

# Charles Masterman

**Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman** PC (24 October 1873 – 17 November 1927) was a radical Liberal Party politician, intellectual and man of letters. He worked closely with such Liberal leaders as David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill in designing social welfare projects, including the National Insurance Act of 1911. During the First World War, he played a central role in the main government propaganda agency.

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## Early life

He was distantly related to the Gurney family of Norfolk. His great-grandfather was William Brodie Gurney; his brother was Howard Masterman who became the Bishop of Plymouth.

Masterman was educated at Weymouth College, Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was President of the Union,<sup>[1]</sup> and joint Secretary of Cambridge University Liberal Club from 1895 to 1896.<sup>[2]</sup> He was elected a junior Fellow of Christ's College in February 1900.<sup>[3]</sup> At university he had two primary interests: social reform (influenced by Christian Socialism) and literature. His

first published work was *From The Abyss*, a collection of articles he had written anonymously whilst living in the slums of south east London. These were highly impressionistic pieces, and reflected his literary leanings. Following this he became involved in journalism and co-edited the *English Review* with Ford Madox Ford. In 1901, he edited a collection of essays by eminent people of the day, entitled *The Heart of the Empire: a discussion of Problems of Modern City Life in England* (<https://archive.org/details/heartofempiredisoolonduoft>). A second edition of that book was published in 1907. In 1905 he published *In Peril of Change* (<https://archive.org/details/inperilofchangeeoomastiala>), a collection of his own essays.

The Right Honourable  
**Charles Masterman**



**Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster**

**In office**

11 February 1914 – 3 February 1915

**Prime Minister** Herbert Henry Asquith

**Preceded by** Charles Hobhouse

**Succeeded by** Edwin Samuel Montagu

**Personal details**

**Born** 24 October 1873

**Died** 17 November 1927 (aged 54)

**Alma mater** Christ's College, Cambridge

He also wrote a biography of the Reverend F. D. Maurice (*Frederick Denison Maurice* (<https://archive.org/details/frederickdenisonoomastuoft>)), which was published in 1907. During the period of his life up to 1906, he established many of the literary friendships that would be important in his later role as head of British propaganda in the First World War.

## Political career

He was an unsuccessful candidate at the Dulwich by-election, 1903, but in the Liberal Party landslide victory at the 1906, he was elected as Member of Parliament (MP) for West Ham North.

General Election 1906: West Ham North <sup>[4]</sup>				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Liberal</u>	Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	6,838	57.3	+18.8
<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Ernest Gray</u>	5,094	42.7	-18.8
<b>Majority</b>		1,744	14.6	37.6
<b>Turnout</b>			79.0	+11.2
<u>Liberal</u> <b>gain</b> from <u>Conservative</u>		<b>Swing</b>	+18.8	



Masterman

He married Lucy Blanche Lyttelton, a poet and writer, in 1908. In 1909, he published his best known book *The Condition of England*, a survey of contemporary society with particular focus on the state of the working class.

Masterman worked closely with Liberal leaders Winston Churchill and David Lloyd George on the People's Budget of 1909. By 1911, he was playing a major role in writing parts of the Finance Bill, the Development Bill, the Shop Hours Bill, and the Coal Mines Bill, and he was responsible for the passage through parliament of the National Insurance Act 1911.

He had a mediocre record as a candidate by losing more often than winning. He was re-elected in January 1910 and in December 1910, but the December election was later declared void.

General Election December 1910: West Ham North <sup>[5]</sup>				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Liberal</u>	Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	6,657	53.6	+02
<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Ernest Edward Wild</u>	5,760	46.4	-0.2
<b>Majority</b>		897	7.2	+0.4
<b>Turnout</b>			79.3	-0.7
<u>Liberal</u> <b>hold</b>		<b>Swing</b>	+0.2	

He was returned to Parliament at a by-election in July 1911, for the Bethnal Green South West constituency.

He joined the Privy Council in 1912, and in 1914, he obtained his most important position, an appointment to the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. However, the law at that time required him to recontest his seat in a by-election on joining the Cabinet. Masterman lost his own seat in February and then stood in a May by-election at Ipswich, losing again. He resigned from the government as a result.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Wartime propagandist

Masterman strongly supported entry into the First World War. He served as head of the British War Propaganda Bureau (WPB), known as "Wellington House."<sup>[7]</sup> His Bureau enlisted eminent writers (such as John Buchan, H. G. Wells and Arthur Conan Doyle) as well as painters such as Francis Dodd, Paul Nash. Until its abolition, in 1917, the department published 300 books and pamphlets in 21 languages, distributed over 4,000 propaganda photographs every week and circulated maps, cartoons and lantern slides to the media.<sup>[8]</sup>

He also commissioned films about the war such as The Battle of the Somme, which appeared in August 1916, while the battle was still in progress, as a morale-booster. It was generally received a favourable reception. *The Times* reported on 22 August 1916, "Crowded audiences ... were interested and thrilled to have the realities of war brought so vividly before them, and if women had sometimes to shut their eyes to escape for a moment from the tragedy of the toll of battle which the film presents, opinion seems to be general that it was wise that the people at home should have this glimpse of what our soldiers are doing and daring and suffering in Picardy".<sup>[9]</sup>

A major objective of his department was to encourage the United States to enter the war on the British and French side. Lecture tours and exhibitions of paintings were organised in the US, drawing on an extensive network of the most important and influential figures in the London arts scene, Masterman devised the most comprehensive arts patronage schemes ever to be supported in the country. It was subsumed into Buchan's Department of Information. It became a template for the war art scheme in the Second World War, headed by Sir Kenneth Clark.<sup>[10]</sup> Lloyd George demoted Masterman in February 1917; he now reported to Buchan. The agency was peremptorily closed as soon as the war ended, and neither Masterman nor Buchan received the usual public honorus. However, Masterman followed Lloyd George in his Liberal party maneuvers after 1918.<sup>[11]</sup>

Masterman played a crucial role in publicising reports of the Armenian Genocide, in part to strengthen the moral case against the Ottoman Empire. For his role, Masterman has been the target of repeated Turkish allegations that he fabricated, or at least embellished, the events for propaganda purposes.

## Postwar

For the 1918 general election, Masterman returned to West Ham where he had sat for five years before the war. He contested the new seat of Stratford West Ham. However, his old boss, Lloyd George, chose to endorse his Unionist opponent, and he was badly beaten.

General Election 1918: Stratford <sup>[12]</sup>				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Unionist</u>	<u>Charles Ernest Leonard Lyle</u>	8,498	63.8	n/a
<u>Liberal</u>	Rt Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	4,821	36.2	n/a
	<b>Majority</b>	3,677	27.2	n/a
	<b>Turnout</b>	13,319		n/a
<u>Unionist win</u>				



Stratford within Essex, 1918

## Later life

Back into private life, Masterman continued his high output of books and essays. In 1922, he published *How England is Governed* (<https://archive.org/details/howenglandisgoveoomastiala>). In 1921, he supported the Manchester Liberals radical programme, adopted by the National Liberal Federation, which called for the establishment of a National Industrial Council, state supervision of trusts and combines, nationalisation of some monopolies as well as profit limitations.<sup>[13]</sup>

For the 1922 general Election, Masterman decided to contest Clay Cross in Derbyshire. At the previous election in 1918, the Liberal candidate had been endorsed by the Coalition Government and won. He subsequently took the Coalition Liberal whip and was defending his seat as a National Liberal, with the support of Lloyd George. The local Liberal association wanted an opponent of the coalition to run as their candidate and managed to attract Masterman. He outpolled the sitting member by nearly two to one, but the seat was won by the Labour candidate.

General Election 1922: Clay Cross <sup>[14]</sup>				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Labour</u>	<u>Charles Duncan</u>	13,206	57.9	+12.0
<u>Liberal</u>	Rt Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	6,294	27.6	n/a
<u>National Liberal</u>	<u>Thomas Tucker Broad</u>	3,294	14.5	n/a
<b>Majority</b>		6,912	30.3	38.6
<b>Turnout</b>		22,794		
<u>Labour gain from Liberal</u>		<b>Swing</b>	n/a	

After the election, there was discussion in Liberal circles, of Lloyd George and his National Liberals returning to the party. Masterman was concerned about such a move and talked about defecting to the Labour Party if that happened.<sup>[15]</sup> Masterman's good political relationship with the Manchester Liberals resulted in their inviting him to contest one of their constituencies, which he accepted. The Manchester Liberals won five seats at the 1923 general election, including Rusholme, where Masterman stood.

General Election 1923: Manchester Rusholme				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Liberal</u>	Rt Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	10,901	43.4	+17.3
<u>Unionist</u>	<u>John Henry Thorpe</u>	8,876	35.3	-12.6
<u>Labour</u>	<u>William Paul</u>	5,366	21.3	-4.7
<b>Majority</b>		2,025	8.1	+29.9
<b>Turnout</b>			78.0	+0.2
<u>Liberal gain from Unionist</u>		<b>Swing</b>	+15.0	

Following his election victory in 1923, Masterman revealed to his wife Lucy that he "thought we were never going to (win) again".<sup>[16]</sup> In August 1924, he led opposition to a treaty, negotiated by the Labour government, which guaranteed a loan to the Soviet government.<sup>[17]</sup> During the 1924 election campaign, Masterman publicly blamed Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald for the collapse of Liberal-Labour co-operation.<sup>[18]</sup>



General Election 1924: Manchester Rusholme				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±
<u>Unionist</u>	<u>Frank Boyd Merriman</u>	13,341	50.4	+15.1
<u>Liberal</u>	Rt Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman	7,772	29.4	-14.0
<u>Communist</u>	<u>William Paul</u>	5,328	20.2	-1.1
	<b>Majority</b>	5,569	21.0	29.1
	<b>Turnout</b>		79.8	+1.8
	<u>Unionist gain from Liberal</u>	<b>Swing</b>	-14.5	

In 1925, he became the Parliamentary Correspondent for The Nation. Having initially expressed concerns about Lloyd George's return to the Liberal Party, he had acknowledged that it was again easier to get the party to adopt measures of social reform: "When Lloyd George came back to the party, ideas came back to the party".<sup>[19]</sup>

Lloyd George sponsored a number of reviews into areas of Liberal Party policy, and Masterman participated in those reviews, notably as part of the body that produced the policy document 'Coal and Power'. He was also on the committee that ultimately produced 'Britain's Industrial Future', known as 'The Yellow Book'.<sup>[20]</sup>

## Death

His health declined rapidly, hastened by drug and alcohol abuse. He died in November 1927. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Camberwell where a plaque commemorates him and other members of his family.

## Legacy

Masterman had a long-standing influence as a champion of radical change. On one hand, he ridiculed anachronistic attachments to outmoded Victorian ideals and institutions. However, his own rhetoric was deeply rooted in high Victorian idealism. He proposed a wide-ranging program to assist the working class, such as labour exchanges, wage boards and free meals for schoolchildren. Historians have puzzled as to his ability to lose elections that had been prearranged for him. He had psychological problems, such as severe mood swings and mental health problems, and his public demeanour often struck observers as cynical and self-righteous.<sup>[21]</sup>

Lucy Masterman's biography of him was published in 1939.

The 2016 World War I video game Battlefield 1 has made references to Masterman through elaborate puzzles that are available in the game.

## References

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Plaque commemorating Masterman

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3. "University intelligence". *The Times* (36074). London. 24 February 1900. p. 13.
4. British parliamentary election results, 1885-1918 (Craig)
5. British parliamentary election results, 1885–1918, FWS Craig
6. Matthew, "Masterman" (2015)
7. **"Espionage, propaganda and censorship"** (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/britain/espionage.htm>). National Archives. Retrieved 2009-05-17.
8. D. G. Wright, "The Great War, Government Propaganda and English 'Men Of Letters' 1914-16." *Literature and History* 7 (1978): 70+.
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17. *The Downfall of the Liberal Party*, by Trevor Wilson
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## Further reading

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- Matthew, H. C. G. "Masterman, Charles Frederick Gurney (1873–1927)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015 accessed 2 Aug 2016 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34927>.)

## External links

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- Hansard 1803–2005: contributions in Parliament by Charles Masterman (<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-charles-masterman>)
- *Tennyson as a Religious Teacher* (<https://archive.org/details/tennysonasreligi00mastuoft>) (1900)
- *The Child and Religion* (<https://archive.org/details/childreligionele00steprich>) article in collection edited by Thomas Stephens (1905)
- *To colonise England: a plea for a policy* (<https://archive.org/details/tocoloniseenglan00mastuoft>) edited with W B Hodgson and others (1907)
- *Ruskin the Prophet* (<https://archive.org/details/ruskinprophetoth00whit>) article in collection edited by J H Whitehouse (1920)
- *England after War: A study* (<https://archive.org/details/englandafterwars00mast>) (1922)

- Full text of 'The Condition of England' ([https://web.archive.org/web/20150625141949/http://theconditionofengland.com/england\\_original.txt](https://web.archive.org/web/20150625141949/http://theconditionofengland.com/england_original.txt))

<b>Parliament of the United Kingdom</b>		
Preceded by <b><u>Ernest Gray</u></b>	<b>Member of Parliament for <u>West Ham North</u> 1906–1911</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Baron Maurice Arnold de Forest</u></b>
Preceded by <b><u>Edward Hare Pickersgill</u></b>	<b>Member of Parliament for <u>Bethnal Green South West</u> 1911–1914</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Sir Mathew Richard Henry Wilson</u></b>
Preceded by <b><u>John Henry Thorpe</u></b>	<b>Member of Parliament for <u>Manchester Rusholme</u> 1923–1924</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Sir Frank Boyd Merriman</u></b>
<b>Political offices</b>		
Preceded by <b><u>Thomas James Macnamara</u></b>	<b><u>Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board</u> 1908–1909</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Herbert Lewis</u></b>
Preceded by <b><u>Herbert Samuel</u></b>	<b><u>Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department</u> 1909–1912</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Ellis Ellis-Griffith</u></b>
Preceded by <b><u>Thomas McKinnon Wood</u></b>	<b><u>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</u> 1912–1914</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Francis Dyke Acland</u></b>
Preceded by <b><u>Charles Edward Henry Hobhouse</u></b>	<b><u>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</u> 1914–1915</b>	Succeeded by <b><u>Edwin Samuel Montagu</u></b>

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# John Masterman (MP)

**John Masterman** MP<sup>DL</sup> (1781–23 January 1862)<sup>[1][2]</sup> was a British Conservative Party<sup>[3]</sup> politician.

Masterman worked for the firm and became a board member of Masterman, Peters, Mildred, and Company, London bankers. He was also a Director of the East India Company, and later was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of London.

He was elected at the 1841 general election as one of the four Members of Parliament (MPs) for the City of London.<sup>[4]</sup> He was re-elected in 1847<sup>[5]</sup> and 1852,<sup>[6]</sup> and held the seat until he stood down from the House of Commons at the 1857 general election.<sup>[1][3]</sup> A traditional Tory Anglican he was "prepared to resist any concessions to Popery". he represented the City during the Victorian financial revolution spurred on by big capitalist fortunes and the founding of Sir Robert Peel's new party. He bought a large mansion townhouse at 35 Nicholas Lane, off Lombard Street in the heart of the financial district. In the Essex countryside he purchased a wooded retreat at Knot's Green in leafy Leyton (now in the east end of Greater London). Masterman took the Chiltern Hundreds in 1857, and died on 23 January 1862.

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5. "No. 20761" (<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/20761/page/2839>). *The London Gazette*. 3 August 1847. p. 2839.
6. "No. 21346" (<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/21346/page/2153>). *The London Gazette*. 6 August 1852. p. 2153.

## External links

- Hansard 1803–2005: contributions in Parliament by John Masterman (<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-john-masterman>)

Parliament of the United Kingdom		
<p>Preceded by  <b>George Grote</b>  <b>James Pattison</b>  <b>William Crawford</b>  <b>Sir Matthew Wood, Bt</b></p>	<p><b>Member of Parliament for the City of London</b>  1841 – 1857  With: <b>Sir Matthew Wood, Bt</b> to 1843  <b>George Lyall</b> 1841–47  <b>Lord John Russell</b> 1841–61  <b>James Pattison</b> 1843–49  <b>Baron Lionel de Rothschild</b> from 1847  <b>Sir James Duke, Bt</b> from 1849</p>	<p>Succeeded by  <b>Robert Wigram Crawford</b>  <b>Baron Lionel de Rothschild</b>  <b>Lord John Russell</b>  <b>Sir James Duke, Bt</b></p>

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shall apply and shall be deemed, from the time of the ratification of any such treaties, to have been applicable to the trade and shipping of such foreign countries as shall be so mentioned in any such Order or Orders in Council as aforesaid, so long as any such Order or Orders shall continue unrevoked, and no longer :

Now, therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, and, in pursuance and exercise of the powers vested in Her by the said Act [of the eighth and ninth years of Her Majesty's reign, doth hereby declare, that a treaty has been concluded and is now subsisting between Her Majesty and His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany :

And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury are to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

*Wm. L. Bathurst.*

*Whitehall, August 2, 1847.*

The Queen has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, constituting and appointing the Right Honourable John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, Bart. Hugh Fortescue, Esq. (commonly called Viscount Ebrington), William Gibson Craig, Esq. Henry Rich, Esq. and Richard Montesquieu Bellew, Esq. Commissioners for executing the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

*Crown-Office, July 30, 1847.*

MEMBERS returned to serve in the PARLIAMENT summoned to be holden at Westminster, on Tuesday the 21st day of September 1847.

*City of London.*

The Right Honourable John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.  
James Pattison, Esq.

Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.  
John Masterman, Esq.

*July 31st, 1847.*

*Town of Kingston-upon-Hull.*

Matthew Talbot Baines, Esq. of the Temple, London, one of Her Majesty's Counsel Learned in the Law.

James Clay, Esq. of Montague-square, in the county of Middlesex.

*City of Lincoln.*

Charles De Laet Waldo Sibthorp, Esq.  
Charles Seely, Esq.

*Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

William Ord, of Whitfield-hall, in the county of Northumberland, Esq.

Thomas Emerson Headlam, of Chancery-lane, in the county of Middlesex, Esq. Barrister at Law.

*Burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder, and Jedburgh.*

Sir Henry Robert Ferguson Davie, Bart. of Creedy.

*City of Canterbury.*

Sir Albert Denison Conyngham, Knt. commonly called Lord Albert Denison Conyngham, of Heden, in the county of Kent.

The Honourable George Percy Sydney Smythe, of Westenham, in the said county.

*Town of Nottingham.*

Feargus O'Connor, of Lombards, in the parish of Red Marley, in the county of Worcester, Esq.

John Walter the younger, of Bearwood, in the county of Berks, Esq.

*August 2d.*

*Burghs of Renfrew, Rutherglen, Dumbarton, Kilmarnock, and Port Glasgow.*

Edward Pleydell Bouverie, Esq.

*City of Bristol.*

The Honourable Francis Henry Fitzhardinge Berkeley, of Spring-gardens, Westminster.

Philip William Skynner Miles, of King's Weston, Gloucestershire, and of Bristol, Esq.

*City of Lichfield.*

Alfred Henry Paget, Esq. commonly called Lord Alfred Henry Paget, of Beaudesert, in the county of Stafford.

The Honourable Thomas George Anson, commonly called Viscount Anson, of Ranton Abbey, in the said county.

*Burghs of Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, and Burntisland.*

Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith.

*Burghs of Cupar, St. Andrew's, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Crail, Kilrenny, and Pittenweem.*

Edward Ellice, junior, of London, Esq.

*Burghs of Leith, Portobello, and Musselburgh.*

Andrew Rutherford, Esq. of Lawrieston, Advocate.

*County Borough of Carmarthen.*

David Morris, of the said county of the borough of Carmarthen, Esq.



Marriage of John MASTERMAN, Jr. to Emily Lucy RHODES  
at St. Mary the Virgin, Leyton, Essex, Jan. 13, 1835

Field (only fields with a value are shown)	Value
County	Essex
Place	Leyton
Church name	St Mary the Virgin
Register type	Parish Register
Register entry number	103
Marriage date	13 Jan 1836
Groom forename	John Junr
Groom surname	MASTERMAN
Groom parish	St Nicholas Acons, City of London
Groom condition	bachelor
Bride forename	Emily Lucy
Bride surname	RHODES



Bride parish	Leyton
Bride condition	spinster
Witness1 forename	John
Witness1 surname	MASTERMAN
Witness2 forename	William
Witness2 surname	RHODES
Notes	Licence. Groom Esquire. 7 wit
Transcribed by	Arnold Webb
Credit	Arnold Webb
File line number	101

Witnesses were William RHODES and John MASTERMAN, Sr.

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**NEW MARCONI AGREEMENT.**

*HC Deb 08 August 1913 vol 56 cc1939-2031*



*The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Masterman)* I beg to move, "That the Agreement between Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, Commendatore Guglielmo Marconi, and the Postmaster-General, with regard to the establishment of a chain of Imperial Wireless Stations (Parliamentary Paper, No. 217, of Session 1913) be approved."

In moving the Motion which stands in my name, and which I move on behalf of the Treasury, my observations will be much shortened and simplified by the fact that already hon. Members have in their possession a Treasury Minute which puts fully the Treasury case for the ratification of this contract. If hon. Members read that Treasury Minute in connection with much of the early evidence on the former contract which was given last autumn before the Committee that was inquiring into this subject, they will, I think, be in possession of facts which I can only briefly summarise today. The necessity for the immediate construction of a long-distance Imperial wireless station was urged upon the Treasury many months—almost years—ago. The plea came not only that it was something that was desirable, but that it was something that was essential. That plea to construct this chain came again and again, on the ground of urgent necessity. Some criticism has been made outside—I do not think inside—the House on this question of urgency. I do not think that anyone in this House is prepared to raise such criticism. The idea that because nothing has happened by virtue of delay, nothing will happen if that delay is continued, is not a statement that can be regarded as a matter of serious controversy. It would be as sane to say that if we dropped our shipbuilding programme for one year and were not involved in a war, that therefore we could safely drop our shipbuilding programme for all years; or that because a man has neglected to insure his house against fire for some time and nothing has happened, that therefore he may take it as absolutely certain that there is no need for fire insurance!

There is really no need for me to emphasise that point, because after hearing fully the evidence from the Admiralty, War Office, India Office, and representatives from South Africa, the Committee unanimously, on the Motion of the Noble Lord the Member for Hitchin, and, more than six months ago, laid down a very definite declaration, that having heard these various witnesses from Government Departments, they had arrived at the conclusion that it was a matter of urgency that a chain of Imperial wireless stations should be established. It would be impossible for the Treasury to go behind such a definite and unanimous statement from the House of Commons. The question therefore became not whether immediate action was desirable, but what sort of immediate action should be undertaken. I do not think I need defend the Treasury for having ruled out of consideration altogether the idea of allowing a private system to be established in this important matter. Strategic as well as commercial considerations enter into the arrangements. It would be a great mistake to create a private monopoly, and that therefore was immediately ruled out. There, therefore, came before the Lords of the Treasury three possible ways in which this work could be, or might be, immediately undertaken. The first was that it should be constructed either by one of the Departments of the Government or by some new Department created for the purpose by the Government. The second was that open tenders should be invited, and the most satisfactory accepted. The third was that if open tenders were impossible, that the work of construction should be given to any one of the wireless telegraphic companies. As to the first alternative, the Government constructing stations themselves, the first inquiry was as to whether any Government Department was in a position to do so. The Post Office was certainly not in such a position: they had no staff to deal with the matter. The Admiralty had a sufficient staff, but from the beginning they had expressed a reluctance—which increased with every application made to them—that their staff should be diverted from the Admiralty wireless work to the work of the construction of this wireless chain. On 13th January last they expressed themselves to the effect they adhered to the

view formerly expressed in the Admiralty letter of May, 1911, and since confirmed by Admiralty representatives in the various discussions that had taken place, that it is not desirable for the Admiralty to undertake the work of erecting or of working the Imperial wireless chain. All existing Government Departments being thus ruled out—and I think this is the most important question on this general discussion—the question arose whether the Treasury would be prepared to sanction, on application, the construction of a kind of Government Department, with a staff of engineers and experts, to undertake the work. I must honestly confess to the House that, under the circumstances, it would have been with the greatest reluctance that the Treasury would have assented to any such course. In the ordinary course, when ordinary work is to be done by men of experience, done normally in this country, or in some country under similar conditions, the Treasury scrutinise rather carefully the conditions under which suggestions of work of this kind is to be carried out. But when we are dealing with contractors outside this country under novel conditions, in regions such as Central Africa and Singapore, and urgency is the one constraining feature, it is no use for anyone to say that in a year, or two, or in five years, we shall have got our staff together. When, too, we consider that the Treasury would have to shoulder in the name of the taxpayer unlimited liability, and that even at the end they had no guarantee in this largely novel enterprise of long-distance telegraphy, I think those who study the interest of the taxpayer will approve of the action of the Treasury in only with extreme reluctance assenting to such a condition. Expert engineers would have to be collected together either in competition with, or actually obtained from, existing wireless companies.

*Mr. J. WARD* As in the case of the telephones.

*Mr. MASTERMAN* Yes; the buildings would have to be carried out and the various apparatus selected apart from and against the existing wireless companies. We should have no guarantee that any station would be erected for £60,000. Supposing a station was erected or was half erected and did not work it would be impossible to refuse another £30,000 or even £40,000 in order to try and make it work, and in the end if it was unable to work we should be blamed, as former Governments have been blamed on matters like railways attempted in tropical countries for having laid the country under heavy liabilities and enormously increased the cost to the taxpayer. Experience of such a simple thing as the construction of the Uganda Railway leads us to believe that so long as reasonable terms can be obtained from an outside contractor it is far better that the risk should be thrown upon that contractor than that the liability should be undertaken by the country. And beyond that the House must realise if we sanctioned such an arrangement not only would there be delay and liability, but there would be a very substantial contribution for royalties in connection with the patents. We do not get out of royalty payments by constructing stations. It would have to be made as the result of the judicial finding of the Lords of the Treasury, who would sit with experts, and we have no knowledge to-day and could not have how far royalty payments would be awarded. There was a very remarkable suggestion made, I think, in the Committee, and emphasised in certain newspapers, that the possibility of the judicial findings of the Lords of the Treasury in diminishing the royalties of any patent-owning company should be used in making a contract with that company to squeeze that company to accept lower terms. I do not know what would be the general opinion of a judge who, knowing he had a judicial question to decide in connection, say, with land, and that a company wished to purchase that land at a low price informed the company in question that he would modify or vary his judicial decision in accordance with whether they gave that low price for the land. I do not think blackmail would be any more reputable because it was empowered by a Government Department.

The land question is that of open tenders, which is the method, as anyone knows, the Treasury is always in favour of enforcing in all contracts that come under its notice. In the original contract which came before myself and the Treasury a year ago last March we were convinced by the representations made to us that there was only one company in a position to guarantee this long-distance wireless work. A year and a half has passed and we cannot find ourselves convinced that any other company is qualified. There are suggestions made in the Press and elsewhere that certain companies or systems are just on the brink of being able to effect this work, and that they have been gaining knowledge for many years. The Government, for immediate, urgent, strategic necessity, could not accept the verdict that a system was just upon the brink of being able to do the work. In that connection I think it right to emphasise the

Treasury point of view, as already put before the House by my right hon. Friend the Postmaster-General from his point of view, of the immense difference between a company that can show actual commercial work, day and night, over distances required for this Imperial chain and a company that can occasionally or even frequently swing messages through this new mysterious world whose laws at the present time no one can clearly understand, and produce results which seem for the moment sensational. One expert witness I think it was at the Select Committee, informed them that if his system had only a little more power applied to it, he would have no difficulty in sending a message round the world and hitting upon the back of his own head. Other companies have shown they are able to produce in certain conditions amazing results, but I do not think the Treasury could be blamed if they desired to see that the contract which the Postmaster-General is going to make is a contract with a company that has shown, not on certain days or weeks, but during long and persistent periods of time, it is able to carry out for commercial purposes a service day and night over more than 2,000 miles. In any case, the Treasury would prefer, if criticised, to refer to a Report no less important than the Report of the expert Committee appointed at the unanimous request of the Marconi Committee on the Motion of the Noble Lord -the Member for Hitchin (Lord Robert Cecil).

*Mr. BOOTH* Not unanimous.

*Mr. MASTERMAN* Well, I withdraw a "unanimous," but by a, very large majority, and I propose to read the whole of paragraph 24 from the expert Committee's Report as embodied in the Treasury minute:—"We report, therefore, that according to our investigation the Marconi system is at present the only system of which it can be said with any certainty that it is capable of fulfilling the requirements of the Imperial chain, but this must not be taken to imply that, in our opinion, the Marconi Company must necessarily be employed as contractors for all the work required for the Imperial chain. Indeed, in some respects it might, we think, be better for the Government themselves to undertake the construction and equipment of the necessary stations, acting for that purpose under the best technical and scientific advice which can be obtained, and employing the most suitable contractors for the various portions of the work or plant. On the other hand, it may be said, and is no doubt the fact, that at the present moment the Marconi Company alone has had practical experience of the sort of long-distance work required, including experience in putting down stations, in organising the traffic and staff and in coping with the difficulties that arise in a new industry, and the value of such experience and organisation may well outweigh other considerations, if rapid installation and immediate and trustworthy communication be desired." And as rapid installation and immediate and trustworthy communication are very essential in the contract, I think that is a report against which, if the Treasury went, they would be subject to severe blame in case of any breakdown of the arrangements. Therefore, our general consideration was this: if no reasonable terms could be obtained from a competing company, if the competing company, owing to the knowledge that it possessed a monopoly, tried to extract the utmost from the British taxpayer, we would, undoubtedly, have fallen back on sanctioning an attempt to construct a chain ourselves; and the last question, which is a question to which I shall not address myself at any length, because the Postmaster-General will deal with it in his speech, is: Are these terms so unreasonable that we should decline them with all the advantages we can obtain, and is the unreasonableness of the demands such that they should be refused? I do not want to go into the original contract itself or the various negotiations in connection with the making of it, except to say some emphasis has been laid in the Marconi Committee, and I think in the world outside, upon Treasury criticism of the old contract before it was signed by the Postmaster-General. I think that the emphasis on those criticisms arises from a misunderstanding as to the general attitude of the Treasury towards all Government Departments. I know of no contract—I do not know of any suggested expenditure of money—which has been brought before the Treasury which has not been subjected, and rightly subjected, to severe criticisms, and also in the great majority of cases sent back to the Department with the demand that they should press for certain other advantages. If after pressing for those advantages the Department finds itself unable to obtain them, and if as a consequence the contract is ratified or signed without those advantages, those criticisms cannot be rightly used as if there was a misunderstanding between the Department and the Treasury, or as if the Treasury did not approve of the result of the bargain.

I am very glad to be able to state to-day that the very points on which the Treasury pressed the Post Office in the original contract have been met owing to the hard and skilful bargaining of my right hon. Friend in a manner altogether satisfactory to the Department which pressed for those criticisms in the old contract. There were two points of criticism. We criticised especially the demand for 10 per cent. of the gross receipts if any patent of the company was in use, and we thought, and I believe also that a great majority of Members of the House thought, that supposing some small or non-essential patent which might be essential for one part of the chain but not for the other was to be used, it was too much to expect that we should have to pay 10 per cent. of the gross receipts. I am very glad that the Postmaster-General has been able to get a very valuable concession on that matter, and he has so arranged for the splitting up of the 10 per cent. between the various necessary apparatus for a wireless chain that any time any particular part of that apparatus, where it is clear that the patent is owned by the company, is used the royalties on the gross receipts are immediately to be reduced by a substantial amount. The second point on which we pressed the Postmaster-General originally was on the question of the right of inspection in other wireless stations, and there also, in Clause 19 of the new contract, the Postmaster-General has been able to effect a very substantial concession in which, in the first place, full satisfaction has been given to the Postmaster-General that there is a case for believing that their patents are being violated, and, secondly, that whatever examination takes place under those conditions shall be an examination conducted with complete secrecy, and with no giving away of information which might be harmful to the owner of the patents. Under these conditions I believe the Treasury have a, Clear and satisfied mind that the best possible bargain has been made and that the bargain is good in itself, and we have sanctioned the contract made by the Postmaster-General for the immediate erection first of three stations, and later of the complete chain which is required for Imperial and strategical needs.

The contract is not a very large sum in itself in comparison with the enormous, amounts of contracts which the Treasury has to supervise from time to time. I have no doubt at all that if the original licence which the company asked for had not been refused, and if in the two years since the company had actually erected these stations and were engaged in swinging, messages from London, South Africa, or Singapore, that the whole House would have been willing and anxious to purchase: that system on behalf of the Government, and would have been willing to have paid considerably more than the amount we, have to pay for it at the present time. We do not assume that any great profit will be made from the commercial working of the stations, but we cannot oppose the demand made in the name of those responsible for the Government of India, for the British Dominions in South. Africa, and for the non-self-governing Colonies that they should be allowed to have what, for example, the Government of Italy has working at the present time, namely, the possibility of communication between all parts of the Empire, even under circumstances in which all the actual sea cables are destroyed. Personally, I congratulate my right hon. Friend the Postmaster-General on this most desirable result of the immense labour and patience which he has given to the work. I ask that the action' of the Treasury in moving for the ratification of this agreement may be discussed free from all the passion and prejudice' which has surrounded the subject. I ask the House to say that the Treasury has a right to approve of this agreement, and I ask again that that agreement may be ratified by a Resolution of this House.

*Sir HENRY NORMAN* Before I turn to technical matters, many of which have been raised by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in his interesting speech, I would like to be allowed to say a word regarding the attitude of those of us on this side of the House who opposed the previous contract, and still find ourselves constrained to oppose the ratification of this contract. Perhaps, to be strictly accurate, I ought to state that that is my own attitude in this matter. I have admired, as every Member of the House must have admired, the very great work and devotion which the Postmaster-General has shown in this matter. I have fully recognised, as he well knows, and as every hon. Member of the House must recognise, that in the whole of this matter the Postmaster-General has worked with a single eye to the public interest, and I cherish the hope that the right hon. Gentleman will be able to say the same thing of me. I should like to be allowed to add that in spite of our sharp differences of opinion there is nothing in the nature of personal tension between us. I desire to say, in order to avoid any misapprehension, that I have no prejudice whatever against the Marconi Company. I have never, in speech or in writing, spoken of Mr. Marconi's work without high appreciation,

and of himself otherwise than with perfect courtesy and respect. I know perfectly well that in the commercial organisation of wireless telegraphy to-day the Marconi Company is ahead of all its rivals, and, if Imperial and strategic urgency were proved, I, for my part, should not take the slightest objection to the Government purchasing outright any number of requisite Marconi stations at any price within reason, and, so far from appearing here as the advocate of any other company or syndicate or system, I am frankly opposed to them all on the terms of a contract like this. My attitude is simply that of an advocate of State-ownership, and of that complete liberty on the part of the Government which was so strongly recommended by Lord Parker's Committee. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury began by referring to the question of urgency. This question, as he truly says, is at the root of the whole matter. The contract with the Marconi Company at this moment is due to urgency and to urgency alone. I have no doubt that the Postmaster-General himself, except for urgency, would probably think it best to wait developments a little longer. Within a few months the Poulsen Company with their Irish station will either be communicating freely with Canada or they will have failed to do so. Within a few months the Goldschmidt Company will either be communicating regularly from their station near Hanover with the United States or they will have failed to do so. As regards this question of urgency, the Parker Committee, as the Financial Secretary to the Treasury very fairly pointed out, qualified their recommendation of the Marconi system by the words:— "If rapid installation and immediate and trustworthy communication be desired." The Postmaster-General recently desired to fortify himself further by referring this point once more to Lord Parker and Mr. Duddell. Both these gentlemen again made their views conditional on this question of urgency. Mr. Duddell said:— "If six months' delay did not much matter in the establishment of an efficient Imperial chain." And Lord Parker said:— "If the erection of wireless stations were a matter of urgency." Urgency, therefore, is vital to our decision to-day. If extreme urgency does not exist, there is no reason why we should ratify the contract now, and there are a good many weighty reasons why we should not ratify it. Does such urgency exist? We have been given in several quarters the bare assertion that it does exist; but I respectfully submit that this House is entitled to something more than a bare assertion to that effect. At any rate, we are surely entitled to bring our own intelligence to bear upon this aspect of the problem. What would in all human probability be the area of any naval war in which we could conceivably be engaged within the next six months? I submit that it requires no great knowledge and no great authority to answer that question. It must be in the North Sea, in the Eastern Atlantic, and in the Mediterranean. We have at this moment complete and efficient wireless communication with every point and every ship in the whole area. Within an hour an official message could be transmitted from London to the whole area, and indeed beyond. This is no secret. Every student of wireless knows it perfectly well. Therefore, I contend that no Imperial urgency can exist within that area. If it exists anywhere, it must exist in the Indian Ocean, to the Cape, or towards the China and the Australasian seas. That does not seem very likely, but, supposing it to be the case, then the first stations of the Imperial chain should be those in Egypt, East Africa; South Africa, and India; but one of the first three stations to be erected is in the Midlands, and when it is finished a year hence we shall be in precisely the same strategical communication within this range as we are at the present moment. And that is urgency! If the plea of urgency were well founded, the English station would be the last, and not the first to be constructed. I am as anxious as anybody can be to further Imperial security in every way, but I cannot bring myself to believe that such urgency exists beyond the Mediterranean, in spite of all our cable connections with other parts of the Empire and of the world, as to forbid a few months' delay for the sake of possible great advantages. In this connection, though it is not directly connected with it, I should like to allude to a statement made by the First Lord in this House on the question of the non-ratification of the contract. The First Lord said:— "This country has been deprived of the advantages in regard to wave length and priority, and no step which will now be taken can put us back into the position which has been lost." I asked the First Lord in a question for the grounds of that statement, because naturally those of us who had criticised the agreement felt that statement a somewhat severe reproach to us. It will probably be within the recollection of the House that I got no grounds for the statement whatever, but merely a reassertion of the fact. I deny that statement. I believe that I know the wave lengths of every big station in Europe. If I do not, I can very easily measure it at my own little station when next it is in operation. The only wave length adopted in Europe during last year which could possibly be a wave length of the Imperial station in Hanover's, which has a wave length of 7,500 metres, and, if the Goldschmidt system proves the success its promoters anticipate, you could erect a dozen of those

stations in England alone with wave lengths that would not conflict. I further submit that we have not lost any position of advantage for the simple reason that it is impossible to point to any country which has gained a position of advantage, and I think it was bad that such statements should be made in this House unsupported by any evidence whatever. I come to what in the minds of many of us is the most important question connected with the whole issue, and that is the erection of the stations by the State. Hon. Friends of mine on this side of the House and I myself have from the first contended that the Government should erect its own stations. The Postmaster-General has replied that the Post Office has neither staff nor experience, and that it cannot, and the Admiralty will not, erect the stations. The alternative, he said, is the creation of a new staff and the employment of a supervising engineer of distinction and capacity. To this course he saw numerous and fatal objections. First, there is no engineer who has already had the requisite experience. Secondly, there is no staff. Thirdly, the proposed initial cost might be exceeded. Fourthly, it would be troublesome to arrange the various royalty payments if the Government used its powers under the Patents and Designs Act. Finally, there would probably be some delay. I venture to think that it is almost as easy to supply the answers to these objections as it is to summarise them.

Take them in reverse order. There, no doubt, would be some delay, and that is admitted on all hands, but it would be more than compensated for by the greater advantages to be secured. It would be troublesome, no doubt, to arrange about royalties and patents in the different countries. There has already been some difficulty in discovering the nature of the royalties in some of the countries affected by the Imperial chain. But who should take trouble of that sort in a matter of this kind if not a Government Department, for do riot Government Departments exist precisely for purposes of that kind? Again, the initial cost it is said would probably be exceeded. But against that there would be great economical and financial saving subsequently. Then the suggestion is that we have no staff—no engineer of sufficient experience. Had the Australian Post Office a long-distance wireless staff and an experienced engineer ready to its hand? Yet without hesitation the Australian Postmaster-General decided to erect the Imperial station for the Imperial chain and he accordingly called for tenders. The obstacles which affright our Government apparently had no terrors for him. The American Bureau of Radiotelegraphy is under the control of a very eminent civilian scientist, Dr. Austin, and I am not aware that he had ever erected a long-distance station until the enterprise of the United States Government gave him the opportunity. The Canadian Postmaster-General does not think the Marconi system the only available one, for he gave a concession to the Poulsen Company. The United States Government is purchasing its Panama-Washington station, and the Australian Government its military station from the Poulsen Company. Our desire that the State should construct its own stations is absolutely and perfectly confirmed by the Report of the Parker Committee. Perhaps I may be allowed to read Clause 32 in that Report, because I attach to it the greatest importance. The Clause reads:— “For the purpose of testing, examining, and, if necessary, further developing any new invention or suggested improvement in wireless telegraphy, a trained staff with an engineer of special knowledge and standing at its head will be necessary. Under the guidance of such a staff and engineer we see no reason why the Post Office wireless stations should not be ultimately equipped with apparatus far more efficient than that now used in any so-called system, more especially as the Post Office will be able to combine, in spite of existing patent rights, apparatus or devices which, because of the existence of such rights, cannot now be combined by anyone else.” 1.0 P.M.

That, stated with great lucidity and with unapproachable authority, is precisely what we have urged. And whether the Postmaster-General be right or wrong, it seems to me clear that, the question of urgency apart, the right hon. Gentleman is acting in direct contradiction to the scientific body which he himself appointed. It is clear from the paragraph after the most careful consideration there need be no difficulty whatever in discovering engineers with the requisite knowledge or a staff with the requisite competence. It has been stated that there is no guarantee that the station when erected would work. Surely that is the very elementary consideration which must have been present to the members of Lord Parker's Committee! They evidently had no misgivings on that point. They evidently believed that a telegraph station could be erected by the State with all the powers and all the advice it could get, and to say that it would not work is, I respectfully submit, hardly serious criticism. On this question of erecting stations a good deal of misapprehension prevails. I shall probably be correct in supposing that at least four-fifths of the work is ordinary



contractor's work. I read in the "Daily Chronicle" yesterday:— "The Universal Radio Syndicate, the British owner of the Poulsen system, is busy erecting its station near Ballybunion, co, Kerry, to begin its Transatlantic services between Ireland and Canada. Mr. Campbell Shaw—the son of the late Mr. Norman Shaw, is the constructional engineer of the station. Messrs. George Trollope and Sons, of London, are erecting the huge wooden towers necessary for the station, Mr. Palmer, of Palmer's Travelling Cradle Company, is supervising the erection of the wooden and steel towers, and a representative of Messrs. Humphreys is erecting the steel buildings." I know nothing of that statement, but it is just the way that a Government station should be built. It is precisely what has been done by the Australian Postmaster-General. The buildings, masts, wires, earth connections, water, lighting, steam plant, electric power plant, switchboards, and a good many other things—all these would be supplied by ordinary contractors to the Government specifications; and a good deal of the actual wireless apparatus itself, such as the condensers, could be supplied ready made within a very short time after the issue of the specifications calling for them. I cannot see any justification for the State employing-middlemen to purchase articles on ordinary tender or contract. It may be asked, Who is to supply these specifications? That, of course, is a vital question, and it brings me to the subject of the Admiralty. The Admiralty have been asked, as appears from the correspondence issued by the Postmaster-General, if they would erect a station. Of course they refused. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the Admiralty would detach a large number of expert officers from important daily naval duties to do work of that kind. I should like to ask the Postmaster-General this question: Have the Admiralty been asked if they would furnish specifications which would enable the Government to build the station? If they were asked, what was their reply? If they were not asked, then it is not correct to say that the Admiralty have' declined to assist, because the Postmaster-General has not availed himself of all the opportunities open to him. The Post Office appear to have asked the Admiralty to be contractors, whereas they should have asked the Department to act as consulting experts. A somewhat similar misapprehension appears to me to exist regarding the question of staff. There are two kinds of staff. The first, of course, is the eminent supervising expert staff and surely that. could be perfectly well undertaken by a small expert committee, or the Admiralty could spare for a time one of its expert officers to supervise the work during the first period! The second part of the staff consists, of course, of the ordinary operating staff, and the Government, I am convinced, has only to let it be known that, six months hence, they are prepared to receive application to enrol in the Civil Service a number of expert, experienced wireless operators, and they would have 50 or 100 qualified men offering their services at once.

It must be remembered, too, in connection with the question of erecting stations, that the most technical apparatus of all would be bought ready-made. The United States Government does it; the Australian Government does it. Whether it be the Poulsen generator or the Goldschmidt alternator, whatever it be, if after consideration and demonstration it was decided to install either of these, it is certain to be bought ready-made. These people would sell outright. My own opinion—I can only give that—is that I am sure that the Marconi Company would do the same. They simply could not afford to let such an opportunity and such an advertisement escape them. If they did, Parliament has already, under the Patents and Designs Act, given the Postmaster-General every power he wants. One other word upon this point. It is, of course, to the interest of some people to invest wireless telegraphy with an atmosphere of mystery and wonder, to have it regarded as a kind of hieroglyphics which only the rare few are able to decipher, and to have it thought something so marvellous and occult that the profane must stand afar off. I say quite frankly that it is not so. To use a colloquialism, it is very largely bluff, as every wireless expert knows perfectly well. In a moment of irritation at arguments of this kind I once made the remark that, after all, wireless telegraphy was only a superior kind of gasfitting. I was taken severely to task for that remark, but, considering the circumstances in which the exaggeration was made, it was really a fair retort. Of course, there are many problems of the utmost importance and delicacy upon which some of the keenest and ablest minds in Europe are at work, and upon which enormous progress will be made. I have had the opportunity of seeing every type of long-distance wireless station in operation, and I do not think I shall be contradicted by anybody who knows if I say that as regards the ordinary everyday working of any system, including the Marconi system, which is one of the simplest, any electrical and wireless expert could run it. I do not believe that a single independent expert would be found to contradict that statement. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that independent scientific opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of State construction and unfettered State owner-ship. The

leading journal representing that opinion in this country is, of course, the "Electrician." A few weeks ago, in an editorial article, the "Electrician" said:— "It is agreed, on all hands in technical circles[...] that there must be at once created a strong Government Department to deal solely with radio-telegraphic matters. We subscribe to this view." There reached me this morning, as I was starting to come to the House, the number of the "Electrician" which appears to-day, in which I find the same view expressed with even greater force. This is the first part of the editorial of the "Electrician" of to-day's date:— "In our opinion, the most important point is the determination of the Government that, in view of the decisive statements of the Admiralty, War Office and Post Office, no steps are either desirable or possible towards the establishment of the Imperial Chain by a State Department, either existent or prospective. We greatly deplore this determination, which we regard as unwise, unstatesmanlike, and unjust to the scientific and engineering staff already in the service of the State, and also to the staff which we feel sure would be collected by the State without difficulty—a staff which we believe will of necessity have to be created before any long period elapses. We consider the present moment opportune for this important purpose, and refuse to believe for one moment that any serious obstacle to this advance exist which would not instantly disappear when it became known that the State was prepared to create a separate Department for the highly scientific and technical work which the provision of an Imperial Chain involves." For my own part, I am ashamed of the suggestion that there is not sufficient scientific knowledge in this country to undertake this task. We should lose a little time and a little money, but as an Englishman I do most earnestly desire to see my country present to the world a spectacle of due administrative courage and scientific competence. In this connection, if my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Chiozza Money) will permit me, I should like to say I was amused by one sentence in a recent interesting article he contributed to the "Daily Chronicle." He entered the lists on behalf of Mr. Marconi, feeling him to have been dealt with somewhat unjustly. But unfortunately for my hon. Friend's arguments, he is, as we all know, an able and brilliant advocate of State construction and State ownership on the largest scale and in the widest possible application. After giving many reasons why this contract should be ratified, he concluded with these words:— "I think that there can be no question that in the end there must be absolute State ownership and control." Precisely! My only difference with my hon. Friend is that what he wants "in the end," I want in the beginning. With regard to the views of hon. Members below the Gangway on this side of the House, it appears to me that this issue affords a test of their principles. They stand, if I understand their attitude aright, for the substitution of the State, so far as possible, for the limited liability company and for the elimination of the middleman. I cannot but believe that they must sympathise with this most legitimate proposal for State-ownership to-day.

