuning of the orchestra to the concert that followed. Three hundred trays of tea were served to his suite before ten o’clock, with pickles and Gruyère cheese accompanying; and at lunch Nasser-ed-Din specialized on cherries, dropping the stones on the carpet. When, however, he saw that other of the King’s guests put the stones on their plates, he groped on the floor in order to pick up his discarded kernels. With much presence of mind, a footman in red stooped lower than was his custom, rescued the stones, and handed them back to the Shah, one by one, on a salver.

At Court there is thus a perpetual conflict between the human and the correct. So excellent was the Madeira at Osborne that officers of the Guards sent a petition to Queen Victoria that they be received in audience before dinner instead of afterwards. At the Balkan Conferences before the war eminent diplomatists—“no honester than other folk!”—walked off with the blotting-books, the ash-trays, the sealing wax, and the candle ends as souvenirs. When St. James’s Palace was furnished for President Loubet, King Edward saw that the bookcases were still empty. He was told that they were to be filled with French books. “The French literature,” was his loud whisper, “not too loose—if you please,” at which there was discreet laughter. Queen Victoria herself had her ways.

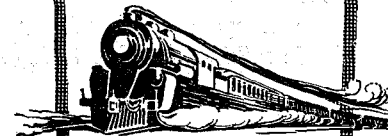
Vanity of vanities—yes! But Mr. Armytage insists that it is more than vanity. Within this atmosphere of susceptibility and detail there rises a throne.

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I Could Write, if Only—

(Continued from page 463)

cowboy ballads that were once a thoroughly despised and overlooked portion of our literature; and out of the plantation songs of Negro slaves that have since come to be regarded as some of our most precious National treasures. With the publication of Carl Sandburg’s “American Songbag” we have just come to realize that we possess a racy store of the National folk-songs that underlie a National literature. For naïveté is quite as close to the springs of art as the now somewhat overestimated sophistication. Even the Ford car, that mechanical symbol of democracy, has lately risen in the æsthetic scale; and I see no reason for the pessimistic certainty that the confession, although the lowest form of literature in the Republic, may not also rise. It is more difficult for me to believe that any good thing can come out of the courses.

I cannot believe in the magic efficacy

of any of our master-keys. But this much may be said for all of them, from the trip to Europe to the use of yellow paper: that, while a finished literary art is not likely to be revealed by a single flourish of a single key, there is one important door which, through eager fumbling, may be opened. It is the door to consciousness. When that mysterious region is entered, we can do without our keys. A nation of doers can only learn by doing, and that may be some part of the thing which these people are about.

Of all of them, the club woman seems to me again the most revealing. I think of her as even more stridently characteristic of our mass attempts at culture than the manicurist who writes her confessions in a sprawling hand, or the newly made millionaire who, trying out his master-key, buys an ancient castle complete to the ivy on the walls, brings it home, and planks it down in Nebraska. "I have been taking a course at the university," cried one of these, "and I've learned all about how to write short stories! The only trouble is that I can't seem to think of anything to write."

A Grand Old Man

(Continued from page 476)

the affairs of the Sudan will ever be reversed. That verdict has been distinctly unfavorable. "*Les fautes de l'homme puissant*," said an eminent Frenchman, "*sont des malheurs publics*." Mr. Gladstone's error in judgment in delaying too long the despatch of the Nile expedition left a stain on the reputation of England which it will be beyond the power of either the impartial historian or the partial apologist to efface.

None of the political critics of Gladstone was half as severe as Queen Victoria, the third volume¹ of whose remarkable letters has just been published. Apparently Queen Victoria was as terrified by the specter of Democracy as we are by the specter of Bolshevism, and regarded Mr. Gladstone with as much abhorrence as if she were an American capitalist and Mr. Gladstone were Trotsky or Lenine. For example, in September, 1879, she wrote to a friend as follows, the mid-Victorian capitals and italics being her own:

In the same way I never could take Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Lowe as my Minister again, for I never COULD have the slightest *particle* of confidence in Mr. Gladstone *after* his violent, mischievous, and dangerous conduct for the last three years, nor could I take the *latter* after the very offen-

sive language he used three years ago against *me*.