Mr. J. PARKER The stations will be State-owned.

Sir H. NORMAN With regard to the contract which is before the House, I gladly recognise that the Postmaster-General has done his best in many ways, and with not a little success, to meet our criticisms. I earnestly wish I could support him in desiring the ratification of the contract in its improved form, but I am, with the best will in the World, unfortunately quite unable to do so. The highly objectionable royalty of 10 per cent. on gross receipts is, of course, gone, and it is divided up among individual stations and many different parts of apparatus. I do not think that will very much affect the result. Take an example. Supposing that under an arrangement of this sort there should be installed, as an integral part of a great plant, a big, heavy, fast-running machine, running under some patent for lubricated hearings. To escape the royalty payment for those patented bearings you would have to dismantle the whole machine and bring the working of the whole plant to a standstill for a considerable time. The engineer in charge would certainly say it was not worth while doing that, and those responsible would say, "We had better go on paying." That is what will happen if these Marconi stations are erected, because all the parts of the station, patented and non-patented, will form one whole installation, and it would be costly and difficult and involve delay to eliminate the royalty-paying parts. If you give a royalty on the gross receipts, however you may split and divide it up, you will weave about yourself a net in the interests of the contracting company which will endure for the whole of the royalty period. I object also to the definition of Marconi patents which remains still in the contract. We have in the House in the person of my hon. Friend (Sir G. Marks), a man who is recognised as being a patent expert, and I very much hope he has an opportunity

of speaking. He will state the objections far more clearly and with far greater authority than I could pretend to. I object also to Clause 15, Sub-section (4). I cannot understand why any new patent should have to have been used in a Government station before the Marconi Company are prevented from acquiring it for royalty purposes. I hold, in the words of the Parker Committee, that the Government ought to have "complete liberty" to negotiate for any new patent whether they have previously used it or not. And, of course, I still object in the strongest manner to the contract being framed in contradiction to Clause 31 of the Parker Committee Report which declares it to be— "undesirable that in constructing and equipping the stations of the Imperial chain the Post Office should be pledged to the continued use of any apparatus now used in any so-called system, or be subject to any penalty by way of continued royalties or otherwise for the disuse of any apparatus which may be installed in the first instance." As I understand it, the system of royalty payments and the conditions under which those royalties are to be paid or discontinued, are in complete contradiction to that most important recommendation of the Parker Committee Report. I do not understand the last paragraph of Clause 2 of the new agreement. That is the one which says that the Postmaster-General shall not instal any system for producing continuous waves if the Marconi Company can show that they can do the same thing with equal efficiency and economy.

*The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. Herbert Samuel).* That only applies to the option on the second three stations. We have complete control over all the stations once they are built.

*Sir H. NORMAN* I am much obliged for the correction. That limits, pro tanto, my criticism, which only refers to the three stations, as the Postmaster-General has explained, but even then I object to it for this reason. Either that Clause places another fresh handicap upon the Postmaster-General in the interests of the Marconi Company, or, if it does not, why is it there at all? I am greatly desirous that a schedule of patents upon which these royalties are paid should be attached to the contract. It seems to me the most elementary form of business. If I approach anyone with a contract offering to sell him the use of certain patents, the first thing he would ask for would be a list of the patents. I cannot understand why that schedule of patents cannot be given. Surely no one desires to buy or sell expired or non-essential patents or valuable patents which have not yet been invented. I hope we shall be informed during the course of the Debate in what way the Postmaster-General is giving effect to the recommendations of the Parker Committee in Clause 31, namely, that "the stations should be constructed and equipped with a view to the possible and probably rapid development of the art, and we think it would be wise that at any rate two of the stations should be used at once, not only for commercial purposes, but as experimental stations, in which the various high-frequency generators hereinbefore referred to and also any suggested improvements in any part of the apparatus should be installed." Are we to understand that the Marconi Company have undertaken to erect two experimental stations of form, dimensions, and character suitable for the immediate installation, if the Government should see fit, of both the Poulsen and the Goldschmidt system? With regard to this contract it is true, as far as I know, that no independent authority has supported it. More than that, it is also true that the only two independent expert authorities which were consulted upon the old contract, which is in principle the same as the present one, refused to support it. The whole contract principle was submitted to the small technical Sub-committee which, as came out in evidence before the Select Committee, recommended that further consideration should be given to it from the scientific point of view before it was ratified; and Lord Parker's Committee, although it was not within the terms of their reference positively went outside those terms. They said:— "Although the question was not specifically referred to us, nevertheless, nothing in this Report must be taken as signifying our approval of the contract as it stands" Therefore, not only has the contract not been approved by any independent authority outside, but it has been definitely disapproved, in some respects at any rate, by the only two independent authorities who considered the old one. There is one other point of the most urgent importance, that is the absolute necessity for a permanent laboratory of radio-telegraphic research. Such research as this cannot possibly be carried on at a commercial station. Research of this kind is being carried on in a number of Continental laboratories with highly expert and enthusiastic staffs. I had the pleasure recently of spending some hours with these different staffs at their different stations. It is urgently necessary that we should have the same thing in this country upon a permanent basis. The appointment of Mr. Duddell, in whatever capacity he has been appointed, is, of

course, in all respects an admirable one, but I want to submit to the Postmaster-General that the Committee analogous to Lord Parker's, which he proposes to call together as occasion arises, is too vague and nebulous for this purpose. I am not without reason to hope that he may be able to tell us to-day that he has decided to deal with this matter as we all desire that it should be dealt with, and as is essential in the public interests.

Finally, do the Government and does the House realise what is being done in long-distance wireless communication to-day? The Marconi Company is bringing actions against certain of these people for infringement of patents and has, in the first instance, won its case and litigation is now proceeding on appeal, but so far as I understand it that legal action on the part of the Marconi Company is chiefly based upon their famous master patent, which expires in April next year. Apart from the Marconi Company, there are all these quarters in which long-distance wireless is being pursued with varying degrees of success, but with success of a kind in every case. There is the United States Government which now has established a station at Washington in which they claim that they will be able to communicate with the United States warships at any time up to a distance of 2,400 miles. They have decided to purchase and instal the Poulsen system on the Isthmus of Panama to communicate with Washington, a distance of over 3,000 miles through, I presume, one of the most difficult districts in the whole world from the point of view of radio-telegraphy, because of the existence of electrical storms, not only in central America, but in the southern portions of the United States. The Telefunken Company from its great station at Nauen has already transmitted signals to the German Congo, which is a distance not far short of 4,000 miles, and they are pursuing their experiments with the view of making that a regular system. When I was in Germany they placed their log book in my hands, and all their records of failures and successes, to examine. It is beyond doubt that they have received not only signals but messages from the United States at Nauen. There is, of course, the Goldschmidt system which, immediately on being installed, succeeded in transmitting, not messages, but signals, to the United States. It has machines which can do that, and I saw them when I was in Berlin. They are quite competent to transmit signals, and it remains to be proved what those machines are capable of doing regularly. I do not pretend for a moment that they have yet been fully tested. They told me that those machines would be installed by to-day, 8th August. If those machines run, then practically the problem seems to be solved. At any rate, they are carrying out these experiments. There is the great station erected for the French Government by a distinguished French expert on the Eiffel Tower. Canada, as we all know, has given a concession to the Poulsen Company. There is also an interesting station at Laeken, near Brussels, which has been erected by the Belgian millionaire, M. Robert Goldschmidt, not Professor Goldschmidt, at his own expense, and on his own scientific knowledge. It has already transmitted signals to Morocco, and the object of the station, which is under the patronage of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, is to secure communication with the Belgian Congo. Experiments are being carried out by M. Goldschmidt with that object. Then there is our own Navy which has constructed long-distance stations of its own design with the greatest success. With the question of urgency out of the way, surely there is ground here for further investigation and consideration for a short time before we finally commit ourselves.

In conclusion, I must be allowed to say, as every Member of the House will recognise, that it is not very pleasant to find one's self in sharp opposition to one's own Government. I can only claim that this is a matter in which no Liberal principle whatever is involved. I have been for twenty years, I hope, a loyal Member of the Liberal party, and during the thirteen years I have been in the House I have only voted against my party once, and that on minor issue. No one appreciates more than I do the honour of Membership of this House, but much as I appreciate that honour, I would not hold my seat for a day if, in a matter which did not involve the political principles I have been elected to support, I was obliged, on a matter of commercial advantage to the country, and a matter of scientific propriety, blindly to follow the Chief Whip, and was not to be at liberty to exercise whatever judgment I have in the matter. I can only say therefore, that I regarded the Chief Whip's urgent communication to-day rather as a curiosity to be filed away in my family archives than as a summons to be obeyed. I venture to appeal to the Prime Minister—I am sorry he is not here—I appeal to the Government, even at this eleventh hour, to allow further consideration to be given to this subject; further consideration, in view of the lack of independent external support; further consideration, in view of the fact of

the opposition from influential quarters, and the Liberal press, further consideration, in view of the fact of the opposition of hon. Members—many of them of my own supporters. I appeal to them to give this consideration, so that, instead of being forced through Parliament by a severe exercise of the authority of the Whips, and possibly with a diminished party majority, this great Imperial scheme might be carried into effect, as it ought to be, by the unanimous vote of the whole House of Commons.

*Sir G. CROYDON MARKS* Like my Eon. Friend (Sir H. Norman) it is extremely distasteful to me to have been criticising that which is proposed by the leaders of my party; but in criticising this contract I consider that I am not criticising the Cabinet. Neither am I criticising the Minister responsible for it. I am criticising the Department that sent this contract here. I am also the more inclined to criticise the present contract when I remember that on the last occasion when we had the original contract before us we were told that the contract was, a good one, and an excellent bargain, and that it was to be sent through as quickly as possible. In fact, there was objection taken to those of us who did discuss it. Now we have another contract which alters in very material respects the original contract from the same officials and the same Department, and I am, therefore, inclined to ask myself and the House to consider whether the recommendation that comes from that Department is worth any more than the recommendation that came with the original contract which has been proved to be undesirable for the Service. As to the matter of delay I have suffered from the suspicions of my friends, and I have had unpleasant remarks made to me in this House concerning the attitude I have personally taken up. I have been called a rebel, and I have been spoken of as one who has been attacking my own Government inside and outside of this House. I am very glad to-day to stand here and ask the House to remember the criticisms I made last October, and to look at the contract now placed before us. I ask the House whether I was not amply justified in those criticisms, and whether they have not brought about a result which would not have been brought about but for the criticisms from this side of the House.

I remember that in last July when the original contract was presented, I saw privately Members of the Government concerning it, and that I did my best upon the knowledge I possessed to show that it was a monstrous contract, that it was about to perpetuate a monopoly, that it was about to create a trust, and that it was going to hold back electrical science during the whole time the contract was running. I asked if I could not point this out, and I was told that I did not know anything about it, and not only that, but from that day to this certain Ministers connected with the contract have appeared to think that I was a person to be shunned and of whom no notice should be taken in consequence of that which I felt it to be my duty to urge against that contract, and which I maintain has been amply justified by the new contract that is before us. I think that I have as much knowledge of the industries of the country as the ordinary Member of this House. I have been an engineer from my boyhood. I was for ten years in Government service, and, therefore, know what Government Departments can do. I have been practising as a consulting engineer for twenty-five years. I know what the industries of the country are like. I have been intimately associated with patents for over twenty years, and I think that I know something of what other people wish to do and how they wish to be protected in reference to that which they are doing. Consequently, when I see a Government Department asking a Minister to come here and present to the House a contract which, in my opinion, is going to hold the whole industry, a new industry, back, I find myself obliged, irrespective of the party ties that I feel hold me to those whose principles I endeavour to uphold in the country, to put all those on one side, and to ask myself whether my knowledge and my experience are to be thrown on one side, because of the loyalty which I may happen to possess with regard to something totally different from that which we are considering to-day.

I will now ask the House to look at the question of delay. Those who have criticised this contract have been charged both outside and inside with having been responsible for great delay. The fact is that there has been from the time when the proposal was first stated to be urgent by the Committee of Imperial Defence to the time when the Contract came before the House an interval of twenty-seven months. This House has had the matter only six months under its consideration. We cannot take what happened last August as being something which we had to consider, because it was practically the last date in the Session, and the matter was adjourned for consideration until October. What was

the result? A Committee was appointed to consider this contract. They went into it and became involved in something which did not touch the contract at all, and up to this day they have never reported to this House their opinion on the contract itself. One of the points upon which the Committee were to determine was whether this contract or any modification of it should be presented to this House. I had an Amendment on the Paper last October on the appointment of the Committee that it should not be for the Committee to say, "We ask this contract to be accepted." My Amendment was to suggest that an amended contract might be presented. The Committee were good enough to summon me as a witness. I went most unwillingly. I was there and saw something of their procedure and methods. I have given evidence in many places and before many judges, and once before the Parliamentary Committee, and I hope never to have that experience again. I presume that the evidence was intended to be of some use, otherwise I should not have been called there and kept four days. The Committee have given their Report, and the evidence, which includes hundreds of questions, has been printed and circulated, and not one single word of comment upon it has come to this House. Therefore, my time was wasted, the services of the Committee was wasted, and Government money wasted in printing answers to questions put to me. I consider that the Committee have not done their duty as they have ignored entirely one of the most important things that were alleged for their consideration. The result is that we are here to-day looking into a matter of this great technicality with no advice from the Committee that was appointed to examine into it and with a new contract presented to us by the same Department who presented the old contract.

I say that the Department presenting the old contract stands self-condemned by the new contract which they have now put forward. Therefore, the occurrence of delay cannot be charged to criticism of the contract which they had taken twenty-seven months to prepare. Another delay of six months possibly might bring about further experience and further information and fresh knowledge which no one in the world possesses to-day concerning the new subject of wireless telegraphy. Why, therefore, cannot we wait another six months when we waited twenty-seven months? Perhaps some Minister by-and-by will give us his opinion upon this point? When we criticised this contract the Postmaster-General told us that he was perfectly satisfied with it. Not only that, but he could not understand a statement of mine that anyone was not satisfied with it, and he very soon let us understand that; for when any intimation or any suggestion was made those who were present last October will remember the right hon. Gentleman either jumping up or turning round, or interrupting, or saying something which went to prove that he was taking all that was said as absolutely personal to him. Then I had to endeavour to administer from my humble position here the suggestion to him that the more usual form of Parliamentary discussion would be that he should speak when I had finished and not interrupt me when I was going on. That is the attitude of mind that the Postmaster-General had last October. He was wedded to the contract. Had he had his way the contract would have gone through. There would have been no discussion. He objected to the discussion. [HON. MEMBERS: "No."] He objected to the appointment of the Committee. He did his best to prevent the Committee being appointed. That is known to all those who have had anything to do with this matter.

There was a proposal to put this Committee in the position of ratifying that contract of which he was so enamoured without any discussion at all. [HON. MEMBERS: "No."] The only reason I am citing these facts is not to attack the Postmaster-General. He appears to think that I have attacked him from the manner in which he has rebuffed me. But the pin pricks do not get through the cloth, and I have not been hurt, and do not suppose that I shall be hurt by meriting the censure of the right hon. Gentleman. Why I am directing attention to this matter is this: The right hon. Gentleman asks us to consider this Contract No. 2, which he declares to be the one for the great advantage of the State. Either the Contract No. 2 is better than No. 1 that was presented, or it is worse. Perhaps by and by we shall know whether this is considered a better contract, but I think I shall be able to show that the eulogy which has been passed on him by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury is well deserved, inasmuch as he has cut out of the contract many of the points and many clauses against which we had serious objections in the past. The old contract has been seriously disturbed as you will notice, if you look at it. Seven hundred and fifty-four words have been cut out of twenty-nine clauses, but 2,745 new words have been put in, which looks as though there is a very

careful revision going on, and, that being so, I want to know now whether we should not pause before considering a contract we have never had in our hands, a contract that has got 2,745 new words in it, and some 600 old words taken out. I consider that it is not good for a business community to have thrust upon it a contract of that character with these alterations in it, or that we should be asked here, practically in the last week of the Session, to determine something which is supposed to run for twenty-eight years. Look at the contract with regard to the next point—and I know there were fourteen points of which my hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Sir H. Norman) spoke, and as to which we took serious objections.

I should like to refer to those points. We objected, and either we were absolutely bound to object or else they have made a mistake in altering the contract. Point number one was that the term "Marconi Patents" was a most extraordinary term, and it still is to-day. We alleged that the term would cover any patent where they had a royalty on wireless telegraphy, and might cover a patent patent that the Marconi Company might purchase for use. That criticism was made in Committee, and the evidence given there has produced an alteration; so that the objection we took to the Marconi Contract has resulted in its being altered to cover only patents relating to wireless telegraphy. We objected to the idiotic definition of the Marconi system which told us that the Marconi system was a system of wireless telegraphy founded on the Marconi system. We objected to that as quite unintelligible, with the result that it has been deleted and cancelled entirely from the contract. I contended that after all there might be no patents in some of those countries where stations were to be erected. I suggested that, perhaps, it was not quite right to assume that anybody could claim, or endeavour to claim royalties when they had no patent. I did not like to put it in such bold language, but I ask that that should be revealed. I asked for a schedule of the patents, and the countries in which those patents had been obtained. That criticism has been met. They have been investigating, knowing possibly that some of the rest of us have been investigating, or they would not have put that down. What is the result? To-day they coolly tell us that they have not got any patent in the place where they are going to erect the largest station, and where they are going to get 10 per cent. royalty on the biggest station, though they have not got a single patent.

I, as a business man, looking at a contract from any person about to supply me with any piece of apparatus, should I find that he had done that, I would put myself to any amount of inconvenience, I would go all over the country, or anywhere else out of the country, rather than deal with a man who had endeavoured to take me in in that particular respect. I say that which applies to the individual certainly applies to the State, and when this House finds that there is a company claiming royalties when they have no patents on which to claim royalty, it should look very carefully indeed upon any proposal that is now made for giving the Government concession to a company with this particular idea of commercial morality. The point I raised that the patents might not exist, has been proved and accepted, and shown to be well founded; yet they come here now and say that the patents do not exist where they are about to put the largest station. I want to ask another question. I want to know where else they do not exist. I want to have every country in which it is proposed to put these stations set out. I want a schedule of the patents set out, so that I can find and know whether, if I am to pay 10 per cent., 4 per cent. on one, 2 per cent. on another, and 2 per cent. on another, and so on, I can feel that I am doing right by the country in permitting the same amount of royalty in any country where they have only got subsidiary patents, and no main patents upon which they are entitled, rightly entitled, to demand a higher rate elsewhere. The House will remember that in April of next year, the great patent., the only patent on which the Marconi Company have ever fought an action, comes to an end. That one patent which gives them power to hold control over all other persons will come to an end next April.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY It may.

Sir G. CROYDON MARKS My hon. Friend says it may come to an end. He is a good author, but a bad patents agent, because it does come to an end. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman, with his knowledge of every subject on which an article has been written, also knows that one can only get a patent extended by showing that one has made no money out of it. There was another patent they had which they would have liked to get extended, and they made an application, which they abandoned for reasons best known, of course, to themselves. When a patent is extended, what probably



would be the length of life given to it? It may be seven years. But this agreement is to run for twenty-eight years. Why a term of twenty-eight years has been introduced into the agreement which has been made in connection with a patent which, if only taken out to-day, could only last fourteen years, I cannot imagine, unless there is something behind which gives them the right to say, "We will claim the royalty on secrets which we put in that are not themselves covered by patent." I consider they are not entitled to do that, but that may be the idea in their minds. Be that as it may, why twenty-eight years should be inserted when you are dealing with a monopoly which is given for the benefit of the State, the King's Royal Letters Patent being limited to fourteen years, I do not know. Why, therefore, there should be in clause 17 the right to cancel this agreement after eighteen years, I do not know either. Obviously, if this fourteen years is extended, and they get a licence for another seven years, the patent will have expired, and also every patent now held will have expired, before the eighteen years can have been reached. That being so, I objected very seriously, and I also did so to the suggestion that here was a company that for five years endeavoured to prevent the Postmaster-General trying an experiment. Further than that, they had a clause in which they subsequently were advised was absolutely so monstrous as to make their contract bad. There was a clause in this contract which said that for five years no other person, no other firm, could supply the Government with anything in the matter of wireless telegraphy or plant, or stations to be erected by them. Now we have had it in evidence that in the wireless telegraphy stations and the plant connected with it and out of the £60,000 which it is going to cost in all probability about — 50,000 of it will be something the people will have to buy themselves. Therefore, that was an attempt on the part of the Marconi Company to get an increased advantage out of their patents, and by getting an increased advantage out of their patents they absolutely vitiated the contract and destroyed all the patent rights that they held while that thing remained there. In order that this may be quite understood, let me explain that in 1907, in this House, we passed a new Patents Act. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer was President of the Board of Trade at the time, and when that Act was brought in there was a printed memorandum, from which this is an extract:—

"Clause 11.—By this Clause an attempt is made to strengthen the existing Section by providing that the reasonable requirements of the public shall not be deemed to be satisfied if any trade or industry in the United Kingdom is unfairly prejudiced by the conditions attached by the patentee to the purchase, hire, or use of the patented article. At the present time the patentee can impose on the purchaser or hirer of the patented article any condition he likes, however unreasonable, and those conditions in certain cases bring about the result that the patentee acquires a larger monopoly than that granted by the patent. It is considered that if a patentee in this way takes advantage of his monopoly to unfairly prejudice any trade or industry in the United Kingdom a remedy should be provided against his so doing."

Consequently, in the Act then passed provision was made for that in Section 38, which sets out:— "It shall not be lawful in any contract made after the passing of this Act in relation to the sale or lease of or licence to use or work any article or process protected by patent to insert a condition the effect of which will be to prohibit or restrict the purchaser, lessee, or licensee from using any article or class of article, whether patented or not or any patented process supplied or owned by any person other than the seller, lessor, or licensee or his nominees." This is precisely what was provided for in this actual contract. They had the condition that for five years no one could supply the plant, that no one could supply a generator, and that no one could supply any piece of apparatus, which was not the subject of the patent, to be used in connection with wireless telegraphy, but themselves. We contended that that was not only unfair, but that it was illegal. The result, when it was pointed out to the Postmaster-General, privately pointed out to him, was that he was able to announce last August that within the last few days, it was probably the 3rd or 4th of August, he had received a letter from the Marconi Company, in which they graciously agreed to delete and take this part out of the contract. Consequently, in this new contract the five years' part has been cancelled. Then. No. 6, we also objected, and we said that the Marconi Company could buy any patents from any other firm that was doing any work for them, and then claim royalty on that patent if they bought it. That has also been met, and that clause has been cancelled in the new contract. We also suggested that the Postmaster-General, in submitting any improvement to the Marconi Company for advice, was going really to prejudice inventors and prejudice the industry. That has also been

recognised, and that particular clause has been cancelled and new safeguarding conditions put in. We also said that the Marconi Company had the right under the old contract to inspect themselves every fresh apparatus we got and to really put themselves in the position of seeing the secrets which members of the Service might have devised for strategic purposes. That has been recognised and that part of the clause has been cancelled and they cannot now inspect, but there must be an independent person to do so and not a Marconi Company's representative at all. We said the Crown should have the right to supply renewals and separate parts and there is a clause now which enables the Government to make those renewals and to make those separate parts. The royalty of 10 per cent. we maintained was too high and we said there ought to be a sliding scale. That sliding scale has been put in, but even now we consider it still begs the question we have always been asking for what we are paying this royalty. Are we paying them it on patents used, or are we paying it on ideas?

## 2.0. P.M.

There is a provision of the contract which goes to give pause to some of us who are considering this contract, because it is provided in Egypt where another station is to be erected, that if they do not happen to possess any registration in Egypt of their patents they should still get the royalty provided they have got patents in England for them. So here we start with the East Africa Protectorate with no patents at all and they claimed full royalty, and here in this contract we have it absolutely set out that if they do not happen to have any patent rights or protection rights in Egypt it does not matter they are still to have the royalty provided they have got those patents or patent rights at home. That appears to me to be unreasonable, unfair, and prejudicial to the interests of the country to be paying a royalty when no patent exists. Therefore, I suggest that we do need to further consider this before we go into the ratification of the contract. I would like also to ask how much the royalty is worth, and why there should not be set down in the contract an alternative to purchase these things outright without paying royalty at all. That was done with regard to the Norwegian Government and it is very useful for us to make a comparison to see what the royalty was worth. The price per station was to be £70,000 with a 10 per cent. royalty for twenty-five years, but the Government could at any time purchase the patents outright and be free from the royalty for £100,000. A sum of £30,000 thus represented per station that which the Marconi Company themselves considered to be the value of their royalty on a 10 per cent. basis for twenty-five years in Norway. I should like, therefore, to see an alternative arrangement provided in this contract whereby the royalty could be purchased at so many years' purchase on the receipts or a lump sum now fixed so as to leave ourselves free from having to submit to the Marconi Company presently, as we must. submit, a statement showing exactly what our receipts are, certified by certain officials, when they may have reason to believe there may be something wrong and may be under the suspicion that there may be a mistake, which may lead to a great deal of trouble while they are concerned in having portion of the receipts of that which we ourselves collect. It is interesting to note that in the last balance sheet published by the Marconi Company—1911—they put a value upon two wireless stations, and that value covers the buildings, the freehold land, and not only the stations and apparatus and everything else connected with them, but all the other movable plant at other places. The value they give for the two stations is £139,217. So that the Marconi Company's stations themselves, with all their land and everything else, are valued at £69,000 each. Therefore, when they ask us £60,000, they are not asking something which is not a commercial price, more particularly when the Admiralty engineers went into the price themselves and came to the conclusion that, if they had to erect them, they would cost them £60,300. Therefore the price is a good and fair price, and all we have to criticise is the payment of the royalty in connection with the patents. We urge strongly that it is not fair to other inventors that a Govern-men Department should be willing, when dealing with such a patented article, even to contemplate the payment of royalty for twenty-eight years. I am sure my right hon. Friend will be equally amused at this criticism as he was last October at my other criticisms. But I advance that criticism because I believe it, not because it is pleasant for me to do so. The Marconi Company having set out what they propose to do, and what by this arrangement they are excluding others from, we are entitled to ask ourselves what other people are doing. In this new industry there are thousands of people at work developing inventions exactly as the Marconi Company are doing. I have been over the whole of the patents applied for during the years from 1897 to 1912. There were 695 patents

applied for during that period in connection with wireless telegraphic apparatus. Out of that number the Marconi Company were responsible for only sixty-five, not one in ten. Therefore it cannot be alleged that they are the only company who have set themselves to work and devise improvements. There are ten times as many other people seeking to make improvements. It may be that the other people are groping in the dark and are not getting any better results than Mr. Marconi got when he started. I have said in this House, and also in the Committee, that no man has rendered so much service to electrical science or the world in connection with wireless telegraphy as Mr. Marconi has done. No man has rendered more services in connection with steam plant in this country and the economies to be effected by the use of the same than Sir Charles Parsons. Sir Charles Parsons re-revolutionised the industry of the world by his steam turbine. His patent runs for fourteen years. It was with extreme difficulty that an extension was obtained in relation to one of his patents. Even under that you get a run of only, say, twenty-one years. Here you have a contract, starting to-day, in which the Department contemplates twenty-eight years for patents now in existence. It is unsound commercially, wrong legally, and bad politically to be associated with anything that contemplates such a thing.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Hear, hear.

*Sir G. C. MARKS* Why, then, was it put in? I am glad to have the agreement of the right hon. Gentleman that it is - wrong in the direction I have named. Why then put in twenty-eight years?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* There is no such provision.

*Sir G. C. MARKS* I am sorry I must trouble the House with the contract. Clause 15 provides:— “Subject to the provision for determination in Clause 17 hereof”— which is after eighteen years—that is, longer than the life of the patent— “and as to the provisions of this clause hereinafter contained...the Postmaster-General shall pay to the Company by way of royalty for the use of the Marconi patents in respect of each station at which a long-distance installation shall have been provided and installed upon the terms of this agreement during such period (not exceeding twenty-eight years from the date on which any royalty first becomes payable hereunder)...”

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Will the hon. Member read on! He is stopping at the important words.

*Sir G. C. MARKS* Certainly— “As he shall use at such stations apparatus covered, by any valid and still unexpired patent.[...].”

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Hear, hear. *Sir G. C. MARKS*: What does that mean?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* If the patents are expired, we do not pay the royalty.

*Sir G. C. MARKS* How can a patent run for twenty-eight years? This is the point with which all through we have been met—that this does not mean anything because a patent does not run so long. What it means is that if by and by the Marconi Company obtain any patent, however unimportant, and put it in, they are going to have a royalty for twenty-eight years. Why should they be permitted to have the same amount of royalty on something they acquire later, as that which they have now? They are to be paid hereafter upon a subsidiary device precisely the same royalty as they are being paid to-day upon a basic device. That is absolutely wrong alike in conception and in practice for a Department to put forward and for this House reasonably to consider.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Hear, hear.

*Sir G. C. MARKS* The right hon. Gentleman agrees that it is wrong. I hope, therefore, that he will be able to explain why it is, when this contract has been referred to by the Marconi Company at any of their meetings, they have spoken of a 10 per cent royalty for many years to come, when their main patent expires next year. There is a difference of opinion in connection with this twenty-eight years; therefore I would like to have a schedule of patents attached to the

agreement, distinctly and clearly preventing the company hereafter from acquiring any other patent so as to run their royalty beyond the period which these patents give them. I further think it unwise to have a royalty of a fixed amount dependent upon a small article which may be running after two years when the main patent expires next year. There should be a pro rata payment made in connection with that which is put down for the payment of royalties dependent upon the value of the patent, or the importance of the piece of apparatus that is being used. If that were done, my criticism would be met. I want the Marconi Company to give us the benefit of their experience. I want to pay for it. There is no other company that has proved before the Scientific Committee that it possesses the experience that this company possesses. That is not to suggest that because they possess that experience to-day that they are to be placed in a position that would dominate all other inventions, and would deter inventors from coming to Government-Departments in connection with the agreement which is now before the House. I have criticised this agreement because I think it is a mistake. I criticise it because I think the resources of this State are not exhausted. We can carry this out ourselves quite easily. You might just as well say to the people at Woolwich Arsenal that they must not cast steel because at one time they could not cast it—that therefore they must buy it from Sheffield. You might just as well tell the War Office that they must not have a separate department and make their own torpedoes to-day because at one time when they tried to make them they failed. You might just as well say to the Admiralty that they must not make submarines because one or two experiments have been bad. You might as well tell the War Office that they shall have nothing to do with aeroplanes, and that they must get them from outside because of similar reasons. All this is to suggest that to-day we are in this impoverished condition; to suggest that Government Departments cannot do what private firms can do, that private firms possess information that Government Departments do not, and that private firms can design what Government Departments cannot design. Having been brought up in the Government service, I stand here to demand that what appears to be a libel on Government engineers should be removed—should be taken right away! "We can construct these things. We not only can construct them, but we are constructing them as far as the Admiralty is concerned. I ask this House whether we are to be dictated to by a body of officials of one Department because they do not appear to work well with a body of officials of another Department, because the one will not help the other, and because the one say that their Department is concerned with the sea and the Department of the other is concerned with the land? We have to tell these officials to do our bidding; not we theirs. We have to tell any company which comes to us asking for a contract that they must come in such a way as will enable the House to criticise all their proposals, to see that there is nothing in the way of taking advantage of the Government. So long as they leave out of their contract and specifications the countries covered by the patents from which they can claim royalty, so long will we be suspicious that the mistake they made—and they admit they made it in connection with East Africa in claiming a royalty when they had no patent—may be made in other directions. I, therefore, unwilling though I am to do anything which is partly opposed to those amongst whom I sit, shall go into the Lobby and support what may hereafter be proposed against the main proposal, not as a protest against the Government, not as a protest against the right hon. Gentleman, but as a protest against a Department endeavouring to override an industry to the prejudice of the country.

*Lord ROBERT CECIL* I beg to move, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "in the absence of a Report by any body independent of the Government on the desirability of any agreement with contractors for the erection of a wireless chain or on the terms of the proposed agreement with Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, this House is not prepared to approve of such agreement."

The House has listened to two speeches which I am sure everyone who heard them must regard as very interesting speeches, though what in my opinion is of greater importance was the obvious sincerity and conviction displayed. The House is perfectly well aware that the hon. Gentlemen I refer to have a very good title to express an opinion upon a subject of this kind. The hon. Member for Blackburn is interested specially in wireless telegraphy, whilst the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken is an authority on patents and patent law. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down suggested—I hope he was under some mistake—that the action he has taken to-day will likely lead him to political trouble for himself. I must say that if any such result occurred, it would be a scandal and a disgrace to the House of Commons, and to the party to which he belongs. I do not conceive that the difficulties of this question are very great.

The negotiations and discussion which have led up to this contract have been very prolonged. They have involved agreements, correspondence, and interviews that have undoubtedly taken up a considerable time. That has been due not only to the inevitable results of trying to make a bargain, but most of all to the natural complexity and difficulty of the question. In addition to those two great difficulties, they have been added certain personal questions which I trust it will be only necessary to enter very slightly into on the present occasion. Those difficulties which existed last year, as they do now, led the House to desire that a Committee should be appointed to consider and report to the House. The terms of reference—let us get them right—were:— “...With regard to the establishment of a chain of Imperial Wireless Stations, and to report thereupon. and whether the agreement is desirable and should be approved.” As the House knows, for several months the Committee did investigate the question. I was not able to be present at all the meetings. The Committee, however, decided not to report upon the contract at all, and not to give the benefit of their assistance to the House. That merely throws the House back into this position: that we now have to make up our minds upon the question which was submitted to the Committee, without the assistance of that Committee. I do think it is rather unfortunate under those circumstances that the House has not been put in possession of documents which have been laid before that Committee, and which formed the subject of very lengthy evidence given by Sir Alexander King and other of the witnesses that followed. I put two or three questions to the Prime Minister suggesting that these documents should be submitted to the House. He promised to consider the matter. I do not think it is any breach of confidence to say that he asked me to suggest what documents I thought ought to be submitted to the House. Accordingly I did make such a suggestion in writing. I regret very much that I have received no reply whatever to those suggestions. No doubt it is due to the great pressure of the Prime Minister's political duties, and not due to any intentional discourtesy—I am not charging him with that—but I am left at a loss to know why these documents have not been presented to the House. It is suggested that they are confidential. So they are. So they were. But those for which I asked were all, I believe—certainly that was my intention, though it is not very easy to pick these things out with perfect accuracy—but I believe every one that I asked for was a document which had been the subject of public examination before the Committee. Therefore, these have no real secrecy attached to them. I must say I feel it my duty to say that the decision not to present these documents to the House when they had to consider the desirability of this contract was a very unfortunate decision indeed. It is necessary to say that it is all of a piece with the whole unfortunate transactions in connection with this whole business. There had always been an appearance—I believe in this case nothing more than an appearance—of a desire to keep something back; to make some secret where there was really no ground for making any secret at all. This has led to all sorts of unfortunate results with which the House is perfectly familiar.

After making that protest, I approach what are the two questions which I desire to submit to the House on the present occasion. There is the question which I shall have to devote most of my observations to, namely, Whether it is right that this wireless chain should be the subject of a contract at all or whether it should not be done by the State; whether the stations should not, in the first instance, be erected by the State, the latter, no doubt, arranging particular bits of work with anybody that it cares to arrange with, but not dealing with any company in the possession of patents in any way to bind themselves to any particular private company, as I cannot help thinking this agreement does mean binding the Government? That is the first question, and that is one on which I shall have to say something to the House in a moment. Then there is the second and entirely distinct question, Whether this particular agreement is a desirable agreement or not? On that matter I do not propose to trouble the House except with a very few words. In the first place, both hon. Members who preceded me have explained, with much more authority than I can, the objections they felt to this agreement, and with a great many of them I find myself in accord. And, in the second place, I do not think that the House of Commons is at all capable of detailed examination of contracts. It is an impossible thing for them to do. How can they form a judgment whether this particular clause or that particular clause is or is not desirable? This is an extremely difficult thing for them to consider, but it is a very proper thing for a Committee to consider, and the Committee did consider it at great length, but, unfortunately, we have not to-day the benefit of their assistance.

I shall, therefore, confine my observations to two clauses and two clauses only, not because I do not think there are other clauses open to criticism, but because I do not think it would be useful to take up the time of the House with criticism of that kind. In the first place there is clause 2, and I am still at a loss to understand—no doubt the Postmaster-General will explain—what is the purpose of the concluding paragraph of that clause. He says it only applies, which is quite true, to the three stations in Singapore, India, and South Africa, and what is the provision? The provision is that the Government are not to use any continuous wave system of wireless telegraphy if the Marconi Company are able to show that they can do the work with equal efficiency and economy—that is to say, they give a preference to the Marconi Company to that extent.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Other things being equal.

*Lord ROBERT CECIL* Yes, other things being equal. I must say I think this unfortunate Clause does, and must, tie the Government to some extent to the Marconi Company, and it does, and must, enable the Marconi Company to approach those—this is a danger which some of us feared—who may be their rivals and likely to be approached by the Government, and say to them, "If you go to the Government, you must make out that your system is superior to ours, and if we can, at the last minute, manage to present something which cannot be shown to be inferior, it is very doubtful whether the Government would be at liberty to accept your system. Far better to sell your system to us. That gives them a preferential position and opportunity for carrying out what has been their policy for many years past. No one who has read the reports of the Marconi Company, as I have for many years past, can doubt that they have set out deliberately and perfectly legitimately—no one has a right to complain—to establish a world-wide monopoly of wireless telegraphy by a system of subsidiary companies by trying to obtain preferential legislation in various countries, and by, all sorts of devices. I am not condemning them. They are entitled to do that if they like, but that has been their object, and it is their object as far as I can tell at the present time, and it does appear to me that this House ought to be exceedingly careful that nothing it does should assist the Marconi Company to establish a monopoly which, however legitimate to the Marconi Company itself would, I am satisfied, be a great disaster to the civilised world if established.

Then as to the royalties. I am quite ready to believe that the splitting up of the royalties was designed to remove the preference, and to make some attempt to justify the recommendations of the Parker Committee against the penalty of continuous royalty. I cannot honestly say it is likely to be a very successful device. It is quite true it makes the position a little better than it was; but it is also true that the Marconi Company have got something; because it now turns out that they have no patent rights in East Africa at all, and if the contract stood as it was, there would be nothing at all to pay for the East African stations; so they have got something out of it. Indeed they may be better under the contract, as it now stands, than under the original agreement. I do not say that is unfair, but it cannot be regarded as a great concession which the Marconi Company have given to the Government. I should say the concession is rather the other way. As to the splitting up of the royalty, it, of course, diminishes the danger of their using the royalty as a means of putting pressure upon the Government not to introduce any rival system into their stations. The danger we feared was this: There would be some patent of a comparatively minor character which it would be very costly to get rid of, either for constructional or other reasons, and, therefore, the Government would hesitate to get rid of the Marconi patents altogether from their stations, because it would cost them a good deal of money. As long as there was a single patent available they would have to pay the 10 per cent., and that was what the Parker Committee called the penalty of continuous royalty. That is diminished or modified by having it split up. I confess I do not look with any favour on that clause of the agreement, but I do not wish to waste the time of the House by further detailed criticism of it. I wish to make some observations upon the main issue—the issue between the State and the contractor. I agree very much with what the hon. Member for Blackburn said, that the real question, and the only important advantage in employing contractors rather than allowing the State to do the work itself in this particular case, is the question of speed. I do not myself see any other advantage.

The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury said it was better for work which had to be done in tropical countries to be entrusted to a contractor rather than undertaken by the Government. With great respect to him, I do not think that that proposition could be admitted for a moment. It depends who the contractors are, and whether they have had experience in tropical countries. As far as I know, there has been little or no experience by the Marconi Company in tropical countries except in one of the Italian stations, and I do not think that that would necessarily apply at all to the East African station. It is said it is much better for a private company to do this, because there may be unlimited liability. I do not understand what he meant by that or what tremendous unlimited liability he looks for in a case of that kind; but if it be true that no one can foresee what these stations will cost to build—a proposition I accept with difficulty—then I do not think it will matter very much whether it is the State has to suffer that loss or private individuals for this reason, that if it is really true that these stations may turn out to be enormously costly, and the result is that that expenditure will fall upon the private company, the company will not be able to bear it, and you will not get your stations. If it is really so important and urgent that you should get your stations at all costs, I think it is better that the State should carry out the work itself. Something was said about it being uncertain how much royalty we should have to pay. It is true that that will have to be determined, but it will be determined no doubt quite fairly, and the right hon. Gentleman will have some security that you pay him the true value of the patents instead of what is, after all, a matter of pure estimate by the Post Office, and really rather a rule-of-thumb estimate, because it depends on the amount of work actually done in each of the stations, without regard to the intrinsic value of the patents, and without regard to the actual cost of working, which is a very curious method of providing for the remuneration of a patentee, and I should prefer having the matter determined by some judicial tribunal as to what they were entitled to do in each case. I only mention that because the right hon. Gentleman suggested that it had been intimated by somebody in the Committee that the State might blackmail the Marconi Company by threatening to give them too little royalties. I am not aware of that. I do not think my hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester made any such suggestion, although I know he made a different suggestion, and I am quite sure it is not a suggestion which will meet with any favour in this House. Therefore, I do not think very much, if I may say so respectfully, of the arguments put forward by the Secretary to the Treasury, with the exception of the argument of speed. On all other points I think the State would be the best. Instead of the right hon. Gentleman's fear of unlimited royalties, I believe the expenditure would be less if undertaken by the State than under this contract.

The Admiralty's first estimate of these stations, or, rather, for doing the work which would be required for these stations, was some £20,000 less than that of the company, though subsequently, when asked what they would estimate for doing the actual thing which this company proposes to do, they put it at substantially the same thing—I think it was a few hundred pounds more. At any rate, it does not show that the State erection of these stations would cost more, because they would employ not necessarily the Marconi system, but any system which they thought best, and with the unrivalled knowledge that the Navy undoubtedly possesses, and which it was admitted to possess before the Committee, personally, I think it is quite clear that there is, at least, a good chance of the Navy being able to do the work more cheaply than the private contractor. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently recognised in the House what enormous knowledge the Navy really have upon this question. Very properly they have kept their knowledge to themselves, but Sir Alexander King said in the plainest terms that in his opinion there was nobody who had so great a knowledge of wireless telegraphy as the Navy authorities of this country, and, therefore, the case is a very special one. It so happens that the State is really in possession of the greatest expert knowledge on this subject of anybody in the world. I think the efficiency would be great, and there is no doubt that Lord Parker's Committee were of the same opinion, because in paragraph 32 of the Report it says quite plainly that “under the guidance of such a staff of engineers we see no reason why the Post Office wireless stations should not be ultimately equipped with an apparatus far more efficient than that used in any other system.” No doubt Lord Parker thought the State was quite capable of establishing a far more efficient system. I do not think there is the slightest difficulty about obtaining the staff. I hear with a certain amount of impatience the suggestion that we cannot find in the United Kingdom engineers who are perfectly capable of doing this work. Of course we can, and there is no difficulty whatever about it. I recall very well that when we first suggested the appointment of an expert Committee the Postmaster-General came to the Marconi Committee and said



it would be extremely difficult to find an expert Committee which would be suitable for the examination of this question.

*Mr. BOOTH* But would it be impartial?

*Lord ROBERT CECIL* I have here the reference. The Postmaster-General came before the Committee on the 13th January, and in his evidence he said:— “I do not know whether the Committee have in their mind any particular name, but if so, I shall be glad to consider it. For my own part, after consulting with others, I can only say that the selection of such a Committee will be a task of the most formidable character.” That depended upon the great difficulty which the right hon. Gentleman anticipated in finding suitable people at all. I do not care whether he had that difficulty or not, because that difficulty disappeared instantly, when in spite of these observations, a most admirable expert Committee was formed within a very short time, and I do not think anybody has accused that Committee of a want of partiality or a want of confidence. I do not think there would be the slightest difficulty in forming an efficient staff for carrying out this work if it was necessary to do so. I now turn to the one question of the urgency of this work which is said to be so great, so enormously great, that we cannot afford to run even the risk of the delay of a few months. I do not wish to minimise the case for urgency, because I think it is a very strong one. There is the original recommendation of the Defence Committee. There is also the evidence which came before the Marconi Committee from the War Office and the Admiralty, and there is our own decision, which was unanimous, that it was a case of urgency. But urgency does not necessarily mean that you must not have any delay whatever, but it means that it is desirable that the thing should be done as soon as possible. I agree it is desirable that it should be done as soon as possible, but when you have to consider whether the advantage or disadvantage of a delay of a few months is the greater, then you have to set off against the desirability of getting the thing done as soon as possible the disadvantage that will accrue from doing the thing immediately, or doing it by a method which will preclude the possibility of delay, and you have to strike a balance between those advantages and disadvantages. What will the delay be? It is very difficult to say. I do not see why there should be any delay at all. I do not understand why it is said that there must be delay. If the right hon. Gentleman thinks he could not collect the staff for some months. I think myself if he were asked to do so by applying his great business talents to that object he would not find the least difficulty in getting the staff together in a few weeks. I do not think there would be the slightest difficulty in getting a thoroughly competent engineer to take charge of it or in getting an adequate staff. But, after all, say there was a delay of six months—it is really unreasonable to suppose it would be longer—what does it really mean? It means that if a war took place between, let us say, the period at which the present agreement would be operative—eighteen months from now and two years we should be without wireless communication in the Pacific and the East Indian Ocean. That is the whole thing. If a war happened to take place in those oceans we should not have wireless communication there. I do not know—of course the Government are more able to judge the possibility of such an event—but I should have thought it would not be a very serious or urgent risk. Still, it is quite right we should bear these things in mind—we should consider what is the actual risk we are running by a delay of six months. The hon. Gentleman opposite has pointed out that, as far as the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic are concerned, we have already wireless communications, and therefore the difficulty would only apply to the Pacific and the East Indian Ocean. It does not appear to me the danger is very great from a delay of six months in that regard. But you have to set off against the military risk of delay two considerations. In the first place, as I understand the evidence before the Committee, it is admitted that the Marconi station offers greater opportunities for attack than some of the other system on the ground that it occupies an area of something like 12 miles. I think the right hon. Gentleman will find that was the evidence before the Committee—12 miles in length.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* The stations are 12 miles apart.

*Lord ROBERT CECIL* Yes, and if you have complete security, you have to defend both stations. You could not come to the House of Commons with that—not even the right hon. Gentleman's skill in dialectics could induce the House of Commons to favour a proposal to defend only one of the stations.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY The other systems are not duplex.

Lord ROBERT CECIL If the hon. Gentleman had been allowed to see what he has not been, the Report of the Technical Sub-committee presented to the Postmaster-General, he would have known that they state definitely that they prefer very much a simplex system to a duplex system. That is the evidence they gave and the opinion to which they adhered. I agree it is not a very important matter. But there is another matter which seems to me to be of much greater importance, and that is the proposal that a contract of any kind—and this applies to the Marconi system more than to any other—should be entered into. You must look at this matter from the strategic point of view. You must, if you have a contract with a company, allow them not only to erect the station, but to work it. They would, therefore, know every detail of the working. Is it a desirable thing from a strategic point of view—is it right that a station of strategic importance for military communication, should be absolutely in every detail known to a private company? I cannot think it is desirable. It seems to me an undesirable state of things, and I am very much confirmed in that by what occurs in regard to the Navy. The Navy observe the greatest secrecy in regard to their wireless stations. No one knows exactly what the Navy are doing in reference to those stations. There is even a great dispute whether they are using the Marconi system or not or some modification of it. No one knows. Even the Parker Committee were not told exactly what the Navy were doing. They have considered it of very great importance to keep their stations absolutely secret, and I presume they have done so for strategic reasons. If that is so, is it not equally important that these stations should, at any rate as far as they can be, be secret and not common knowledge to a private company, so that that knowledge may be conveyed to any of our military or naval rivals? That seems to me to be a matter which ought to be very carefully considered. I am not an expert; I do not understand these matters. But we are told that one of the things that would be done in a war would be that the military would try to jamb the wireless stations of the enemy by sending out currents of such a wave length as would make it impossible to use the stations. It is evident that that could be done much more easily by the enemy if they knew exactly what the station was doing, and exactly what wave length was being used, and, if they knew exactly every detail, it would be much easier than if the whole thing were unknown to them and if they had to make a thorough investigation before they could do anything.

These considerations seem to me to be things which you may fairly set against the additional delay, or chance of additional delay, if you are going to assign this work to the State rather than to a private company. I am bound to add something, which I do with great reluctance, but it moves me very much, and I should not be candid with the House if I did not add it. I do not think it is possible to disregard some of the circumstances which have come out in reference to the merits of the Marconi Company in determining this question. I confess I am very much of the opinion of my right hon. Friend the Member for East Worcestershire (Mr. Austen Chamberlain), who said he did not like the management of the Marconi Company. Neither do I. I do not wish to make any attack on the present occasion against any Member of the Government. That is not my purpose at all. But it does appear to me—and I have so stated in print and in this House—that the manager of the Marconi Company, when he offered to a Member of the Government 100,000 shares in the American company, did take action which was, at any rate, susceptible of a very sinister explanation. I do not put it higher than that. It may be that any such suspicion or any such suggestion is unjust to the gentleman in question. I must fairly say—it would not be fair for me not to say it—that I did not form a very favourable opinion of this gentleman from what I saw of him in the box when questions were asked and answered, and I gather from the Chairman's Report that he did not form a very favourable opinion either. It may be that both of us were quite wrong, and it is right that I should say so, 'but I should very much like to know whether the Chairman of the Marconi Committee has expressed any opinion to the Government on this point or not. At any rate, no one has ever questioned his absolute impartiality. I am sorry that he is not in his place, and I should very much like to know whether he has expressed any opinion, and, if so, what it is. Apart from that, in which I may be quite wrong, I do say that this seems to be clearly within the rule which Sir Alexander King stated is applied to the Civil Service, and which says:—“We have had cases where a contractor has offered money to our men. We have had more than one. We have at once struck that man from our list, and I think it is very well known that will happen if ever money is offered or a consideration.” It is really right, however disagreeable it may be to say so, that this matter should be considered. It is a

matter of enormous importance. I agree, if you had a state of things in which it was absolutely inevitable that you should employ the Marconi Company, and that there was no possible way in which this wireless chain could be secured except by employing the company, that it would be right then to disregard such considerations and say, "However unfortunate, we must employ the company, although we disapprove of things they have done or which their managing director has done." But if there is no such necessity, then I do say that it is a matter of vital importance that we should adhere to this rule, which has been the rule of the Civil Service for many years past and which is a rule, I venture to think, of the greatest possible importance. I am anxious not to go more into that matter than is absolutely necessary. I have indicated to the House 'the opinion which I hold, and I hold it very strongly and with profound conviction. I think it right that they should have that before them when considering the alternative of approving of this contract or of asking the Government to carry out the work without any contract at all. It is really for those two reasons in the main that I am opposed to this contract being carried out, at any rate unless we have the verdict and advice of some absolutely impartial and independent body upon it. I am asked, "Why cannot you trust the Government? They have given a great deal of consideration to this matter, and they have arrived at the conclusion that this is the best thing." The consideration to which I have just alluded has no influence with me as to my trust in the Government. I do not suggest for a moment that the Government are moved by any interested motives in pressing this contract upon the House. I am quite sure that they are not. I think that this is a case of official obstinacy. I have a very great admiration, if he will allow me to say so, for the right hon. Gentleman. I yield to none in my admiration for his power of lucid statement, for his precision of thought, and for his indefatigable industry. If he has a fault, it is the fault of infallibility. And it appears to me that he and his Department arrived as long ago as November, 1910, at the conclusion that the Marconi Company were really the only people who could do this work. If any one likes to look up the evidence of Sir Alexander King, Questions 303–10, he will see that he expressed, quite confidently, the opinion that they were the only people. Having arrived at that conclusion before they received any adequate scientific advice, they have adhered to it ever since. They never did in my opinion have any effective scientific advice until the appointment of the Parker Committee. They never appointed any Committee of any kind, although they were urged to do so by several bodies, including the Admiralty, more than once, until January, 1912, and then, as the House will remember, they appointed a technical Sub-Committee consisting of the experts of the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Post Office to advise them. They advised strongly, at least that seems to me to the conclusion, against going on with the Marconi Company at that time, and in favour, at any rate, of some trial being given to the Poulsen people. I dare say that they were quite wrong; but that opinion, as the Postmaster-General is perfectly well aware, was never communicated either to the Imperial Wireless Committee, or to the Treasury, or to the Colonial Office, or to the War Office, or, I believe, to the Admiralty. It was never communicated to anybody at all. The Postmaster-General, exercising his discretion, said that he did not think it was sufficiently material to any of those bodies.

3.0 P.m.

The right hon. Gentleman will perhaps pardon me for saying that I looked up Sir Alexander King's evidence yesterday, and I am quite clear that what he told us was: "The conditions laid down by the Imperial Wireless Committee not being fulfilled by the Poulsen company, the Postmaster-General did not think that it was sufficiently material to send the findings of that Committee on to the various authorities who were considering this matter." I think that was a great responsibility for the right hon. Gentleman to take upon himself. This was the first authoritative scientific body to give its opinion, and the right hon. Gentleman preferred his own opinion, and did not think it was sufficiently material even for the Imperial Wireless Committee to have their opinion. I am bound to say I certainly understood from the evidence of the right hon. Gentleman that when the Parker Committee was suggested his opinion was strongly hostile to that suggestion. I may have misunderstood him, but that was the effect which his evidence left on my mind. I cannot help thinking that it is all part of a piece in this transaction. It was all prejudged from the outset. "Marconi is the only possible person. We cannot consider anybody else—Poulsen, Goldschmidt, or anybody else, nor will we consider the possibility of doing it ourselves. Marconi only is the way of carrying out this work." That, at any rate, is the impression left upon my mind.

*Mr. BOOTH* Do you apply that to Lord Parker?

*Lord ROBERT CECIL* No, I am talking of the Postmaster-General. I say with great confidence that as far as one can guess from their Report, what is the opinion of Lord Parker's Committee? Lord Parker would prefer that the State should do the work, subject only to the question of delay. I think that is clear from what he says in paragraphs 24, 31, and 32. It seems to me that is the clear conclusion. Therefore, wherever you turn you have it that this decision in favour of the Marconi Company is the decision of the Post Office and the Post Office alone, and in my judgment it is a wrong decision. I do not say if it could be shown that there was absolute necessity, that it would be wrong to employ the Marconi Company, but short of absolute necessity I think for the reasons I have given to the House that it is very undesirable that the Marconi Company should be employed. I confess that in the absence of any opinion expressed by anybody independent of the Government in favour of this course, I feel myself that it would be impossible for the House to ratify this contract at the present moment.

*Mr. HENRY TERRELL* I beg to second the Amendment. I join in the regret my Noble Friend expressed that the Government have not thought fit to place before the House a Blue Book containing the various documents relating to the matter which were placed before the Select Committee. That Committee had to consider whether or not this contract was a proper contract to be entered into. It was thought necessary for that purpose that the Committee should have these documents placed before them. If it was thought necessary that the Committee should have them in order to determine that question, it must be equally necessary that Members of this House should have the documents before them when they have to determine exactly the same question. I understand it is proposed to conclude this Debate at an early hour, therefore I refrain from going through some of the evidence given before the Committee which I should have desired to bring before the House. There is, however, one matter to which I wish to refer. It was suggested by the Secretary to the Treasury to-day that it had been suggested by some Member of the Select Committee, when examining Sir Alexander King, that the Treasury should have taken advantage of the power given to them under Section 29 of the Patents Act to fix the remuneration, to have extorted from the Marconi Company improved terms for the Government upon the basis that if they did not get those improved terms then the remuneration which the Treasury had to fix should be reduced in order to extort concessions. It has been suggested that I made that suggestion. I never made any such absurd suggestion as that. What I did suggest, and what I suggest now to the House, is this—I will read the questions I put to Sir Alexander King—I pointed out that under the Patents Act the Government had the right to use any patented invention, subject only to the liability to pay to the patentee such sums as the Treasury might determine were proper remuneration for the use of the invention. I would call the attention of the House particularly to the fact that under the condition contained in every patent the patentee is bound to supply the Government, whenever required, with the patented article at a reasonable price. It is a condition of the patent, and if not fulfilled the patent is revoked. The condition is:—

"If the said patentee shall not supply or cause to be supplied, for our service all such articles of the said invention as may be required by the officers or Commissioners administering any Department of our service in such manner, at such times, and at and upon such reasonable prices and terms as shall be settled in manner for the time being by law provided, then, and in any of the said cases, these our letters patent, and all privileges and advantages whatever hereby granted, shall determine and become void notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained."

I pointed out that the Government, entering into these negotiations, were in the position, first, that they could use the patent subject only to paying reasonable remuneration; secondly, that they would be entitled to demand from the patentee whatever patented article he was using or had under his control, and if he did not supply them to the Government the patent lapsed; and, thirdly, I pointed out that in connection with wireless telegraphy nobody could use any apparatus without a licence from the Government. Those are the three things I pointed out. I pointed out to Sir Alexander King and suggested to him that these three facts placed the Government in a very strong position when they were negotiating with the Marconi Company. He agreed. I said to him:— "You said that the value of these patents was dependent upon the licence of the Government?— Yes." "That is what I put to you in the first instance and

understood you to agree?—No, I think my remark was that it would not be fair to drive a hard bargain with the company because they were at our mercy.” “You do not want to drive a hard bargain? I do not think it is fair to anyone to drive a hard bargain.” That is a rather curious statement and is made more curious because I heard the Secretary to the Treasury congratulating the Postmaster-General to-day upon having driven a hard bargain and having been able to extort a concession. That was the position suggested by me to Sir Alexander King. That the Treasury should threaten that when they came to fix the remuneration they would use their power of reducing the remuneration so as to extort concessions was never present to my mind, and was never suggested by me or anybody else. Let me pass from that and say a few words in regard to this agreement. It is very important to observe, in considering this agreement, that the Marconi Company wrote to the Postmaster-General and repudiated the first agreement. That was a binding agreement, subject to the sanction of this House. Before this House had given its sanction the Marconi Company repudiated the agreement. Then the Postmaster-General informed the House that the Government had no alternative in the matter, because they were advised that they could not enforce specific performance of the agreement, that their only remedy would be a suit for damages, and that it would not be worth while proceeding for damages. That applies to this agreement equally as to the old. If, after this agreement has been sanctioned, the Marconi Company find that it does not pay them to carry out any part of the agreement, the Government could not enforce specific performance of it, but could only have recourse to a suit for damages. They do not think it worth while to have recourse to a suit for damages. That really makes the Marconi Company masters of the situation. They get this contract and they can carry it out or not as they think fit. If they do not choose to carry it out, the Postmaster-General will say he cannot enforce specific performance and that his only remedy is a suit for damages.

*Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND* May I ask the hon. and learned Member whether it is not a fact that the Marconi Company are not to receive under this agreement one single farthing until the work is carried out?

*Mr. H. TERRELL* I am coming to that. They are not to receive anything until they get the first certificate. That is quite true. But supposing they do not do anything. They may find it does not pay them six months hence. Or they may do a certain amount of work and abandon it. Then what is the position of the Government? I submit to hon. Members that they have never seen a contract for the construction of great works which does not provide that if the contractor does not carry out the work and complete it in due time, the person with whom he has entered into the contract is entitled to go on and complete the work himself. That is the common form. There is no such provision here. The provision here, on the contrary, is that if they do not complete the work in due time, they are to pay for the delay, £150, a month.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* For each station.

*Mr. TERRELL* For each station, per month, £150. That is the measure of the urgency. So long as they pay their £150 per month they can take their time. That is the penalty which is attached to this contract. I submit to the House that that is very important in showing the view of the Government as to the real urgency of getting these installations ready to work and also very important in showing the advantage which the Marconi Company has got through this contract, and which no other contractor has ever had in the making of any contract for any great work. There is one other matter I should like to call attention to. In the Report of Lord Parker's Committee it will be found that the dominant idea which runs through the Report is that no one so-called system should be adopted for this work. They point out that it is quite wrong and misleading to speak of a system, and that what are called systems are merely that the owners of various patents describe the installations which they put up as systems; but the idea of Lord Parker's Committee is that you should take for each so-called system the best apparatus which they possess, combine this various apparatus together, and form one system which will combine all the best elements of every other system. The Committee are very careful, over and over again, to point out that there is no such thing as a system, but that every one of the patentees has some part of the apparatus which is better than that of any other, and then they conclude in paragraph (3) in these terms:— “Having regard to these facts, it is in our opinion, undesirable that in constructing and equipping the stations of the Imperial Chain the Post Office should be pledged to the continued use of any apparatus now used in any so-called system.” So that what they advise is that you should be at liberty to take any kind of apparatus, it matters

not to whom it belongs, if it is the best apparatus of its kind, and combine all this various apparatus so as to form one system which would be superior to any other system, and over and over again they emphasise that you Should not bind yourself to any one single so-called system. You are entering into a contract with the Marconi Company. Some part of their so-called system may be better than the Goldschmidt or the Poulsen. On the other hand, the Goldschmidt and the Poulsen may, in some respects, be better than the Marconi. But you are putting yourself in the hands of the Marconi Company to adopt their system, and their system alone. (HON. MEMBERS: "No."] The Marconi Company cannot use any Poulsen or any Goldschmidt or any other patent except their own.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY The Government can.

Mr. TERRELL They can under Section 29, of course, but this contract is not that. This contract is that these installations are to be put up by the Marconi Company according to their system, not according to the Goldschmidt or the Poulsen system, but their system, and it is their system that you are adopting for this purpose. I quite agree you take power to change it afterwards if you think fit, and, if you change it, so long as you change it entirely and do not use any single patented invention of the Marconi Company, you would cease to pay royalty to the Marconi Company, but for the present you are setting up the Marconi system, which the Parker Committee point out should not be done, and, as I read the Report, they indicate that that is the best course, and that the Government should take it no themselves and put it under the hand of some well-known wireless expert, and that they should be able to select from every system that which is best, and then you would have the best, possible system.

Mr. FALCONER That has been referred to two or three times. It is a complete misrepresentation according to my reading. Clause 32 begins:— “Even when all the stations are constructed, equipped and in working order, we do not think it would be wise to cease using some of the stations for experimental purposes.” Then they go on later in the same paragraph to suggest, "Under the guidance of such a staff and engineer we see no reason why the Post Office wireless stations should not be ultimately equipped," and so on. The Parker Committee clearly laid down the rule that the stations should be constructed and equipped. Their theory is that you should have an engineer and a staff to experiment and let the Government take over the working and construction of the stations itself.

Mr. TERRELL I am perfectly aware of that. The hon. Member need not have interrupted to put that before me. Look at paragraph (9) of their Report:— “The existence of a patent may seriously interfere with the normal development of an industry, for it tends to prevent the general use of the means best adapted for securing the end in view. It may well be that a competent engineer, if asked to erect and equip in the most efficient manner a chain of wireless stations, such as the Post Office contemplates, would desire to combine apparatus the combination of which is difficult, it not impossible, because of the existence of patent rights. In this connection we desire to lay stress on the fact that the Government is not fettered by considerations arising out of patent rights, but can use any patent on fair terms under Section fit of the Patents and Designs Act, 1907.” Then, following that up, they say in paragraph 31:— “Having regard to these facts it is, in our opinion, undesirable that in constructing and equipping the stations of the Imperial chain the Post Office should be pledged to the continued use of any apparatus now used in any so-called system, or be subject to any penalty by way of continued royalties or otherwise for the disuse of any apparatus which may be installed in the first instance. It is, we consider, imperative that in any contract which may be entered into the Post Office should reserve complete liberty of action in this respect.”

Mr. FALCONER In any contract that may be entered into.

Mr. TERRELL It is perfectly clear throughout the Report that the idea present to the mind of Lord Parker's Committee was that you should combine the various systems, and not pledge, yourself to anyone. Here you are binding yourself to one system which you cannot afterwards get rid of, except at what must be considerable cost. I do not wish to go through the details of the contract, but I do say that I have heard nothing, and that the House has heard nothing which can show any real reason why the Government should not adopt that which recommends itself, I think, to the mind of

every man who has gone through the evidence before the Select Committee, namely, that the work should not be entrusted to any company at all, but that it should be taken up by the Government, and that they should appoint, as they easily can, an expert competent to supervise it. Then we should get the best possible system, and, above all, we should get this. We should be free from that very heavy burden with which we are loaded under this contract of paying a heavy percentage—because it is not a royalty—not on profits, but on the gross receipts of all these wireless stations. That is a very serious burden which may last for many years. The burden will not be compensated by the saving of a few thousand pounds to-day, and I venture to submit that this contract should not be confirmed, but that the Government should be directed to do what the Parker Committee suggested, namely, to take up the work themselves.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* I much regret to be obliged to rise to take part in this Debate now, because I know that there are several hon. Members who wish to speak, including some of my hon. Friends behind me, who are anxious to express opinions in favour of the contract. It is, perhaps a somewhat unfortunate accident that all the speeches hitherto have been hostile. I regret also that an opportunity for being heard has not been afforded to the hon. Member for Cambridge University, whose views on this matter we were most anxious to hear. But I understand that the Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister wish to speak, and, therefore, I have no alternative but to make my remarks now. In the first place, I should like to deal with the speech of my hon. Friend, the Member for Blackburn (Sir H. Norman), who discusses this matter with perhaps more knowledge, and, if I may say so, more force than most of the other critics of the contract in this House. He dealt to-day with his objections fully one by one, but I noticed an omission of one point to which my hon. Friend attached great importance when he appeared as a witness before the Select Committee, and when he wrote his recent letter to the "Times." My hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn and the hon. Member for Launceston, who has also spoken to-day, declared that one of the chief proofs of the incapacity and incompetence of the Post Office in this matter was that they had entirely forgotten the agreement between the Post Office and the Marconi Company in the year 1909. That was an agreement by which the President of the Board of Trade, who was then Postmaster-General, purchased the Marconi Company's coast stations for a very small sum of money, the company being in financial difficulties. He made a comprehensive agreement to purchase the stations. My hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn said before the Committee that unless this agreement of 1909 has lapsed or become of no effect it would appear that the Postmaster-General has the rights which he now seeks to obtain in the new agreement. Then the hon. Member quoted the terms of the agreement, which he said go to show that the agreement gives me not only the present but all future patents, and all present and future information of secret processes and of everything else, and all assistance in carrying out these patent processes for all stations for the long-distance wireless communication. "I am not a lawyer," said my hon. Friend, "but it would appear to me that the Postmaster - General has acquired for a valuable consideration, namely, for a cash payment, every right he needs, and that a new agreement is superfluous." Recently, writing in the "Times," the hon. Member again made the same complaint, and emphasised it strongly, reflecting adversely upon the Post Office for having made any fresh agreement at all, instead of resting our case upon the agreement of 1909. My hon. Friend appears to have overlooked the fact that that agreement was strictly limited to the ship and shore stations, and expressly and in terms excluded any communication between this country and any foreign country or any Colonial Possession of the British Empire. My hon. Friend was not satisfied with that declaration of mine, and he asked me to present it to the Law Officers. I told him the case was clear, and I did not wish to submit it to the Law Officers. He still attached importance to it, and I asked the Solicitor-General's advice. I put the points specifically to him, whether the agreement of 1909 gave the Post Office the right to use the Marconi patents for the erection and operation of the stations of the Imperial wireless chain in the United Kingdom or any station outside the United Kingdom, and whether that agreement gave the right to the assistance of the Marconi Company in the erection of stations and the operation of their patents? The Solicitor-General gave them an unqualified and emphatic negative.

*Sir H. NORMAN* Perhaps, with my right hon. Friend's permission, I may interrupt him. It is quite true that I did attach very great importance to it. He was good enough to inform me of the view taken by the Solicitor-General. It is out of the question for me to discuss a matter of law with the Solicitor-General. I therefore took steps to secure an opinion

which would be worthy of consideration in this House, beside the opinion of the Solicitor-General. I instructed my solicitors to obtain the opinion of Sir Edward Clarke, but they were unable to do so as, owing to the holidays, he had left town. That is why I made no allusion to it to-day.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* I venture to express my suspicion that if Sir Edward Clarke had been in town, and his opinion had been obtained, my hon. Friend would have felt it still more desirable not to bring it before the House. My hon. Friend has a plan for the erection of the stations. It was expressed to-day and in the letter to the "Times." He suggested that the Parker Committee should be revived, that Lord Parker, Dr. Glazebrook, the head of the National Physical Laboratory, and the other three members of that Committee should meet together, that they should have added to them the engineers-in-chief of the Post Office and the chief inspector of wireless telegraphy in the Post Office, and that the Army and the Navy should send their wireless experts, and that this Committee of nine should also have power to add to their number, and he says— "Such a body would, in my judgment, be abundantly capable of designing and causing to be erected wireless, stations superior to any now existing." You might as well ask the Royal Academy to paint a picture as to get these nine gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to sit around a table with the distinguished Law Lord in the chair, to design a duplex or simplex high-speed wireless telegraphic stations, to be erected in various spots throughout the Empire. If I had seriously come to the House and said that that is my plan, I am afraid that my proposals would have received short shrift, and I am not sure that my hon. Friend himself would not have treated them with contumely. He says, further, that the wireless apparatus itself can be bought ready made from the respective companies. But what is to compel any company to provide apparatus? If we had rejected the Marconi Company our opinion is that the Marconi Company would have refused to supply their apparatus, because they would have felt. I feel convinced, that the Government would have had to come to them for their advice and assistance sooner or later. At all events, they would have proceeded upon that assumption. There is no power in the Patents Act to compel any manufacturer or contractor to supply his apparatus. You can use his patents against his will on payment, but you cannot compel him to supply the machinery by which his patents are used. The Parker Committee has declared that at the present time the Marconi apparatus is the only one that can be relied on with certainty. The Committee of nine presided over by Lord Parker, with power to add to their number, would have had to set to work as best they could to manufacture this highly technical and complicated apparatus for this special purpose. The process would not be easy or speedy, and certainly would not be cheap. My hon. Friend says in the "Times":— "It is preposterous to suggest that there is not in Great Britain enough engineering and electrical knowledge to do what other countries are undertaking without hesitation." Those who listened to his speech to-day would unquestionably have formed the impression that England alone, or almost alone, among the countries of the world is employing a contracting company for the erection of long-range commercial stations and that other countries are doing it by their own engineers and by purely State organisation. Now which countries are these? I will take them one by one. Germany is erecting long-range stations in her Pacific Dominions. She is employing a company to do that work and allowing them 25 per cent. of the receipts and giving them a large subsidy. She is employing the Telefunken Company, which is a company of proved capacity, though I think it has not done work over quite such a long range as we require. We did not think of employing that company, partly because it is a company which is in very close touch with a foreign Government and also because it is understood to have a working arrangement with the Marconi Company, and there would have been, in fact, no effective competition. Germany for her long-range stations has not established any State organisation. She is employing a contracting company. Norway is erecting long-range stations to be owned by the State and to communicate across the Atlantic. Norway has made a contract in the last few days, which has been ratified by her Parliament, with the Marconi Company and which is on all fours with the present contract, except that the terms are considerably less favourable and the price is higher than we have been able to secure under this contract.

*Mr. BONARLAW* What is the royalty?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* The royalty is 10 per cent. on gross receipts, With an option to the Government to commute the royalty for £30,000 lump sum, if they wish to do so. One of the conditions of the contract is that the money shall



be paid in instalments, as usual. They have not got the principle that we have secured, that nothing is to be paid until the station is at work. The Italian Government have taken stations erected by the Marconi Company. France recently has laid before her Parliament a very elaborate scheme by the French Postal administration for the erection of a large number of stations throughout the French Dominions. That scheme was referred to the Budget Committee of the French Chamber, a very powerful and large Committee, which examined it in detail. The Committee has presented its Report. The Committee approves of the general idea and recommends the French Parliament to vote over £600,000 for the erection of a certain number of stations, but in One course of the Report it surveys what is being done in other countries, and one of the countries is the United Kingdom. It dwells at great length on the recommendations of the Parker Committee, and in the Report there appears a paragraph of which the following is a translation:— “We have emphasised the fact that the Post Office”— that is the British Post Office— “had prudently stipulated that the acceptance and taking over of the stations would only take place after a six months' trial conducted at the cost of the company nudes financial conditions which, give full security, and we have recommended that the same wise precaution should be taken in our case also when the time arrives” There you see that the opinion of this French Committee is not that the proposed stations should be erected by the French Post Office itself or that the French Post Office should run the risk involved by the erecting of the stations by its own officers, but that it should follow the prudent example of the British Post Office and only take over the stations and pay for them after they have been proved to work properly by those who have worked them.

Sir H. NORMAN The only existing French station is a State-erected station.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL Yes, erected by the French War Office, and the system has been condemned by this Committee, which says that they should not be erected by the French War Office, and that future stations should not be so erected, but that the military and naval authorities should look after their own proper work. I do not know how far that station is efficient and successful. In Belgium a long-range station is being erected, not by the Government through its own officers, but, as the hon. Member has said, by a patriotic and enterprising individual who at his own cost is putting up a station on his own land by his own methods, and if it is successful the Belgian Government will take it over. In the United States of America, as far as I know, no commercial stations have been erected by the Government, and none are contemplated. There are one or two Admiralty stations, like our Admiralty stations, which are being erected by their naval authorities in much the same way as our naval authorities have erected stations purely for strategic purposes, and the Admiralty are making their own arrangements as our Admiralty have done. They are not commercial stations. In Canada it is not the case that any Government stations are being erected by the Poulsen Company, as has been represented in this House erroneously. What has happened has simply been that the Canadian Government has given a licence to the Poulsen Company to erect a station at their own cost, and at their own risk, to carry on their own business worked by their own staff. I also am giving a licence to the Poulsen Company to erect a corresponding station on this side under certain reasonable conditions that are enforced in all such cases, but there is nothing in the nature of a Government station, and the Canadian Government is not paying a single sixpence to the Poulsen Company for this station.

Major ARCHER-SHEE The statement which I made about the £15,000 subsidy was based on the original agreement drawn up between the Postmaster-General and the Poulsen Company. That was afterwards dropped, and the matter went through.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL There is no subsidy now, and, as it was laid before the Canadian Parliament, that proposal did not appear, and there is no subsidy of any kind. It is purely a private venture. The South African Government desire to erect a long range of wireless stations, and the South African Government are a party to this very contract. The South African Government made independent inquiries, and they employed their own advisers. They inquired into the Poulsen system and other systems, and they came to the conclusion that our own proposals were right, and they asked to be allowed to be parties to this contract. Therefore, in this very contract which we are now considering there is provision for a South African station, not to be erected by the South African Government at its own risk, but

erected by the Marconi Company. Over the whole world, so far as I know, there is only one case of a Government which is erecting. State-owned, long range commercial stations, and that is the Australian Government. They are employing an engineer of their own, Mr. Belsillic, who has a system of his own which he was developing in Europe. He was sued by the Marconi Company for infringement of their patents, and the Court decided that his patents were infringements of the patents; of the Marconi Company. He therefore stopped his work in this country and went to Australia. He became the engineer of the Australian Government., and he began erecting stations there. The Marconi Company have asked the Australian Court for an order to inspect the stations to see whether there was an infringement of their patent. The Australian Government resisted it, but the Australian Court decided in favour of the Marconi Company. They took the case to the Privy Council here, and the Privy Council has also decided in favour of the Marconi Company, and litigation is now about to proceed in Australia, I understand. In any case, the station has not been erected, and we do not know, first, whether it infringes the Marconi patents, and, secondly, when erected, whether it will fulfil all that is expected of it.

So far as foreign countries are concerned, I must say that, from my hon. Friend's reference to them in his letter which appeared in the "Times," readers would be convinced that the British Government is the only one which is weakly and slackly looking for outside assistance, instead of erecting these stations by their own engineers. Why precisely the opposite is the case, and it is only in Australia and then under the circumstances which I have described, that there is any case of the Government itself running the risk, the great risk, of the erection of stations by officers of the State. My hon. Friend said that the Parker Report, and other hon. Members have said the same thing, in effect urged the erection and equipment of the stations by the Government engineers. He draws attention to clause 32 in support of that. My hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Falconer) pointed out, in an interruption he made a few minutes ago, that the clause distinctly relates, and solely relates, to the state of things after the stations are erected, and the Committee say that when the stations have been erected and are in working order, it is of immense importance that they should be used for experimental purposes, and, also "for the purpose of testing, examining, and if necessary further developing any new invention or suggested improvement in wireless telegraphy." With that I entirely agree, and I shall have something to say later upon it, as the Government are intending to carry out that recommendation; but I suppose that no one is better qualified to say what the Parker Committee intended to report than Lord Parker himself. I put the question to Lord Parker, and his reply is given in a letter which is published in the Parliamentary Papers. He said:—"The Advisory Committee were of opinion that if the erection of the stations were a matter of urgency, it, would be better for the Government to utilise the experience of the Marconi Company than to carry out the work themselves, more especially, if in any contract with the Marconi Company, they could reserve full freedom to adopt at any time any other system. The Marconi Company, with their staff of engineers and their knowledge of practical detail, no doubt could erect the stations and get them into working order in a shorter time than could be done if the Government had to form a special engineering staff and make their own plans and specifications for the purpose." I hardly think it was right that my hon. Friend should suggest that the Parker Committee really recommended that the Government, and not a contractor, should erect those stations. My hon. Friend first wandered into the field of legal interpretation and engineering details, and then he came to the sphere of strategy and told the Select Committee that he is opposed to the application of the agreement without further investigation, on the ground that the alleged urgency does not exist. He has said to-day that it is quite unnecessary to press on the matter, and that a few months' delay is of no very great importance; that if we were engaged in war he supposed the operations would be principally in the North Sea and the Mediterranean, where there are ample communications, and that we need not be disturbed about the outlying parts of the Empire. That is my hon. Friend's view. It does not need the Fleet to cut the cables, and these wireless stations are not only necessary for communication with the Fleet, which the cables cannot reach when engaged in naval operations, but also for maintaining communication with the outlying parts of the Empire if the cables were cut. That is really the strategic suggestion for those cables. They are both for communicating with the Fleet on the high seas and for communicating with outlying Dominions in case the cables are cut. The Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence two years ago expressed their views on this point very clearly. The Select Committee of this, House made, I think, only two recommendations in the course of its long career, dealing with the

merits of this question. One conclusion to which they came has been already quoted—that it is a matter of urgency that a long range of Imperial wireless stations should be established. The other conclusion was that the controversies between the various systems should be referred to an expert Committee. It would be hard and almost verging on the ludicrous if the only two specific recommendations made by that Select Committee were both to be ignored by this House, and if the Committee, having reported it as a matter of urgency, the House were to say that the matter is not urgent; and the Committee, having suggested that the Expert Committee should decide between the Poulsen and the Marconi Company, and having decided in favour of Marconi as against Poulsen, the House should go back, and desire that the battle should again be fought out. The Select Committee came to the conclusion that the matter was urgent. I received within the last day or so an expression of opinion from the Army Council, which I think I ought to give to the House, now that they are to decide for or against the immediate ratification of this contract:— “The Army Council regard the establishment of a long range of wireless stations at the places proposed a factor of the highest importance for the proper equipment of the Empire for the purposes of defence. In the event of war, circumstances might well arise in which the possession of this means of communication would be of the utmost value and, unless the risk of war is to be regarded as negligible, the Army Council consider that the provision of such stations is undoubtedly a matter of urgency.” I commend that opinion to hon. Members. who are interested in Imperial Defence I have also obtained the Board of Admiralty's views, which are:— “From the strategic point of view the Imperial Wireless Telegraphy Chain would in time of war or emergency, form a valuable reserve, and in addition to the cable communication which is liable to be cut, and would also enable communication to be made with the Fleet at sea as well as with the stations on the chain. From this point of view it is essential that action should not be delayed. Although the advantage to be gained by being first in the field has been lost, the strategic necessity still remains and affects us as the largest Maritime Power to a greater extent than it affects any other nation, and it is the Admiralty's opinion that if war broke out or an emergency occurred the Fleet would be at a distant disadvantage by an omission or delay to take the opportunity to erect stations.” The Government have not been able to ignore those repeated expressions of opinion on the part of the authorities who are responsible for the defence of the Empire, and I venture respectfully to suggest that the House of Commons cannot ignore them also. The reality of the urgency was not questioned in the last Debate. And now, if we were to accept this advice and say, “We will leave this over; we will wait for a year or six months to see what system has been developed; we will not hurry about it,” at once hon. Members opposite would turn round and say, “How dare you leave this great Imperial question unsolved! How dare you ignore the repeated Reports of your Committee of Imperial Defence, of a Select Committee of this House, of the Admiralty, and of the War Office, because, forsooth, your experts have quarrelled whether one system is really more efficient than another; or, because we have a pettifogging Postmaster-General, who is trying to save £1,000 here or there, you leave unprotected all these great Imperial interests!” I venture to say that the loudest protests would come from some of the hon. Members who have been most active in this matter. My hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Sir H. Norman) has another complaint. He says, if there is urgency, why not adopt this alternative: go to the Marconi Company, offer them a handsome price—these are his own words — “without further parley,” for two or three stations to be bought outright without any payment for royalty. Suppose I had done that, what would my critics in this House and elsewhere have said then? They would have said, “Here are stations the intrinsic worth of which is probably £60,000, and you are paying, whatever it may be, say £100,000 for them, in order to be free from royalty, while there are certain patents which are on the point of expiring, and there are other patents which will expire in three or four or five years.” They would say also, “The Poulsen system is showing progress, the Goldschmidt system is being experimented with, and one or other of those in a few years may prove themselves more efficient than the Marconi system. Yet you are actually paying £40,000 in commuted royalties for patents which may be wholly superseded within a very limited space of time. What waste and improvidence! Surely the businesslike method would be to pay the actual cost of the stations, £60,000, and pay them a royalty per annum, which you could terminate at any moment when you ceased to use their patents and substituted some other system.” I am afraid, with all my respect for the hon. Member for Blackburn, if I had followed his leadership, he would be the first to hold up the mirage of the agreement of 1909, which does not apply to this case, he would then have led me into the quagmire of his Committee of nine, with power to add to their number, who are to sit round a table to work out the designs of the stations. Finally, he would have left

me in the pit of the handsome price offered to the Marconi Company, which would have been denounced, and I think properly denounced, as giving them undue favour and a large sum of money which might have been saved.

Then my hon. Friend quarrels with the contract further because, he says, we have not a schedule of patents to it, and that we ought to have a list of patents and schedule them to the agreement. What difference would it make if we did? We know the main patents; we know quite well the main patents. Anybody can get information about patents by applying to the Patent Office and paying a few pence. We know that there are six patents of real importance. One of them expires next year unless it is renewed in the United Kingdom, and one in 1918, and one in 1919, and one in 1921, and one in 1923, and another in 1925, and there are about thirty other minor patents of value, but not of first importance, which could, if necessary, be done without. Before any contract was entered into, when the negotiations were first begun, the patent position was examined with the aid of experts of the Government Department with a view to seeing if we could attach a lump sum value to those patents. The company asked a payment of £250,000 for the unrestricted use in perpetuity of all their patents throughout the Empire. We went into their offer very carefully, and I was advised that although £250,000 was very excessive, those patents were, in the opinion of our advisers, worth a very large sum. It is not expedient to mention the sum, but it was very large. The company would accept nothing less than £250,000, and the whole of that negotiation proved abortive and fell through, and we have not bought the unrestricted use for all purposes apart from the Imperial chain. It is certain that the patents are of very considerable value, and there are other patents now being taken out in addition. This contract gives us the right not only to use existing patents, but any future Marconi patents if we wish to use them. There is no obligation to put them in, as the hon. Member for Launceston seems to suppose. If we wish to use them we have them without any additional payment. You cannot schedule unborn patents, and it would be very futile to put a list of existing patents when the contract really covers all future patents as well. I am told by the officers of the Contract Department of the Admiralty and the War Office that it would be most unusual to schedule the patents, and Mr. Duddell, the consulting engineer who is assisting me in this matter, says he has never heard of such a thing being done. There is no reason for it, and we have the complete right to use all or any patents we wish. I am advised that there is no reason for a schedule. If the Marconi Company have neglected to patent any of their inventions in outlying parts of the world, so much the better for us. We shall not lose thereby. I shall be only too glad if they have been neglectful, because in that case we shall be able to stop the payment of royalties, sooner perhaps than we should otherwise be. I have dealt with all these matters, but I do not propose, if the hon. Member for Launceston will excuse me, to go into all his points, as I have many others to refer to, not because they are unanswerable; very much the reverse. I should have no easier task than to deal with his arguments, but time, I am afraid, will not allow. I have been engaged now in these negotiations for two years. I should have been only too pleased at any time if any of my critics would have relieved me of the task. It was the decision of the Government as a Government to proceed with the erection of these stations straight away. I was advised by my experts that you could not trust systems of wireless telegraphy which had not proved themselves by actual test again and again. The Admiralty told me that they were unwilling to undertake this work. There are serious drawbacks to the creation of a new staff, to which I will refer presently. The Committee of Imperial Defence, the Cable Landing Rights Committee, the Imperial Wireless Committee, all favoured negotiating with the Marconi Company. Therefore, as the agent of the Government, acting for the Government, my duty was to negotiate with the Marconi Company. On the other hand, the company were very fully alive to the situation. They had spent vast sums of money on experiments with very little profit; they had now brought their undertaking to the stage of commercial utility so far as long-range telegraphy is concerned, and they were quite determined not to make any contract which would be unsatisfactory to themselves. That was the position from the point of view of the negotiators. At the same time, the whole situation was very much complicated by all the extraneous and personal issues that were raised. I could wish no worse fate for any of my critics than that in the next world they should be condemned to conduct in perpetuity negotiations of this character under these circumstances.

4.0 P.m.

The outcome is, on the whole, in my view, satisfactory. The House is accustomed to hear Ministers at this box expounding the provisions of Bills or of Resolutions which they themselves have drawn up or caused to be drawn up, for which they themselves are responsible, and every clause or sentence, in which expresses, or ought to express their opinions for which they have to accept responsibility. But a contract is something different. A contract represents the views of two parties. If I were given a sheet of paper and asked to write down the conditions on which I should like the Marconi Company to erect these stations, they would no doubt be considerably different from those which are in the Paper now before the House. I should certainly have put down a smaller royalty. I have tried very hard to get a smaller royalty scale. I should have omitted the provision at the end of Clause 2, to which the Noble Lord drew attention, though I do not think that provision is of very great importance. I have been fortunate in securing that the royalty should be split up, and that it should be payable only on each portion of the station separately, instead of on the whole station. As a commercial agreement representing the views of two parties I can recommend it to the House. I believe it is better than any of the alternatives at present open. What do the company give under this contract? They give a guarantee of working. To that I attach the first importance. They take all risks. I think the Government have been very fortunate in finding a contracting company willing to invest half a million of capital, to receive no payment on account, and to receive no payment at all unless the stations are absolutely satisfactory in every particular. I confess that still, after all the experiments and tests which have been made, I have in my own mind some feeling of scepticism as to whether everything that is promised can actually be performed. I believe that in all probability it can, but there is a risk. I should certainly have been most reluctant to come to the House of Commons and ask them to vote for my expenditure of this large sum of money and to take the risk of the stations, and, after all, not being able to carry the traffic with sufficient speed, accuracy, and reliability to render them a commercial success.

If the Marconi Company do fulfil these conditions, we shall get a large revenue and the stations will be profitable. If they fail to fulfil these conditions, they get no payment. It is not a question for a Court of Law to decide, as to whether or not the conditions have been fulfilled. The conditions have to be fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Postmaster-General. Secondly, they provide us with duplex working, which, I am advised, is a very great advantage, especially in a chain of consecutive stations; and this no other system provides. They guarantee to give us a speed in automatic working which is higher than the speed of transmission between two stations in the case of the ordinary cables. These speeds will be about, the same after allowing for the necessary repetitions. They give us all their present inventions and patents, and the wider the definition of these is, the better and not the worse for the Government. We are not obliged to use them but we have the right to do so. Therefore, we gain by the width of the definition of the inventions and patents. We get the benefit of all their experience, which is of the greatest value. We secure the use of their future patents, have the use of their present patents, and of everybody else's patents of which they have the use in their own stations. If the agreement does continue for twenty-eight years, at the end of that time we have the right to continue, free from any royalty, any patent that may have been in use before, no matter how new. Again, we have the great advantage of Mr. Marconi's personal assistance in this undertaking. He is himself part of the contract. We have the advantage of his experience, of his advice, and of his inventive powers. Surely, if you have genius at hand ready for your service, it is folly to reject it! I agree that it would perhaps be more in keeping with the way great inventors have been treated by Governments in this land other-countries if I had treated Mr. Marconi with coldness, and have threatened, as the hon. Member for Gloucester suggested before the Select Committee, to take away the licence for his existing stations—

*Mr. TERRELL* I never suggested it. Will the right hon. Gentleman call the attention of the House to the passage?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* There are 1,500 pages of the Report.

*Mr. TERRELL* I never said anything of the kind.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* I do not wish to misrepresent the hon. Gentleman, but I certainly understood that was his suggestion to Sir Alexander King, that if the Marconi Company did not meet us in what we considered a reasonable

way as to price that might discontinue the existing licences for their stations in this country.

*Mr. TERRELL* No. The Marconi Company have a contract with the Government to continue their licences. It is quite true that the licences are from year to year only, but if they contract for a full licence you cannot discontinue it.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* I think that was discovered subsequently, and when I came before the Committee. However, I am quite willing to withdraw if the hon. Gentleman assures me that I misunderstood him. If Mr. Marconi were hampered in the conduct of his enterprise in this country, the consequence would be that he would transfer it elsewhere. I think that would be a great disadvantage to the United Kingdom. He employs here hundreds of workpeople. He has equipped 600 ships with wireless telegraphy. He has built the stations all round our coasts. His inventive power has resulted in the saving of the lives of hundreds of people. I think it right to tell the House that Mr. Marconi has felt most deeply the way in which his name, his honoured name, has been made into a bye-word, a political catch word, almost a term of abuse—[HON. MEMBERS: "No," and "Whose fault?"]

*Mr. W. REDMOND* Your fault!

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* So much so that he was most reluctant to enter into any personal obligation in the new contract, and it was only at my repeated personal request, that he consented again to sign the contract and to enter into a personal engagement on his own behalf. We get the advantage under this contract of his help and inventive powers. I wish to inform the House that he is now experimenting on a new machine to which he attaches the greatest importance, and which will mean a very considerable economy in work. This machine cannot be substituted for the present machine, but it can be used for electrical disturbances. I will not go into the detailed points of the contract. Many matters are left, not for the decision of the Courts, but for the Postmaster-General, who must be satisfied that the specifications are fully carried out and that the execution of the work should be satisfactory and so forth. The payment for all this is to be £60,000 per station, plus the amount of the ascertained increase on the price of material since the previous contract was entered into, as determined by the engineering chief of the Post Office; not by arbitration. My hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn said if the Government were to erect the stations themselves the initial cost would be higher, and my hon. Friend the Member for Launceston says in regard to this sum that it is a very fair price. The price may be varied and the specification may be varied. We may have to use internal combustion engines, and the price would be raised proportionately, but we should have the advantage of considerable economy in working. The interest on the capital expenditure is only to be paid at the rate of 2 percent. The royalties will be on the gross receipts from public telegrams—Government telegrams will go free. It is on gross receipts, because we are very anxious that the company should have no voice whatever in the management of the stations, and if it were to be only on profits the company could not be excluded from determining how the stations were to be run and what rates were to be charged to the public, otherwise no profits might be reached. A private firm is always working for profit and the Government may not be working for profit, but to reduce rates. We cannot accept payment per patent because we include all future patents as well as present. Further, it might be very uneconomical to do so if it was found that the receipts from the public are small. The amount of royalty cannot be settled because we do not yet know what rates will be charged and also we do not know how much traffic will be obtained. It is not anticipated it will reach anything like the colossal sum suggested by hon. Members opposite. In previous Debates it was suggested by the hon. Member for Central Finsbury that it would amount to £80,000 a year. That would involve a revenue of £800,000 a year. I only hope we shall be able to obtain so much.

*Major ARCHER-SHEE* That is half the revenue of the cable companies operating over the same areas

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* I only hope we shall be able to get so much from our wireless chain. If so, we could pay the capital cost of all these stations in the first year, and afterwards we should be able to pay all these royalties, all our working expenses, and make a net profit of £500,000 a year.

*Major ARCHER-SHEE* That £80,000 is half the gross receipts, and not half the profits.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* That is what I said. We should make a profit of half a million a year, and I am sure the House would be very grateful to the Marconi Company. If we have gross receipts, a total of £80,000 a year, we should be able to pay all the royalties, all our working expenses, which will not be large, and we should have £500,000 out of this £800,000 as clear profit. We paint no such rosy picture. If we were to obtain the use of the royalty patents we should not get them free. An award has been made under the order of the Court by the Board of Trade with respect to the lodge patent, and the royalty to be paid by any person using the lodge patent is £10 per kilowatt at each station. That would mean £6,000 per station for that one patent alone. Of course, the suggestion that we should continue to pay the royalty for the use of a single unimportant patent is absurd. If it was found that in one portion of the stations we were free of Marconi patents, so far as essentials were concerned, but were using some useful though unimportant patent and paying a royalty for it, obviously we should not be so foolish as to sit down and say, "We will continue to pay you thousands of pounds a year for the use of this trivial thing." We should take it out and put in something not quite so good perhaps, but still useful, and say to the company, "If you will let us have this small but useful patent we will pay you a small royalty." It is absurd to think that the Government would continue to pay these large sums for unimportant patents.