In 1882 she wrote to Lord Granville:

Mr. Gladstone unfortunately lives *still* (even after his nephew and dear friend has been murdered) under the delusion that these dreadful Home Rulers and rebels are to be trusted, *and are well* disposed—even praising Mr. Sexton!! and she *fears*, backed as he will be by his *evil genius* Mr. Chamberlain, that he may retract, and yield and change and weaken the Bill. The Queen cannot *too strongly warn* against this contingency, which *she* expects the rest of the Cabinet to *resist*, as it is their *bounden duty* to do. The Queen regrets, however, to say she finds (unlike almost *any* other Government) no readiness, especially not in Mr. Gladstone, to *listen* to her views and *warnings*, which so often have proved (when it is *too late*) to be right. The want of cordiality and readiness to act with us on the part of the great Powers is the result of the want of confidence which they have in us—and in Mr. Gladstone.

And as late as 1885 a detestation of Mr. Gladstone was expressed to Mr. Goschen:

You must keep Lord Hartington up to the mark and *not* let him slide back (as so often before) into following Mr. Gladstone and trying to keep the party together. At this time, you know, the very *reverse is required*. We want *all moderate men*, all true patriots to support the Throne and Empire *irrespective* of party. I am especially anxious about this, as we hear that Mr. Gladstone (in his 77th year) is *bent* upon forcing himself into office. Such a wanton act should meet with NO support from those who like yourself—and I hope I may add Lord Hartington and many more—have the true interests of the Empire at heart; for I am sure that Mr. Gladstone has *persuaded* himself again, that he has some mission to do great things for Ireland, as he certainly was very full, when he took leave of me, of some enormous scheme for Central Local Government in Dublin which I *know* many of his former colleagues said *meant Home Rule*, though he might deny it.

It would not be difficult for a psychoanalyst to explain Queen Victoria's antipathy to Gladstone. They both believed, either consciously or subconsciously, that they were vicegerents of God. They were both inclined to be severe and uncompromising in maintaining and asserting their moral principles. They therefore, as so often happens in human intercourse, repelled each other. Disraeli, on the other hand, had not only paid compliments to Victoria, but was her complement. He supplied that

yearning for gayety and glory which was repressed in her by her evangelical principles or, what we should call in this country, her New England conscience.

Mr. Gladstone's bitterest political opponents did not belittle his intellectual power, his parliamentary skill, or the influence of his magnificent person and countenance. The brilliant but erratic Lord Randolph Churchill once said to Prince Bismarck when they were discussing some questions of political give and take: "The English people would cheerfully give you Mr. Gladstone for nothing, but you would find it an expensive present." Yet on another occasion he remarked to a friend that when with Gladstone he felt as if he were "in the presence of a superior being; I could argue, but before the man himself I bent."

Lord George Hamilton, a loyal adherent of Disraeli and Salisbury and an opponent of Home Rule, describes Gladstone's masterfulness as a parliamentarian in one of the great Home Rule contests of the eighties:

Gladstone faced the serious position so largely created by his own thoughtless words and acts with commendable courage, dignity, and resource. All the finer qualities of his complex personality asserted themselves in the terrific Parliamentary contest of the ensuing ten months, and at the end of the session he emerged a temporary victor over a rare combination of disorderly and dangerous influences. His patience, endurance, and the quickness and audacity with which he seized upon every mistake made by his adversaries were a real lesson in Parliamentary tactics, and the constant exhibition of these great powers made one deplore that prescience and sound judgment were not, to an equal extent, a permanent part of his political outfit.