*Mr. DENNISS* Do I understand you to say that the Marconi Company would commute the royalties for £250,000?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* No. They would have given us the use of their patents for all other purposes throughout the Empire, that is for strategic purposes, military stations, and so on, except ship and shore stations. My hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Sir Henry Norman) says that what he is chiefly anxious to secure is State-ownership and complete liberty on the part of the Government. That is what I also have worked to secure, and what I have succeeded in securing. In voting for this contract the House will be voting for State-ownership and complete liberty on the part of the Government to do absolutely what they like with these stations in the future, to use whatever patents they like, to turn out the Marconi Company at any moment, and to instal any other system in the whole or any part of the stations. I have no time to go into the question of other companies. That question was disposed of in the previous Debate, and also by the Parker Committee who reported that the Marconi Company was the only one which could be relied upon to do the work, and also by the opinions held by the engineering chief of the Post Office and the inspector of wireless telegraphy, all of whom were practically of opinion that we could not rely upon other systems at the present time. All these opinions, of course, may be wrong, all these experts may be mistaken, the Parker Committee may have been in error when they declared that the Marconi system was the only- one that could be relied upon. But, for my own part, I should prefer to accept the judgment of those authorities, rather than the ex parte statements of the solicitor to the Poulsen company or others who are special pleaders in this case.

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury has already pointed out the objections to the appointment of a special staff of State engineers, which was the only real alternative Open to us. It is not the case that we have placed ourselves solely in the hands of the Marconi Company. Had the company been unreasonable we should have faced the erection of these stations by State engineers with all the risks and all the expense, but we thought if there was a reasonable alternative open to us in the interests of the taxpayer and of the strategic considerations to which I have referred, that was preferable. Viewed, therefore, from a business point of view; this contract is clearly right. The advantages outweigh the disadvantages, and it is only a question for the House whether there is any other reason such as the Noble Lord has indicated why we should depart from the line which is most in the public interest. Questions about flotation of shares, the violent personal controversy that has raged round certain investments—are these reasons why the Post Office and the Government of India and of South Africa should reject the services of Mr. Marconi and his staff in dealing with this engineering problem? The Government as a Government, came to the conclusion that they are not. We should regard the matter in a spirit of detachment, apart from any of these extraneous circumstances, and make the best arrangement we can for the erection of these stations in the places where they are needed. I must leave out many of the points to which I should wish to reply if time allowed.

I must, however, say, in conclusion what the proposals of the Government are with regard to the future organisation of the wireless service. These stations, when built, will be under the entire control of the State. Stations will be built in the future, very probably, in other parts of the Empire, similarly under the control of the State. We have already in the hands of the State all the coast stations round our shores, and it is, in our view, essential that the State should fit itself to secure the proper management and the proper development, with full scientific knowledge, of the systems of wireless telegraphy. What the proper organisation should be has received and is receiving the most careful consideration. There is for these new functions to be a small Engineering Committee, consisting of Post Office engineers and possibly one or two from the Admiralty, and presided over by Mr. Duddell, who will watch the erection of these stations, order experiments to be made, and consider technical problems from week to week. The staff to work the stations will be entirely a Government staff from the beginning, and the Committee will secure that the staff shall be properly trained. There will be an Establishment Committee dealing with other matters under the secretary of the Post Office. The Parker Committee will be maintained as a Standing Committee, and Lord Parker has been kind enough to promise his continued co-operation. Dr. Glazebrook, the president of the National Physical Laboratory, and Mr. Duddell, and others will be added to them as occasion requires, and any large and difficult problems which arise as between the various existing systems or any other systems of the kind will be referred to them for their judgment; but it is also important that the State should have some organisation for scientific research into these problems, that we should keep in touch with foreign discoveries, a point to which my hon. Friend very properly attached so much importance, that we should be continually at work at the solution of the problems which this science presents, and that we should have some State system of testing the comparative values of private commercial companies. We need something more than exists now in the laboratory of the engineering chief at the Post Office, or in the "Vernon," the experimental ship of the Admiralty. I have been in consultation with my right hon. Friend the Lord Chancellor, with the Admiralty, and with the Director of the National Physical Laboratory, and a scheme is being evolved, but is not yet quite complete, for doing this work on an adequate scale. I hope to be able long before next Session to have this system in working order, so that there may be continual laboratory research and continual scientific investigations into the various problems of wireless telegraphy. By that means we shall have an efficient organisation under Government auspices which will in the future render the State independent of commercial companies, and will enable it to be equipped to develop on its own lines by the most effective and progressive methods the use of this marvellous invention which science has given for the service of mankind.

*Mr. BONARLAW* The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his very interesting and very able speech, referred to the way in which Mr. Marconi's name had been used in this controversy. I sympathise with all he said in regard to that, and I am not going to be tempted to ask—whose fault is it that it has been so used? We all know that party feeling has, in some extraordinary way, got mixed up with a purely trading company. I cannot recollect any previous instance of the same kind in our history. I think it is very undesirable. I can imagine no subject for which it is less suited. This is and ought to be a purely business question, decided purely on business grounds. Of course, I cannot claim—and I do not pretend that it is treated in that way, either on one side or the other, but it is really from that point of view that I shall try—and I hope I shall succeed—in examining this contract. The right hon. Gentleman has put it forward as a business proposition that this is obviously the best arrangement. I take a different view. Having considered it as carefully as I can, I think it is a bad arrangement for this country, and I think so for two main reasons: First, I hold that it is a needlessly bad bargain, and, secondly, my reason is—and at the moment I hold it is equally important—the whole industry is in such a transitory state, and will be so for a long time to come—it is rapidly changing from month to month—that it seems to me extremely undesirable, merely because we are not going to have an autumn Session, we should deprive ourselves of the advantage of knowing what will be known in a month or two—what can be done by other systems of wireless telegraphy.

The right hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary complimented the right hon. Gentleman on his bargaining capacity. Nobody really has a greater respect for the abilities of the right hon. Gentleman in many ways—as he has proved them—but the conclusion I have come to is this, that the faculty which he lacks is the power of making a decent bargain.



That is only a recent discovery. I should have held an exactly opposite opinion, but after studying, as well as I could, the way in which this Marconi business has been arranged, I think it is a good thing the right hon. Gentleman, who is a member of a business family, has followed a correct instinct and has sought some other method of distinguishing himself. I am certain he would not have done it in ordinary trading. Let us look at this bargain first, from a comparatively new point of view and see the way in which it has been dealt with. The Marconi Company cancelled their contract, and the right hon. Gentleman, although evidently he did not think they had a right to do so, accepted the cancellation. But then the company came to him and actually asked for more money than they had asked for under the old contract. That, to me, was extremely surprising, although not quite so surprising as that the right hon. Gentleman should have given it. On what ground did they ask? First, that there was a rise in the price of materials. That surprised me, for I thought I had noticed that prices were easier than a year ago. I made inquiries. I suppose the articles chiefly used are steel and copper. Copper to-day is £10 cheaper than twelve months ago. Steel, in England, owing to a combination, is nominally at the same price as a year ago, but on the Continent it is 20 per cent. cheaper. In this White Paper we are told that it is an undoubted fact that materials have risen. I should like to know what material has risen. It seems to me amazing that a statement of that kind should have been accepted without verification. It is not important, I admit, although I do not understand that the extra price is not to be paid unless on examination it is shown to be so. Why should the claim have been made? Why should it be said that prices have gone up if they have not gone up? That does not seem to be a reasonable way of dealing with the matter from the point of view of the Post Office.

Look at the other point, which is also comparatively unimportant. The Postmaster-General agreed to the company's request to pay them a larger sum of money by way of interest because money had gone up in value. I took the trouble to look that up also. It is true that at the beginning of August last year the Bank rate was 3 per cent. The contract was only signed in July, and nobody would have considered it unreasonable if its ratification had been delayed until the Debate had taken place in October. Will the House believe that when the Debate took place in October the Bank rate, which is a fair test of the value of money, was 5 per cent. and it is now 4½ per cent.? Yet the Postmaster-General gives the company 2 per cent. on account of the rise in the value of money. That does not seem to show very great bargaining capacity. I shall deal with the terms of the contract in general later on I would now ask the House to look at the other ground upon which I say we ought not to carry this contract through now—that is, the rapid change which is taking place in regard to the whole question of wireless telegraphy. That is pointed out by the Parker Committee, who point out that it is in a transitional stage. Something else is evident from the Papers which are laid before us. It is quite evident that the Marconi Company themselves are in a transitional stage.

We are told that it is not desired to bring in these other companies because they have not done anything on a commercial basis, and that all they are doing is of an experimental character. But the Marconi Company have not done anything like what they have undertaken to do under this contract on a commercial basis. You are taking them on faith, just as you would be taking the other companies on faith. Let me point this out to the Postmaster-General. I do not wish to pretend to have expert knowledge upon this subject which I have not got, but it so happens that of the first duties I had as an official was as Chairman of the Cable Landing Rights Committee, which had to examine the position of wireless telegraphy ten years ago, and I have taken a certain amount of interest in it ever since. Lord Parker's Committee pointed out that the future system is a system of continuous waves. That is not the system which is being commercially used by the Marconi Company. Therefore, they, too, are waiting on developments in order to enable them to fulfil the contract the terms of which are now before the House. There is something else worthy of consideration. Last year a specification was before us giving very definite details as to the erection of the stations. This year in most important respects, in regard to areas, in regard to the power which is to be employed, everything is left blank, and it is to be sufficient for what is necessary. The Marconi Company now say that they knew how they were going to carry it out best this year, learning probably by the experience of their rivals, they were experimenting—they do not know what they are going to do—so that they may adapt their system as circumstances show to be necessary.

I will point out another thing as a proof of good bargaining. The contract price is based on the specific power that is wanted. It may be reduced. If so, the stations will cost a great deal less and there is no arrangement that the less expenditure will benefit the State for the Marconi Company will get the same, even though it costs less to work the stations. The whole thing is in a transition state. I admit the urgency, but just consider the difference between what was actually offered to the Post Office by the Poulsen company and what the Government are paying the Marconi Company. I have seen no one connected with either system and I can only go by the documents which are presented to the House. The Poulsen company have offered to give precisely the service the Government ask and they offer to give guarantees which the Marconi Company have not given. They offer to do it for £40,000 a station, including all royalties for patents. They are working a station now in Ireland and the United States Government have a station of their own at work. In a few months it will be known whether or not that system can give the desired results. Suppose, when we come here next Session the Prime Minister finds that what this country wants can be given for £40,000 without any royalties, how will he feel when he finds he has committed us to £60,000 with a royalty the extent of which no one can foresee, and which is, I think, the worst feature of the bargain which the Government have made with the Marconi Company? I admit the urgency, but the thing is in a transitional state, and I would ask the House to remember that we cannot believe anything we are told by those interested in any of these companies. We accept it with the same hesitation that we did what was said about horse racing in a case before the Courts recently. I would not attach any value to anything told us by any of the companies. But we know something about the Poulsen. The right hon. Gentleman himself pointed out that it is being used now by the United States Government. The United States Government has a far more efficient technical staff dealing with radio-telegraphy than we have. They have examined all the systems, and it is stated, and, I believe it is true, that they have given the contract for the Panama station, which is to convey messages a 50 per cent. greater distance than we require, to the Poulsen company. That surely would make any reasonable man say that is something which is worth considering, and it is worth waiting a month or two at least to see whether or not it can do it before we pay a higher price to someone else.

It is not merely the United States. In the early stages of this discussion there was a Departmental Committee inquiring into it. The terms of reference were drawn up by Sir Alexander King. The question was asked, "Although the Poulsen Company have not done this, is there good reason to believe that they are capable of doing it?" The answer was "Yes, there is." And, after stating their strong objections to employing the Poulsen Company, the Technical Committee gave this Report:— "On the other hand, we are satisfied that the system is a sound one and that it is fully capable of being made to do this work." Is it not worth while waiting three months to save something like £120,000, apart from the royalties, on the chance that the Technical Committee is right, and that this system is capable of doing that work?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* That Report is eight months old.

*Mr. BONARLAW* Are they less efficient now? Some hon. Member—I forget who it was—said that this thing ought to be settled by the unanimous feeling of the House. I agree, and I will give the House the reasons why I consider that that would be the businesslike way of doing it. The contract has not been subjected to the examination of any competent body. It is purely the word of the Post Office which we have, and we can judge, I think, how competent that Department is to decide questions of this kind by the fact that the right hon. Gentleman always says that they are perfectly incompetent to undertake, under any circumstances, the erection of the stations. There has been no examination by any other body. Let me point out that the Technical Committee urged that a committee of experts should examine the contract. That was urged upon the Government, but the Postmaster-General did not think it worth while, and the thing was never done. Then the contract was referred last year to a Select Committee of this House to examine and to see whether it was a proper contract. They have never given any Report. The Marconi Company chose to cancel the contract, and by eau-ceiling it they prevented that Committee from giving judgment on the questions which were put to them by the House of Commons. If it was necessary to have the contract examined last year, is it less necessary to have it examined now? How can the House be satisfied after we have seen the changes in the contract which the Postmaster-General recommended last year with quite as much cocksureness as he has

recommended this contract to-day, and when we find it is altered in most material respects? Would any Government or any business company be willing to risk this enormous amount of money on the statement of the Post Office that this is the best method of carrying out the business?

I wish to deal with the contract on the worst side of it, and that is the royalty. The right hon. Gentleman has mentioned, much to my surprise, that another foreign country was pledged to a system of royalties on gross receipts, and when asked for information he explained that this other country had the business genius to make a bargain that they should have the right to commute the royalties for a certain sum. If the Post Office were able to commute the royalties in that way, I might not object so much. I say this contract as it stands means this, either there is going to be a complete failure or you are going to pay for these patents an amount out of all proportion to what they are worth. There is absolutely no check upon the amount we are going to pay to the Marconi Company. If this were done by any business firm, what would be the first, thing they would do? I am going to assume that the Marconi Company is the only company available. They would say, "The Marconi Company agree to do the work at a certain price, but we wish to see if there is any other method by which it can be done cheaper, and we will make a comparison between the two." The Post Office made no such comparison. It is quite easy to do it. The cost of erecting the stations could be got at by the chief engineer of the Post Office. He would know what it would cost if he made an estimate, and by contrasting that estimate with what you will have to pay to the Marconi Company, we would know—we do not know it now—what you are paying the Marconi Company for the use of the patents. I would be willing to pay the Marconi Company a great deal more than the cost of the stations for the sake of the experience which, I admit, they have got. But I should like to know how much more I am paying, and should like to be sure that that is the end of it, and that I am not going to continue indefinitely paying an unlimited sum. The right hon. Gentleman says that if he makes a proposal of the kind, the Marconi Company will not accept it. They will never accept it if, on every occasion, he says, as he did, to the Committee and to this House, that we have no alternative but to take what the Marconi Committee offers us. If I were making that bargain, when I made a speech here, I would say, "The Marconi Company have made such and such proposals, but we have the power to do what we like in reference to them. I am going closely into them, and after that I will consider whether we will accept the offer of the Marconi Company." Everything which he said implies that he is in the hands of the Marconi Company, and that he has got to do whatever they ask. Nothing is more absurd, and without unfairness to the Marconi Company, he could make tomorrow an estimate of the cost of these stations supplied by the Marconi Company. I think the probability is that there is a very big profit on the cost of these stations. Has the right hon. Gentleman got an estimate?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* Yes.

*Mr. BONAR LAW* Why is it not before the House?

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL* There was an estimate which was over £60,000, but I have just received also an estimate of Mr. Duddell, which is over £60,000.

*Mr. BONAR LAW* I should like very much to see the actual way in which it is made up. It is one of these things in which, when the schedule is given, it would be seen that a great bulk of the work is not a question of patents at all, and that it can be done by dozens of contractors, and I should like to see a price against each item of plant, and so on, so that we might know how much we were paying for the special articles of the Marconi patents. In spite of what the right hon. Gentleman said, I think that they are getting a profit on the erection of the stations, and probably a big one, but he says that they are not compelled to supply the material. Well, he is wrong there. They are bound to supply any patent article at a reasonable price to the Government, under the Patents Act, and it is perfectly easy to work out what it would cost by one method and what it would cost by the other. They have never done that. I ask the House to consider what the royalty means. That is what I really object to. It is what in my mind absolutely condemns the contract. I have never in all my business experience known any arrangement by which royalty is paid on gross receipts. There may be circumstances which justify it, but I cannot conceive them. It is an absolutely absurd method of

paying royalty. As far as I can see there is no possibility of this ever paying 10 per cent. upon the gross receipts, and therefore what the Government are doing is giving the Marconi Company all and more than all the profit that the stations may ever make. And it is far worse than that. Will the House believe that by this arrangement the State must for years lose money, and as the business improves no matter how much the State is losing the Marconi Company is making more in proportion to the loss of the State!

The right hon. Gentleman himself referred to the question of what reasonable sum would be necessary to run these six stations, considering what the working charges will be and what amount of revenue will be necessary before they pay. I asked an engineering friend of mine to give a rough estimate of what that would be, and he said that it could not be less than £200,000. The right hon. Gentleman rather confirms that, for he talks of gross receipts of £800,000, and a profit of £500,000, so that his estimate of working expenses is something like £300,000. It is necessary to have a surplus of £200,000 before the stations pay their way, for the royalty to the Marconi Company is £200,000 a year, and spread over twenty-eight years, if it lasts as long, we are paying them £500,000 sterling for the use of these patents, and while that is going on the State is losing all the time by carrying out these arrangements. Such an arrangement seems to me one that no business man could justify, and the least that ought to be insisted on by this House is that there should be some arrangement by which the royalty can be commuted, that you can make sure of the amount you are actually paying, and that you are not paying in the dark on losses. This subject is changing so rapidly that more and more competent examination is necessary before we make an arrangement of this character. The very success of other systems, which are willing to do the work for much less than half the amount, taking the royalty into consideration, must justify delay and suspicion as to whether the Government are right. Finally, I do say that whilst admitting urgency, when you yourselves put in your contract that there was only to be a penalty of £155 per month for delay on each station, it means that if they are delayed for two or three years the amount will hardly be more than the extra amount which has been paid on account of interest to the Marconi Company; and when we realise that they attach so little value to expedition, that they do not make the penalty a real one, I do say that nothing could be more absurd than that. When your own advisers tell you that in a few months you will know whether or not other systems will do it more cheaply and do it properly, it is childish for the sake of a month or a few months, and because there is no Autumn Session, to rush this thing through instead of giving it reasonable consideration.

*The PRIME MINISTER (Mr. Asquith)* I confess that I look at this matter from a rather different point of view from that which has been taken by some preceding speakers. My interest in it arises from, and is largely governed by, those important strategic considerations which are constantly coming before me and those who are responsible for our national defence. It is two years now since the Committee on Imperial Defence, of which I am Chairman, considered a Report of one of their Sub-Committees, which inquired into this matter, and came to the conclusion that it was of the utmost urgency in the defence of the Empire that this chain of wireless stations should be erected and brought into use. Two years have elapsed and nothing has yet been done. Though the right hon. Gentleman speaks rather lightly of the delay of a month or a couple of months, I confess that I regard it as most disquieting, and although that is no justification for rushing improvidently into an unwise contract it does make it a matter of urgency for this House to consider whether or not we cannot at once put this work in hand. I do not think there is any difference of opinion about that. I would greatly have preferred myself, and so I believe would my colleagues, that the work from beginning to end should have been done by the Government without the intervention of any contracting companies of any sort. I would prefer it now, if I thought it was practicable. It is only because we are satisfied that if Departments of the Government were to undertake this task, it would involve the taxpayer in enormous additional expense and would also involve the Empire in prolonged delay and consequent risks, that we came to the conclusion if a reasonable contract could be obtained from a company, which was *primâ facie* capable of carrying it into effect, for the erection of those stations, that that was the course which, in the interests of the Empire, we were bound to pursue. It is for that reason that we submit this contract—for its urgency. In my opinion the only alternative would be for the Government to undertake the work themselves—I do not mean to hand it over to one or other of the other companies, and I am not now saying anything against these companies, the Poulsen, the Goldschmidt, or whatever they may be—I am not

saying anything against them. I am not criticising their merits or demerits. The only alternative to the acceptance of this contract is the undertaking of the work by the Government and Government Departments. That is, as I say, not because I have scepticism or disbelief in the capacity and competence of those who are in the Government service, but because, that would involve enormous expenditure and very prolonged delay. Take the case of the Admiralty. There is no Department which is more familiar with this subject than the Admiralty. They have carried out, I think, with the greatest success, and they are carrying out in the Navy in our ships, developments of the system of wireless telegraphy, and I am sure my right hon. Friend who sits here (Mr. Churchill) will confirm me when I say that the whole resources of the Admiralty are employed and are absorbed, and I would almost say more than absorbed, in that necessary way so that they cannot spare a man from the duties for which he is primarily responsible. I am sure my right hon. Friend will agree that one single man cannot be spared for any extraneous purposes, however important and desirable it may be. The same thing can be said of the War Office, though their responsibility in the matter is much lighter. Really unless you are to starve and cripple, so far as the Admiralty is concerned, the all-important work of equipping our Navy for its purpose, a work which is increasing day by day with every new class of ship produced, I cannot, as one who is responsible for the defences of the Empire, honestly say that I can recommend to the House to entrust this work to a Government Department. What you would gain, if you did gain anything, with regard to this particular contract and the erection of these six stations, you would lose, and more than lose, in your Navy, which is after all even more important.

With regard to the contract itself, I am not competent to go into many of the matters which the right hon. Gentleman has just touched. I confess until he said so I never doubted the bargaining powers of my right hon. Friend the Postmaster-General. I do not think any man is better equipped in that way for bargaining in this matter as a human bargaining instrument than my right hon. Friend, and I must say I think the right hon. Gentleman did less than justice to what my right hon. Friend actually achieved in this particular matter. I will only take one illustration. The right hon. Gentleman re-referred to the clause whereby it is now agreed there may be a readjustment of the price of £60,000 per station because the cost of material has risen since last year, and that price may be exceeded. Yes, of course, but it may be diminished. What possible harm is done? I am not a business man, though I have seen a great deal of business men and have had to advise them when they were in difficulties. Looking at it from that point of view, if a business man were to ask me for my advice I should say you cannot do better than put into the contract a clause which, while, if cost of materials may have gone up, you may have to pay, and, while the cost of materials may have gone down, you may have to pay less, the arbitrament is not to be left to arbitrators or to a Court of Law but to your own engineer and representative. A more businesslike arrangement, I think, could not be conceived. There is one other point to which I will refer. The right hon. Gentleman quoted from a Report more than a year old with regard to the capacity of some other companies to do this work, and he said, "Wait two or three months and see whether or not they can establish their capacity." Let me once more call attention to the last two pages of the White Paper in which you have the opinion, given as lately as the month of July of the present year, of Lord Parker, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee, and Mr. Duddell, the engineer, both of whom clearly say that if you are to go outside the Government Departments and invoke the intervention and aid of an outside company in the erection of these stations, the Marconi Company, and the Marconi Company alone, is in a position to do the requisite work in a satisfactory way. We are told, as the Noble Lord suggests in his Amendment, that in this matter the Government are relying on the Post Office alone. That is not the case, because all the other Departments were taken into council, and the whole matter has been subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny by the Treasury.

When we are told that the Government is relying entirely on its own resources and on its own judgment, you have there the confirmatory opinion of two absolutely independent and indisputably competent authorities that at this moment there is no other company which could possibly from a business point of view be safely entrusted with this contract. I finish by repeating that with which I began. In my judgment—and I speak with a full sense of responsibility—this is a work which ought not to be delayed for a month; it ought to be begun at the earliest possible moment. The

Government cannot undertake it by their own agents and under their own supervision—I wish they could. This is the only alternative. The hands of the Government remain perfectly free—at any rate,

*the bargaining power of my right hon. Friend has secured this result. In the development of this new art, which I quite admit as constantly shifting and changing, the hands of the Government remain perfectly free at any moment with regard to any of these stations to use any other improvements which science or art can produce. We are dealing here merely with a contract for the erection of the stations. The country will get the benefit of all the developments of electrical science in the future. Therefore, I venture to commend the acceptance of this contract to the judgment of the House.*

*Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."*

*The House divided: Ayes, 221; Noes, 140.*

Division No. 266.]	AYES.	[5.10 p.m.
Abraham, William (Dublin, Harbour)	Doris, William	Leach, Charles
Acland, Francis Dyke	Duffy, William J.	Levy, Sir Maurice
Addison, Dr. Christopher	Duncan, C. (Barrow-in Furness)	Lewis, Rt. Hon. John Herbert
Agar-Rabartes, Hon. T. C. R.	Edwards, Clement (Glamorgan, E.)	Lundon, Thomas
Alden, Percy	Esmonde, Dr. John (Tipperary, N.)	Lynch, A. A.
Allen, Rt. Hon Charles P. (Stroud)	Esmonde, Sir Thomas (Wexford, N.)	Macdonald, J. Ramsay (Leicester)
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry	Essex, Sir Richard Walter	McGhee, Richard
Atherley-Jones,lewellyn A.	Falconer, James	Maclean, Donald
Baker, Joseph Allen (Finsbury, E.)	Ferens, Rt. Hon. Thomas Robinson	Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J.
Balfour, Sir Robert (Lanark)	Ffrench, Peter	MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)
Barnes, George N.	Field, William	Macpherson, James Ian
Barran, Sir John N. (Hawick Burghs)	Fitzgibbon, John	MacVeagh, Jeremiah
Beale, Sir William Phipson	Flavin, Michael Joseph	M'Callum, Sir John M.
Beauchamp, Sir Edward	George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd	M'Curdy, C. A.
Beck, Arthur Cecil	Gill, A. H.	McKenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Berm, W. W. (T, Hamlets, St. George)	Gladstone, W. G. C.	M'Laren, Hon. F.W.S, (Lines, Spalding)
Bethell, Sir John Henry	Goldstone, Frank	Manfield, Harry
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine	Greig, Colonel J. W.	Marshall, Arthur Harold
Boland, John Pius	Griffith, Ellis Jones	Masternnan, Rt. Hon. C. F. G.
Booth, Frederick Handel	Guest, Hon. Frederick E. (Dorset, E.)	Meagher, Michael
Bowerman, Charles W.	Gwynn, Stephen Lucius (Galway)	Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
Boyle, Daniel (Mayo, North)	Hackett, John	Meehan, Patrick J. (Queen's Co., Leix)
Brady, Patrick Joseph	Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis (Rossendale)	Molloy, Michael
Brocklehurst, William B.	Hardie, J. Keir	Money L.G. Chiozza
Burke, E. Haviland-	Harmsworth, Cecil (Luton, Beds)	Montagu, Hon. E. S.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John	Hayden, John Patrick	Mooney, John J.
Buxton, Noel (Norfolk, North)	Hazleton, Richard	Morgan, George Hay
Byles, Sir William Pollard	Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)	Morrell, Philip
Carr-Gomm, H. W.	Henry, Sir Charles	Morison, Hector
Cawley, Sir Frederick (Prestwich)	Higham, John Sharp	Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Chancellor, Henry George	Hinds, John	Muldoon, John
Chapple, Dr. William Allen	Hodge, John	Munro, Robert
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.	Hogg, David C.	Munro-Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R.C.
Clancy, John Joseph	Hogge, James Myles	Murphy, Martin J.
Clough, William	Holmes, Daniel Turner	Murphy, Martin J. Murray, Captain Hon. Arthur C.
Condon, Thomas Joseph	Howard, Hon. Geoffrey	Neilson, Francis

Cory, Sir Clifford John	Hudson, Walter	Nolan, Joseph
Cotton, William Francis	Hughes, Spencer Leigh	Norton, Captain Cecil W.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)	Jones, Rt.Hon.Sir D.Brynmor (Swansea)	Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Crumley, Patrick	Jones, J. Towyn (Carmarthen, East)	O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
Cullinan, John	Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)	O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.)	Joyce, Michael	O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)	Keating, Matthew	O'Doherty, Philip
Davies, Timothy (Lincs., Louth)	Kellaway, Frederick George	O'Donnell, Thomas
Davies, Sir W. Howell (Bristol, S.)	Kelly, Edward	O'Dowd, John
De Forest, Baron	Kennedy, Vincent Paul	O'Grady, James
Delany, William	Kilbride, Denis	O'Kelly, Edward P. (Wicklow, W.)
Denman, Hon. R. D.	King, Joseph	O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
Devlin, Joseph	Lambert, Richard (Wilts, Cricklade)	O'Malley, William
Dickinson, W. H.	Lardner, James C.R.	O'Neill, Dr. Charles (Armagh, S.)
Dillon, John	Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, West)	O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Donelan, Captain A.	Lawson, Sir W. (Cumb'rld, Cockerm'th)	O'Shee, James John
O'Sullivan, Timothy	Roberts, George H. (Norwich)	Thorne, G. R. (Wolverhampton)
Outhwaite, R. L.	Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradford)	Thorne, William (West Ham)
Palmer, Godfrey Mark	Robertson, John M. (Tyneside)	Toulmin, Sir George
Parker, James (Halifax)	Roche, Augustine (Louth)	Ure, Rt. Hon. Alexander
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)	Roe, Sir Thomas	Walters, Sir John Tudor
Pearson, Hon. Weetman H. M.	Rowlands, James	Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
Pease, Rt. Hon. Joseph A. (Rotherham)	Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L. (Cleveland)	Wardle, George J.
Phillips, John (Longford, S.)	Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)	Waring, Walter
Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.	Samuel, Sir Stuart M. (Whitechapel)	Warner, Sir Thomas Courtenay
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)	Scanlan, Thomas	Webb, H.
Primrose, Hon. Neil James	Scott, A. MacCallum (Glas., Bridgeton)	White, J. Dundas (Glasgow, Tradeston)
Pringle, William M. R.	Seely, Rt. Hon. Colonel J. E. B.	White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Radford, G. H.	Sheehy, David	Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarthen)
Rattan, Peter Wilson	Shortt, Edward	Williamson, Sir Archibald
Rea, Rt Hen. Russell (South Shields)	Simon, Rt. Hon. Sir John Allsebrook	Wilson, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Worcs., N.)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarborough)	Smith, Albert (Lancs., Clitheroe)	Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Reddy, Michael	Smyth, Thomas F. (Leltrim, S.)	Wood, Rt Hon. T. McKinnon (Glasgow)
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)	Snowden, Philip	Young, William (Perthshire, East)
Redmond, William (Clare, E.)	Strauss, Edward A. (Southwark, West)	Yoxall, Sir James Henry
Redmond, William Archer (Tyrone, E.)	Sutton, John E.	
Richardson, Albion (Peckham)	Taylor, Thomas (Bolton)	TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Illingworth and Mr. Gulland.
Richardson, Thomas (Whitehaven)	Tennant, Harold John	
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)	Thomas, J. H.	
NOES.		
Anson, Rt. Hon. Sir William R.	Falle, Bertram Godfray	M'Neill, Ronald (Kent, St. Augustine's)
Archer-Shee, Major M.	Fell, Arthur	Malcolm, Ian
Astor, Waldorf	Fisher, Rt. Hon. W. Hayes	Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Baird, John Lawrence	Fitzroy, Hon. Edward A.	Mills, Hon. Charles Thomas
Baker, Sir Randall L. (Dorset, N.)	Fleming, Valentine	Neville, Reginald J. N.
Baldwin, Stanley	Fletcher, John Samuel	Newdegate, F. A.
Banbury, Sir rederick George	Forster, Henry William	Newman, John R. P.
Barlow, Montague (Salford, South)	Foster, Philip Staveley	Nicholson, William G. (Petersfield)
Barnston, H.	Gardner, Ernest	Nield, Herbert
Bathurst, Hon. A. B. (Glouc., E.)	Gastrell, Major W. Houghton	Perkins, Walter Frank
Bathurst, C. (Wilts, Wilton)	Gibbs, G. A.	Pollock, Ernest Murray
Beach, Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks	Gilmour, Captain John	Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel

Beckett, Hon. Gervase	Goldsmith, Frank	Rawson, Colonel R. H.
Benn, Arthur Shirley (Plymouth)	Gordon, Hon. John Edward (Brighton)	Remnant, James Farquharson
Benn, Ion Hamilton (Greenwich)	Grant, J. A.	Rolleston, Sir John
Bennett-Goldney, Francis	Gretton, John	Ronaldsnay, Earl of
Blair, Reginald	Guinness, Hon. Rupert (Essex, S.E.)	Royds, Edmund
Boles Lieut.-Colonel Dennis Fortescue	Guinness, Hon. W. E. (Bury S. Edmunds)	Salter, Arthur Clavell
Boyle, William (Norfolk, Mid)	Haddock, George Bahr	Samuel, Samuel (Wandsworth)
Boyton, James	Hall, Frederick (Dulwich)	Sanders, Robert Arthur
Brassey, H. Leonard Campbell	Harris, Henry Percy	Stanley, Hon. G. F. (Preston)
Bridgeman, William Clive	Helmsley, Viscount	Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk)
Bull, Sir William James	Henderson, Major H. (Berks, Abingdon)	Starkey, John R.
Burdett-Coutts, W.	Henderson, Sir A. St. Geo., Han. Sq.)	Stewart, Gershom
Burn, Colonel C. R.	Hewins, William Albert Samuel	Swift, Rigby
Campbell, Captain Duncan F. (Ayr, N.)	Hills, John Waller	Sykes, Alan John (Ches., Knutsford)
Cassel, Felix	Hoare, Samuel John Gurney	Terrell, George (Wilts, N.W.)
Castlereagh, Viscount	Mohler, G. F.	Terrell, Henry (Gloucester)
Cator, John	Hope, Major J. A. (Midlothian)	Thompson, Robert (Belfast, N.)
Cautley, H. S.	Hunt, Rowland	Thynne, Lord Alexander
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)	Hunter, Sir C. R.	Tobin, Alfred Asplnall
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Oxford University)	Ingleby, Holcombe	Tryon, Captain George Clement
Cecil, Lord R. (Herts, Hitchin)	Jessel, Captain H. M.	Valentia, Viscount
Chaloner, Colonel R. G. W.	Kerr-Smiley, Peter Kerr	Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Clay, Captain H. H. Spender	Kerry, Earl of	Ward, A. S. (Herts, Watford)
Clive, Captain Percy Archer	Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Clement	Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Coates, Major Sir Edward Feetham	Kyffin-Taylor, G.	Wheler, Granville C. H.
Cooper, Richard Ashmole	Larmor, Sir J.	White, Major G. D. (Lancs., Southport)
Craik, Sir Henry	Law, Rt. Hon. A. Bonar (Bootle)	Wills, Sir Gilbert
Dalziel, Davison (Brixton)	Lee, Arthur Hamilton	Welmer, Viscount
Denison-Pender, J. C.	Lewisham, Viscount	Wood, Hon. E. F. L. (Ripon)
Denniss, E. R. B.	Lloyd, George Ambrose (Stafford, W.)	Worthington-Evans, L.
Dickson, Rt. Hon. C. Scott	Lloyd, George Butler (Shrewsbury)	Yate, Colonel Charles Edward
Du Cros, Arthur Philip	Locker-Lampson, G. (Salisbury)	Younger, Sir George
Duke, Henry Edward	Lonsdale, Sir John Brownlee	
Duncannon, Viscount	Lowe, Sir F. W. (Birm., Edgbaston)	TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Lord Edmund Talbot and Mr. Pike Pease.
Eyres-Monsell, Bolton M.	MacCaw, Wm. J. MacGeagh	
Faber, George Denison (Clapham)	Mackinder, Hallord J.	

Main Question put. The House divided; Ayes, 210; Noes, 138.

Division No. 267.]

AYES

[5.20 p.m.

Abraham, William (Dublin, Harbour)	Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.	Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Acland, Francis Dyke	Alden, Percy	Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn A.
Addison, Dr. Christopher	Allen, Rt. Hon. Charles P. (Stroud)	Baker, Joseph Allen (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Sir Robert (Lanark)	Henry, Sir Charles	O'Grady, James
Barnes, George N.	Higham, John Sharp	O'Kelly, Edward P. (Wicklow, W.)
Barran, Sir John N. (Hawick)	Hinds, John	O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
Beale, Sir William Phipson	Hodge, John	O'Malley, William
Beauchamp, Sir Edward	Hogg, David C.	O'Neill, Dr. Charles (Armagh, S.)
Beck, Arthur Cecil	Hogge, James Myles	O'Shaughnessy, P. J.



Benn, W. W. (T. Hamlets, St. George)	Holmes, Daniel Turner	O'Shee, James John
Bethell, Sir John Henry	Howard, Hon. Geoffrey	O'Sullivan, Timothy
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine	Hudson, Walter	Outhwaite, R. L.
Boland, John Pius	Hughes, Spencer Leigh	Palmer, Godfrey Mark
Booth, Frederick Handel	Jones, Rt.Hon. Sir D.Brynmor (Swansea)	Parker, James (Halifax)
Bowernnan, Charles W.	Jones, J. Towyn (Carmarthen, East)	Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Boyle, Daniel (Mayo, North)	Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)	Pearson, Hon. Weetman H. M.
Brady, Patrick Joseph	Joyce, Michael	Pease, Rt. Hon. Joseph A. (Rotherham)
Brocklehurst, William B.	Keating, Matthew	Phillips, John (Longford, S.)
Burke, E. Haviland-	Kellaway, Frederick George	Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John	Kelly, Edward	Pringle, William M. R.
Buxton, Noel (Norfolk, North)	Kennedy, Vincent Paul	Radford, G, H
Byles, Sir William Pollard	Kilbride, Denis	Rattan, Peter Wilson
Carr-Gomm, H. W.	King, J.	Rea, Rt. Hen. Russell (South Shields)
Cawley. Sir Frederick (Prestwich)	Lambert, Richard (Wilts, Cricklade)	Rea, Walter Russell (Scarborough)
Chancellor, Henry George	Lardner, James C. R.	Reddy, Michael
Clancy, John Joseph	Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, West)	Redmond, John E (Waterford)
Clough, William	Lawson, Sir W. (Cumb'rld, Cockerm'th)	Redmond, William (Clare, E.)
Condon, Thomas Joseph	Leach, Charles	Redmond, William Archer (Tyrone, E.)
Cory, Sir Clifford John	Levy, Sir Maurice	Richardson, Albion (Peckham)
Cotton. William Francis	Lundon, Thomas	Richardson, Thomas (Whitehaven)
Craig. Herbert J. (Tynemouth)	Lynch, A. A.	Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Crumley, Patrick	Macdonald, J. Ramsay (Leicester)	Roberts, George H. (Norwich)
Cullinan, John	McGhee, Richard	Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradford)
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.)	Maclean, Donald	Robertson, John M. (Tyneside)
Devies, Ellis William (Eition)	Macnamara, Rt. Hon. Dr. T. J.	Roche, Augustine (Louth)
Davies. Timothy (Lincs., Louth)	MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)	Roe, Sir Thomas
Davies, Sir W. Howell (Bristol, S.)	Macpherson, James Ian	Rowlands, James
De Forest. Baron	MacVeagh, Jeremiah	Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. L, (Cleveland)
Delany, William	M'Callum, Sir John M.	Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
Denman, Hon. Richard Douglas	M'Curdy, C. A.	Samuel, Sir Stuart M. (Whitechapel)
Devlin, Joseph	McKenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald	Scanlan, Thomas

Dickinson, W. H.	M'Laren, Hon. F.W.S (Lincs,Spaidding)	Scott, A. MacCallum (Glas., Bridgeton)
Dillon, John	Manfield, Harry	Seely, Rt. Hon.Colonel J. E. B.
Donelan, Captain A.	Marshall, Arthur Harold	Sheehy, David
Doris, William	Masterman, Rt. Hon. C. F. G.	Shertt, Edward
Duffy, William J.	Meagher, Michael	Simon, Rt Hon. Sir John Allsebrook
Duncan. C. (Barrow-in-Furness)	Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)	Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Edwards, Clement (Glamorgan, E.)	Meehan, Patrick J (Queen's Co., Leix)	Snowden, Philip
Esmonde, Dr. John (Tipperary, N.)	Molloy, Michael	Strauss, Edward A. (Southwark, West)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas (Wexford, N.)	Money, L. G. Chiozza	Taylor, Thomas (Bolton)
Essex, Sir Richard Walter	Montagu, Hon. E. S.	Tennant, Harold John
Falconer, James	Mooney, John J.	Thomas, J. H.
Ferens. Rt. Hon. Thomas Robinson	Morgan, George Hay	Thorne. G. R. (Wolverhampton)
Ffrench. Peter	Morrell, Philip	Thorne, William (West Ham)
Field, William	Morison, Hector	Toulmin, Sir George
Fitzgibbon, John	Morton, Alpheus Cleophas	Ure. Rt. Hon. Alexander
Flavin. Michael Joseph	Muldoon, John	Walters, Sir John Tudor
George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd	Munro, Robert	Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
Gladstone, W. G. C.	Munro-Ferguson, Rt. Hon. R. C.	Wardle, George J.
Goldstone, Frank	Murphy, Martin J.	Warner, Sir Thomas Courtenay
Greig, Colonel J. W.	Murray, Captain Hon. Arthur C.	Webb, H.
Griffith, Ellis Jones	Neilson, Francis	White, J. Dundas (Glasgow, Tradeston)
Guest, Hon. Frederick E. (Dorset, E.)	Nolan, Joseph	White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius (Galway)	Norton, Captain Cecil W.	Williamson, Sir Archibald
Hackett, John	Nugent, Sir Walter Richard	Wilson, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Worcs., N.)
Harcourt, Rt Hon. Lewis (Rossendale)	O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)	Wood, Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon (Glasgow)
Hardie, J. Keir	O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)	Young, William (Perthshire, East)
Harmsworth, Cecil (Luton, Beds)	O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)	Yexall, Sir James Henry
Hayden. John Patrick	O'Daherty, Philip	
Hazleton, Richard	O'Donnell, Thomas	TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Illingworth and Mr. Gulland.
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)	O'Dowd, John	

## NOES.

Anson, Rt. Hon. Sir William R.	Benn, Arthur Shirley (Plymouth)	Cassel, Felix
Archer-Shee, Major M.	Benn, Ion Hamilton (Greenwich)	Castlereagh, Viscount
Astor, Waldorf	Bennett-Goldney, Francis	Cator, John
Baird, J. L.	Blair, Reginald	Cautley, H. S.
Baker, Sir Randolph L. (Dorset, N.)	Boles, Lieut.-Colonel Dennis Fortescue	Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Baldwin, Stanley	Boyle, William (Norfolk, Mid)	Cecil, Lord Hugh (Oxford University)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George	Boyton, James	Cecil, Lord R. (Herts, Hitchin)
Barlow, Montague (Salford, South)	Bridgeman, William Clive	Chaloner, Col. R. G. W.
Bathurst, Hon. A. B. (Glouc., E.)	Bull, Sir William James	Chapple, Dr. William Allen
Bathurst, Charles (Wilts, Wilton)	Burdett-Coutts, W.	Clay, Captain H. H. Spender
Beach, Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks	Burn, Colonel C. R.	Clive, Captain Percy Archer
Beckett, Hon. Gervase	Campbell, Captain Duncan F. (Ayr, N.)	Coates, Major Sir Edward Feetham
Cooper, Richard Ashmole	Hills, John Waller	Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Craik, Sir Henry	Hoare, S. J. G.	Rawson, Colonel R. H.
Dalziel, Davison (Brixton)	Hohler, G. F.	Remnant. James Farquharson
Denison-Pender, J. C.	Hope, Major J. A. (Midlothian)	Rolleston, Sir John
Denniss, E. R. B.	Hunt, Rowland	Ronaldshay, Earl of
Dickson, Rt. Hon. C. Scott	Hunter, Sir Charles Rodk.	Royds, Edmund
Du Cres, Arthur Philip	Ingleby, Holcombe	Salter, Arthur Clevell
Duke, Henry Edward	Jessel, Captain H. M.	Samuel, Samuel (Wandsworth)
Duncannon, Viscount	Kerr-Smiley, Peter Kerr	Sanders, Robert Arthur
Eyres Monsell, Bolton M.	Kerry, Earl of	Stanley, Hon, Arthur (Ormskirk)
Eyres-Monsell, Bolton (Clapham)	Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Clement	Stanley, Hon. G. F. (Preston)
Falle, Bertram Godfrey	Kyffin-Taylor, G.	Starkey, John R.
Fell, Arthur	Larmor, Sir J,	Swift, Rigby
Fisher; Rt. Hon. W. Hayes	Law, Rt. Hon. A. Boner (Bootle)	Sykes, Alan John (Ches., Knutsford)
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward A.	Lee, Arthur Hamilton	Terrell, G. (Wilts, N.W.)
Fletcher, John Samuel	Lewisham, Viscount	Terrell, H. (Gloucester)
Forster, Henry William	Lloyd, George Butler (Shrewsbury)	Thompson, Robert (Belfast, North)
Foster, Philip Staveley	Locker Lampson, G. (Salisbury)	Thynne, Lord Alexander
Gardner, Ernest	Lonsdale, Sir John Brownlee	Tobin, Alfred Asplnall
Gastrell, Major W. Houghton	Lowe, Sir W. (Birm., Edgbaston)	Tryon, Captain George Clement
Gibbs, G. A.	MacCaw, William J. MacGeagh	Valentia, Viscount

Gilmour, Captain John	Mackinder, Halford J.	Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Goldsmith, Frank	M'Neill, Ronald (Kent, St. Augustine's)	Ward, A. S. (Herts, Watford)
Gordon, Hon. J. E. (Brighton)	Malcolm, Ian	Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Grant, James Augustus	Marks, Sir George Croydon	Wheler, Granville C. H.
Gretton, John	Mildmay, Francis Bingham	White, Major G. D. (Lanes, Southport)
Guinness, Hon. Rupert (Essex, S.E.)	Mills, Hon. Charles Thomas	Wills, Sir Gilbert
Guinness, Hon. W.E. (Bury S.Edmunds)	Neville, Reginald J. N.	Wolmer, Viscount
Haddock, George Bahr	Newdegate, F. A.	Wood, Hon. E. F. L. (Ripon)
Hall, Frederick (Dulwich)	Newman, John R. P.	Worthington-Evans, L.
Harris, Henry Percy	Nicholson, William G. (Petersfield)	Yate, Colonel Charles Edward
Helmsley, Viscount	Nield, Herbert	Younger, Sir George
Henderson, Major H. (Berks, Abingdon)	Norman, Sir Henry	
Henderson, Sir A. (St. Geo., Han. Sq.)	Perkins, Walter Frank	TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Lord Edmund Talbot and Mr. Pike Pease.
Hewins, William Albert Samuel	Pollock, Ernest Murray	

*Resolved, That the Agreement between Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, Commendatore Guglielmo Marconi, and the Postmaster-General, with regard to the establishment of a chain of Imperial Wireless Stations (Parliamentary Paper, No. 217, of Session 1913) be approved.*

\*.xlsx file attached in this PDF

TOPICS/INTERESTS IN THE RHODES WILL

Cecil John Rhodes. (Mar. 12, 1902). The Will and Codicils of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes, inc. Rhodes Estate Act 1916, Rhodes Trust Act 1929. Rhodes Trust.

No.	Name mentioned in Rhodes Will	Status	Activity
1	<a href="#">Lewis Lloyd Michell Bouchier</a>	Agent	Mining real estate, S. Africa
2	<a href="#">Oriol College</a>	Beneficiary	Oxford University
3	<a href="#">Oxford University</a>	Beneficiary	
4	<a href="#">St. Andrews Schools</a>	Beneficiary	Beneficiary, scholarships
5	<a href="#">Stellenbosch Rondebosch College</a>	Beneficiary	Beneficiary, scholarships
6	<a href="#">Thomas Stead Lewis</a>	Beneficiary	Artist
7	<a href="#">Arthur Montague Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
8	<a href="#">Basil Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
9	<a href="#">Bernard Maitland Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
10	<a href="#">Elmhirst Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
11	<a href="#">Ernest Frederick Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
12	<a href="#">Francis William (Frank) Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
13	<a href="#">Frederick Rhodes</a>	Brother	Brother
14	<a href="#">Herbert Rhodes</a>	Brother	Cotton farming, South Africa
15	<a href="#">Capital Reserve Fund</a>	Holding	
16	<a href="#">De Beers Mining Company ("Diamond Mines")</a>	Holding	Diamond mining
17	<a href="#">Matoppos and Bulawayo Fund</a>	Holding	
18	<a href="#">The Inyanga Fund</a>	Holding	
19	<a href="#">Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr</a>	Monument	Jan Smuts finance minister
20	<a href="#">Simon Joseph Fraser Lovat</a>	Partner	Forestry Commission; Dominion Affairs
21	<a href="#">Stanley Baldwin</a>	Partner	Prime Minister
22	<a href="#">British South Africa Company</a>	Property	Mining, Co. No. ZC000011
23	<a href="#">Dalham Hall Estate</a>	Property	Owned now by Ruler of Dubai and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates
24	<a href="#">De Groote Schuur</a>	Property	Dutch East India Co. S. Africa estate; Prime Minister estate
25	<a href="#">Mosterts</a>	Property	Windmill
26	<a href="#">Rhodes Fruit Farms (RFF)</a>	Property	De Beers subsidiary
27	<a href="#">Robert Affleck Baronet</a>	earl	Prior owner of The Dalham Hall Estate
28	<a href="#">John Tweed</a>	Sculptor	Sculptor
29	<a href="#">Edith Caroline Rhodes</a>	Sister	Sister
30	<a href="#">Elizabeth Rhodes</a>	Sister	Sister
31	<a href="#">Louisa Sophia Margaret Rhodes</a>	Sister	Sister
32	<a href="#">Cecil John Rhodes 1853 - 1902</a>	<b>Testator</b>	
33	<a href="#">Albert Henry George Grey</a>	Trustee	Governor General of Canada
34	<a href="#">Alfred Beit William</a>	Trustee	South African gold mining
35	<a href="#">Alfred Lord Milner</a>	Trustee	Imperial War Cabinet, Prime Minister
36	<a href="#">Archibald Philip Earl of Rosebery</a>	Trustee	Prime Minister
37	<a href="#">Bouchier Francis Hawksley</a>	Trustee	Lawyer (City of London)

\*.xlsx file attached in this PDF

TOPICS/INTERESTS IN THE RHODES WILL

Cecil John Rhodes. (Mar. 12, 1902). The Will and Codicils of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes, inc. Rhodes Estate Act 1916, Rhodes Trust Act 1929. Rhodes Trust.

38	<a href="#">Douglas Hogg McGarel Baron Hailsham</a>	Trustee	Bonar Law Attorney General, Lord High Steward; Lord President of Privy Council
39	<a href="#">Edward Robert Peacock</a>	Trustee	Director, Bank of England
40	<a href="#">Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher</a>	Trustee	Privy Council; Board of Education president under Lloyd George; MP Sheffield Hallam
41	<a href="#">Leander Starr Jameson Baronet</a>	Trustee	Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1904-1908)
42	<a href="#">Leopold Charles Maurice Stennett Amery</a>	Trustee	First Lord of the Admiralty; Sec. of State for India
43	<a href="#">Otto Beit</a>	Trustee	Knight; British South Africa Company
44	ARTHUR SAWYER	Witness	South African gold mining
45	<a href="#">CHARLES T. METCALFE</a>	Witness	Governor-General of India, Jamaica, Canada
46	<a href="#">G. J. KRIEGER</a>	Witness	?
47	<a href="#">G. V. WEBB</a>	Witness	?
48	<a href="#">George Geoffrey Dawson</a>	Witness	Milner's Kindergarten; Milner assistant; Milner Round Table
49	<a href="#">H. GODDEN</a>	Witness	?
50	P. JOURDAN	Witness	Author
51	<a href="#">W. G. V. CARTER</a>	Witness	?

No.	Wellington_House_Propagandist_Lastname	Full_name	Firstnames	Titles
1	Abbot	Mr. Lyman Abbot	Lyman	Mr.
2	Addison, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison, M.P.	Christopher	Rt. Hon.
3	American Institute of Architects	The American Institute of Architects		The
4	American writers	American writers		
5	Anderson	Sir Kenneth Anderson	Kenneth	Sir
6	Archer	Mr. William Archer	William	Mr.
7	Ashwell	Miss Lena Ashwell	Lena	Miss
8	Balfour, M.P.	Rt. Hon. A.J. Balfour, M.P.	A.J.	Rt. Hon.
9	Bannard	Mr. Otto S. Bannard	Otto S.	Mr.
10	Barker	Mr. Ernest Barker	Ernest	Mr.
11	Beck	Attorney-General James M. Beck	James M.	Attorney-General
12	Beer	Mr. George Louis Beer	George Louis	Mr.
13	Belgian writers	Belgian writers		
14	Bennett	Mr. Arnold Bennett	Arnold	Mr.
15	Beresford	Lord Beresford		Lord
16	Bowles	Mr. Thomas Gibson Bowles	Thomas Gibson	Mr.
17	Bryce	Viscount Bryce		Viscount
18	Buchan	Mr. John Buchan	John	Mr.
19	Butler	President Nicholas Murray Butler	Nicholas Murray	President
20	Canfield	Mr. George F. Canfield	George F.	Mr.
21	Carnegie Endowment for Internation Peace	The Carnegie Endowment for Internation Peace		The
22	Carson, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Carson, M.P.	Edward	Rt. Hon. Sir
23	Carter	Hon. George R. Carter	George R.	Hon.
24	Cassell	Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Cassell	Ernest	Rt. Hon. Sir
25	Cecil	Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil	Robert	Rt. Hon. Lord
26	Chamberlain, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.	Austen	Rt. Hon.
27	Chesterton	Mr. G.K. Chesterton	G.K.	Mr.
28	Choate	Hon. Joseph Choate	Joseph	Hon.
29	Church	Professor Edward Church	Edward	Professor
30	Cook	Sir Edward T. Cook	Edward T.	Sir
31	Corbett	Mr. Julian Corbett	Julian	Mr.
32	Coudert	Mr. Frederic Coudert	Frederic	Mr.
33	Essex	The Countess of Essex	Countess of	The
34	Cram	Dr. Ralph Adams Cram	Ralph Adams	Dr.
35	Cravath	Mr. Paul Cravath	Paul	Mr.
36	Crense, R.N., C.B. (Board of Invention and Research)	Capt. Crense, R.N., C.B. (Board of Invention and Research)		Capt.
37	Cromer	Rt. Hon. Earl Cromer	Earl	Rt. Hon.
38	Crooks, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Will Crooks, M.P.	Will	Rt. Hon.
39	Curzon	Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon	Earl	Rt. Hon.
40	Dana	Mr. Paul Dana	Paul	Mr.
41	Davies	Mr. E.F. Davies	E.F.	Mr.

42	de Bunsen	Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen	Maurice	Rt. Hon. Sir
43	De Chair	Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley De Chair	Dudley	Rear-Admiral Sir
44	Derby	Lord Derby		Lord
45	Derby	Rt. Hon. Earl Derby	Earl	Rt. Hon.
46	Donald	Mr. Robert Donald	Robert	Mr.
47	Doudert	Mr. Frederic Doudert	Frederic	Mr.
48	Doyal	Sir Arthur Conan Doyal	Arthur Conan	Sir
49	Marlborough	The Duchess of Marlborough	Duchess of	The
50	Durant	Mr. Kenneth Durant	Kenneth	Mr.
51	Elliot	ex-President from Harvard Elliot	from Harvard	ex-President
52	Fairchild	Mr. Charles S. Fairchild	Charles S.	Mr.
53	Fisher	Mr. H.A.L. Fisher	H.A.L.	Mr.
54	Foster	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster	George Eulas	Rt. Hon. Sir
55	Frampton	Sir George Frampton	George	Sir
56	French writers	French writers		
57	Galsworthy	Mr. John Galsworthy	John	Mr.
58	Gardiner	Mr. A.G. Gardiner	A.G.	Mr.
59	George	Mr. Lloyd George	Lloyd	Mr.
60	George, M.P.	Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P.	David Lloyd	Rt. Hon.
61	Gladstone	Rt. Hon. Viscount Gladstone	Viscount	Rt. Hon.
62	Grant	Hon. Robert Grant	Robert	Hon.
63	Gregory	Mr. Dean Gregory	Dean	Mr.
64	Grey	Rt. Hon. Viscount Grey		Rt. Hon. Viscount
65	Griscon	Mr. Lloyd Griscon	Lloyd	Mr.
66	Haggard	Sir H. Rider Haggard	H. Rider	Sir
67	Haldane	Rt. Hon. Viscount Haldane		Rt. Hon. Viscount
68	Hale	Professor William G. Hale	William G.	Professor
69	Hardiage	Rt. Hon. Viscount Hardiage		Rt. Hon. Viscount
70	Hardy	Mr. Thomas Hardy	Thomas	Mr.
71	Hardy	Hon. Arthur S. Hardy	Arthur S.	Hon.
72	Harvey	Colonel George Harvey	George	Colonel
73	Hawkins	Mr. Anthony Hope Hawkins	Anthony Hope	Mr.
74	Herrick	Mr. Robert Herrick	Robert	Mr.
75	Hume-Williams, K.C., M.P.	Mr. W.E. Hume-Williams, K.C., M.P.	W.E.	Mr.
76	Hurd	Mr. Archibald Hurd	Archibald	Mr.
77	Islington	Rt. Hon. Lord Islington		Rt. Hon. Lord
78	James	Mr. Henry James	Henry	Mr.
79	Johnson	Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson	Robert Underwood	Mr.
80	Johnston (Lord Mayor)	Sir Charles Johnston (Lord Mayor)	Charles	Sir
81	Jordan of San Francisco	Dr. David Starr Jordan of San Francisco	David Starr	Dr.
82	Kenny	Miss Aunie Kenny	Aunie	Miss
83	Kipling	Mr. Rudyard Kipling	Rudyard	Mr.



84	Ladd	Professor George Trumbull Ladd	George Trumbull	Professor
85	Lascelles	Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Lascelles	Frank	Rt. Hon. Sir
86	Law, M.P.	Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P.	A. Bonar	Rt. Hon.
87	Long, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P.	Walter	Rt. Hon.
88	Lord Montagu of Beaulien	Lord Montagu of Lord Montagu of Beaulien	Montagu of	Lord
89	Lyttelton	General The Hon. Sir Neville G. Lyttelton	Neville G.	General The Hon. Sir
90	Masefield	Mr. John Masefield	John	Mr.
91	Massingham	Mr. H.W. Massingham	H.W.	Mr.
92	McKenna, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, M.P.	Reginald	Rt. Hon.
93	Mersey	Rt. Hon. Lord Mersey		Rt. Hon. Lord
94	Midleton	Rt. Hon. Viscount Midleton		Rt. Hon. Viscount
95	Milner	Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner		Rt. Hon. Viscount
96	Montague, M.P.	Rt. Hon. E.S. Montague, M.P.	E.S.	Rt. Hon.
97	Morgan	Professor J.H. Morgan	J.H.	Professor
98	Murray	Professor Gilbert Murray	Gilbert	Professor
99	Murray	Rt. Hon. Lord Murray		Rt. Hon. Lord
100	New York Tribune	The New York Tribune		The
101	Newton	Lord Newton		Lord
102	Noyes	Mr. Alfred Noyes	Alfred	Mr.
103	Osler	Sir William Osler	William	Sir
104	Parkhurst	Rev. Dr. Parkhurst		Rev. Dr.
105	Parkin	Dr. George R. Parkin	George R.	Dr.
106	Pearson	Sir Arthur Pearson	Arthur	Sir
107	Perley, M.P.	Hon. Sir George Perley, M.P.	George	Hon. Sir
108	Pinchot	Mr. Gifford Pinchot	Gifford	Mr.
109	Pollen	Mr. A.H. Pollen	A.H.	Mr.
110	Prince	Dr. Morton Prince	Morton	Dr.
111	Prothero	Mr. G.W. Prothero	G.W.	Mr.
112	Putname	Mr. George Haven Putname	George Haven	Mr.
113	Raemaekers	Mr. Donald M. Raemaekers	Donald M.	Mr.
114	Redmond, M.P.	Mr. John Redmond, M.P.	John	Mr.
115	Reid	Sir George Reid	George	Sir
116	Reid, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Sir George Reid, M.P.	George	Rt. Hon. Sir
117	Repplier	Miss Agnes Repplier	Agnes	Miss
118	Revelstoke	Rt. Hon. Lord Revelstoke		Rt. Hon. Lord
119	Richmond	Professor Charles Richmond	Charles	Professor
120	Robertson	Mr. J.M. Robertson	J.M.	Mr.
121	Rogan, M.V.O.	Capt. John Mackenzie Rogan, M.V.O.	John Mackenzie	Capt.
122	Roosevelt	Colonel Theodore Roosevelt	Theodore	Colonel
123	Rosebery	Lord Rosebery		Lord
124	Royal Society of Arts and Associates	The Royal Society of Arts and Associates		The
125	Royce	Professor Josiah Royce	Josiah	Professor

126	Runciman, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P.	Walter	Rt. Hon.
127	Samuel, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P.	Herbert	Rt. Hon.
128	Schuster	Sir Felix Schuster	Felix	Sir
129	Schuster	Sir Claud Schuster	Claud	Sir
130	Scott, K.C., M.P.	Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P.	Leslie	Mr.
131	Selfridge	Mr. Harry G. Selfridge	Harry G.	Mr.
132	Shannon	Mr. J.J. Shannon	J.J.	Mr.
133	Singh	Sirdar Daljit Singh	Daljit	Sirdar
134	Singh	Sir Pertab Singh	Pertab	Sir
135	Small	Professor Albion W. Small	Albion W.	Professor
136	Smith	Professor Monroe Smith	Monroe	Professor
137	Smith, M.P.	Rt. Hon. Sir F.E. Smith, M.P.	F.E.	Rt. Hon. Sir
138	Stanley, M.P.	Hon. Arthur Stanley, M.P.	Arthur	Hon.
139	Strachey	Mr. St. Loe Strachey	St. Loe	Mr.
140	Straight	Mr. Willard Straight	Willard	Mr.
141	Sydenham	Lord Sydenham		Lord
142	Symonds	Mr. F. Symonds	F.	Mr.
143	Taft	Senator William Howard Taft	William Howard	Senator
144	Thayer	Professor William Roscoe Thayer	William Roscoe	Professor
145	Archbishop of Canterbury	The Archbishop of Canterbury		The
146	Bishop of London	The Bishop of London		The
147	New Republic	The New Republic		The
148	Rt. Hon. The Lord Chancellor	The Rt. Hon. The Lord Chancellor		The
149	Trevelyan	Mr. G.M. Trevelyan	G.M.	Mr.
150	Trevelyan	Mr. George Trevelyan	George	Mr.
151	Urban	Mr. Charles Urban	Charles	Mr.
152	Wakefield (Lord Mayor)	Sir Charles Wakefield (Lord Mayor)	Charles	Sir
153	Ward	Mrs. Humphry Ward	Humphry	Mrs.
154	Warren	Mr. Charles Elliot Warren	Charles Elliot	Mr.
155	Waxweiler	Mr. Waxweiler		Mr.
156	Wellingborough	Lord Channing of Wellingborough	Channing of	Lord
157	Wells	Mr. H.G. Wells	H.G.	Mr.
158	Wendall	Professor Barrett Wendall	Barrett	Professor
159	Whigham	Mr. H.J. Whigham	H.J.	Mr.
160	White	Dr. William White	William	Dr.
161	Williams, K.C., M.P.	Mr. Hume Williams, K.C., M.P.	Hume	Mr.
162	Wise	Hon. Bernhard R. Wise	Bernhard R.	Hon.
163	Wood, M.P.	Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon Wood, M.P.	T. McKinnon	Rt. Hon.
164	Woodburn	Professor James Woodburn	James	Professor
165	Younghusband	Sir Francis Younghusband	Francis	Sir
166	Zangwill	Mr. Israel Zangwill	Israel	Mr.

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TO THE RT. HON.  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Third Report  
on the Work Conducted for the Government  
at Wellington House.**

**LIST OF STAFF.**

*Head of Department.*—Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman.  
*Private Secretary.*—G. P. Norris (Civil Servant).  
*Chief Executive Officer.*—E. A. Gowers (Civil Servant).  
*Assistant.*—O. S. Ashcroft (Barrister).  
*Clerk.*—Miss M. Hurrell (Civil Servant).  
*Adviser.*—Sir Claud Schuster (Clerk of the Crown).  
*American Propaganda.*—*Director.*—Rt. Hon. Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart., M.P. (Author and Publicist).  
*Chief Assistant.*—W. Macneile Dixon (Professor of English Language and Literature, Univ. of Glasgow).  
*Assistants.*—A. J. Toynbee (Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford); R. F. Roxburgh (Barrister, Whewell International Law Scholar).  
*Clerk.*—L. F. Stroud (Civil Servant).

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*Clerk.*—L. F. Stroud (Civil Servant).

- French Propaganda.**—E. R. D. MacLagan (Civil Servant).  
*Assistant in Paris.*—Miss Stedman.
- Dutch Propaganda.**—S. A. Guest (Civil Servant).
- Spanish and Portuguese Propaganda.**—P. A. Koppel (Civil Servant).
- Scandinavian Propaganda.**—Lieut. T. O. Willson (Assistant Secretary, Berkshire Education Committee); and William Archer (Author and Publicist).
- Swiss and Italian Propaganda.**—A. W. G. Randall (Journalist).
- Greek and Roumanian Propaganda.**—J. S. Willmore (H.M. Consul at Adana).
- Eastern and Moslem Propaganda.**—Director.—Lieut. E. E. Long (Journalist).  
*Assistant.*—A. Yockney (Journalist).
- Pictorial Propaganda.**—Director.—Ivor Nicholson (Journalist).  
*Assistants.*—G. Elliott Dodds (Journalist); H. Francis (Scholar of New College, Oxford); Mrs. Maurice Bonham-Carter; and H. Pearson-Gee.
- Agents for Cinematograph Propaganda.**—T. A. Welsh (France), Captain Bromhead (Russia), and Captain Frankau (Italy).
- German Publications.**—S. A. Guest (Civil Servant).  
*Assistant.*—Campbell Dodgson (Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum).
- Literary Adviser.**—Anthony Hope Hawkins (Author).
- Literary Agent.**—A. S. Watt (Literary Agent).
- Historian.**—J. W. Headlam (Civil Servant).  
*Assistant.*—Miss May Hughes.
- Artist at the Front.**—Muirhead Bone.
- Librarian and Reader and Reporter of German Papers.**—Edwyn Bevan (Hon. Fellow of New College, Oxford).
- Reader and Reporter of Austrian Papers.**—L. B. Namier (Journalist).
- Intelligence Branch.**—R. B. Sheridan (Barrister); the Hon. Mrs. Francis McLaren and A. Wallis Myers (Journalist).
- Distribution Branch.**—Director.—Lieut. T. O. Willson.  
*Assistants.*—H. T. Sheringham (Journalist), and W. E. Major (Civil Servant).  
*(Working through the City Depot of H.M. Stationary Office, and the Despatch Section of the National Health Insurance Commission.)*
- Office Manager.**—E. Backhouse (Civil Servant).  
*Assistants.*—Miss D. A. Bigby and Mrs. E. C. Hollyer.
- Confidential Clerks.**—Misses R. Edminson (*Chief*), P. Cantrill, E. F. Norris, B. Marcoué, D. E. Crauk, E. Brown, D. Robb, Mrs. M. Lees, Mrs. M. L. Johnston, and Misses F. L. S. Johnstone, C. Le Marinel and L. Darkin.
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- Boy Clerks.**—A. R. Cannon and C. A. Fish.
- Girl Clerks.**—V. Shenfield and E. L. Price.

## INTRODUCTION.

The following reports give some account of the work done at Wellington House during the first half of the year 1916.

The amount of work done here has considerably increased during this period, and many developments have taken place; partly designed to counteract the new moves of the German propaganda organisation, partly in compliance with requests for special work from Government departments, especially the Foreign Office, the War Office, and the India Office, and partly owing to the inevitable increase of organisation which has been necessary in order to cope with the world-wide demand for information concerning the British and Allied activities during the war.

That important form of propagandism, which consists in the supply of accurate current news to the daily newspapers of the world, is superintended by the News Department of the Foreign Office and is outside the scope of Wellington House. No report of this work, therefore, appears in the following pages.

The methods of propagandism conducted by this Department, supplementary to the supply of daily news, are: the production, translation and distribution of books, pamphlets, Government publications, speeches, &c., dealing with the war, its origin, its history and all the varied and difficult questions which have arisen during its development; the production and distribution of special pictorial papers; assisting in the placing of articles and interviews designed to influence opinion in the world's newspapers and magazines, especially in America; the wide distribution of pictorial matter, cartoons, pictures and drawings, photographs for insertion in newspapers and periodicals, and for exhibition; the production and distribution of cinematograph films; helping to provide information and facilities to the London correspondents of neutral, especially American, papers; personal correspondence with influential people abroad, especially in America; arrangements for the interchange of visits, of personal tours to neutral and allied countries, and of visits of distinguished neutrals and of representatives of the Allies to this country; the production and distribution of maps, diagrams, posters, lantern slides and lectures, picture post cards, and all other possible means of miscellaneous propaganda.

### SPECIAL DEVELOPMENTS.

The chief new developments of these months have been as follows:—

1. The development of a system of devolution, especially in the European countries, by which representatives who have gone to reside in these countries assist and report concerning the work. Thus, at present, Mr. Hugh Walpole (under the direction of the British Ambassador at Petrograd) assists in our work in Russia, Mr. Mills (under the direction of the British Ambassador in Rome) in Italy, Mr. John Walter in Madrid, Mr. Björkman in Sweden, Mr. Atchley in Greece. In France the English Department of "La Maison de la Presse" under Captain Millet has been working in close connection with Wellington House and has proved extremely helpful, especially in spreading through the newspapers of France, central and provincial, articles explaining the work of the British Empire in connection with the war.

As part of this policy of devolution, we have arranged that a considerable amount of our publication is actually done in the neutral and allied countries themselves. Wellington House publications (in addition to the supply from London) are now printed and published by native publishers in Paris, Madrid, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. Many of the countries, especially the smaller neutrals which border on Germany, are extremely sensitive to anything like organised allied propagandism stimulated by foreign Governments, and in some of them, especially Sweden and Switzerland, our publications have been forbidden by the censorship or have encountered grave difficulty with the Customs. It has, therefore, proved exceedingly useful to be able to obtain publication, both for sale and free distribution, of our literature in these countries by local publishers, in a form which bears no evidence at all of any connection with British Government propaganda.



In addition to these special representatives carrying on work in these countries, the following pages will show a long list of British and foreign helpers in all the countries of the world who have with great energy, patriotism, and goodwill very materially assisted in the work of distributing literature among those where they consider it would be most useful, and also in the work of suggesting the kind of literature that is most appropriate to the various countries with which they are concerned.

2. Very considerable developments have taken place in the world-wide distribution of propaganda literature and pictorial matter; which now penetrates to the remotest quarters of the world. A considerable amount of this development has been organised owing to the direct demand from the British and pro-Ally residents in these remoter regions for counter efforts to the German propagandism. Developments have specially taken place in South America and in the Far East. In both these regions the German propagandism has been very carefully organised, not only, as it appears, to influence opinion in war time, but also with a view to trade interests when the war is over, when it is hoped that the prestige of Germany may be maintained in the subsequent commercial competition. In South America especially, as will be seen by the map accompanying the report on work there, in every great city the friends of the Germans and the friends of the Allies have organised themselves into propaganda committees; and a daily battle occurs to convince the local populations as to the justice or success of the one cause or the other. As will be seen from the reports, the friends of the Allies are confident that they are obtaining the upper hand in this war of opinion. As a Vice-Consul in Brazil reports: "I think the distribution of pamphlets and newspapers is nothing short of wonderful. The Germans have been entirely driven from the field."

3. The work of propaganda by means of illustrations, especially of photographs of the fighting and fighting-machines of this country, has been very considerably developed during this period. Wellington House now sends out over 4,000 photographs a week, which are appearing very widely in the newspaper press from Copenhagen to Costa Rica, and especially in the American pictorial papers, and both the central and provincial journals. These have not only broken the previous German monopoly in war pictures but show a very conspicuous dominance of pictorial matter favourable to the Allies. In addition to this propagandism by newspaper illustration, exhibitions of photographs and pictures are being developed in very many neutral and allied countries, and in every kind of way in which pictures can be used, efforts are being made to present the efforts of this country in the war.

4. This period has also seen the development of pictorial newspapers, of which six are now published and distributed from Wellington House:—

- (a) *The War Pictorial*: monthly; published in editions (a) in English for circulation abroad, (b) in Latin (i.e., French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian), (c) in Russian and Greek, and (d) in Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and German.
- (b) *Al Hakikat* ("The Truth"); published fortnightly in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindustani.
- (c) *Cheng Pao* ("The Faithful Record"); published fortnightly in Chinese. An edition of *Cheng-Pao* in Japanese, entitled *Sen-ji Gaho*, is in preparation.
- (d) *America-Latina*: edited by Dr. Barrios; at first published monthly from Wellington House, now fortnightly alternately in Paris for the French Government and in London for us; in Spanish; circulating in Spain, Central and South America, and throughout the Spanish-speaking world.
- (e) *O Espelho*; published fortnightly in Portuguese, for Portugal, Brazil, and the Portuguese-speaking world.
- (f) *Hesperia*: edited by Dr. Pouptis; published weekly for Greece and the Greek-speaking world.

Over a million copies of these six pictorial papers are circulated every month, and some of the testimonies to the appreciation with which they have been received will be found in the reports appended.

5. The development of propaganda with the cinematograph. "Britain Prepared," a film specially taken to show the activities of the Navy and the Army, has been exhibited in practically every country which possesses cinematograph facilities, and with very considerable success. It has been supplemented by war films, and the new films of the Battle of the Somme have either been already exhibited or their exhibition is being arranged in as wide a manner.



Some interesting incidents connected with this cinematograph work are given in the report. The work of Captain Bromhead especially, in exhibiting the films (by request of the Czar) to General Brussiloff's armies immediately before the great advance—sometimes under fire, always within sound of the guns—forms a kind of epic of cinema display. Since this report was issued Captain Bromhead has continued his work with the Northern Russian Armies. "Films were shown," he writes, "to Generals Russki, Radko Dimitrieff and Staffs with a great many corps and divisional generals and staffs. Again the open-air shows were most successful and several times given under most interesting circumstances; one within 2 versts of Uxhill Bridgehead, another close to Darlen Island on the Dvina, a third in an old building at Kemmern, full of shell holes of which one was made during the afternoon preceding the show."

Apart from these special novel developments, the general work previously launched has been continued with considerable activity.

#### THE WORK OF DISTRIBUTION.

Over 300 books and pamphlets have now been produced and distributed. Literature has been thus distributed in 21 languages. This literature has consisted of (first) official Government publications (translated in many languages), especially of the British, French, and Belgian Governments; (second), literature produced in Wellington House; (third), literature produced at the request of Wellington House; (fourth), literature published independently either in this country or abroad, which has been circulated by Wellington House in the neutral and allied countries of the world.

Almost every available channel has been used for the work of this world-wide distribution. Our literature has been circulated through Embassies, Legations and Consulates; through the agents of the great steamship companies all over the world; through great distributive organisations such as the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the fire insurance companies, and others; through the work of such organisations as the Over-Seas Club (whose members scattered through the world in neutral and allied countries have been exceedingly helpful), the Royal Colonial Institute, the Victoria League; through great British corporations and firms, such as the British-American and the Ardath Tobacco Companies; through local committees of British subjects abroad, formed for the purpose of spreading the truth concerning the Allies among the people with whom they live; through committees of pro-Ally neutrals; and through individuals who have voluntarily undertaken the work of distribution.

The key to the organization of this world-wide propagandism has been the most ready and generous assistance which has been universally given us by the great shipping companies, the names and services of which are set out in the report on distribution which is appended. Their active and ready co-operation has alone made possible such success in this work as has been obtained.

In the method of distribution we have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid that promiscuous and obviously Government-inspired deluging with literature upon all persons alike, whether they desire it or otherwise, which has distinguished the German methods, and which has excited both indignation and weariness among the recipients. Practically all our literature bears the mark of some printer or publisher, and there is nothing to trace it to any Government origin. It is being sent as far as possible through personal channels by those who know the right people in the various countries to whom it should be distributed; and we attach great value to this method of personal contact and recommendation. It is being sent especially to certain classes; members of Parliament; newspapers, central and provincial; priests and clergymen of all denominations; professional men; leaders of public opinion and those who have most influence on their surroundings; as well as to universities and colleges, libraries and reading rooms, hotels, ships' libraries, doctors' waiting rooms, barbers' shops, casinos and any places where men may collect in numbers for reading or discussion.

By this means pro-Ally literature now reaches the most remote corners of the world; and we hear of its influence not only in the settled countries, but in such regions as the Seychelles, Mauritius, Madagascar, the Chatham Islands, Sandwich Islands, New Guinea, Iceland, New Hebrides, Formosa, the Belgian Congo, Fernando Po. We have had applications from people in Barcelona to send to friends in Scandinavia, from South America for literature in Arabic, from port officials on the coast of China for literature in Danish. Many of our pamphlets have been reproduced in newspapers

in regions so diverse as Bogota, Switzerland, Teheran, Johannesburg, Patagonia. In many countries, also, the newspapers give considerable reviews—with long quotations—to Wellington House publications.

Although the great bulk of it being thus distributed apart from any obvious connection with the Government or Wellington House evokes no reply, sufficient correspondence sent from time to time from those who have distributed this literature shows interesting items as to its penetration in remote places. A Chinaman in Guatemala writes that he was one of the last Germanophiles in that country, but has been converted to the Allied cause by the literature he has received. A Dutchman in Holland tells that a pamphlet which has been lent to him has been passed into the hands of the fifteenth reader, and is still doing work. A small storekeeper in Amsterdam awards some of our books as prizes to customers who buy goods at his shop. Our literature on show at a stores in Maine has resulted in several fights in the stores between the sympathisers of the Allies and the German Powers. In the Argentine a former Turkish consul is distributing copies of *Al Hakikat* to the Moslem population there. In Norway, our books, it is reported, have percolated into the innermost recesses of remote fjords, where those who have received them hand them to their neighbours, and the editors of provincial papers apply for special war literature. In Chile the wife of a former president, after seeing the picture of the ruined churches of Belgium and France, announces that she prays night and morning for the success of the Allies. In Italy a sympathiser reports that he reads in the evening to groups of peasants, which often become quite a crowd, from the "Horrors of Wittenberg," or the account of the battle of Jutland. A well known business man in Calcutta describes *Al Hakikat* as "a great imperial educator." At Saffi, in Morocco, we have carried the truth to natives who were under the impression that London no longer existed. At Rio Grande copies of *O Espelho* are placed on sale on the pavements, with the result that "passers-by stop to look it over, and those who buy it read it." At Santa Fé, in the Argentine, it is reported that the result of the propaganda is such that many neutral firms are refusing to have Germans in their employ. In Nicaragua, as a result of our activities, we are informed that "the great majority of the Nicaraguans and negroes are pro-Ally." In the hinterland of Nigeria our illustrated papers are posted on the hoardings of the shafts of the gold mines. Even in Germany the *Weiser Zeitung* thought it necessary to review Mr. Toynbee's pamphlet on the death of Edith Cavell, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* devoted a long article to our pamphlet "Holland and Germany," while the *Westfälische Zeitung* complains that "the Allied propaganda, particularly in connection with the Cavell and Fryatt incidents, has been so thoroughly done in neutral countries lately, that neutrals readily believe what they are told." Intercepted letters from South America urge renewed German efforts, one complaining that German propaganda in South America has been seriously neglected, "particularly in contrast to the energetic campaign of England, which has deluged South America with literature in excellent Spanish." Maximilian Harden, in a recent denunciation of Prussian militarism, adopts precisely the same line of argument, and supports it with exactly the same quotations from Bismarck, as were contained in our pamphlet, "The Weight of the Imponderables," which was published by Messrs. Fayot in German in Switzerland. "The English," wrote M. Hanotaux, in the *Figaro* recently, are past masters in matters of publicity. They know the value of opinion. They appeal to it by insistent repetition till they produce a kind of hypnotic effect, and that is just what was wanted to reply to the German publicity which has been at work on us too long. The English do not haggle over the cost of official announcements, or of a telegram, for they know that it is money well spent."

The literature thus distributed varies in weight and character; from pamphlets dealing with some special difficulty which has arisen, as, for example, the censorship or the Black List in the United States, to works of many hundred pages on the responsibility or the carrying out of operations of the war. So far as is possible, Wellington House provides a supply of the kind required by the local demand.

Among those publications for which there has been most demand during these six months may be mentioned: Lord Bryce's "Neutral Nations and the War" (in eleven languages), "The Death of Edith Cavell" (eight languages), "The Horrors of Wittenberg" (nine languages), Toynbee's "Murder of a Nation" (eight languages), Hurd's "Sure Shield" and "Murder at Sea" (ten languages), William Archer's reply to Professor Brandes, "The Murder of Captain Fryatt," Davies's "British and German Finance" (nine languages). Books giving the verdicts of neutrals are of special



value. Such are the Hon. James Beck's "Double Alliance v. Triple Entente" (ten languages), Professor Church's "Reply to the German Appeal" (ten languages), Professor Munroe Smith's "Weight of the Imponderables" (seven languages), Owen Wister's "Pentecost of Calamity" (six languages), and Raemaekers' Cartoons (fourteen languages). Amongst larger volumes prepared for Wellington House may be mentioned Mrs. Humphry Ward's "England's Effort" (230 pp.), Destree's "Cio che hanno fatto gli Inglesi" (300 pp.), Davignon's "Belgium and Germany" (200 pp.), and Waxweiler's "Belgium Neutral and Loyal" (350 pp.). Of official Government publications the Bryce Report in eleven languages (80 pp.) with its Appendix (over 300 pp.) on the German atrocities easily takes first place, and stands secure as a document of permanent historic value.

Almost all the prominent writers of this country have been willing to help in this work. Amongst those who have either written directly for us or at our request, or have allowed us to circulate their work for propagandist purposes, I may perhaps express our special gratitude to Lord Bryce, Lord Cromer, Lord Revelstoke, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. Ernest Barker, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Mr. Hume Williams, K.C., M.P., Professor J. H. Morgan, Mr. Archibald Hurd, Mr. J. M. Robertson, Mr. Arnold Bennett, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. John Buchan, Mr. Alfred Noyes, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. G. W. Prothero, Mr. Donald, M. Raemaekers, Mr. E. F. Davies, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. John Masfield, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, and many French, Belgian and American writers.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

Propaganda work in the United States has from the beginning occupied a special and peculiar position. The community of language, the immense number of connecting links between the two countries, and the very efficient apparatus of distribution of news and opinion through a distinguished body of American journalists, representing the newspapers and syndicates permanently planted in London, opened channels of communication which were not present in many of the other neutral countries. On the other hand, the noise and insolence of the pro-German Dernburg propagandism in the United States at the beginning of the war, and the well-meaning but unwise efforts of unauthorised amateur British lecturers and writers in America, were found to be causing an intense exasperation and jealousy of any Government organised attempts to influence public opinion one way or another. When Sir Gilbert Parker, therefore, first took charge of the American Department at Wellington House two years ago, he found the situation somewhat delicate, with necessity for great caution in interference in any kind that appeared to be of an official character. The work which he has undertaken is outlined in the report in this volume. It includes the carrying on of an immense personal correspondence with a large number of the public men scattered through the United States on the various war questions as they have arisen; the careful distribution (apparently from non-official sources), of books, pamphlets, and official documents in a list of considerable bulk; the provision (in conjunction with the News Department of the Foreign Office) of facilities for American correspondents and of the special writers who have come over from time to time from America to investigate the condition of this country and the progress of the war, and the providing for the American press of a large number of interviews with prominent persons in this country; the placing of articles written by writers who are well known in the United States for the American newspapers and magazines, and assistance given to other writers who themselves have been asked for articles and who have desired intimate knowledge on some particular points at issue; arrangements for selected visits of distinguished Americans here, their entertainment and the provision for them of facilities for seeing what they desire and meeting whom they wish, and the provision, on the other hand, of selected visits to America of Englishmen known in the United States, and arrangements by which they are able to exercise their influence quietly to the best advantage; besides a great amount of miscellaneous work, which cannot be specially classified, in dealing with the press, the newspapers and public men generally of America. By all such means and without any appearance of Government propaganda, a very considerable amount of work has been done in assisting the people of America to form right judgment as to the causes of the war, the nature of incidents and frictions which have arisen from time to time, and the efforts being made by this country towards a successful conclusion.



## FOR BELGIUM.

Propaganda for the Belgian Government is carried on by Wellington House, which arranges for the printing, translation, and distribution, not only of official Belgian Government publications, but also for such works by private persons as the Belgian Government desired to be produced, in order that their cause may be kept before the minds of the neutral world. An account of some of this work will be found in this report.

## MISCELLANEOUS WORK.

There is a large amount of work continually developing at Wellington House which it is impossible to classify under any definite head. It varies from the arranging of tours undertaken by British labour representatives through the great cities of France, with the holding of great public meetings there, and similar tours by French Socialists in this country, to the provision of posters in the interior of China and the exhibition of Italian pictures in London, or British pictures abroad. Some of the work, again, is of such a confidential nature as could not be set out in a printed report. Some account, however, of these varied activities is provided in the following reports which deal with work in each separate neutral or allied country.

## GERMAN VERDICTS.

It would appear that the German Government is aware of the existence of English propaganda, but has no definite information as to its methods and centre. In particular, the existence of Wellington House seems unknown to it. Generally, it appears, endeavours are made to stop our publications entering Germany. The latest German list of prohibited imports names 19 of our publications—eleven in English, four in French, one in Dutch, and one in German.

Despite these prohibitions, however, there is evidence that these books and pamphlets are procurable in Germany.

In an article by Philippe Rath in the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, the author mentions by name some 50 Wellington House publications, many of which he has discovered in several languages, principally, of course, the languages of the countries bordering on Germany. "If, besides newspapers," he remarks, "pamphlets and brochures are used in order to spread abroad the English official view of the war, that is, no doubt, due to the consideration that everything in book form, if it is read at all, is read more thoroughly and with more attention than an article, is retained longer in the memory, and perhaps even escapes the waste-paper basket for a considerable time, producing thereby more permanent effect . . . . These are translated into the languages of the neutral countries, and plentifully distributed in those countries . . . . That the English Government uses against us for purposes of propaganda and plentifully distributes its parliamentary publications, especially the 'command papers,' is known to everyone . . . . Books and pamphlets which were originally published without any special commission from the propaganda associations are often subsequently taken over by these, and then adapted to foreign consumption in translations. . . . If we had nothing to set against the vast organisation of English influence except the material named in a book which has been published by England as 'German propaganda,' our situation would be gloomy indeed. Certainly we have no special aptitude for work of this kind: against such 'diplomacy' it is only 'military strategy' which is any good."

Another verdict is provided in a recent article by Dr. Bischoff in the *Deutsche Revue*. "The campaign had started on a gigantic scale," he asserts, "right from the outbreak of the war. . . . Special bureaux for propaganda purposes were established in Paris and London, in addition to the existing telegraph and news agencies which for years past had carried on a 'war of calumny' against the Central Powers with great skill and without scruples. Their task was to centralise the now overflowing tide of fighting literature, to organise the often independently working forces, to provide the material for the influencing and poisoning of public opinion in the various neutral countries, to publish the 'prepared material,' to have the various articles translated into every language of Europe, and to provide for the spreading copiously and cautiously of the results of this labour. . . . It may be said that there is no domain of modern life and history in any way related to the war that has been neglected." The English propaganda . . . "prefers the illustrated

paper and the short pamphlet, which, translated into every language of the world, is to prove England's fight for the liberties of the small nations, &c. There is still more play than in France with such phrases as 'The peace of the world threatened by Prussian Militarism' and 'the long prepared readiness for war of Germany.'

"The bureau has become little known among the public, and has exercised its activities through the means of English and Neutral publishing firms. These firms, it is true, have spared no means of advertisement nor expense in order to flood the whole world with the products of the English propaganda literature. From the practices used, which will be described later on in greater detail, it will be seen that the chiefs of the English propaganda do business on a grandiose scale, and that they have ample means at their disposal."

#### STAFF.

I very much regret the death, on the 5th June, of Mr. Gould, who was in charge of our French Department. Suddenly illness ended a brilliant career at the early age of thirty-one; and thus a second member of my staff died at his post of duty since our work began.

During this period, as the work has expanded, increase of my staff has been necessary, especially in connection with the new Pictorial Department and the recently launched illustrated papers. A number of these have been volunteers, others seconded from other Government departments. I cannot express too highly my sense of their loyalty and energy which alone has made possible what success has been attained.

I should like to acknowledge the very great help received in this work from the Government departments; primarily, of course, from the News Department of the Foreign Office, but also the Intelligence Departments of the Admiralty and the War Office, the Press Bureau of Censorship, the Colonial Office, and the India Office. Much of our work has been done at the direct request of these departments.

I also desire to express my thanks to the Insurance Commission, not only for the accommodation with which they have supplied us at some sacrifice to themselves, but also for the unflinching consideration that they have shown to us and for the courtesy with which they have placed at our disposal their departmental machinery.

The country is also indebted to those British residents and British sympathisers who, in almost every country in the world, have so readily undertaken some part in the work of enlightening neutral and Allied countries as to the justice and greatness of our cause.

CHARLES F. G. MASTERMAN.

September, 1916.



## THE UNITED STATES.

At the end of the second year of the War a report has again to be made upon the publicity work done in the United States. To begin with, our Government and certain public officials receive our *Résumé* weekly upon American affairs to keep them posted upon the movements of American opinion, and to show what the comment is in the American Press, and by American public men, upon Anglo-American relations and the questions which arise to trouble current understanding and feeling between the two great countries. There is, therefore, always a flowing current of comment and exposition from this department at Wellington House upon the American situation.

This *Résumé* is in fact a sort of weekly report upon American affairs, as they are affected by our activities in the war. It is primarily a summary of opinion as revealed through the newspapers. This is, however, checked and supplemented by reports of correspondents scattered through the country. I think we have been fortunate frequently in throwing light upon apparently dark corners of the American situation. This has been better possible because of the very extensive private correspondence which I have carried on with great numbers of Americans, both in public and in private life, and in every corner of the Union.

It must be remembered always that American opinion is much more demonstrative and spasmodic than British opinion, that it fluctuates very quickly, rising to great heights and sinking to great depths almost within the same circle of the sun. It must, therefore, always be remembered that the most violent and extravagant American utterance of to-day may become a mere shadow of itself to-morrow. That is characteristic of the country and of the people. On their own affairs Americans are almost boisterously outspoken and use language concerning themselves that they would resent if used by any people or anybody outside their own country.

Therefore, in the weekly report which is given to the Government, the attempt has always been made to reflect like a mirror the sharp and sometimes stormy currents of opinion in the United States, but at the same time to guard against any sense of finality in the passing record. The subjects which have to be treated in the *Résumé* are many, and some of them have been extraordinarily acute, such as cotton contraband, the dye-stuffs difficulty, the blockade and searching of ships, the Chicago meat packers' trouble, the censorship of news, and later the censorship of mails and the "Black List" of American traders. Of all these questions, most have had their day of disturbance and excitement, and have been settled, or have passed into the limbo of things that must remain irritant and unsettled because they belong to war.

The seeming unfairness of our Orders in Council in regard to blockade produced in the American mind a feeling of despondent protest and of fighting energy. There was strong resentment of our apparent differentiation against American trade to the Baltic, while we were not able to prevent trade between Swedish and Norwegian ports with German ports. Soreness still exists on this, but our vigorous attacks upon German trade in the Baltic, and the arrangements made to secure delivery of *bona fide* cargoes to countries other than Germany in the Baltic and North Sea have greatly eased the situation, made suddenly acute, however, by the recent publication of the Black List of American traders.

Most Americans had forgotten that every nation which has a navy and an export or an import trade to protect or defend, has had in time of war the same difficulties as has had the British nation. Fortunately, in the United States, there were enough editors and public men left, who had a share in, or were familiar with, the discussion of the problems of the Civil War, who took a sane and reasonable view of Great Britain's position and difficulties. For instance, such men as ex-President William Howard Taft, Senator Cabot Lodge, ex-President Elliot of Harvard, the Hon. Joseph Choate, ex-Assistant Attorney-General James M. Beck, Professor Edward Church, whose remarkable pamphlet is still freely distributed in the United States, Dr. William White (since dead), George Louis Beer, Dr. David Starr Jordan of San Francisco, Frederic Coudert, Dean Gregory, and Dr. Morton Prince, and most emphatic and pronounced of all, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, did much to guide and enlighten the American public mind by calling attention to the decisions which the United States made in regard to sea-law and the rights of neutrals in the American Civil War. They pointed out that the British blockade under the Orders in Council acted less disadvantageously to American trade and commerce than would a direct old-fashioned



blockade such as was used in the Civil War. Happily for the situation, no American trade has suffered as the British manufacturing trade of Manchester suffered through the United States blockade in the Civil War, when the Manchester people, who suffered most from the stoppage of cotton supply, sent an address to President Lincoln congratulating him on the thoroughness and success which his policy had produced.

The first year of the war was a very difficult period for pursuing a publicity campaign in the United States. We conceived that there were two ways of affecting American opinion, and one of them was the wrong way. There are many people in England who believe still that American public opinion should be attacked in the manner that a constituency is attacked at the time of an election. As there are a hundred millions of people in the United States, it should be apparent to all thinking folk that a policy of leaflets and highly seasoned controversial pamphlets could scarcely produce the effect desired. Herr Dernburg and the German propagandists pursued that policy, to the complete discredit of their cause. At last nobody read what they sent from door to door, left upon the counters of shops, and thrust into the hands of the farming and mercantile community. Also, a scheme of public meetings organised by Herr Dernburg proved a failure.