It is as an unsurpassed parliamentary leader, a leader in representative government, in which no one ever accused him of dishonor or corruption, that Gladstone has his greatest claim to enduring fame. He entered his legislative career at twenty-two and ended it at eighty-five, when he laid down the office of Prime Minister, to which he had been chosen four times. Thus for more than sixty years he was a tireless lawmaker and administrator—a longer period of continuous service in the public interest than has ever fallen to the lot of any one man in the history of representative government. He is certainly, for this length of patriotic service alone, entitled to the appellation of "the Grand Old Man," a tribute of admiration conferred upon him by friends and foes alike among his contemporaries.

¹ The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second Series, 3rd Volume. Edited by George Earle Buckle. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

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(Continued from page 460)

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"Gentlemen," he said, "a year from today we will be able to burn the last bond. The United States of America will be free from all debt. Our annual budget this past year called for an expenditure of ten billion dollars—eight of which went for expenses and two towards the retirement of our debt. It is my proposal that we continue to levy taxes of ten billion a year and devote two billions to the purchase of securities in the name of the Government. If we pursue this plan for twenty-five years, and if we invest our money wisely, we will at the end of twenty-five years have fifty billions of assets plus the interest and increment on this sum due to the growth of the country. Gentlemen, I prophesy that if this plan is carried to its conclusion the country will have an income at the end of the next quarter of a century of not less than eight billion dollars a year. The Government will have become the business partner of the people."

"Within the next year the legal difficulties were solved and the plan put into effect. The plan, as it was worked out, limited the Government to the ownership of not more than thirty per cent of the common stocks of any one corporation. This limitation kept the Government out of the management of the private industries of the country, while at the same time it stimulated its activity in helping

all business towards prosperity. Casaba, Jr.'s plan involved payments to the officials of the Treasury Department of salaries large enough to attract the leading financiers of the country to its service. As a result, to be brief, at the end of twenty-five years the Government had a revenue of ten billions a year. All Federal taxes were abolished and industry freed from the burden of these taxes. Although the Government now spends thirty-five billion a year, a large balance is invariably accumulated over current expenditures, which is turned over to the States to relieve the burden of local taxation by the creation of endowment funds for the States under Federal supervision. Our laws now require all new corporations to present five per cent of their common stock to the Government when they are organized, and in another fifty years we believe there will be no taxes of any kind within the boundaries of the United States. This seems a long time to you to look ahead, but, as the average life expectation of man is now well over one hundred years, we have been able to take a longer view of things than mankind and womankind did in your day.

HE drew breath, and I ventured a few questions.

"Have other nations adopted the plan?"

"In some degrees," he answered. "The United States of Europe is about fifty per cent endowed; Africa and South America are about thirty per cent endowed, Canada and Australia about eighty per cent, China about ten per cent."

"Do these Governments make foreign investments?"

"Certainly, whenever it seems advisable. The government ownership of foreign securities has been perhaps the deciding factor in what really appears to be the final abolishment of war. Why attack countries where funds, not only of private citizens, but of your own government are invested? There have been no terrestrial wars, by the way, since the time of War with the Moon. Interplanetary communication is now so complete that we look for no further difficulties in the nature of celestial wars."

"And so you have reached a goal of real government ownership without the destruction of private interest and?"

"That's the way it looks to us," he said, drawing a deep breath of satisfaction.

My head buzzed confusingly. "To think," I said slowly, as the green pants of my professor friend began to grow dim and the black grill began to change to an open fire and the cold lamp to a hot electric bulb—"and to think," I said again, "I've got to go back a whole thousand years and pay money out on a tax blank which, if I could stay here, you would even pay me good hard cash for. Quick, how much will you offer for it? \$1,000? \$2,000? \$3,000? Going once to the gentleman in the green pajamas, going twice—and gone!"

But so had the gay-colored room and the green-clad professor and the thirtieth century. I was back in my study with my Federal Tax still unpaid.

Now, if that isn't a dream, you tell one.

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