We have taken the line from the beginning that both those methods—that is, the method of public oratory of a controversial kind, and of wholesale distribution of literature—would bring their own ruin. That is what happened when the Germans pursued it. We conceived that there were other methods which in a long war would be far better suited to influencing public opinion. From the beginning we did not seek to get at the man in the street through the letter-post, but we did very carefully select large numbers of public men whom we thought from their position in their states and districts would have an influence upon their fellow citizens, and to these we sent our official and semi-official documents, and with them we entered into correspondence. This had the advantage of providing for us means of reaching organisations and individuals who could assist us in the distribution of official literature and fact. The first documents sent out were the official records of the negotiations published by the British Government. Since that time 130 different documents have been sent to about 13,000 public men and institutions, and in the case of a great report like that of Lord Bryce, to about 20,000 individuals and institutions. Most of the documents sent were official, but all have been authoritative and expository rather than missionary and sentimental. The American wants news more than anything else, save the native facts on which he can base his own judgment. It was therefore disadvantageous that our censorship of news was so rigid and severe at the beginning of the war. Our later elasticity has brought its due and proper reward. The sternness of the censorship alienated American public opinion, and made our publicity campaign most difficult.

A great number of personal correspondents, like President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, President John Grier Hibben of Princeton, Rev. Dr. William van Allen of Boston, Dr. John Lawson of the *American Law Review*, Dean Angel of Chicago University, Chancellor Buchtel of the University of Denver, Percy Morgan of San Francisco, Edmund Mitchell of Los Angeles, Professor Hobbs of Michigan University, Dean Howard-McClenahan of Princeton, and a large number of others, have opened up for us many avenues of work and influence.

We have never believed in missions to the United States for propagandist purposes, though on more than one occasion individuals have gone over with our approval with purely specific purposes. The last to go is Professor Gilbert Murray, who has been lecturing on Greek literature to the vacation course of Professors, at Columbia University. Professor Murray was specially invited to this work by the President of Columbia, and he is able to supplement his professorial activities by discussions with people in a private way outside the lecture hall, especially amongst the Professors from Western Universities. Professor Murray has great numbers of admirers and friends in the United States, and his influence can have a propagandist effect without his presence having a propagandist purpose. Others of importance who have gone, like Sir Paul Harvey, Mr. John Masfield, Mr. George Trevelyan, and Mr. Lancelot Smith, each with a specific object, not propagandist, have done good and useful work for the cause of the Allies. It is needless to say that there are many who believe in a more spectacular system than we have pursued. At the same time it is only fair to point out that our scheme of work has been very extensive. A year ago I made a summary of the nature of our work, and I will venture to repeat presently several items of that summary.

Besides the sending out of official and semi-official documents, we believed that the man in the street could be best reached through the Press, and from the time the war began we secured interviews with people of the highest place and importance in this country, a list of which I now give.

The following are people among many others with whom interviews or articles were arranged by Wellington House in conjunction with the Foreign Office News Department. Some of them like Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Derby, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Earl Grey, Lord Newton, Sir Rider Haggard, Sir George Reid, and Mr. Runciman have been interviewed two or three times, and Lord Robert Cecil very many times.

Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison, M.P.,  
 Mr. William Archer,  
 Sir Kenneth Anderson,  
 Miss Lena Ashwell,  
 Viscount Bryce,  
 Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.,  
 Mr. Arnold Bennett,  
 Lord Beresford,  
 Mr. Thomas Gibson Bowles,  
 The Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Carson, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest Cassell,  
 Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil,  
 The Rt. Hon. the Lord Chancellor,  
 Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.,  
 Lord Channing of Wellingborough,  
 Mr. G. K. Chesterton,  
 Sir Edward T. Cook,  
 Mr. Julian Corbett,  
 Capt. Creuse, R.N., C.B. (Board of  
 Invention and Research),  
 Rt. Hon. Earl Cromer,  
 Rt. Hon. Will Crooks, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen,  
 Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley De Chair,  
 Rt. Hon. Earl Derby,  
 Mr. Robert Donald,  
 Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,  
 Countess of Essex,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster,  
 Sir George Frampton,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Grey,  
 Mr. John Galsworthy,  
 Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Gladstone,  
 Rt. Hon. Earl Grey,  
 Sir H. Rider Haggard,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Haldane,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Hardinge,  
 Mr. Thomas Hardy,  
 Mr. Anthony Hope Hawkins,  
 Mr. W. E. Hume-Williams, K.C.,  
 M.P.,  
 Mr. Archibald Hurd,  
 Rt. Hon. Lord Islington,  
 Mr. Henry James,

Sir Charles Johnston (Lord Mayor),  
 Miss Annie Kenny,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Lascelles,  
 Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P.,  
 The Bishop of London,  
 Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P.,  
 General The Hon. Sir Neville G.  
 Lyttelton,  
 Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, M.P.,  
 Duchess of Marlborough,  
 Rt. Hon. Lord Mersey,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Middleton,  
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner,  
 Lord Montagu of Beaulieu,  
 Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Lord Murray,  
 Professor Gilbert Murray,  
 Lord Newton,  
 Sir William Osler,  
 Dr. George R. Parkin,  
 Sir Arthur Pearson,  
 Hon. Sir George Perley, M.P.  
 Mr. A. H. Pollen,  
 Mr. John Redmond, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir George Reid, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Lord Revelstoke,  
 Capt. John Mackenzie Rogan, M.V.O.,  
 Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P.,  
 Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P.,  
 Sir Felix Schuster,  
 Sir Claud Schuster,  
 Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P.,  
 Mr. Harry G. Selfridge,  
 Mr. J. J. Shannon,  
 Sirdar Daljit Singh,  
 Sir Pertab Singh,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir F. E. Smith, M.P.,  
 Hon. Arthur Stanley, M.P.,  
 Lord Sydenham,  
 Mr. George Trevelyan,  
 Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon Wood, M.P.,  
 Sir Charles Wakefield (Lord Mayor),  
 Mrs. Humphry Ward,  
 Mr. H. G. Wells,  
 Hon. Bernhard R. Wise,  
 Sir Francis Younghusband,  
 Mr. Israel Zangwill.

During the last year, Lord Robert Cecil has produced marked effect upon American opinion by interviews which he has given weekly to the American Press.

Also, an extremely good impression has been made by interviews given at the India Office weekly by the Secretary of State for India; while the weekly gatherings at the Admiralty and the War Office have increased the confidence and engaged the sympathies of the American newspaper correspondents, either permanent or temporary,



who are permitted to attend them. Nothing can be more satisfactory to the observer of American affairs and American opinion than the reception given by the Heads of Departments to representatives of the American Press. At the beginning of the War they were regarded with something almost akin to suspicion, and most Departments of State shrank from those confidential relations with the representatives of the American Press, which have been so freely and largely granted by the President of the States and the American State Departments. It was found by successive Presidents that it was possible to speak frankly and freely to Press representatives without fear of betrayal of trust or confidence. If that is the case in America, how much more should it be the case in Great Britain, where every official is naturally more reticent than are officials in the United States.

The general scope of our work in the United States may be summarized as follows:—

- (1) To send to the Government and certain public officials every week a *Résumé* of from six to ten pages, divided into a number of sections dealing with the relations between the United States and Great Britain, and including quotations from the American Press, confidential reports from trusted correspondents in America, and private letters from persons of high standing in the political, commercial or intellectual world of the United States.
- (2) To reach the man in the street in the United States through the Press, by interviews, articles, pamphlets, &c.
- (3) To reach the man in the street through cinema pictures of the Army and Navy of actual and active warfare.
- (4) By close touch with the correspondents of American newspapers in London, who have been influenced by our advice and suggestion, to have a powerful influence upon the nature of correspondence sent to the American newspapers from this side of the water.
- (5) To have discreet and friendly association with important journalists and people of eminence arriving in this country from the United States for the purpose of studying the situation.
- (6) To establish association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people in the United States of every profession, including college presidents, professors, scientific men, representatives of great business concerns and banking institutions, heads of great public organisations, judges, states superintendents of public instruction, Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, cardinals, bishops, famous ministers of religion, ex-diplomatists, authors, and historians.
- (7) To secure voluntary offers of assistance from Americans interested in the cause of the Allies for the distribution of official, semi-official, and missionary literature.
- (8) To supply newspapers and public libraries, Universities and colleges, historical societies, Clubs and Y.M.C.A.'s with official and semi-official papers and pamphlets.
- (9) To supply 360 newspapers in the smaller cities of the United States with an English newspaper which gives a weekly review and comment of the affairs of the war, so familiarising an otherwise inadequately informed local public in the United States with the British point of view and with the facts which support the cause of the Allies.
- (10) To utilise the constant service and assistance of several confidential friends of the cause, of position and influence, who give us inside information on many aspects of the changing situation affected by questions of difficulty which arise; and who also, by comment as well as by the supply of extracts from American newspapers, selected with care and purpose, keep us abreast of public opinion, and do especial work at opportune times. Some of these, such as Mr. Kenneth Durant, and Mr. H. J. Whigham, are constantly quoted in our weekly *Résumé*, and have done us great service by their reports and comments.
- (11) To ask our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches, debates and lectures by American citizens in various parts of the Commonwealth, relating to the war.

- (12) To reply to criticism and adverse comment by special letters to the individual critic, which at the same time, without using the name of the critic, are sent to the chief newspaper in his State, from which it is copied in a great many other newspapers in his own and neighbouring States.
- (13) To learn the particular bias or tendency of mind of the people of individual States and territories, and, in so far as is possible, to adapt our activities to the local need.
- (14) To distribute articles written by an experienced American journalist in London for a large number of newspapers in the smaller cities of the United States. These articles are short, concise, and have the element of news without the element of direct propaganda.
- (15) To try and discover the difficulties and perplexities of every class in the Republic, and to meet these difficulties and perplexities by suitable literature, by articles in the Press, or through interviews by important public men in this country.
- (16) To advise and stimulate to write articles, many people who know the United States well, notably the permanent representatives of the American newspapers in London, and others of name and fame. The supply of such articles has been large and constant.

For instance, on the Pacific Coast, the majority of people are suspicious of Great Britain's sea power, particularly because of her alliance with Japan, which is regarded as a natural enemy of the United States. In the South, for a long time, there was anxiety and apprehension concerning interference with the cotton trade; which has been largely overcome by the fact that cotton is at a higher price now than it was before the War. The Meat Packers' difficulties in Chicago had a serious effect for a long time upon our relations. The settlement of that question has done very good in regard to Anglo-American relations. It should be remembered that the success of the great loan in the United States was Eastern and banking, not universal and popular. By the settlement of this question it is probable that any future loan would stand a much better chance in the West than the Hundred Million Loan stood, because the bankers of the West, for good meat-packing reasons, were antagonistic to the Hundred Million Loan.

The Jewish problem, which represents the anti-Russian feeling, and therefore the anti-Ally feeling, has been a cause of much anxiety, and the Jewish Societies of the United States have deepened, if not extended, the anti-Ally feeling in very many quarters.

Apart from the racial and armament factions, there is a very extensive anti-war and pacifist element in the United States, which, uniting with the neutral rights technologists, might have produced very serious results, anti-British in their character. The wonder is that public opinion has remained so steadfastly pro-Ally as it has. No doubt the Belgian invasion and its atrocities, together with the "Lusitania" crime, the murder of Nurse Cavell and the aircraft murders and bombardment of unfortified seaports, roused in the Americans a hatred of Prussian Militarism, and threw the benefit of moral support on the side of the Allies. It is a pity that so many of our own people have not grasped the real significance of the American situation and the American attitude of mind. It should also be remembered that there came a time when President Wilson, with American opinion behind him, threatened unfriendly relations if the German submarine horrors were not abated, and insisted that Germany should promise not to sink ships without giving the crews due warning and chance of safety. If Germany had not assented, the German Ambassador would have been sent home, and undoubtedly war would have ensued.

It must be remembered also regarding the United States, that she preserved her neutrality by selling munitions to this country and the Allies, when to do so was, in effect, to invite the enmity of a hundred and eighteen millions of people in the Central Empires. It must not be forgotten that the United States is essentially a peace-loving country, that even the Spanish War had a great many enemies, and that there is a large population opposed to the United States having any distant colonies like Manila, or any near ones like Cuba or Porto Rico. The whole training of the American people is anti-militaristic, and therefore, in the minds of great numbers of people, anti-European. Our problems are difficult enough for ourselves, but our problems in the United States are puzzles to a vast majority of the people. Even to-day in the Far West, the war, which is bleeding to death the populations of Europe, has only the significance of a lurid sensation, which, by its long continuance, is an exasperation as much as an interest. At the same time there is scarcely a town in



the United States where women are not working for the preparation of Red Cross supplies and comforts for the fighting armies, and it must be said that four-fifths of the workers provide supplies for the armies of the Allies, and not for those of the Central Empire. Very slowly, but yet steadily, the knowledge of our war problems and the rights and wrongs of those who are fighting, has grown and developed. One of the most striking consequences of the two years of war has been the growth of the "preparedness campaign" in the United States. Papers like the *New York Tribune*, which, in some bitter articles, apparently criticised England with insufficient knowledge, were really attempting to stir the United States to an appreciation of their own position if war should fall upon them.

Societies and committees of many kinds, arising out of the War, have been started in the United States. One of these societies, which represents very effectively the pro-Ally activities in the United States, was formed by Dr. Morton Prince, of Boston, and there were associated with him 18 men of distinction. These people, who included Mr. Poultney Bigelow, the late Mr. Richard Harding Davis, Mr. Curtis Guild, and Professor William Roscoe Thayer, made contributions to the American Press and distributed large quantities of our literature in different parts of the United States. They also supply clubs, libraries and colleges in different parts of the country with various sorts of war literature. From this society came the idea of the address to the people of the Allied Nations from 500 distinguished Americans, representing 42 States of the Union, and including former members of the National and State Governments, of the Judicial, Diplomatic and Consular Services, former Cabinet officers, ex-Governors and ex-Senators, railroad presidents, bankers and journalists, 32 bishops, and other prominent clergymen, together with over 20 university and college presidents, besides some of the best known authors, actors, painters, sculptors, and architects. Dr. Morton Prince has of late been in Japan, and his letters from there have shown the usefulness of the work he has accomplished in combating German influence and propaganda. Probably one of the best things done in the United States was the arrangement for the Address of the Five Hundred, which had such a distinguished and extensive reception in this country, and which showed that though America has not joined the Allies in the fighting of the War, that the best and most of her people are sympathetic with the cause of the Allies.

Another society is the American Rights Committee, which, pro-Ally in character, sedulously and persistently holds meetings, writes articles, and influences public opinion throughout the country in a pro-Ally direction. The president of this Committee is George Haven Putnam, the publisher, who was an officer in the American Civil War. Some of his colleagues are: Lyman Abbot, James M. Beck, George Louis Beer, Hon. George R. Carter, George F. Canfield, Dr. Ralph Adams Cram, Paul Dana, Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, Hon. Robert Grant, Professor William G. Hale, Hon. Arthur S. Hardy, Robert Herrick, Robert Underwood Johnson, Professor George Trumbull Ladd, Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, Hon. Gifford Pinchot, Dr. Morton Prince, Miss Agnes Repplier, Professor Charles Richmond, Professor Josiah Royce, Professor Albion W. Small, Professor William Roscoe Thayer, Charles Elliot Warren, Professor Barrett Wendell, and Professor James Woodburn, among many others in different parts of the country. The American Rights Committee, taking very pronounced views, has been a means of doing great service to public thought in the United States, and indirectly to the cause of the Allies.

Another Association of greater eminence still is the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which, with President Nicholas Murray Butler as its Chairman, has from the beginning of the War, distributed great quantities of non-controversial literature bearing directly and indirectly upon the War. It has distributed a very considerable number of our documents, and undoubtedly has had a powerful effect.

All our literature is sent regularly to about—

11,000 individuals,  
621 public libraries,  
214 historical societies,  
106 clubs,  
555 newspapers,  
833 Y.M.C.A. societies,  
339 Universities and colleges,

and to many American members of the Royal Society of Arts and Associates of the American Institute of Architects. Besides these, arrangements are made occasionally, as in the case of the Lord Bryce Report on the Atrocities, when the distribution

of documents is undertaken by a large number of individual people. Our usual distribution is to about 13,000 people and institutions.

One of our most striking successes in the United States has been the floating of our cinema pictures. Mr. Charles Urban, who superintended the production of the pictures of the Fleet, and with our Government Cinema Committee and the Trade Cinema Committee successfully arranged for their production at the Empire Theatre, London, at which the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Balfour, made a remarkable and useful speech, took the films to America to place them there. His exhibition to the trade of New York was successful, but it produced no immediate offers of purchase. Undismayed, Mr. Urban sought to learn the cause of the lack of enterprise, and was informed by all the professional cinema people that the pictures were too good, and were over the heads of the people. Mr. Urban took the matter into Wall Street, as it were; secured a committee of financial people there, who put up a big capital, made a contract with him, and paid a large sum of money down to us for the rights of production. The result has been that the cinema shows of our films have played to overflow houses, with many turned away. In other words, we have established in a country which has had the mastery of films, a reputation for films superior to all other productions, including those of the Germans in the United States. Much credit must be given to Mr. Urban for his undefeatable and devoted energy and courage.

We have believed that by the Press and the cinema, the man in the street could be reached as in no other way, and that no other way should be too extensively used. Our method has been different from that of the Germans. It has been less ornate, so far as the distribution of documents is concerned, but it has been safer, and in some respects less directly in the public eye, yet not less affecting the public conscience. In regard to the United States it must always be remembered that however ornate, rhetorical and spectacular the German methods have been, the mass of public opinion has not been swayed towards Germany by it. We, at any rate, have escaped attack and the violence of venomous repudiation. We have not escaped criticism, but the criticism has been that of the anxious or offended friend. There is no doubt that we might have escaped much criticism if our Government had settled sooner some of the troublesome questions, like those of Blockade and the Censorship of Mails. Last, but not least, there has been the agitation against the Black List of American firms, which has given the Germans, who of late have been very quiet in the United States, an opportunity for bewragging us and condemning us with the old vituperation intensified and increased. All neutrals in time of war are sensitive, and believe themselves injured, but the American nation, the largest of all the neutrals in the civilized west, is at once more sensitive and more easily placated than any other. Tact and gentleness, good humour and fair dealing, are wonderful elements in influencing American public opinion. There is a wide-flung feeling in the United States that the Englishman is naturally arrogant, and that his Government puts on airs; yet no country is so subject to genial concession as the United States. There, a little concession goes a long way, if it is of the right kind. On the whole, nothing could be better than the friendly way in which the Foreign Ministers of both Governments have inscribed their Notes and exchanged their views. On the other hand, nothing could be more bitter and condemnatory than the American Press and private comment upon the Irish executions; yet in regard to them, as in regard to the naval battle of Jutland, the result in the long run is with the British point of view.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's striking and admirable work "England's Effort," was arranged through Wellington House, and appeared first as letters to an American, in a newspaper syndicate of wide circulation in the United States, and later in book form with prefaces by Lord Rosebery and the Hon. Joseph Choate. Another incident for which Wellington House is responsible is the visit of James M. Beck, the famous author of "The Evidence in the Case," to this country, where he has won fresh laurels for himself; and at the luncheon given him by the Pilgrims Society, where Lord Bryce presided, at a function arranged for him by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and at one by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, he sustained his reputation as a very powerful advocate, friend of the Allies' cause, and defender of the American position.

Several Americans of eminence have visited this country since August of last year. Among them were Colonel George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review*, Mr. Lloyd Griscom, a very prominent lawyer and ex-diplomatist, who was engaged in settling successfully the Chicago Meat Packers' case, Mr. Willard Straight, a prominent financier and one of the chief owners of *The New Republic*, Mr. Paul Cravath, a prominent New York financier, Mr. Otto S. Bannard, of New York, also

a great banker and financier, and Mr. F. Symonds, editor of the *New York Tribune*. During this month will arrive again Mr. Frederic Coudert, one of the most prominent authorities on Constitutional and International Law in the United States, who has shown himself a good friend of our cause.

One of the best signs of the success of our work has been the large number of unsolicited cheques which have been received from people in all parts of the United States, for our work or for some Charitable Society for War Relief.

It only remains to say that our task has been one of exceeding difficulty, and that so careful a campaign would have its critics and its enemies; but we have been successful in avoiding attacks from American quarters, where there are so many people who know of our activities and approve of our methods, though there are people there, and here, who chafe because we do our work so quietly. We have run our course without undue excitement and with meticulous care.

GILBERT PARKER

## DISTRIBUTION.

### I.—STEAMSHIP COMPANIES.

During the past six months the very valuable assistance rendered by the steamship companies since the commencement of the war, has not only been continued, but several new channels have been opened up through the generous help of companies which have not previously participated in the work. A particularly welcome feature of our activities is that it has hardly been necessary to do more than suggest that help was wanted, for the entire resources of organisation and transport of the lines in question to be placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Department. In every case the steamship companies have been unstinting in their efforts to make the distribution a success, and it should be remembered that they have all voluntarily incurred very considerable expense in connection with the work.

The following companies have continued to make distributions: Anchor Line, British India, Booth Line, C.P.R., Cunard, Ellerman Line, John Glyn, Harrison Line, Alfred Holt & Co., Bullard King, Lamport & Holt, Leyland Line, Moss Line, R.M.S.P., Orient Line, P.S.N., P. & O., White Star and the Union Castle. The following have undertaken new work in connection with the recent developments in propaganda: Bibby Line, Brocklebank-Anchor Line, Ellerman-Hall Line, Elder Dempster.

Many valuable suggestions have reached us through the companies from time to time, and in several cases they have suggested schemes for new distributions which have involved them in additional work and expense, and they have from time to time put us in touch with firms or individuals whose assistance has been of great use to us. It is not easy to estimate the value of the services so patriotically rendered by the steamship companies, but it may fairly be said that without their aid we should not have been able in so short a time to overtake and in many cases nullify the effect of the carefully prepared German propaganda.

During the past six months, in addition to the regular distribution of books and pamphlets which has increased, both as regards the number and the quantity that has been sent out, we have dealt with a quantity of entirely new propaganda matter, including the fortnightly distribution of *Al-Hakikat* and *Cheung-Poo*, and the monthly distribution of the *War Pictorial*, in addition to diagrams and other pictorial matter. The greater part of this has been distributed through the steamship companies.

### I. EUROPEAN DISTRIBUTION.

There is not much new to report as far as general distribution in the North of Europe is concerned, except a certain systematisation and co-ordination of effort.

Literature is now being sent to the British representatives in Iceland and the Faeroes, and arrangements have recently been made for placing Danish, Dutch and Swedish literature on board Scandinavian ships calling at Kirkwall.

In Norway the bulk of the literature is distributed by the Norwegian Club and the Cunard Line through their Kristiania agent, while in Sweden much of the work is carried out through the *Stockholms Telegrambyrå* and the publishers Lundberg & Olzon.

In Denmark the Cunard agent at Copenhagen has taken a great interest in the work, and has asked for increased supplies. Russian propaganda, as a whole, is not within the scope of steamship distribution, but occasional supplies are sent out by post from time to time to private individuals.

Holland is dealt with in detail in the special section of the report, and very little distribution is carried out by steamship companies. The Cunard agents and the Over-Seas Club give us whatever assistance is required and some of these personal distributions are most valuable, as may be judged from the following letter received by the Patriotic League of Britons Over-Seas from one of their members in Holland:—

"Patriotic Literature.—My supply is now nearly exhausted, as although I try and get the pamphlets back after sending them out, sometimes people lend them out again and I can't get more. To show, however, how they are appreciated, a Dutchman in Haarlem to whom I lent a good many, assured me a couple of months later, that they were then in the hands of the strongest regent. In a letter I received yesterday from a friend (Dutchman) in Amsterdam to whom I had sent some, he wrote: 'I have now read some more of the pamphlets you gave me and I can only say that I do not

' understand why there is not given a good publicity to these. They are, in my opinion most important and would do much good among Dutchmen to alter their opinion more in favour of the United Kingdom.'

When the French Board of Education was approached with reference to the despatch of pamphlets to schools, they entirely approved the principle, but asked that the arrangements might be left in the hands of the Cunard steamship agents, as they had dealt with this work so successfully in the past. The Cunard have kindly consented to be responsible for this branch of the work, and will in future see that a regular supply of literature is sent to schools in all parts of France. We have had several offers from other steamship companies to take literature to France, and when the quantities are small we have arranged to send supplies. During the last six months there has been some slight difficulty with the French Customs authorities, but this has now been satisfactorily overcome on the basis of mutual concession.

The distribution in Switzerland has been extended by Messrs. Payot, and the Cunard have taken a good deal of literature for their Lucerne agents, but here the censorship has been exercised in a rather arbitrary manner, and the authorities will only examine pamphlets when they actually arrive in bulk on the frontier. We are under a great obligation to the Cunard Line for taking literature provisionally, and it is to be hoped that some other channels of distribution may be arranged, as it is unsatisfactory to continue a system which is subjected to such delays and inconveniences. The Cunard Company, writing on this subject says:—

"We regret that the efforts of our agents in Switzerland have not met with very material success; still, it is pleasing to record that such is not due to any lack of sympathy on their part towards the cause of the Allies, but due entirely to the action of the Swiss censor. Two parcels containing pamphlets entitled 'The Navy and the War,' and 'American versus German Views of the War' were refused entry. Our agents thereupon suggested it would be advisable to forward a couple of copies of such pamphlets for submission to the censor before any quantities were shipped. This arrangement was satisfactory until we received a letter from our agents, dated 24th May, who wrote:—

"We regret to say that the Swiss censor will in future not censor any publications before they actually arrive at the frontier."  
As a result of this, while all consignments offered to us for Switzerland are accepted, our agents cannot guarantee distribution."

Portugal continues to receive supplies through the steamship companies, and the Booth, Ellerman, and Cunard representatives carry out distributions here. The Liobon agents of the Cunard recently wrote:—

"We have had numerous indications that the pamphlets are being received with considerable interest, and have had quite a number of applications for further copies, which we have complied with so far as possible."

The Ellerman Line have very kindly conveyed consignments of literature to the Cunard agents, and have also placed their agents' services at our disposal. Quite recently the R.M.S.P. offered the help of their Oporto agents for a local distribution, which is now in operation. A special pamphlet has been written for Portuguese schools at the suggestion of the agents of the Booth Line, and copies will shortly be distributed. Arrangements have been made through the Over-Seas Club to send regular supplies of Portuguese literature to the Azores, and a letter has been received from Horta Fayal on the 13th of June, an extract from which is as follows:—

"This literature has been distributed throughout the Azore Islands, and copies sent aboard Portuguese vessels calling at this port. I may say that the contents will be read with interest by the Azorean people, who, up to the present, have been ignorant of the true cause which prompted Great Britain to carry on war against Germany."

Pamphlets are also sent to Over-Seas Club members in the Cape Verde Islands.

In Spain a regular distribution has now been arranged to a very considerable number of consular officers, and we are indebted to the steamship companies for conveying some 2,000 copies of all Spanish pamphlets to these consuls, free of charge. Mr. John Glynn has, in addition, kindly arranged to convey 200 copies of all Spanish pamphlets to Mr. E. B. Cox, of Barcelona, who has asked for a special supply for his own distribution. Mr. Glynn has had very enthusiastic letters thanking him for the pamphlets received, and telling of the distribution which he has been able to arrange. Messrs. Lambert Bros., Shipping Agents of London and Cardiff, have recently undertaken to send regular consignments of pamphlets to their agent, Mr. Eesery, at Bilbao. Since the last report the R.M.S.P. have arranged for distribution throughout the North of Spain from their Vigo agency. Quite recently the R.M.S.P. have offered the services of their Madrid agency for the distribution of pamphlets and pictorial matter, and their offer has been gratefully accepted.

Some difficulties are still raised by the Customs authorities, and the Cunard Company recently reported as follows:—

"With reference to the distribution of literature for different parts of Spain, through our Gibraltar agency, some difficulty has been experienced with the Customs authorities, who refuse to allow the large quantities we require to go through to Barcelona and Cadiz."

In view of applications for propaganda literature from the Canary Islands received by the R.M.S.P. and by the Over-Seas Club, supplies were considerably increased, and it has now been found desirable to arrange to send through the kindness of the R.M.S.P. 500 copies of each Spanish pamphlet to the British Consuls at Santa Cruz and Las Palmas, and the various people interested in distribution in the Islands are now working together to avoid overlapping or waste of effort. The R.M.S.P. have also asked us to arrange for the supply of blocks of Raemaeker's cartoons for the Las Palmas paper *Las Noticias*. These have now been sent. Supplies of literature to the Balearic Islands have been slightly increased.

Distribution in the Mediterranean is carried on principally through the Moss Steamship Company, and pamphlets in English, Spanish, Italian, and French, as well as *Al-Hakikat* have been distributed from time to time. The Over-Seas Club also send to their members, who are to be found in all parts, and who have actively engaged in distributing literature. Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus receive small official supplies through the Colonial Office, and Gibraltar also gets literature from the Cunard and other steamship companies. Our propaganda seems to have aroused considerable interest in Algiers, and Messrs. James Moss & Co., who take a great interest in the distribution of pamphlets in the Mediterranean ports, send an appreciation of English propaganda which appeared in *La Presse Algerienne*:—

" . . . Like true Latins and idealists, convinced that the course of justice exerts magnetic influence, we have awaited the moment when the justice of our cause shall act upon humanity. We have unfortunately forgotten that while this effect is doubtless sure, it is nevertheless slow. Our more practical English friends undertook at an early date to combat the impudent German publicity by an active propaganda. They are deluging nations with their printers' ink. By a wide distribution of printed matter and illustrations, facts, and figures, they have shown up the impostors, corrected misstatements, and caused the Terton poison to vanish from the minds of those capable of thinking. . . . These millions of pamphlets are naturally distributed free, because the masses would choose a lie if they had to buy the truth. We have seen at Algiers, at the house of a distinguished consul of a neutral power, a table covered with these pamphlets. . . . He gave us not less than 14 different pamphlets bound in many colours, printed on excellent paper, well typed and well written. . . . [Here followed a description of the contents of some of them.] Why does not France imitate England in this energetic attempt at counter-propaganda? . . ."

The advice of the paper seems to have been taken, and the producers of *Al-Hakikat* should be flattered by the imitation of *Panorama*.

The Italian distribution is, in the main, carried out through the British Embassy in Rome, but a certain quantity of literature is also sent from time to time to private individuals or distributed at the ports through steamship companies.

We have just received an offer from Mr. John Glynn of facilities for carrying out a distribution in Corsica, Italy and Sicily, and he has put the services of his agents there entirely at our disposal, and it is hoped that good use may be made of his offer.

Distribution in Greece, as far as pamphlets are concerned, is carried out through the British Legation at Athens, and the illustrated Greek paper *Hesperia* is despatched in considerable quantities by post to addresses in all parts of Greece and the Greek Islands. Copies of *Al-Hakikat* are sent for distribution by the military authorities at Salonika, and pamphlets in English and French, and illustrated propaganda, including *Al-Hakikat* are distributed at Port Said and Alexandria.

## 2. UNITED STATES.

The distribution of pamphlets in the United States continues to be carried out through the Cunard, White Star, Leyland, Harrison and Anchor Lines, and there is still ample evidence of the interest taken in pamphlets by the agents of the companies and by those to whom they are handed.

From the very first, the Cunard Company have taken a particularly active part, and during the last six months they have dealt with some 600,000 copies, the greater part of which was English, and some thousands in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and German. At our request, the company has obtained from time to time copies of various Scandinavian papers published in the States, and has also arranged to send



pamphlets in the Scandinavian languages and in Dutch to the editors of such papers published in these languages.

The principal centres of distribution are New York, Boston, Chicago and Minneapolis, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle and Duluth. The first named receives by far the largest quantity of literature.

In April the Boston agents of the Cunard wrote that they had received 1,000 copies of the "Appeal to Truth" and wanted 800 more to enable them to send to each of the Roman Catholic priests in the diocese. They also asked for more copies of Andler's "Frightfulness in Theory and Practice."

"We sent copies to the West to one of our friends, and we are glad to say that the booklet has attracted considerable attention, and we have been asked for additional copies. The New York and Chicago offices have exhausted their supplies . . . and we are glad to say that we are now receiving demands from various sources for the supply of this literature."

A correspondent recently wrote to the Boston office as follows :—

"I want to thank you for the publications sent me relating to the war. They are very interesting. I took it for granted that some such publications were being made as they embody things that ought to be placed on record ; but I had not seen any of them. They will serve a very useful purpose."

It is unfortunate that there has lately been some trouble with the Customs authorities in effecting a clearance of the various consignments. The Customs authorities have, on one or two occasions, declined to accept the figures in the consular invoices made out in accordance with the advice notes received, and have claimed increases in value, contending that duty must be paid upon market values. These difficulties which have also confronted the White Star Company have caused a very considerable amount of trouble, and quite recently were the subject of an appeal before the U.S.A. Board of General Appraisers.

When the pamphlet "Why the Allies will Win" (an interview with Mr. Lloyd George) was issued, a copy reached an editor of a Welsh-American paper, and he at once approached the Cunard and asked if he could have a large supply of copies, as he could place them where every one would count, the pamphlet being one which Welsh-Americans would read and use to the best advantage. The pamphlet was advertised, and copies were sent only on receipt of written application, and over 3,000 separate applications were disposed of in an extraordinarily short time. Special literature intended for Irish-Americans has also been distributed to advantage by the Cunard. In regard to one of these pamphlets, "Mr. Redmond's Visit to the Front," the Boston office wrote—

"It is needless to say that we are only too glad to be of any service in distributing this literature, and we try to distribute it where we think it will do most good, particularly taking into consideration the nature of the pamphlet."

The Cunard Company report that their Boston house is—

"continually receiving appreciative letters from their various patrons ; for instance—one, to whom had been sent a copy of "Great Britain and Neutral Commerce" was so impressed, that 200 copies were ordered direct from England."

The following is an extract from a letter (July 20th) received by the Cunard Company from Boston :—

"Copies of all these pamphlets are promptly displayed on our counters, and it is the practice of a number of people who know we have them to call from time to time and take any new ones we may have. For instance, we have one man who calls every Saturday afternoon and takes away a large package of these pamphlets for distribution."

"As an illustration of how these pamphlets circulate . . . we were told recently of a storekeeper in a Maine country town who in some way receives this literature, which is read by the villagers with the result, we understand, that his store has been the scene of several fights. We learned this by application for more of these pamphlets from a man who had been in the village."

"We think it very desirable to distribute more literature to counteract that which is distributed by the Germans, particularly by the German lines, in large quantities. . . . The Germans are sending a considerable quantity of literature . . . in Swedish amongst the Scandinavian people ; in fact, we understand they are now lavish in the distribution of their literature."

The Cunard have received a letter from Harvard College Library regarding the pamphlets sent by them from which the following may be quoted :—

"Both the reference librarians report a constant use of the material in the reading room. . . . In one of our International Law courses, the professor in charge gave out several bits of investigation touching on the law phrases of the war, and the man found the pamphlet collection of the greatest value. Our freshmen courses in English have drawn upon them freely for themes and debating work. In addition, here is a good deal of consultation by general readers. Certain pamphlets, like the Bryce Report . . . have been used a great deal."

The White Star Line are carrying out excellent work on lines similar to those of the Cunard. The New York representatives of the line have shown their interest in the work by giving their views occasionally as to the style of literature best adapted to the present circumstances, and the company, while emphasising the need of care in the choice of literature to be distributed, are most anxious to carry out our views in every way.

The Anchor Line continues to accept supplies for distribution for New Orleans, Galveston and San Francisco. The Leyland and Harrison Lines have also assisted by conveying and distributing considerable quantities of literature in the United States.

Various small distributions are carried out in many parts of the United States by the Over-Seas Club, which sends pamphlets to their members and to other persons who apply to them. The following is an extract from one of the Over-Seas Club distributors in the States who gets a considerable regular supply of pamphlets:—

" . . . This is a fine lot of literature, just the kind suited for distribution in this country, and I am sure will do a lot of good . . .

" I assure you that I will use every endeavour to see that the above literature is distributed to the very best advantage. I realise the financial value of it, and am only too pleased to bear all the cost of distribution at this end. It seems to me that it will bear much good fruit, especially in the years to come (after the war is ended) . . . "

Recently a considerable supply of pamphlets in a variety of languages has been sent for distribution in the States through the Czech Committee in London, and there is every reason to believe that they will be effectively distributed amongst foreign-born Americans.

The following is an extract of a letter with regard to this distribution:—

" I thank you for the pamphlets . . . and I assure you that I will use all of them to great advantage of the Allies' cause. I received the long promised books, and am just now working on their distribution.

" So far our activities have not slackened, and we are keeping the Germans here in check. Of course, here and there they break the chain, only to make it stronger. "

### 3. CENTRAL AMERICA.

Since the last report was written we have been able to effect a very considerable development in our propaganda in Central America. The Pacific Steam Navigation Company called our attention to their new service on the West Coast of Central America, and arrangements were made to send special supplies to Panama. From this city distribution is carried out through the Pacific Steam Navigation agents who supply the Propaganda Committee at Esmeraldas, and their own agents on the West Coast of Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Guatemala as far as Salina Cruz. The Pro-Ally League at Guatemala is now receiving regular supplies which should be useful as Guatemala is an important centre of German propaganda. The P.S.N. Co. enlisted the help of the Salvador Railway Company in this connection, and supplies are regularly sent for distribution through this channel. Literature is also sent from Panama to the R.M.S.P. agents at Colon, who wrote on 6th March as follows:—

" We thank you for your letter of 1st February, and, as requested, we are having the pamphlets distributed in Panama and Colon. We may add that His Majesty's Legation at Panama has promised to give us their assistance in the distribution."

At Panama Mr. F. E. Lyon also distributes Spanish pamphlets and is prepared to deal with small regular supplies of literature in Chinese.

Books and pamphlets, the *War Pictorial*, and *America Latina* are also being sent regularly to the British Ministers in Mexico and Panama, to the Governor of British Honduras, and to the consular officers at Guatemala, St. José, Costa Rica, Guadalupe Jalisco, and to a number of private individuals, who receive them in the name of the Over-Seas Club, the Royal Colonial Institute, or friends in this country.

Through the Over-Seas Club pamphlets are being sent to Managua. The manager of the Anglo-Central American Commercial Bank wrote on March 3rd as follows:—

" We beg to thank you for the . . . publications which we . . . have distributed very carefully among those of our friends who are in a position to appreciate their contents. The Austro-Germans here have founded a daily local newspaper with a special service of cable messages from New York, but notwithstanding all this, the majority of people favour our cause. We should be glad to receive a further supply of . . . pamphlets, as well as other publications for careful distribution among interested neutral friends."

## 4. CUBA AND WEST INDIES.

The supply of literature for Cuba has been increased, and we are completing arrangements with Mr. John Glynn, of Liverpool, for a systematic distribution through his agents at nine of the principal Cuban ports, which promises to be of great value. Pamphlets are being sent as previously reported, to a number of private individuals, and we have recently arranged with the Royal Colonial Institute to send literature to their fellows in Cuba.

At the request of the British Minister we have arranged to send him regular supplies of pamphlets for distribution, and we are getting into touch with the United Railways Company of Havannah through which we hope to effect distribution.

Literature is also being sent to the consular officers at Santo Domingo, Puerta Plata and Porto Rico, as well as at Curaçao. A recipient of pamphlets in Porto Rico recently wrote with regard to them:—

"They were anxiously read and passed on."

## 5. BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Distribution of pamphlets has been continued, and after consulting with the Colonial Office, arrangements have been made to supply the Governors of the following islands with literature in English and other languages: Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Grenada. In the Bahamas, copies of literature were distributed in hotels and other places where they would be most likely to be read by American visitors.

Literature is also being sent to private individuals in the West India Islands through the Over-Seas Club and other channels.

The Governor of Jamaica in a recent despatch to the Colonial Office wrote:—

"... In my opinion, however, they are a valuable counterblast to the literature which finds its way into the hands of alien friends who visit Jamaica and for this reason I should be glad if you would be so good . . . as to cause me to be supplied with 50 copies each of the pamphlets mentioned in the attached list."

## 6. SOUTH AMERICA.

During the past six months there has been a very considerable increase in the quantity of literature asked for and supplied to South America. The P.S.N. Company which distributes literature along the West Coast have recently asked us to double their supplies as their West Coast manager wrote to them that he could dispose of this quantity to advantage should it be possible to send it. They now receive 8,000 copies of nearly every pamphlet in Spanish. Letters have been received from their agents, which show the interest they are taking in the work, and in some cases they are asking for special additional supplies. The Foreign Office have asked that H.B.M. Consul-General (Mr. G. S. F. Attlee) at Sao Paulo should receive 5,000 copies of all Portuguese pamphlets. Copies of the *War Pictorial* are at present being sent in bulk to South America, and the supplies of *America Latina* and *O Espelho* are continually being increased in consequence of demands from various quarters.

Arrangements have recently been completed for the supply of sets of lantern slides dealing with the British share in the war, to the corresponding secretaries of the Over-Seas Club in South America, and it is hoped that it will be possible for these to be sent from place to place where they will be shown under the auspices of the club. Arrangements are also being made for the despatch of sets of British picture postcards, dealing with naval and military subjects, to the Over-Seas Club members in South America.

The co-operation of Belgian representatives in South America is under consideration, and in many places at the present time the propaganda committees include representatives of Belgium, France, and Italy. Regular supplies of the *War Pictorial* are now being sent to a number of Belgian Consuls in South America.

## a. VENEZUELA.

Distribution here has been somewhat difficult since the discontinuance of the R.M.S.P.'s regular service, but supplies are being sent from time to time when steamers are available, and the Leyland Line have now undertaken a regular distribution which will be most valuable.

Arrangements have also been completed for bringing literature to the notice of masters and passengers on board Venezuelan ships which do a considerable trade with Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Mr. A. J. Bell, Director of Public Works in Trinidad, has been supplied with pamphlets and literature of various kinds for this purpose, which will be distributed unofficially, through the Customs Authorities at Port of Spain; these should find their way up the Orinoco.

Literature is also sent to the British representative at Caracas and to private individuals in various parts of the Republic, and in some cases through the Royal Colonial Institute. It is hoped that some of the recipients will undertake small local distributions.

#### b. COLOMBIA.

Distribution on the Northern Coast of Colombia is unfortunately irregular owing to the lack of steamship facilities. Such supplies as reach the R.M.S.P. agents at Barranquilla and Cartagena are distributed locally. Copies are sent to the British Consul at Barranquilla, and the French Consul is taking great interest in the distribution of pamphlets. The R.M.S.P. agents have also sent on copies to Bogotá and Medellín. The West Coast ports obtain supplies from the P.S.N. Company.

The supply of *America Latina* sent to the Minister at Bogotá has been increased, and he now receives 6,000 copies of *Spanish War Pictorial*, and arrangements have just been completed to let him have regular supplies of all Spanish pamphlets issued. Supplies are also being sent to Mr. F. A. Koppel, Bogotá, who is good enough to distribute them locally. He has recently received a consignment of 500 copies for a special distribution, which he has undertaken to carry out.

Supplies of literature are also sent regularly to the Centro de Propaganda Inglesa y Francesa, Pasto, Narino, and the Sociedad Propagadora de la Causa de los Aliados.

#### c. ECUADOR.

The distribution on the coast of Ecuador is carried out through the P.S.N. Company. Through the Over-Seas Club we have got into touch with their branch at Esmeraldas, and arrangements are now being made to supply them with a regular quantity of Spanish literature, which they are distributing. Supplies are also being sent to the British representative at Quito. Private individuals are also being supplied with literature by the Over-Seas Club and the Royal Colonial Institute in various parts of the Republic.

#### d. PERU.

Distribution in Peru is carried out through the Valparaiso house of the P.S.N. Company, and, in addition, regular supplies to the British Minister at Lima have been arranged.

The local branch of Patriotic Britons Overseas at Arequipa is undertaking useful work in connection with propaganda in Southern Peru. We have recently made arrangements for a regular supply of Spanish pamphlets to the Secretary, Mr. A. C. S. Roden. The Molendo Agencies are also receiving a regular quota, which they have offered to distribute.

Supplies also reach Iquitos from time to time through the Booth Steamship Company.

#### e. CHILE.

One thousand copies of the *War Pictorial* are now being sent regularly to the British Minister at Santiago de Chile, and supplies of literature are sent from time to time to members of the Over-Seas Club and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute, business firms and private individuals in various parts of the country. A feature worth mentioning is that the editor of the *Magellan Times*, a paper published in English at Punta Arenas, receives all English pamphlets regularly, and has reproduced some of them in full in his paper.

#### f. FALKLAND ISLANDS.

Arrangements have recently been made to send pamphlets through the Colonial Office to the Governor of the Falkland Islands and to members of the Over-Seas Club.

#### g. ARGENTINE.

The distribution of literature in the Argentine is now in the hands of the Comision de Propaganda Pro Alisdos, which has been established at Buenos Aires.

A short report on the working of the Buenos Aires Pro-Ally Propaganda Committee was received through the kindness of the R.M.S.P., and the following extracts will be of interest in showing the scope of the work undertaken by this committee:—

"Our committee was formed during the month of October, 1915, with a view to undertaking, as far as possible, the systematic distribution of propaganda matter in the Spanish language throughout the Argentine Republic. The British Patriotic Committee handed over to us a considerable quantity of pamphlets which they were circulating. Funds were collected from friends and sympathisers as far as possible in the form of monthly subscriptions, and the British Patriotic Committee undertook to pay the postal expenses of all pamphlets received from them for distribution. This grant has since been increased to the payment of all postal expenses of pamphlets distributed irrespective of their origin. Our committee have entered into an arrangement with the representatives of *Por la Civilizacion* whereby we receive at cost price 10,000 copies of each issue for circulation in this Republic. . . . We have lists of names and addresses of four thousand suitable people in Buenos Aires and district to whom this pamphlet is posted direct. This work is carried out by voluntary helpers. . . . In addition to these lists we have representatives in seventy-five different towns of the Republic to whom we consign parcels of pamphlets according to the quantity they can distribute in their district. These towns are situated in every part of the Republic from the northern province of Salta down to the south, in Rio Negro and Chubut. . . . We can put out 10,000 a fortnight if any, and to many pamphlets in the Spanish language as can be sent to us. . . . The system is capable of any expansion with the same machinery. All we want is more literature. It is eagerly read and sought after, and . . . we can guarantee that the pamphlets go into proper quarters in every kind of society, and are distributed on systematic lines without waste or overlapping."

Between October 1915 and July 1916 the Committee has distributed 503,000 pamphlets and has now 204 distributing centres.

The R.M.S.P. also takes quantities of literature in Spanish, some of which is handed over to the Central Propaganda Committee of H.M. Minister, who receives regularly 3,000 copies of all Spanish pamphlets. The requirements of the Central Committee for literature are considerable, as their organisation covers the whole of the Republic, and they have asked for between 12-15,000 copies of various pamphlets a fortnight. Supplies are also sent to Mr. Gifford Adams, who is in charge of the Local Propaganda Committee at Santa Fé, and he receives in addition to Spanish pamphlets, Italian and German, as his neighbourhood contains a considerable German colony. Mr. Adams writes:—

"I have to-day received a supply of literature concerning the war, for which many thanks. The pamphlets in German will be most useful, as the German-speaking colony here is very large, as is also the Italian. I would be grateful to you if, on receipt of this, you would forward another parcel as soon as possible, as besides the parcels we send out for re-distribution, we are posting 100 copies a day from here alone. Of course we receive a large quantity from the committee in Buenos Aires, but the more we get direct from you allows them to distribute more in other provinces. This propaganda is undoubtedly giving good results, very many neutral firms now refusing to have Germans in their employ, and in consequence a great number of Germans now call themselves German-Swiss; in fact, in this district at least, there is hardly a German who does not do so. At Moleseville, a large colony north of us, Russian is mostly spoken, as the colonists are practically all Russian Jews, so a few pamphlets in Russian would be useful."

It is interesting to note that Emir Arslan, who was until the outbreak of war, a Turkish consular representative, is engaged in active pro-Ally propaganda, and through Mr. Bayne, of Montevideo, we are sending him regularly copies of *Al-Habikat*

With regard to propaganda among Turks, Mr. Bayne wrote:—

"The Turks are numerous and many of them have important connections with settlers of all nationalities. The ground is, however, fairly well covered by the ex-Turkish Consul-General Emir Arslan, who resigned his position because he could not hold office under a Government which would forget the nation's obligations to Britain and France. He is a most popular figure amongst the Turks, and edits a paper called *La Neta*, which he runs in defence of the cause of the Allies. . . . Locally we are doing everything we can to back up Emir Arslan, as he is a most energetic pro-Ally of deep conviction and an extraordinarily popular personality amongst his own community. Anything that you can send us in Turkish, Arabic, &c., we will pass on to him, and I am confident he will make the best use of it."

From time to time we receive applications from commercial firms in the Argentine for supplies, and these have in all cases been sent when it seemed clear that their distribution would in no way overlap with the activities of the Buenos Aires Committee.

A large number of copies of pamphlets, *War Pictorial* and *Americas Latina*, are sent out regularly to members of the Over-Seas Club and other private individuals, while arrangements completed with the Royal Colonial Institute should lead in the immediate future to an increased distribution through influential British residents in the Argentine.

## h. URUGUAY.

'Thanks to the energy and active organisation of Mr. C. W. Bayne of Montevideo, propaganda in Uruguay continues to be carried on effectively. With regard to the work of his committee, Mr. Bayne wrote to us on March 25th:—

"Results are evident everywhere as regards the effect on the neutral mind of this propaganda, thanks to the energetic manner in which your committee took the matter in hand."

We are under a great obligation to the R.M.S.P. for their generosity in conveying large regular supplies of pamphlets to Mr. Bayne. Lately there has been some difficulty owing to the discontinuance of the regular service from Liverpool to Montevideo, and pamphlets for the present are shipped direct to Buenos Aires whence they are reshipped to Montevideo. Writing with regard to supplies of literature in German Mr. Bayne said:—

"We shall make good use of these. One of our workers at Urugayana, Brazil, Mr. A. Lockwood Thompson, reports that the Germans are furious at our dissemination of the truth about the war, and have even gone to the extent of threatening violence. We are doubling our supplies of literature to him; he says *O Espelho* is immensely appreciated by the Brazilians, who are enjoying this campaign."

## i. PARAGUAY.

The distribution in Paraguay is practically limited to supplies sent from time to time to firms and private individuals, amongst whom are members of the Over-Seas Club and Royal Colonial Institute.

## j. BOLIVIA.

In Bolivia copies of the *War Pictorial* and pamphlets are being sent to the British representative at La Paz, and literature is also sent regularly to members of the Over-Seas Club and Royal Colonial Institute.

The Eastern part of the Republic is supplied with literature through the committee at Corumba in Brazil, which is working in connection with Mr. Bayne's Committee at Montevideo, and some pamphlets find their way to Riberalt in the extreme North of Bolivia from the Booth Line agency at Manaus.

## k. BRAZIL.

In Southern Brazil there are seven local Pro-Ally Committees in connection with the Montevideo Centre, who receive literature from us through Mr. C. W. Bayne. In addition to these supplies pamphlets are also being sent to the *Liga dos Aliados* at Rio. A letter from the R.M.S.P. agent at Rio stated, with regard to the new pro-Ally paper the *Journal dos Commercio*, that—

"At a recent meeting of the *Liga dos Aliados* it was suggested that in view of the change of attitude the *Journal* should be approached unofficially with a view to obtaining daily certain spaces for propaganda. This has been done, and the editor has willingly offered to place two columns daily at the disposal of the Allies. As is his custom, he refuses to accept payment for articles which will always appear as emanating from the editorial chair."

The St. John del Rey Mining Co., at Bello Horizonte, Minas Geraes and the Allied Propaganda Committee at Bahia also get regular consignments.

The Bahia agents of the R.M.S.P. have written fully, giving particulars of the requirements of the Propaganda Committee in that port. Pamphlets are sent from Bahia to 182 towns in the interior of the State of Bahia and the State of Sergipe. At the beginning of the present year there was a list of nearly 2,000 addresses to which additions were being made daily, and 30,000 copies of publications of various sorts had been distributed. Judging by the large numbers of letters which are being received from the interior asking for copies of pamphlets, it appears to the Committee that the roll of the recipients will soon total 4,000.

"At the time of writing German propaganda was still being carried on most vigorously and every Dutch mail brought large quantities of pamphlets which were spread in every direction, and the Committee felt that so effort should be spared to counteract the enemy's schemes."

Later the Bahia Committee writes:—

"The Committee is very grateful to the Company for interesting itself with the Government with the view of increasing the quantity of each number of *O Espelho* to 1,000 copies, and we now have to advise that the *Janaro* delivered a large and useful quantity of propaganda. . . . We have further received from Rio six packages. . . . All this propaganda is being distributed . . . throughout the State of Bahia, and judging by the letters which the Committee from time to time receive, is much appreciated. . . ."



This Committee issued a special leaflet in Portuguese dealing with the attempt to blow up the S.S. "Tennyson," as they felt it necessary to draw the attention of the public to the barbarous acts committed by the Germans, and to the fact that this particular crime was planned in Brazil and executed in Brazilian territorial waters.

The Bahia agents of the R.M.S.P., Messrs. Stevenson, write that:—

"The local committee continues to report their appreciation of your kind attention in forwarding the parcels [of literature] in such a regular manner."

Since the last report arrangements have been made to send considerable quantities of pamphlets to the British Consuls at Sao Paulo and Porto Alegre; in the latter case pamphlets in German as well as Spanish are being sent, and supplies are also forwarded to the Consul at Rio. Small supplies, varying from 10 to 50 copies, are being sent to firms and private individuals in Pernambuco, Rio, Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande du Sul, Goyaz, Belem, Maranh, Victoria, and Manaus. The agents of the Booth Line at Maranh have asked for increased supplies. These agents have also sent a list of persons to whom they are in the habit of sending pamphlets regularly, containing some 250 names. The steamship distribution, which is effectively carried out through the R.M.S.P., Lamport & Holt, and Booth Lines, covers the principal ports on the coast, and the Booth Line also reach as far as Manaus on the Amazon.

We received from the Booth Company the following extract from a letter of their Pará agents, which is evidence of the development of distribution work:—

"Referring to pamphlets despatched, these have been distributed in the towns only up to the present date, but we have, since receipt of your letter, started giving them to the captains on the river (Amazon) steamers, who will distribute the pamphlets at their destination. We have commenced with Cameté and the Tocantin Zone, and on land we distribute up to Bragança on the railway line."

The Ceará Booth Line agents wrote in January with regard to their distribution as follows:—

"In this connection we have sent you under separate cover a small map of this State, specially ringed in pencil the places where we have had literature distributed. As regards the adequacy of the supply, we would mention that we get enough pamphlets, but could do with a few more numbers of *O Espelho*, because people, especially in the interior, pay more attention to the latter."

"We would also mention that German propaganda here is very active, and their consul distributes regularly a paper printed in seven different languages."

The map referred to shows what distribution was made from Ceará, including the following places—Camocim, Baturito, Quixada, Caxoeira, Guatu.

The Parnahyba agents give the following details of their distribution:—

"We have sent four or five copies (pamphlets) to the leading business houses in the following towns up river (Parnahyba): Amarroco, Salinas, Brejo, Theresina, Amarante, Floriano, Uniao and Barrae. As the people from all parts of the State take their products into these various centres the literature could be distributed all over Piahy had we more copies. There is no doubt that literature, especially *O Espelho* is greatly appreciated, and is a great help in getting the truth before the public, as the Germans are very active in their propaganda."

At Santos, the R.M.S.P.'s office distributes in bulk and pamphlets through the post, and a minimum of 500 copies are dealt with in this manner. Copies of *O Espelho* are also distributed amongst the hotels, business houses, &c., also the newsagents.

The supplies of pamphlets which have hitherto been sent regularly to Mr. Armstrong Read in Rio Grande were discontinued as he has now removed to Rio, but he has given the R.M.S.P. agents information which will enable them to carry on a useful distribution, and their agents have asked for an increase in their usual supply to meet this demand.

The popularity of *O Espelho* has from the first been very considerable, and steamship agents are continually being asked for copies and for back numbers, and in one case we were urged to supply a complete set which had been asked for by a certain port official "who is a gentleman whom it pays to oblige." At Santos the R.M.S.P. agent reported that copies of the paper could readily be sold and arrangements to this effect were accordingly made with the publishers. The result of placing it on sale was "that copies of the paper are spread out on the pavements in "all parts of the town, and passers-by stop and look it over, and those who buy it "read it."

*Sao Paulo*.—Distribution here is made by the offices of the principal Brazilian firms; copies are also sent to Campinas. A supply of literature is also kept on the office counter at the offices of the R.M.S.P. at Sao Paulo, where "Brazilian, Portuguese, Italians, &c. are in the habit of calling regularly for copies."

At Pernambuco copies are distributed to the local press, officials, deputies and leading business men, and supplies are also sent to H.B.M. Consul and are distributed at the office to callers.

#### I. BRITISH GUIANA.

Arrangements have recently been made for the distribution of a considerable amount of literature in British Guiana. The Governor is now receiving copies of the *War Pictorial* (Portuguese, French, Italian edition), *O Espelho*, and *America Latina*.

The Immigration Agent-General has asked for 1,000 copies of *Al-Hakikat* to be sent every fortnight.

The Governor wrote to the Colonial Office as follows:—

"There are many Portuguese residents in this Colony who have little knowledge of English, and at Morahanna, in the North-Western district, there are a few Venezuelans who only read Spanish, and I think distribution of copies amongst these people regularly would do good."

Literature is also sent through the Over-Seas Club to their members.

#### III. DUTCH GUIANA.

Small supplies are sent regularly to the Consular Officer in Dutch Guiana, also to Paramaribo, Nickerie, and members of the Over-Seas Club. Pamphlets in Dutch also reach some of the local papers.

The following is an extract from a letter from the Over-Seas Club Corresponding Secretary at Morahanna, recently received:—

"Since coming up here, four miles from the Venezuelan frontier, I have discovered that the Venezuelans are decidedly pro-German, thanks evidently to the machinations of Blohm & Co., German traders there. As I am in close touch with Venezuelan officials here, a supply of war literature from the British point of view, written in Spanish, will now be most useful. Thanking you in anticipation."

#### 7. DOMINIONS, ETC.

There has been since the last report no important development in distribution in the colonies so far as this is carried out through the steamship companies.

##### a. CANADA.

In Canada supplies are regularly taken by the C.P.R. of literature in English, French, Danish, and Swedish.

##### b. AUSTRALASIA.

Australia and New Zealand receive their pamphlets mainly through the Orient Steamship Company, who have been to considerable trouble and expense in connection with this work. Some extracts from reports received from the Australasian agents of this line are appended:—

##### *South Australia.*

"Literature has been distributed very widely throughout Southern Australia, having been sent to all our sub-agents, public institutes, and libraries, also to most of the large business houses, besides handing them to many persons over the office counter. . . . The expressions of interest that have been made to me verbally, show that it has been appreciated by the recipients."

##### *Victoria (Postal Distribution).*

"After each distribution a large number of letters are received thanking us for the literature, promising to pass it on to their friends, and often commenting favourably upon the light shed by the pamphlets on the questions of the moment."

Melbourne agent writing on March 30th:—

"The following is an extract from a letter from a Melbourne Club:—

"The Committee are obliged for the packet of pamphlets entitled *Truth about England* so kindly sent to the Club by you, which arrived this morning. They were all taken by the members shortly after being placed on the table."

##### *New South Wales.*

"Pamphlets have been sent to all our country agents, numbering 48."



## New Zealand.

## The Orient Line wrote on July 31st:—

"Our General Manager in Australia, writing on the 26th April from Sydney, informs us that during the period the Australian Royal Agricultural Society's recent show was open over 225,000 people passed through the turnstiles, and that as the Orient Company's stand he took the opportunity of having some of your pamphlets distributed. Over 10,000 of these were taken away, chiefly by people from the country districts."

The distribution in New Zealand was very kindly arranged by the Orient Line through the Union Steamship Company of Dunedin, who wrote on March 13th that the war literature received has been distributed amongst the Company's branches (15) in all parts of the country. Supplies are also sent to members of the Over-Seas Club.

## c. SOUTH AFRICA.

In South Africa the bulk of the distribution is carried out by the Union Castle Steamship Company. The company are at present distributing regularly from 137 centres in South and East Africa, and supplies of Portuguese and Dutch pamphlets have been increased to meet the demand.

## The following is an extract from a letter from the Cape Town agents:—

"Our method is to apportion the supply of each pamphlet between ourselves and our agencies at Union ports—Algoa Bay, East London and Durban, Johannesburg, Delagoa Bay, Beira, and with a careful distribution from each of these centres it will be seen that the whole of the Union and Rhodesia is adequately served. Our plan here is to send small supplies to each of our inland agents, taking particular care to nurse the districts in the Cape and the Free State where the nationalist element is strong, and where, too, a large number of Backsett Boers can be reached and have the truth put before them. This, we think, is managed by a judicious parceling out by our Bloemfontein agent, Mr. Levisser, and the agents, for instance, at Paarl, Worcester, Beaufort West, Calvinia, &c., in Cape Town. Thus we place a large number advantageously amongst an intelligent reading public, both personally and through the publicity association and railway libraries, and we are sure the literature is greatly appreciated and studied.

"... We would suggest that the Committee keep before them the fact that the Dutch translations are essentially useful throughout the Union."

## Port Elizabeth agents write as follows:—

"Local distribution is made amongst clergymen, public speakers and others, and also to the principal institution where they come before the notice of the larger portion of the reading public. Supplies are also forwarded to the inland agents, and editors of newspapers up country, under our control, will again distribute the pamphlets in quarters where they will be of most service. In addition to the above we have been particularly fortunate in the assistance we have received from our friend Mr. W. Fridman Green, the South African Manager of Messrs. Morris, Little & Son, Ltd. This gentleman... has the whole of South Africa listed as regards farmers, and with his assistance we have gone through the list as regards the districts under our control and being guided by his personal knowledge of the political views of the various men, Mr. Green has also taken upon himself the distribution of a considerable number of each of the pamphlets through his travellers, instructing them where they can be most judiciously placed, by which means many of the farmers in the outlying districts are reached which would not otherwise be the case. . . . We have received a letter from Graf Reint in which they say:—

"These pamphlets are very acceptable and do undoubtedly good, and it is only a pity that more of them are not printed in Dutch so that this section of the community may be made aware of the inner side of the great struggle."

"East London and Durban distribute in their districts on similar lines to those of the Cape Town Office. The Johannesburg agents distribute copies locally and send small supplies to their inland agent in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and give the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association a number of copies which they send out to the Recreation Rooms of the Collieries. They have also distributed small quantities to the various clergy in the Transvaal and to the editors of the newspapers with good results."

"The Rand Daily Mail of January 17th writes a very strong editorial article based on the *Armenian Atrocities* pamphlet headed 'The Murder of a Nation.'"

"The Beira agents sent out supplies of pamphlets to all their Rhodesian agents (Beira has 16 agencies under its control, 9 in Rhodesia, 6 East Coast and Blantyre, Nyasaland) and to Portuguese East Coast agent, and ask for further supplies in Portuguese. In addition to their local distribution in Beira they have sent supplies to the Publicity Department of the Mozambique Co., and placed copies in their offices which are fully availed of by passengers and others."

The agents of the line in distributing these pamphlets are in many cases in touch with the local press, and the following extract from a letter from the Johannesburg agent is interesting:—

"In reply to your letter, I beg to state that the two pamphlets *Death of Miss Edith Cavell* and *Belgium and Germany* have come to hand. I have perused these with great interest, and I am convinced that the policy of the British Government in arranging for the distribution thereof is a wise one, and will materially assist in convincing and bringing home to the minds of the Dutch population to what extent the Germans will carry their atrocities. The illustrations contained in the pamphlet *Belgium and Germany* will impress these atrocities vividly on the Dutch mind, which

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"... We would suggest that the Committee keep before them the fact that the Dutch translations are essentially useful throughout the Union."

Port Elizabeth agents write as follows :—

"Local distribution is made amongst clergymen, public speakers and others, and also to the principal institution where they come before the notice of the larger portion of the reading public. Supplies are also forwarded to the inland agents, and editors of newspapers up country, under our control, will again distribute the pamphlets in quarters where they will be of most service. In addition to the above we have been particularly fortunate in the assistance we have received from our friend Mr. W. Friddin Green, the South African Manager of Messrs. Norris, Little & Son, Ltd. This gentleman... has the whole of South Africa listed as regards farmers, and with his assistance we have gone through the list as regards the districts under our control and being guided by his personal knowledge of the political views of the various men, Mr. Green has also taken upon himself the distribution of a considerable number of each of the pamphlets through his travellers, instructing them where they can be most judiciously placed, by which means many of the farmers in the outlying districts are reached which would not otherwise be the case. . . . We have received a letter from Graff Reinet in which they say :—

"These pamphlets are very acceptable and do undoubtedly good, and it is only a pity that more of them are not printed in Dutch so that this section of the community may be made aware of the inner side of the great struggle."

"East London and Durban distribute in their districts on similar lines to those of the Cape Town Office. The Johannesburg agents distribute copies locally and send small supplies to their inland agent in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and give the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association a number of copies which they send out to the Recreation Rooms of the Collieries. They have also distributed small quantities to the various clergy in the Transvaal and to the editors of the newspapers with good results."

"The Rand *Daily Mail* of January 17th writes a very strong editorial article based on the *Armenian Atrocities* pamphlet headed 'The Murder of a Nation.'"

"The Beira agents sent out supplies of pamphlets to all their Rhodesian agents (Beira has 16 agencies under its control, 9 in Rhodesia, 6 East Coast and Blantyre, Nyasaland) and to Portuguese East Coast agent, and ask for further supplies in Portuguese. In addition to their local distribution in Beira they have sent supplies to the Publicity Department of the Mozambique Co., and placed copies in their offices which are fully availed of by passengers and others."

The agents of the line in distributing these pamphlets are in many cases in touch with the local press, and the following extract from a letter from the Johannesburg agent is interesting :—

"In reply to your letter, I beg to state that the two pamphlets *Death of Miss Edith Cavell* and *Belgium and Germany* have come to hand. I have perused these with great interest, and I am convinced that the policy of the British Government in arranging for the distribution thereof is a wise one, and will materially assist in convincing and bringing home to the minds of the Dutch population to what extent the Germans will carry their atrocities. The illustrations contained in the pamphlet *Belgium and Germany* will impress these atrocities vividly on the Dutch mind, which

is better adapted to grasp all the details and proper meaning when rendered pictorially than descriptively. The language might have been somewhat more simple in several instances, but taken as a whole I am of the opinion that the Dutch-speaking population will be able to understand them. Reference will be made to these pamphlets in *De Westelike Stem*, and I shall be prepared to render assistance in regard to the distribution thereof, if desired.

"We have gone through these pamphlets, and have also had the benefit of the opinion of Mr. H. J. Hofmeyer, a prominent Dutch solicitor of this town, and we consider that the publications most suitable for distribution in this district are those entitled *The Death of Miss Edith Cavell* and *Belgium and Germany*. We would be able to distribute at least 500 copies of each to good advantage."

The following recent letters illustrate the progress of the work carried out by the Union Castle agents:—

Letter from the Cape Town Agency, 23rd June 1916:—

"*War Pamphlets*.—Further to our letter of the 21st instant, in regard to the distribution of war pamphlets published in the Portuguese language, it occurred to us that there might be a good field for such literature in Portuguese West Africa; so we mentioned the matter to Messrs. Thomson, Watson & Co., the local agents of the Empresa Nacional de Navegacao, who said that they would be pleased to place supplies of these pamphlets on each of the Empress steamers calling here for the use of the passengers. They also offered to carry freight free any small parcels which we might care to hand them for distribution at the several Portuguese West African ports of call of the steamers."

Letter from Johannesburg Agency, 19th June 1916:—

"*War Literature*.—We invariably send copies to the editors of certain Transvaal papers in the hope that they might be able to make use of them. We now have pleasure in enclosing a cutting from the *Hard Daily Mail* of a leading article written on the pamphlets entitled *The German White Book on the War in Belgium and The Destruction of Poland*.

The editor of *De Westelike Stem* recently wrote to the Johannesburg agents as follows:—

"All the publications received by me are distributed amongst the farmers with the request that they should be passed on to their neighbour after perusal. It is remarkable to see what a strong anti-Hun sentiment these publications have created amongst the few who have so far read them."

Letter from Smithfield, Orange Free State, 20th June 1916:—

"We wish to thank you for sending us from time to time cartoons and pamphlets in connection with the war.

"We have been circulating them among a number of people, and we think not without some good effect; and we think that they have done some good in this Hartogs stronghold."

The Over-Seas Club has a large number of members in all parts of South Africa to whom we send literature in both English and Dutch. Many letters have been received from them asking for further copies or for regular supplies.

#### d. WEST AFRICA.

West Africa is now receiving supplies of literature through the kindness of the Elder Dempster Line who have recently taken up the work of distribution. They have been most anxious to do anything in their power to help in this matter, and, as far as *Al-Hakikat* is concerned, have arranged a very excellent distribution in Nigeria.

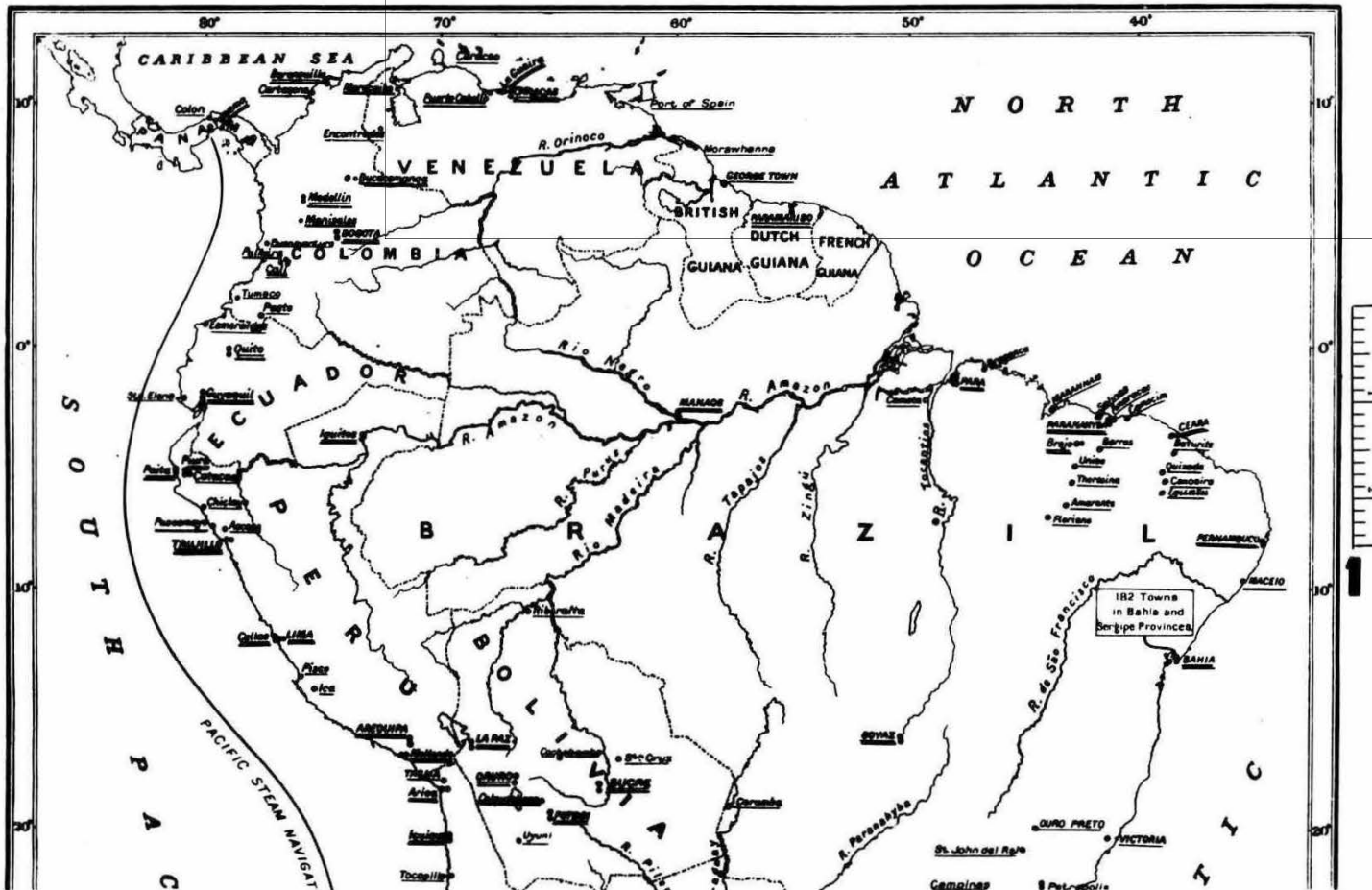
#### e. EAST AFRICA.

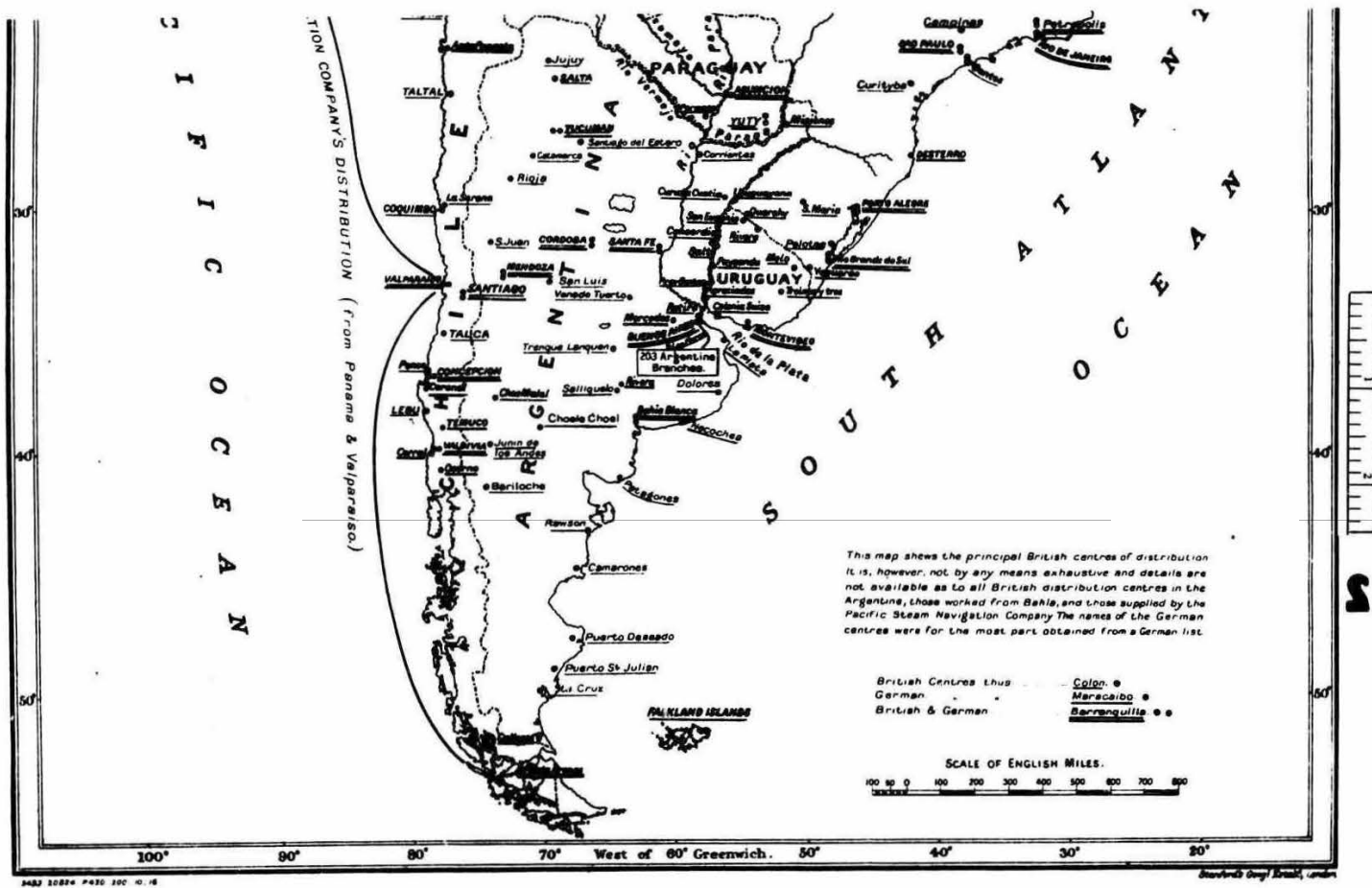
The East coast of Africa obtains its supplies through the Union Castle, Ballard, King & Co., the Over-Seas Club, and the Colonial Office. Quite recently negotiations have been opened with a newspaper proprietor in Nairobi, with a view to extending our distribution in Uganda and British East Africa. Distribution through the Colonial Office has now been systematised, and varying quantities of pamphlets and illustrated propaganda matter, including in some cases *Al-Hakikat*, are now being sent to the officers administering the government of Nyassaland, Nigeria, British Somaliland, Uganda, East Africa, Zanzibar and Gambia.

#### f. INDIA AND CEYLON.

There has been little alteration in the arrangements for the distribution of English pamphlets in India, and the manner in which *Al-Hakikat* is being disseminated is dealt with in another part of the report. A number of members of the Over-Seas Club are at present receiving regular supplies of pamphlets, and in reply to a request from Kalmunai (Ceylon) we have forwarded some of the few Tamil pamphlets available. The recipient wrote as follows:—

"I am very much obliged for the Tamil pamphlets which are much appreciated by the natives, and I could easily get rid of a thousand of them.





This map shows the principal British centres of distribution in S. America, however, not by any means exhaustive and details are not available as to all British distribution centres in the Argentine, those worked from Bahia, and those supplied by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. The names of the German centres were for the most part obtained from a German list.

" I think, however, that what is wanted here is a brief story of the war from the beginning, told in simple language, embodying a selection of facts of importance, selected from the various pamphlets you have kindly sent me from time to time.

" The native knows so very little of the war, or the countries and peoples engaged upon it, that it is extremely difficult to make them grasp what victory to Germany would mean, and to what extent they would be affected should Germany win."

#### 9. THE EAST.

Further development has taken place in the supply of pamphlets to the Dutch East Indies and to the Straits Settlements. Here considerable supplies of *Al-Hakikat* are being distributed and special arrangements are being made for sending pamphlets to Fellows of the Colonial Institute.

We have received several applications for literature to be sent to Java, and the P. & O. recently asked for considerable supplies of pamphlets in Dutch for distribution in the Dutch colonies. All British consuls there now receive small regular supplies of pamphlets. The following letter has been received from a correspondent in Java:—

" Thanks very much for all the war literature you sent. I see that it is well circulated. Some books I sent to the principal newspaper offices, others to the estates up country where there are many pro-Germans. The leading newspapers here are mostly pro-Ally, one or two rabidly so, and I can tell you the Germans get thoroughly well lashed in their articles. We have many pro-Germans among us and they appear as swollen-headed as the Germans themselves, and no argument appeals to them, others there are who say they are not pro-German, but are anti-British. They seem to be imbued with a sort of jealousy against Britain, and though they wish the Allies to win, they hope England will get some nasty knocks 'to take her down a bit.'"

Small supplies of pamphlets in English and of *Al-Hakikat* are sent to Burma where the Over-Seas Club assist in distribution. At Bangkok, the British Minister distributes 1,000 copies of the *War Pictorial*, while more than 1,000 copies of *Al-Hakikat* are being sent through the Colonial Office to the Malay Peninsula.

There has been a very considerable extension of propaganda work in China, and the steamship companies, the Over-Seas Club, and the Religious Tract Society have all helped in the distribution of pamphlets and the war literature. In addition to this the Colonial Office has asked for supplies for Hong-Kong and the British Minister at Peking is receiving regular consignments of literature in Chinese, and a large number of copies of the *War Pictorial*. The new paper *Cheng Pao* will take the place of the *War Pictorial*, and much larger supplies will in future be distributed.

At Hong-Kong, the P. and O.'s representative has arranged distribution through the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, local coasting steamers, and the Hong-Kong and Chinese republican press.

Dr. Darroch, who works in connection with the Religious Tract Society in Shanghai, has taken very great interest in propaganda work and at the request of the society the British Consul-General there has consented to grant Dr. Darroch certain facilities for this work, which he proposes to carry out in conjunction with prominent business and financial houses in China.

In Japan literature is being sent to members of the Over-Seas Club and some of the steamship companies are carrying out distributions. We have had letters from the Agents of the P. & O. Company in which stress has been laid upon the desirability of propaganda literature in Japanese, and the *War Pictorial* will shortly be available in this language.

The following are extracts from recent letters on the subject:—

From the P. & O. Agent at Kobe:—

" In view of the German propaganda in this country and the swing of Japanese public opinion in their favour, the dissemination of reliable facts concerning the War—in the vernacular—will, no doubt, prove a very practical and wholesome innovation."

From the P. & O. Agent at Yokohama:—

" With reference to this monthly publication enquiries are being instituted as to the number that can be distributed among Japanese to the best advantage. I purpose addressing you again on the subject at an early opportunity. I venture to think that all publications intended for the enlightenment of the public, such as those already advised as having been despatched, would prove far more likely to serve the purpose in view if they were translated into Japanese. The handful of foreigners in this country are all more or less fully instructed on these subjects, through the medium of the British and American press, whereas there is a very large pro-German element in the Japanese public amongst whom the dissemination of correct information might be of considerable service in counteracting the activities of the Germans."

## II.—OVER-SEAS CLUB.

The Over-Seas Club has during the past six months rendered us most valuable assistance in distribution work in all parts of the world, and through its Hon. Secretary and Organiser, Mr. E. Wrench, has given us every facility, and their distribution, though on no very large scale, has all the advantages that come from a personal connection between the sender and the recipient. They have welcomed the new departures in propaganda work, such as *Al-Hakikat* and the *War Pictorial*, and recently copies of the first diagram sheet were inserted in the Club magazine *Over-Seas* sent to members in all parts of the world. The increasing membership of the club and of the associated "League of Britons Over-Seas" affords a most excellent medium for the distribution of literature and the readiness of the members to co-operate in this work has been very marked. Arrangements have recently been made to send out a large number of picture postcards to the Over-seas members and sets of lantern slides have been prepared which will be used through the corresponding secretaries of the club in various foreign countries. In our dealings with the Over-Seas Club we have always emphasised that our work primarily concerns foreign countries rather than the British Empire, and supplies are sent more frequently to members in South America or Spain, for example, than to Canada or New Zealand. At any time when it has been desired to arrange for a specially large distribution of any particular pamphlet or to reach a particular class of readers, as, for example, the Dutch in South America, we have received great help from the club. The Over-Seas Club has rendered most valuable assistance in connection with the distribution of *Al-Hakikat*.

The following extracts from letters received from members by the Over-Seas Club will illustrate the useful work this institution is carrying on.

From Teheran :—

"The various booklets and pamphlets which from time to time you have been good enough to send me have also been distributed. The most important of them have been translated and published in the Persian newspaper, *Ar-I-Jadid* (*The New Dawn*), I shall be obliged if you will forward copies of *Al-Hakikat* fortnightly as the Persians are very pleased with it."

From Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana :—

"With many grateful thanks I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the four parcels of reading matter sent. I feel glad to say that they have afforded much satisfaction and pleasure to all interested in this terrible war, and more so to the Dutch West Indian natives, who have by this means been able to gather enormous information from the literary matter issued by me to them; and from which source they have derived the true nature of this regrettable conflict; and when possible I shall ever be ready to distribute them whenever sent, and as often as it can be made feasible."

From Frankfort, Orange Free State :—

"As 75% of my neighbours were rebels last year, and never see or read the other *English* side of the question, I was very glad to have these books to give them. I have given the literature to some of my loyal Dutch neighbours, who are very pleased with them and pass them on to their rebel neighbours."

From Premier Mine, Transvaal :—

"As regards the Dutch ones I gave them to our local bank manager, who is a Dutchman with strong S. African party views (Botha and Smuts party); being a bank manager he naturally comes into contact with all the prominent Dutch people of the district of all shades of opinion; he distributed the pamphlets where he thought they would do most good, he was quite enthusiastic about it and said it was the very thing that was required; but I would suggest that you send such literature to any of our members in the Transvaal, Free State and Cape Colony, for distribution amongst the Dutch. Our bank manager told me that these pamphlets would be taken home and read carefully through, and he felt sure that they would affect some of the people who were inclined to be against us and our cause; he read them through himself and was very pleased with them. If you send any more to me I will see that they get distributed in the proper quarters."

From Moscow :—

"In your letter of February 18th you advise sending a good supply of literature in the Russian language. What we received, however, was literature in the French language, and this we have handed to friends of that nationality. In conversation with a number of our French friends we find that they are daily in need of more light on the work England is doing towards bringing the war to a successful issue; the French literature you have sent has, therefore, come in useful. At the same time, literature in the Russian language is very desirable, and we hope to receive a supply at an early date."

Mr. J. E. Wrench, the Hon. Secretary and Organiser of the Over-Seas Club, writes :—

"We have much pleasure in stating that the literature has been very greatly appreciated, and we venture to believe that it has very largely furthered the interest of the Allies in neutral countries."



"My Committee also desires me to add, that they consider the style of literature provided greatly improved in quality during the last six months, they feel that publications such as *Al-Hakikat* (*The Truth*), the fortnightly pictorial, and others of a similar nature are quite first class. Our opinion is not based on supposition, but actually on the opinions expressed by our members who have done the distributing themselves."

### III.—THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

Arrangements have now been completed with the Royal Colonial Institute for the distribution of pamphlets in English and appropriate languages to the Fellows in various parts of the world. The Secretary of the Institute, Sir Harry Wilson, agreed to address a circular to his corresponding secretaries in various foreign countries in which large numbers of the Fellows of the institute reside, and these circulars have been sent to the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chili, Guatemala, Hong-Kong, Mexico, and British North Borneo, together with a selection of pamphlets in English, and also in the language of the country of destination (except Borneo). These corresponding secretaries have also been placed on the Standing List. In the case of other countries a circular approved by Sir Harry Wilson was re-styled in this office with Sir Harry's signature, and has been sent, together with a small selection of pamphlets, to individual Fellows residing in various countries, including Ivory Coast, Korea, Japan, Siam, Sudan, Egypt, Costa Rico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Porto Rico, Salvador, Spanish Honduras, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, Roumania, Switzerland, Madeira, Portuguese East Africa, Cyprus, China, Sarawak, Dutch Borneo, Java.

The arrangements for this distribution have been made with the assistance of Mr. E. Baynes, who has also given much useful help in connection with other Colonial distributions.

### IV.—OTHER DISTRIBUTIONS.

The arrangements referred to in the last report with regard to the distribution carried out through the Fire Offices Committee, the Victoria League, and the Religious Tract Society have been continued, and in addition to these, we have been given facilities by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the distribution of *Al-Hakikat*.

There are many small distributions which it is not easy to classify under any particular continent or distributing agency, and the number of these places is growing rapidly.

Pamphlets are being sent for distribution to the Seychelles and Mauritius; Madagascar (to British Consul and, at the request of a Swede living in England, to a Swedish resident); Chatham Islands; Sandwich Islands; Formosa; New Hebrides; Society Islands; Belgian Congo; Fernando Po; Spanish Guinea; Fanning Island; and New Guinea. The importance of these small distributions lies in the fact that the literature sent provides British and pro-Ally readers with information useful to counter German misrepresentations, and that in the most unexpected way pamphlets get into the hands of neutral readers in out-of-the-way places. It may fairly be stated that there are few places out of the reach of some propaganda matter of one sort or another, whether it be pamphlets, illustrated papers, articles in the press, photographs or post cards. Recipients have used literature sent them for reproduction in newspapers in such remote places as Teheran, Bogotá and Tientsin.

We have had applications from people in Barcelona to send Raemaekers' Cartoons to friends in Scandinavia; copies of *Al-Hakikat* have been taken round in the interior of Nigeria by Hausa traders; and port officials on the coast of China have asked for pamphlets in Danish for putting on board passing ships.

The supremacy of the British Navy has alone made our propaganda possible on its present scale, as it depends almost entirely on the freedom that our ships enjoy to sail at will all the world over. Only on one occasion has the enemy captured a consignment of our literature. This was on board a neutral ship that was taken into a German port and detained, but ultimately released, with our supplies unnoticed and uninjured—a testimony to the thoroughness of German methods!

T. O. WILLSON.



## 3.

## SCANDINAVIA.

## 1.—OPINION IN SCANDINAVIA.

## 1. SWEDEN.

During the late spring, the question of the fortification of the Åland Islands led to a crisis in Sweden which threatened at one time to become dangerous. The interpellation on the subject by Professor Steffen aroused a great deal of excitement throughout the country, and General Axel Rappe, an aged soldier and ex-Minister of War, was the nominal author of an alarmist pamphlet, demanding the instant neutralisation of the islands as the minimum measure consistent with the safety of Sweden. The diplomacy of the Allies, however, combined with firm handling on the part of the Government, succeeded in calming the storm, which was perhaps at no time very formidable.

An economist of repute, Professor Gustav Cassel, paid a three weeks' visit to Germany in March, at the invitation of the German Government, to examine and report upon the resources of the country. This he did in a book of about 120 pages, entitled "Germany's Economic Power of Resistance." It gave, of course, a roseate view of the prevailing conditions, in regard to food-supply, to manufactures, and to finance. In the case of food, however, the Professor tried to prove too much. His statistics showed that there ought not to be any serious scarcity whatsoever, whereas it is admitted and even proclaimed on every hand that serious scarcity does exist. More recently, Professor Cassel has contributed to the *Svenska Dagblad* several articles comparing the financial position of Germany and of the Allies more or less to the advantage of Germany.

The visit of Professor Gilbert Murray to Sweden seems to have had an excellent effect, in no way diminished—perhaps enhanced—by the fact that his lecture on the war was at the last moment prohibited by the Swedish Government. The substance of it appeared in the form of an interview in *Dagens Nyheter*, which attracted a great deal of attention. Professor Murray's lectures on classical subjects were much appreciated, and he found many opportunities of talking in private, on subjects of more intimate interest, to leading men of all parties. In the university and clerical circles to which he naturally had access, "Activism" was extremely prevalent, and the impression produced by his tact and open-mindedness is reported to have been most valuable.

Mr. Edwin Björkman, our agent in Sweden, continues to advise a cautious policy, though he has been by no means inactive. He wishes rather to prepare the ground for an advance when the time is ripe, than actually to attempt a big movement. Early in May he wrote:—

"It would be fatal to attempt any agitation on the part of the Entente Powers at the present juncture. Such an agitation would merely furnish the pro-Germans with new and more formidable weapons. As it is, the Radical leaders and newspapers are constantly being accused of having accepted foreign bribes.

"And even if such an agitation were not dangerous, it would be useless just now, while the internal conflict (on the Åland question) is still acute.

"The pro-German 25 per cent. cannot be converted. They are inaccessible to reason because their own selfish interests are so closely connected with the German side. This is true not only of large portions of the aristocratic, military and bureaucratic elements, but also of large portions of the commercial and industrial elements. In this connection, I have just heard that many exporters of goods to Germany have chosen or been forced to invest a great deal of their claims in German papers, instead of getting cash for them. . . . To these people a German defeat means a tremendous loss, if not ruin. You can understand that they do not even dare to contemplate such a possibility, and so they are eager not only to see Germany win, but to help it win.

"The next 25 per cent. can be impressed only by what happens in the field. They will come around with a whoop as soon as the Entente armies begin to push back the Germans in earnest. Until then they will continue their policy of watchful waiting.

"The remaining 50 per cent. need not be impressed. They are being pushed hard in the right direction by the pro-Germanism and Activism of the uppermost 25 per cent.

"All that can and need be done is to furnish the Radical leaders and their supporters with correct information, and a reasonable quantity of information bearing on the military and economic strength of the Entente Powers. This is being done more and more thoroughly and systematically. The time for an appeal on other grounds has not yet come."

Towards the close of the Åland episode, however, two pamphlets were issued in large numbers, and apparently with good effect. They were Sir Edward Grey's

interview with Mr. Bell of the *Chicago Daily News*, and "Åland, an interview with my friend the Activist," by a well-known Swedish writer, Martin Koch. Mr. Björkman is gradually extending the scope of his operations; but, as he himself puts it, we are not yet "on the home stretch."

One or two curious incidents are deserving of notice.

On May 25th the *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, a very pro-German organ, published an article translated from the *Fatherland*, a notorious German propaganda paper issued in New York, professing to give, under the title of "Behind the Scenes of British Diplomacy," the report of a secret agent to Sir Edward Grey. It was presented to the readers of the *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* as a perfectly serious document, and Mr. Björkman has reason to think that it came to the editor from the German Legation. He was able to show that it was a patent and admitted hoax.

Much more important was the publication, towards the end of June, of a very long memorandum on pro-German policy in Sweden, dating from the end of 1915, and addressed by an unnamed writer, very familiar with the Swedish political situation, to an equally unnamed German "Excellency." In spite of this double anonymity the document is generally admitted to be genuine, and is said to be the work of a Germanised Swede named Blom. The writer lays down in great detail the plan for a gradual and systematic Germanisation of opinion in Sweden, and gives many warnings against errors to be avoided. He thinks that the Activist campaign has on the whole been mismanaged; that the very name "Activist" is ill chosen; that undesirable people have headed the movement; and that there has been no general and well-considered policy. What he urges is a new movement supplementing and reinforcing the old one, and much less openly aggressive in its character. He says that Sven Hedin's "manly action" and undisguised advocacy of war have produced just the wrong effect.

"As a result of his intimate relations to Germany, and his sharp words of warning, which have wounded many sides of the Swedish character, Hedin has forfeited much of the sympathy with which he was regarded by the people, especially as, just at the time his warnings were issued, Professor Ostwald and others were making open proclamation in Sweden of German plans of conquest."

All such untimely frankness should be avoided in future, especially as there are many people in Sweden who are not attracted by the idea of a German imperialism which should reduce their country to a vassal state. Many subtle methods of influencing the public mind, both through the Press and through special publications, are proposed and discussed. They are summarised as follows:—

1. Organisation of a new group for the furtherance of a decidedly pro-German policy, after an adequate manipulation of public opinion.
2. The publication of a pamphlet addressed to the Swedish Social-Democrats, to cost from 8,000 to 10,000 marks.
3. The establishment of a Russian correspondence bureau in Stockholm at a cost of from 15,000 to 20,000 marks.
4. Organisation of lecture tours, to cost from 15,000 to 20,000 marks.
5. The publication of various pamphlets, 20,000 marks.
6. The publication of a popular edition of the Swedish book "Sweden's Foreign Policy," 12,000 marks.
7. A German edition of the same book, 4,000 marks.
8. Subsidies to new papers of the Activist group, 6,000 marks.
9. Establishment of a new Swedish bureau for the German press, 15,000 marks.

These expenses (something over 6,000l. at the pre-war value of the mark) do not seem to the writer exorbitant, especially if, as is but reasonable, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey bear their share of the cost.

The revelation of this elaborate plan of campaign has had a distinctly depressing effect on the Conservative and pro-German Press, although gallant attempts have been made to minimise its significance. The *Scenska Dagblad* of 27th June says:—

"In Sweden, as in other countries, both the belligerent parties have engaged in a very active propaganda. . . . The main difference between them is that the Entente Powers conduct their propaganda on a much greater scale and with a good deal more adroitness than their opponents."

A somewhat audacious move of the pro-German party was an attempt to secure the adoption as a German reading-book for Swedish schools of a life of Hindenburg, inspired by the most aggressive Prussian Chauvinism. The scheme was, however, rather too barefaced to succeed.

Among liberal and radical papers friendly to the cause of the Allies, mention may be made of a small weekly review, the *Forum*, which is ably edited and has published some useful articles. One or two of them have been contributed by Mr. John Henriksson, the London correspondent of *Stockholms Dagblad*, who has done good service in several ways.

## 2. DENMARK.

The Danish press remains, on the whole, very faithful to the cause of the Entente. Even papers which cannot be called pro-Ally, such as *Politiken*, cannot be said to be consistently pro-German. Others, such as *Vort Land*, *Hovedstaden*, *Jyllandsposten*, and *Aabenhaavn*, are quite consistently pro-Ally. It was notable that during the Åland crisis in Sweden, the Danish Press did nothing to encourage the Activist agitation. It may be mentioned, however, that while the Swedish *Socialdemokraten*, edited by Hr. Branting, is strongly pro-Ally and anti-Activist, the Danish paper of the same name has been, to a great extent, won over to the German side. The editor, Hr. Borgbjerg, has been travelling in Germany, and has evidently come under German influence. Even he, however, is not consistently hostile to the Entente.

Almost the only Danish writer of note who is a declared partisan of Germany is Karl Larsen. His influence does not seem to be great. The most eminent of Danish men of letters, George Brandes, has unfortunately been induced by the Ford Committee, which is pursuing its mischievous activities in Stockholm, to publish in *Politiken* "An Appeal" for immediate peace, which, under a thin assumption of impartiality, is entirely pro-German in effect. Dr. Brandes adopts the view so common among professional pacifists—among whom he has not hitherto been reckoned—that since in this war, as in most wars, both parties vehemently assert that they are in the right, neither can in fact be right, and both must be equally in the wrong. This attitude would be impartial (however mistaken) if it were consistently adopted; but as a matter of fact all, or almost all, Dr. Brandes' specific reproaches are addressed to the Allies, and scarcely any to the Germans. It is characteristic, for example, that he writes very bitterly about the opening of neutral letters, but says not a word of the sinking of neutral ships and drowning of innocent seamen. Dr. Brandes has been ably answered by Mr. William Archer, both by letter to *Politiken* and in a pamphlet which is being published in Copenhagen and Stockholm, and is being widely circulated in English. In Dr. Brandes' rejoinder he makes several important admissions, owning very frankly, for example, that it was Germany which "set fire to the haystack," or, in other words, was the immediate cause of the war. But he tries to vindicate his impartiality by enumerating various alleged misdeeds of Britain, for example, in Ireland, in Persia, &c. The controversy has attracted a good deal of attention in Denmark. It would seem that Dr. Brandes was much exasperated by some rather bitter reproaches addressed to him towards the beginning of the war by his old friend M. Clémenceau. This has not helped him to take a just view of the cause of the Allies. It may be mentioned, however, that at the close of a speech about Shakespeare delivered at the tercentenary celebration at Elsinore he took occasion to say that this festival was an act of homage, not only to Shakespeare, but to the country which gave him birth.

Perhaps the most important war book published in Denmark of late is "Hurrah and Hallelujah!" by Professor J. P. Bang, a most interesting collection of extracts from German poems and sermons on the war. The phrase "Hurrah and Hallelujah!" is not of Professor Bang's invention, but is the title of a volume of poems published by a German clergyman. Many of the extracts are almost incredible in their arrogance and self-applause. The book, which is being translated, ought to produce a good effect in America.

A book which has made a deep impression in Denmark, and has had an enormous sale—it has reached its 15th edition—is entitled *Klokke Roland*, that being the name of a legendary bell in Ghent, which tolled for fire and chimed for victory. The author, Johannes Jørgensen, is a well-known man of letters and a Roman Catholic, who knew Belgium well, and had many friends among the Belgian clergy. His work can therefore scarcely lay claim to impartiality. On the other hand, it is rendered all the more effective by the writer's intimate and formerly not unsympathetic knowledge of Germany. With elaborate, but highly effective irony, he examines, point by point, the assertions in the famous "Es ist nicht wahr" manifesto of the 93 German professors, and demonstrates their emptiness. The book is illustrated with facsimiles of the alleged "Conventions Anglo-Belges" discovered by the Germans in Brussels, the true implications of which are discussed with great ability. The author's passionate conviction and very considerable literary gifts render "Klokke Roland" one of the most important neutral utterances on the war. An English translation is being published and a French version has already appeared.

## 3. NORWAY.

On the whole it may be said that Norwegian sympathy remains faithful to the Allies, and that this sympathy is growing rather than diminishing, though it has been a good deal tried of late in more ways than one.

The following extract from a letter recently received from Christiania may fairly be regarded as typical of the feelings of the great bulk of the Norwegian people.

"We are very glad about the Naval defeat changing into Victory, our papers with one single exception, write about it as if it were our own fleet that had been out. The sympathy with the great cause is deep and sincere over here."

Some irritation has been caused by the alleged "Commercial espionage" in order to prevent evasion of agreements for the enforcement of the blockade. It is said that disloyal employees and envious rivals give information as to the conditions and methods of Norwegian trade which it is against public policy that any foreign Government should possess. Complaints are also made that Norwegian firms suffer loss and inconvenience through being unjustly put upon the Black List. Of these complaints a section of the press, and especially the *Morgenblad*, try to make the most. They employ them as a weapon against the Norwegian Government, alleging that it shows a weak subservience to British tyranny.

Much has also been made by the *Morgenblad* of the complaint that the British Government has used its command of steam coal in order to force upon the fishing industry the sale of the whole catch of Iceland herring at a very disadvantageous price. The fixing of maximum freights for coal transport to France has also given offence.

A certain section of the press finds in these incidents an opportunity for articles urging upon the Government a spirited commercial policy. It is noteworthy that in Norway, as in other neutral countries many people seem to accept as a matter of course the sinking of neutral ships and the drowning of sailors by German submarines, while they express the utmost abhorrence of the measures adopted by Britain in order to render the blockade of Germany effective.

The note recording the resolutions adopted at the Paris conference on trade after the war has attracted much attention and seems to have caused a good deal of alarm. It is taken in Norway as meaning that Britain is contemplating the abandonment of the policy of the "open door"; and this change of front is regarded as ominous. Apart from the particular question of Free Trade, the prospect of "eternal war" arouses much apprehension.

The *Morgenblad*, however, is the only paper of note than can be said to be definitely and consistently anti-English. The *Aftenpost*, if not always very friendly, is not openly hostile; while *Tidens Tegn* and *Vardens Gang* are in the main friendly. All the papers are pretty fair in their treatment of news, "displaying" the bulletins of the Allies as prominently as German news.

Really active pro-German feeling is to be found almost exclusively among a little group of "intellectuals." This is to be attributed chiefly to two facts: (1) That many men of letters and of science have received their education, if not in Germany, at any rate from German sources; (2) That Germany takes an incomparably more active interest than England in Norwegian literature. Knut Hamsun, the most popular novelist of Norway, is widely known in Germany, in England scarcely at all; he is consequently pro-German. Ex-Stateminister Sigurd Ibsen was mainly brought up in Germany, whence, moreover, he probably derives a good part of his income, as his father's plays are constantly being acted on the German stage. After keeping pretty quiet about his views for more than a year, he definitely came out on the German side a few months ago. A clever, somewhat unscrupulous, journalist named Hjalmar Christensen is perhaps the most active champion of Germany in the Norwegian press—mainly in the *Morgenblad*. Some of his articles have been very ably answered by Professor Christian Collin, an eminent man of letters and a staunch friend to the Allied cause.

In the presentation of the British side of the case, very valuable assistance has been rendered by Norwegian journalists in London, notably by Mrs. Ellis Anker, Mr. M. M. Mjelde and Mr. N. Kittlesen. Mrs. Anker has not only translated many English articles for the papers she represents, but she has written some excellent original articles. For instance, after hearing Sir Edward Grey's speech in the House of Commons on the rights of neutrals, she gave in her own words a most valuable account of the occasion.

## 2.—PROPAGANDA IN SCANDINAVIA.

## 1. DENMARK AND NORWAY.

We are continuing to use the channels for our propaganda in Scandinavia referred to in our last report but some new developments are worth mentioning.

As far as Norway and Denmark are concerned we have been content with the publication of pamphlets in Copenhagen by Messrs. Pio and our own in London, but it is possible that we may come to an arrangement with a publisher in Norway as well. Pamphlets published by Messrs. Pio are available in bookshops in Norway.

We have in recent translations done in this country used Danish or Norwegian indiscriminately. Since the last report was issued 13 pamphlets have been published by us in England, and 12 pamphlets by Pio in Copenhagen.

The manager of this firm, Mr. P. Branner, takes the greatest interest in the work and pushes the sale of the pamphlets most energetically, and sends us from time to time reviews and notices from various Danish papers. He has recently distributed about 5,000 copies of pamphlets amongst 800 libraries in various parts of the country.

Mr. Branner on 18th February wrote:—

"The little pamphlet about Edith Cavell has had very fine reviews, and has been sold so well that I have printed some more."

Mr. Branner received from us an English copy of Professor Murray's "Foreign Policy of Sir E. Grey," and he was so interested in the book, that he made arrangements on his own account for a Danish edition, which will be published shortly.

Certain pressure has been brought to bear on this firm through the German Minister at Copenhagen, but purely from point of view of business it has been found much more profitable to publish English rather than German propaganda literature.

We have just received copies of about 55 Danish papers, some from Copenhagen and the remainder from the Provinces, each containing notices of our pamphlets published by Pio. About one-third of these papers contain only paid advertisements of Pio's publications—especially of "Edith Cavell"—while another third contain mere paragraph announcements of the intended publication of this or that pamphlet. The remaining 15 or 16 contain reviews, generally short, but in a few cases running to over a column, of different publications. Generally the purport of the publication is stated without assent or dissent. Sometimes the assent is undisguised. In no case is there any hostile criticism, beyond, perhaps, the remark that such and such a pamphlet is "tendenzrigs."

The Cavell pamphlet attracted perhaps the most attention of any of those recently issued, and the reviews were almost without exception sympathetic. In one case *Extrabladet* said: "It cannot be read without emotion," and both the *Ribe Stifts Tidende* and *Veile Amts Avis* (provincial papers) agree that Miss Cavell "died by the hands of murderers."

Lord Bryce's "Attitude of Great Britain during the present war" was reviewed favourably and at some length in *Hovedstaden* and *Vort Land*, and The Wittenberg Report received a long and entirely sympathetic notice in *Vort Land*.

As regards distribution, the list of addressees in Denmark to which literature is sent personally from London, has been increased, and copies of Danish, and in some cases German, pamphlets are being sent to the editors of a number of papers in Denmark.

The Cunard agent in Copenhagen has interested himself in the distribution of pamphlets and illustrated matter, the following extract from a letter received from him shows the method which he is adopting for distribution:—

"With regard to the distribution I beg to advise that the pamphlets hitherto received have been sent out to the most prominent business people in this country, to Railway Stations, Post Offices, to Surgeons for placing same in their waiting rooms, &c., and as far as I have learned the literature has been received with thankfulness and great interest.

"I received yesterday 1,000 copies of 'Miss Cavell's Hæretstætte i Bryssel,' which are now being distributed at my best discretion."

It is hoped in the near future to make arrangements for a systematisation of this work, and also to establish regular supplies of literature and other propaganda matter to hotels and clubs in all parts of Denmark. The Norwegian Club send regular supplies of pamphlets to a distributor in Copenhagen, and a certain number are distributed through the British Minister there, who, in addition, receives regularly copies of the *War Pictorial*, and, through the Foreign Office, literature is also being

sent to British consular officers in the Faroes and Iceland. Arrangements have just been completed for placing literature on board Danish passenger ships which call at London, Hull, Newcastle, and Leith, and the Agent of the United Shipping Company at Kirkwall, who is also Vice-Consul for Norway, Sweden and Denmark, has undertaken, in his private capacity, to get literature on board Scandinavian Transatlantic liners which call there outward and homeward bound.

The following is an extract from a letter received from Kirkwall regarding distribution to neutral Captains in that port :—

"I find that neutral Captains coming in here are extremely anxious to obtain copies of the pamphlets you sent to me and I have distributed all those I received already and could give away a great many more if I had them. One Danish Captain who came in this morning informed me that the Germans publish similar pamphlets giving their point of view every month and that these are distributed very widely among neutral nations. He said that he was very glad to see that the British were now doing the same and trusted that I would be able to continue to distribute such pamphlets to the ships coming here.

"In several cases where I have given copies to the Masters of ships, they have asked later on for further copies for their officers. I hope you may be able to send me a further supply.

"I may say that I had the approval of the Admiralty Port Officer here before I distributed any of the pamphlets."

It is hoped that it will be possible to get supplies of pamphlets and the *Wer Pictorial* placed on board Danish coasting steamers, but arrangements for this have not yet been completed. It is possible that the distributions arranged through the *Folkelig Oplysnings Forening*, referred to in the previous report, will be discontinued, as this society does not appear to be a very valuable medium for the purpose.

In addition to the copies of Danish pamphlets sent to Denmark, the Danish West Indies, and the United States, pamphlets are being sent regularly to the Danish Club in London and to several establishments in England, where a considerable number of Danes are employed.

Very little attempt has been made to secure the insertion of articles of a general character in the Danish papers as this is, as a rule, hardly necessary, but photographs are now being supplied regularly to Copenhagen journals.

We send Danish pamphlets regularly to the London correspondents of some of the more important papers, and if these are not always reviewed they are often used in articles which the correspondents send to their papers.

We have from time to time sent literature, in English and other languages, which is not available in Denmark, to various prominent persons in Denmark, known to have pro-Ally sympathies, to be in a position to influence their compatriots; amongst these is Mr. Axel Carstens, who is Secretary to the Associated Jutland (*Slesvig*) Societies.

The recent appeal made by George Brandes, at the request of the Ford Peace Committee in Stockholm, was ably answered by Mr. William Archer, and his reply in a shortened form appeared in *Politiken*, translation being made by the London correspondent of the paper. This reply is being published in full by Messrs. Pio, and has had the result of opening up a very useful discussion in the Danish Press, in which both Dr. Brandes and Mr. Archer took part.

We have been in touch with Danish correspondents of *Politiken*, M.M. Mjelde, and of *National Tidende*, N. Kittelsen, who have shown themselves ready to render any assistance in their power in connection with our work. We are also in communication with Mr. Harald Nielsen, Editor of *Ukens-Tilskuer*, a weekly review published in Copenhagen, to whom literature is sent regularly.

Since the last report, very numerous additions have been made to the regular personal distribution list in Norway, most of which has been compiled with the assistance of the Norwegian Club. The names on this list represent people in all classes and in all parts of Norway.

The Norwegian Club have made very considerable progress in systematising their distribution in all parts of Norway, and they send copies of every pamphlet translated into Norwegian or Danish to on the average one thousand addresses in various parts of the country. The total Club list contains about 3,000 names. Care is taken that these pamphlets should not arrive in large quantities, or too frequently, as this feature of German propaganda has caused considerable annoyance in Norway. The Club have received numerous letters from recipients of literature of which the three following may be quoted as being typical.



## 1. From a Government legal official, dated 29th June :—

" My best thanks for the pamphlets that have been sent me. It is of considerable importance for inhabitants of a neutral country who live in the innermost recesses of the fjords with little connection with the outer world to read of the gigantic struggle for freedom and civilization (*Sultar*) several in my immediate neighbourhood have had the loan of the literature which has been previously sent to me."

## 2. From a district doctor, dated June 27, 1916 :—

" I have several times during the present year, received from your honoured Club, literature regarding the present great world war, which confirms everything that I have had the opportunity of reading in my papers, as to the barbaric conduct of the Germans during the war in Belgium and North France. I beg the honoured Club to receive my sincere thanks for these pamphlets. I make a practice, after having read them through, of lending them out to a somewhat wide circle of acquaintances in order to make their contents known amongst my fellow countrymen at home here, and I have not met anyone who has not been horrified and disgusted at the barbarous behaviour which is so little becoming in a nation that claims to be civilised. People would be inclined to doubt the existence of any eternal justice if Prussianism should not receive the reward for these deeds which they deserve. In spite of the influence, which it is attempted to bring to bear on the Norwegian people through the operation of the press, in favour of the Central Powers, I certainly think that I can say that German influence has, in consequence of the war, declined in Norway."

## 3. From the editor of a provincial paper who writes as follows :—

" I take the liberty of asking your honoured Club to do me the great service of sending me as many War Pamphlets as possible. As an editor and a journalist I will be glad to make considerable use of them in the service of the good cause. Amongst others which I saw to-day, at the house of our Police Magistrate, were the following pamphlets which has just arrived (list of pamphlets below) I shall be extremely grateful to get copies of these pamphlets, more particularly as I have in preparation a book on the war and the proceedings of the German *Landstut*. Though I hope that you will take me at my own word, I would refer you as to my opinions to the French Legation in Christiania."

The principal classes of persons to whom the Norwegian Club are sending literature, are—

- The Clergy.
- Business Men.
- Local Legal Officials.
- Local Authorities.
- Doctors.
- Coasting Steamers' Officials.
- University Professors.
- Certain selected School Masters.
- Chairmen of the "Folkeskademier" (Local Popular Educational Associations).

Additional lists have recently been prepared of all the principal hotels in all parts of the country, and of the principal papers. A special letter has been drawn up which explains the aims of the Norwegian Club and indicates that there is no suggestion of securing the insertion of pro-Ally literature in the papers concerned. The Club have also been able to arrange for pamphlets to be placed on board Norwegian passenger steamers at Newcastle, and are sending in the name of one of their members who is known throughout Norway as a mountaineer, literature to the Tourist Club Huts in all parts of the country, efforts are also being made to reach the country stores which are in most cases the centres of local life. It is hoped also to get pamphlets placed on board most of the coasting steamers, which in Norway are very numerous and largely take the place of rail communication. In addition to distributing by post from England, the Club has several voluntary distributors in various parts of Norway, who take the greatest interest in the work, and are continually writing for further supplies. One of these distributors is secretary of an Association of Local Government Officers and he asked for a special supply of pamphlets to be distributed at the general meeting held at the commencement of the present month. Another distributor on the West Coast is an extremely energetic agent for agricultural machinery, who is continually travelling and in touch with a number of people to whom he is able to give literature. The following letter from another distributor is of interest :—

" I have duly received your letter of April 19th for which thanks. I have also received the pamphlets about the 'Place in the sun' (Bigelow's 'An American's opinion on British Colonial policy') which are simply excellent and just the thing to distribute because it is short, to the point, and so impassionate that it cannot fail to make a very strong impression.

" I am looking forward to the *Reamakers'* cartoons which shall have my best attention when I get them."

In connection with the activities of the Norwegian Club, it is worth mentioning that the correspondent of one of the leading Norwegian papers has just interviewed the Hon. Secretary of the Club and it is hoped that by this means the club will be made known to a great number of people in Norway. Needless to say, no reference whatever was made to propaganda activities in the interview.

Distribution through steamship companies is somewhat difficult in Norway, but the Cunard have offered their assistance as far as their agents are concerned. The following is an extract from a letter received from the Company on the subject.

"As to Norway and Sweden, the distribution by our agents at Christiania and Copenhagen has only been in operation since the beginning of the year. The only difficulty to be avoided in these countries is, that no literature of an offending nature to their neutrality be forwarded. So far nothing in this direction has happened, and our agents report favourably upon the manner in which the various pamphlets are received."

Through the assistance of Mrs. Anker, the London correspondent of several Norwegian papers, we have secured the insertion in full or in substance of the following articles in the Norwegian press:—

1. Mr. Wm. Archer's article from the *Fortnightly* on Sigurd Ibsen and Bjørn Bjørnson.
  2. Articles in *Bergens Tidende* and *Tidens Tegn*.
  3. Pamphlet, "Straight Path and Crooked," "Freedom of the Seas," in *Dagbladet* and *Bergens Tidende*.
  4. Articles by Mr. L. B. Namier on Polish food supply.
  5. Interview with Lord Robert Cecil on Mail Censorship.
- To Mr. M. M. Mjelde we are indebted for the insertion of Mr. Wm. Archer's first reply to Dr. Brandes which recently appeared in *Politiken*.

Arrangements have been made for the supply of photographs to several Norwegian papers, amongst which are *Aftenposten* and, through Copenhagen, *Allers Familie Journal*, and efforts are being made to secure distribution of post cards of "Britain prepared."

## 2.—SWEDEN.

As in Norway the personal distribution lists have been very considerably increased, not only have English people with friends in Sweden allowed pamphlets to be sent in their name, but Swedes in England have also followed their example. Some of them have been sending literature to their friends at home were discouraged by the way in which their efforts were regarded, but one of them who had asked that we should send nothing more to Sweden wrote—

"I have had several letters from Sweden to-day thanking for the interesting documents that you have been kind enough to send. One of my correspondents who was notoriously pro-German (Prof. F.) writes: 'Thank you for the remarkable papers. It is most uncommon in these times to hear a moderate voice.' From several other instances I judge that public opinion has changed immensely in Sweden these last three weeks. If you still wish to send literature to the persons on the enclosed list I have now no objection at all to your using my name."

The list was naturally used again, and there have been no more requests to withdraw it. This letter was written in the end of February, and there was an almost exactly similar case recently in which a Swedish gentleman asked for his list to be suspended, but in a very short time doubled the number of names on it.

Distribution through steamship companies is hardly carried out at all as our Agent in Stockholm has been able to arrange for a very considerable circulation of literature from that city.

At the commencement of the present year it was decided to discontinue the existing arrangements with Messrs. Bonnier for the publication of our pamphlets in Sweden owing to many difficulties which had arisen and delays involved. Mr. Björkman, with the approval of the British Minister, made arrangements for publication to be carried out through a new firm under his control—Messrs. Hjalmar Lundberg and Gösta Olzon, who are prepared to publish literature on the same terms as Messrs. Bonnier, but are in a much better position with regard to facilities for distribution, in addition to being more easily controlled.

Since the new arrangement has been brought into operation they have published several pamphlets, though we have continued to carry out a certain amount of translating and publication work in this country, especially in order to meet the demand for pamphlets for distribution in Canada and the United States. Copies of all English pamphlets are sent regularly to Mr. Björkman with an indication as to whether we will require copies for our purposes here, or whether we will translate the pamphlets if Lundberg and Olzon do not do so.

Through the Stockholm's *Telegrambyrå*, of which Mr. Björkman is the head, a very considerable amount of valuable, but unobtrusive propaganda work is being carried on in the Swedish press, and most useful and interesting reports are received from time to time with regard to public opinion, and to events in Sweden and the activities of the German propagandists.



Since the last report, we have issued in this country 18 pamphlets, while 4 pamphlets have been issued by Bonnier, and 4 pamphlets by Lundberg and Olson. Some progress is being made in the distribution of photographs and post cards through the Stockholms Annons Byrå.

A considerable number of Scandinavian newspapers have been read and useful work has been done in securing the insertion in the English press of various articles, reviews, and speeches by prominent Scandinavians on a variety of subjects. The object of this is to show that some interest is being taken in this country in Scandinavian affairs. Amongst these may be mentioned :—

“ George Brandes' Speech at the Shakespeare Celebration at Elsinore.  
August Brunius's 'Shakespeare and the Stage.'  
Bernt Lie 'A Race War.'  
Brunius's article on Drury Lane Shakespeare performance.  
Shakespeare Celebrations in Norway—Address by Prof. Collin.  
Collin on 'Four World Wars.'  
Bjarne Eide on 'The Festival of France.' ”

Efforts are also being made through the Publishers' Association to secure better relations between English publishers and Scandinavian booksellers, which it is hoped will lead to increased circulation of English literature in Scandinavia.

T. O. WILLSON.

## HOLLAND.

### I.—PUBLIC OPINION IN HOLLAND.

Early in June a sober, and by no means flamboyantly Pro-Ally Dutch Newspaper (*Het Nieuws van den Dag*) was able to say that:—

"It is notorious that the sympathies of the masses of our people are with the Allies, and especially with Belgium and France, and one may say that Pro-German feeling only arises from anti-English prejudice; France has practically universal sympathy. It is impossible to give statistics. The feeling of the masses is not always easy to arrive at. Nevertheless we feel certain that our estimate is correct."

Another commentator on Dutch opinion writes:—

"Here in Holland we have the firm intention that if it is in any way avoidable we will not enter the war. All our thoughts are devoted to this: we desire and we demand from our Government that so long as it is in any way possible it shall refrain from giving any cause for irritation and shall keep its conscience and our own clear of any inclination to attack. But even the smallest creature defends itself. Even the most insignificant people must know how to sacrifice itself for its independence. If we are all certain that our independence is in danger, then—but then alone—will war be obligatory."

("On the Edge of the World-Storm," *De Beweging*, May, 1916.)

These quotations speak for themselves and there is some ground for thinking that they represent the main currents of feeling in Holland, viz., dread of becoming involved in the war, a firm resolution to defend national independence, and general sympathy on the part of the masses with the cause of the Allies.

By the foundation of "De Vaderlandsche Club" (The Patriotic Club), a number of Dutchmen, some of whom are of considerable influence, have signified their recognition of the fact that Germany's desire for expansion is a great and imminent danger to Dutch national independence. The club was, in fact, established with a view to checking and countering Pro-German propaganda in Holland. Its recent protest against the threatened British action in the fisheries question shows, however, that it is prepared to resist what it deems to be encroachments on Dutch independence equally vigorously when they come from the opposite side.

#### *Declaration of Principles of the Patriotic Club.*

Seeing that the independence of the Dutch Nation may still be endangered in the further course of the present war, as well as after the conclusion of the peace, by several very real dangers; and that these can only be resisted effectively by a strong patriotic spirit, we, the undersigned, have jointly founded a Patriotic Club.

We believe in the right of existence of the Dutch Nation, and in the duty incumbent upon our generation to maintain ourselves as a truly independent Dutch nation.

We reject every inclination towards nationalistic over-excitement, or eagerness for war; yet, though our enterprise is not opposed to a firm and careful policy of neutrality, we wish to see our compatriots convinced of the fact that the main point of issue for our country is not the care for its neutrality, but the further-reaching aim of its national independence.

Our means of defence as well as the foreign policy of the Government have only little strength but for the inspiration derived from a positive and self-conscious national spirit.

We want to rouse this national spirit to a clearer consciousness of its power and its value.

We want to steel it against influences from without, against possible dangerous inclinations of foreign powers, as well as against rash impulses, unpatriotic views, delusive information, and private interests from within.

We want to make it clear that the political situation of the Netherlands and the broad outlines indicate for their foreign policy, are affairs which concern the whole nation.

This is the aim towards which we have to strive for the present.

This is the task of the press; of those who influence public opinion in writing and speaking; of the men of mark in sciences and arts; of teachers when instructing, especially when teaching history; of the employer towards his employes; and of everyone of us amongst his equals; of the leaders of communities or associations; of the tradesman in his business and of parents in their families.

Towards the attainment of this purpose we also, members of the Patriotic Club, want to collaborate and to stimulate our fellow-citizens.

Holland's political interest stands by itself between the interests of the surrounding powers. Holland must not let itself be involved in the designs of any one of them. It wants to remain completely free and independent, now and in the future, and it must not bid itself, not even economically, to any mighty neighbour.

Firmly and resolutely, our nation must follow its own foreign policy, true to the general wish of handing over to the coming generation a strong and independent Holland.

A further significant indication of the trend of Dutch opinion was afforded by some 120 Dutchmen, including a number of persons whose names are well known in Holland, who issued on the 1st June an appeal to the neutrals on behalf of Belgium, the re-establishment of whose political and economic independence they regard as an absolutely essential condition of peace.

Reports as to alleged British decision affecting the Dutch sea fisheries have undoubtedly stirred public feeling in Holland very deeply. It is true that the murder of Captain Fryatt, which was received with universal indignation, must have served as a timely reminder of the realities of the struggle, but there can be no doubt that, for the present at any rate, a very large number of people in Holland, though prepared to consider the position in a reasonable and conciliatory spirit, are labouring under a sense of injury both as regards the matter and the manner--as they conceive it--of our dealings with the fishery question.

## 2.—GENERAL SUMMARY OF BRITISH PROPAGANDA WORK AS CARRIED ON IN HOLLAND AT THE PRESENT TIME.

### *Telegraphic News Service.*

The distribution of news through Reuter's Agency is probably by far the strongest method of propaganda that we have. This agency displays a marked superiority over all the Germany agencies combined, its news is well placed and occupies a large portion of the space devoted to telegrams in all the principal Dutch newspapers. As this work has nothing to do with Wellington House, I can speak without incurring the risk of being suspected on the ground of partizanship, and I think it no exaggeration to say that in this propaganda the British supremacy is very marked.

### *Bulletins distributed by the Consul at Rotterdam.*

These still continue, though they now play a minor part. At the beginning of the war they did most excellent service and entirely swept the German bulletins off the field.

### *Pamphlets and Books in Dutch.*

About 90 books and pamphlets in Dutch, originating from Wellington House, are now available or in the press. Since my visit to Holland in the winter, nearly all the larger books and pamphlets have been, and continue to be, printed and published in Holland. They are distributed there as follows: copies of each are supplied to the book trade on terms which are calculated to encourage the utmost energy in pushing them. They are on sale at railway bookstalls as well as at ordinary bookshops. In addition to this, they are all supplied to the Dutch Press for review and are advertised. Moreover, a number varying from three to six thousand are distributed gratuitously in Holland by the Consul-General. In this distribution Libraries, social institutions, the Press, political organisations, co-operative societies, clubs and so on are particularly regarded. Especial attention is also given to the requirements of individuals who circulate literature in their own circle. Some of these have reported instances of books getting quite worn out owing to their having passed through so many hands. A small shopkeeper in Amsterdam awards our brochures as prizes to customers who buy goods at his shop.

Our distribution of books and pamphlets is not, however, confined to those which originate here. A large number of books produced in Holland spontaneously have been taken up and quantities have been bought and distributed gratuitously. In this way Prof. Struycken's very effective reply to the German White Book on the alleged "franc-tireur" war in Belgium was sent to practically everyone who had received the latter from the German Consulate.

In addition some special pamphlets have been written for us under the supervision of the Comité Belge and we have financed the publication and distribution of them.

### *Books and Pamphlets in English, French and German.*

A large number of these have also been distributed. The new books produced in these languages are carefully watched and an effort is made to secure that some distribution shall be made in Holland of those which appear most suitable in quantities

which due regard for economy permit. Among recent examples of this sort of thing may be mentioned "Gerade weil ich Deutscher bin!", a well-known book published in Switzerland and written by a German, Private Green's account of his experience as a prisoner of war, &c.

In addition to this, an effort is made to secure that every book likely to do good service to the Allied cause is well advertised in Holland by having it favourably reviewed in important Press organs. For this purpose I have been in the habit of sending two or three copies of most of the more important books bearing on the war to a correspondent in Holland who is in a position to bring them specially to the notice of the editors of *Handelsblad* and *De Amsterdamer* respectively. So far as one can judge from the excellence of the reviews obtained, the expenditure incurred in this direction has been by no means wasted.

In the case of more important books published in England, we get the publishers to distribute them for review to about thirty periodicals in Holland, the addresses of whose editors we supply. On information supplied by me the Publishers' Association is establishing a classified list of papers and periodicals in Holland, to which it is recommended that books be sent for review.

#### *Facilities given to Dutch Newspaper Correspondents.*

This is, of course, outside the province of Wellington House, but must be mentioned as part of the British propaganda. So far as it has been possible to give facilities, it is noticeable that they appear to have been well used, and that the articles produced by the correspondents have had a salutary effect.

#### *Pictures for the Illustrated Papers.*

An agency at the Hague, which is in touch with all the illustrated papers, is constantly supplied by us with all the best pictures relating to the war. I hope, however, that, as the result of arrangements made during my visit in July, the supply of pictures to Dutch papers will be improved.

In connection with this may be mentioned an entirely subordinate activity, viz., the steps taken to secure the exhibition of war photographs in Dutch shop windows. This work is gradually being extended in scope.

These matters are only mentioned here for the sake of completeness. They are dealt with in greater detail by Mr. Nicholson in his report on the work of the Pictorial Department.

#### *War News Agency.*

Since my January visit to Holland we have been able to establish in Amsterdam an agency for the distribution through the post of news telegrams to over 100 Dutch daily papers. This service is used to a large and increasing extent, both by the big Rotterdam and Amsterdam dailies, and by the provincial papers which neither desire nor can afford to subscribe to a telegraphic news service on any terms. As the provincial Press in Holland, viewed in the aggregate, is of considerable importance, this work promises to have useful results. To Mr. Tripp, who undertakes the laborious task of supervising the agency, we are deeply indebted. Happily his efforts have been well appreciated in Holland. From among the letters he has received I quote the following:—

From De Maasbode, Rotterdam, 11 July, 1916.

To the Manager,  
War News Agency,  
Amsterdam.

Gentlemen,

We gladly accept your offer to place the reports of the War News Agency gratis at our disposal. The reports constitute very well adapted copy, and we hope to continue to make the same good use of them as we have done up to this moment. With sincere thanks,

Yours faithfully,

Editor of The Maasbode.

The following translation of an article in a German paper, the *Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung*, August 17th, 1916, illustrates the utility of the work of the War News Agency:—

\* A device frequently adopted by the Dutch Press is to reproduce reports from the trenches from the English newspapers. Quite in accordance with the spirit of the Russian and French Press,

such reports show a special preference for representing the German soldier as a terrified creature, who, it is true, defends himself with his rifle, but who bolts as soon as he is attacked at close quarters. The *Hanteblad* of Amsterdam reproduces a report by Philip Gibbs in the *Daily Chronicle* about the fighting in Delsville Wood. [Here follows an extract apparently from a report by Philip Gibbs.]

"On the very next day the same paper gives a contribution by a Londoner in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. 'What do I think of Mr. Boche? Yes, he is a tough customer with the machine gun, but when you are so close to him that you can touch him with a knife, he is no more good.' The *Hantsche Courant* prints on the same day a letter of the *Daily Telegraph* about the Battle of Pozieres. 'I say that the Germans are good soldiers. They endure everything that can be endured except one thing: they can do nothing against us in hand-to-hand fighting as soon as we are near enough to use cold steel.' As against these libels on the German warriors no Dutchman seems to have the courage to remind his compatriots that these German warriors have so far resisted and beaten a double and treble superiority of numbers.

"What is the point of all this? What is the object of such language and of such instruction of the Dutch nation? This hatred and contempt can only lead to the result that we will respond to it in kind: the world war shows what results arise from such misleading of a nation. Those who desire enduring friendly relations between the two neighbouring States must now busy themselves with the improvement of the condition of the Dutch Press. If the Government cannot get the popular representatives to carry out its will, the latter become responsible for the consequences."

#### *Cinema Films.*

The war films are now being exhibited in Holland, and have received most favourable notices in the Press.

#### *Minor Activities.*

##### *Illustrated English Periodicals.*

I have obtained a list of persons in Holland, such as doctors, hairdressers, &c., who have waiting rooms. Arrangements have been made to supply the persons on this list in rotation with suitable numbers of English illustrated periodicals as they come out.

##### *Articles in the Reviews.*

An arrangement is being initiated for supplying the Dutch Reviews with articles by good English writers. Some of these articles will bear on the war, but the idea at the commencement, at any rate, is to confine them to scientific and literary subjects unconnected with the war, for the purpose merely of counteracting the prevalent notion that Germany is the only country possessing brains.

##### *Lantern Slides.*

One of my Dutch correspondents, who tours Holland giving lectures on the war, is being well supplied with lantern slides.

##### *Picture Post Cards.*

Arrangements have been made to place on the Dutch market picture post cards dealing with the war.

##### *Counteracting German propaganda among the Belgians in the occupied territories.*

Special attention is paid to this both by supplying the Belgian newspapers now published in Holland with material and by supplying the Comité Belge, which has numerous correspondents along the border, with suitable literature in both French and Dutch. This material is very carefully employed to enlighten visitors from Belgium.

##### *Miscellaneous.*

Nearly every good book bearing on the war is sent to Mr. Maxse, the Consul at Rotterdam, as soon as it is published, with a view to his taking steps to secure that it shall be ordered and put on the market by Dutch booksellers.

#### *Advisers and Helpers in Holland.*

We have, of course, always worked in close touch with the Legation and Consulates, and Dr. Terwagne, of the Comité Belge at The Hague, who is extremely well-informed as to the German activities in Belgium, places his excellent organisation at our disposal; moreover, during my visit in the winter I was able to enlist the co-operation of a large number of very competent and well-situated persons who have since shown constant readiness to advise and assist me, and to whom I owe a very deep debt of gratitude. These include Monsieur d'Ancona, President of the Bureau Central Littéraire, has acted as my business agent in making contracts with Dutch publishers

and also places a trained staff at my disposal; owing to M. d'Ancona's departure from Holland, I arranged in July for his place to be taken by Mr. J. L. van Maurik, the owner of large cigar manufactories, who has for a long time been most helpful in promoting British propaganda; Mr. Maloney, Reuter's representative at Amsterdam, whose painstaking study of all Dutch affairs, and whose tactfulness, ability, and constant readiness to undertake even the most exacting tasks on our behalf have been in the highest degree useful; Monsieur Sauveur (a Dutchman), the French Consular Agent at Haarem; Mr. Brain, special correspondent of the *Times*; Mr. Tripp, the special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, who manages the War News Agency; Dr. Barnouw, formerly press reader to the Legation, who is very intimately in touch with the Dutch literary and academic world; and a number of others, including Mr. Chas. Tower of the *Daily Mail*, whose acquaintance I made last month, and who has already undertaken active work on our behalf.

In addition the Dutch newspapers, periodicals and books on the war generally, as well as reports upon the press by the War Office and by Dr. Terwagne, are constantly read.

### 3.—GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN HOLLAND.

The difficulties of the Entente propaganda have largely been due to matters over which our propagandist agencies had no control, as, for example, the measures about bunker-coal, the restrictions on mails, the fisheries question, trade difficulties, and so on. German propagandists, on the other hand, have made a considerable number of difficulties for themselves. The revelations about *De Toekomst*, in consequence of which it is now widely referred to as the *Reichmann'sche Wochenzeitung* (after the German agent of von Kühlmann, whose connection with it was made clear), have been followed by the exposure of extraordinary blunders on the part of the paper itself, which have greatly increased the ridicule and contempt with which it is regarded.

Even so sober and careful a commentator as the editor of *Vragen des Tijds* refers to its name as "that stinking name," and promises never to mention it again. Its repute among the more lighthearted members of the public is illustrated by the following extract from the *Nieuwe Amsterdamer*:—

"In order to tone up our German sympathies the *Reichmann'sche Wochenzeitung* writes as follows:—

"The Kaiser approaches a trench. 'Good day, Comrades.' 'Good day, your Majesty.' 'Well, boys, do you believe that I willfully caused the war?' 'No, your Majesty.' 'Then will you persevere with me to the end?' 'Yes, your Majesty.' Thereupon His Majesty took a book of psalms out of his pocket, and read out the 52nd psalm. Those present declared that they would never forget that moment."

"The following version of the affair is therefore inaccurate:—

"The Kaiser approaches a trench. 'Hello, blackguards!' 'Go and be hanged, Your Majesty.' 'Well, chollappers, do you believe that I willfully caused the war?' 'Well, just think, your Majesty.' 'Then will you persevere with me to the end?' 'Yes, Your Majesty. We are determined not to stop until just before the end.' Thereupon His Majesty took Smith's Rag-time Album out of his pocket, and sang the well-known song 'Everybody's Doing It.' Those present declared that they would never forget that moment."

Whatever popularity this recognised organ of German propaganda may have with the out-and-out pro-Germans (though in view of some of its ineptitudes this is probably not very great) it is quite possible that its continued existence is a distinct gain to us. It serves, at any rate, to brand as pro-German all those persons who are so ill-advised as to sign the articles contributed to its columns, and its scurrilous and sordid methods give the Dutch a weekly sample of German mentality which is hardly calculated to increase the liking or respect of Dutchmen for their eastern neighbour.

The real advantages which the Germans enjoy are of a nature which it is much more difficult for us to counter. In normal times German visitors flood the Dutch seaside and inland pleasure resorts, their commercial travellers are obvious in the 3rd class compartments of every train, the bookshops and bookstalls are loaded with their papers and literature, and many branches of trade and industry are dependent on German supplies and German markets. In war time these conditions persist with the addition that every German traveller and business connection does his best to cultivate sympathy for his Fatherland. Moreover, so far as my observation goes, there seems to be some ground for thinking that the policy of frightfulness, coupled with the possibility of its application to Holland if Holland entered into the war, has to a certain extent assisted the Germans by making some percentage of those whose feelings are entirely anti-German reluctant to commit themselves, in argument or in any public expression of view, to any statement which might expose them to personal

revenge. I do not wish to state positively whether it is a consequence of this or not, but it is certainly indisputable that, with a few well-known exceptions, violence of statement is singularly absent among the Dutch protagonists of the anti-German view, though there is no such absence on the German side. That in a country like Holland, where violence of statement is disliked, this has its compensating advantages, cannot be doubted.

Apart from purely selfish commercial interests, which may be considered to promote leanings in favour of Germany (but which do not always appear to be reflected in opinion), there seem to be certain groups, and notably sections of the Calvinistic Church on the one hand and of the Roman Catholic Church on the other, which incline to the side of Germany. The leader of the Calvinists, Dr. Kuyper, is, it need hardly be said, well known as a pro-German, and as a man in whom the anti-British spirit, generated by the Boer War, still rankles. Leaving the question of his personal views out of account, one can only speculate upon the causes that tend to drive his co-religionists against us; possibly their community of religious views with the Boers may have something to do with it. Moreover, the extreme Calvinists are commonly regarded as persons of narrow mind, whose outlook is limited, and who are readier to accept a doctrine than to think for themselves. So far as their prejudices are concerned, they are probably inclined against France on the ground of its alleged "atheism," and towards Germany as the original home of Protestantism. Among the Catholic higher clergy a certain amount of effect may be attributable to the traditional connection between the clergy of Holland and the Archbishopric of Cologne. France's measures against the Catholic Church have undoubtedly had a great effect upon them, though this has, to some extent, been counteracted by a wide recognition of the tolerant attitude of England. No doubt also, in Holland as elsewhere, there exists a general desire among pious Catholics to do their utmost not only to preserve the unity of their Church, but also honestly to counteract the international hatreds engendered by the war. It is only fair to say that the attitude of the main Catholic papers, though wobbly, has not shown any abandonment to the cause of pro-Germanism. There seems definite cause for complaint, however, against some individual clergymen (as in the case of a certain parish priest whom I know), who warn their congregations against being led away by Cardinal Mercier, who, they state, "though a worthy man, is very ill-informed."

The confidence of the Dutch public in the German News Service ought to have received, and I think has received, a serious shock, in view of the waning of confidence in German official veracity which has been engendered by the twistings in the "Tubantia" affair, and more particularly in the accounts given of the Battle of Jutland. On both these matters the comments in the Dutch Press have been all that we could desire. The Germans are certainly suffering from their "live" Press Department.

A great deal of money is obviously being expended in the propaganda of racialism. The expensive magazine *Dietsche Stemmen*, alluded to in a previous report, is now seconded by an illustrated paper *De Toorts*, and the Press is bombarded with articles on the Flemish movement, on the Greater Netherlands movement, and on the position of the Boers in South Africa. That this will have much effect in Holland is open to doubt. One or two of the best writers in Holland (as, for example, Mr. Colebrand, editor of *De Gids*, the leading review, and Professor Struycken, the editor of *Van Onzen Tijd*) have, however, thought it worth while to go to considerable trouble in combating it, and their writings on the subject are extremely able. The practical result aimed at by the Germans, no doubt, comprises (a) the creation of difficulties in the way of re-establishing the Government of Belgium on the old basis at the conclusion of peace, and (b) the fomentation of race hatred in South Africa and elsewhere in the manner with which we have been familiar for 30 years. In all probability they have every prospect of creating a certain amount of difficulty in both these directions, but the resistance to their attempt to reform the University of Ghent on a purely Flemish basis shows that even now, in the occupied portions of Belgium, they are not having things entirely their own way. On the whole, one is inclined to hope that neither in Belgium nor in South Africa will these rather sordid activities obtain any important degree of ultimate success.

#### 4.—DIFFICULTIES OF BRITISH PROPAGANDA.

Unfortunately, we cannot as yet claim to have the same facilities for propaganda through commerce as the Germans. German commerce may practically be said to have been organised for collective propaganda, of course on purely commercial lines,



for a number of decades before the war. English commerce, however, has been run on much more conservative and individualistic lines. In consequence, we cannot, merely by making arrangements with any newspaper or book publisher, arrange to flood the Dutch market with any publication that we please. For each publication special arrangements have to be made not only for its issue but for its distribution. The German Government, in short, can do propaganda by merely giving orders to the trade. We, on the other hand, have not only to devise the propaganda, but to construct the channels in which it shall flow.

At the beginning of the war our brochures were supplied to the book trade in Holland by Messrs. Nelsons, but recently this firm has ceased to act for us in Holland, and has been replaced by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton who work, with some modifications, on similar lines.

In January, as above noted, I was able to make arrangements with a number of Dutch publishers for the issue of publications in Holland, and I have every reason to believe that books and pamphlets so issued are much more likely to get a favourable reception and to be well pushed by the trade than those which belong to an obviously propaganda series emanating from England.

It becomes very much impressed on one's mind, however, that more than mere propaganda is necessary to counteract the continuous "peaceful penetration" of Germany in the Netherlands. We have come into contact with this problem more especially in connection with the book trade. Although this is only one aspect of the matter, it is probably not the least important. The continuous flooding of the book market, the reviews and the libraries with German works on every branch of science, technology, art and literature, necessarily serves to enhance the prestige of Germany to an enormous degree, especially among the rising generation of students who are still at a receptive and impressionable stage, and in whose case the question of prestige has the greatest degree of ultimate importance. Few people can afford more than one education, and that education is usually obtained in a home university. It follows that the rising generation in the Dutch Universities, that is, the men who will ultimately have the most to say as the advisers of the heads of trade and industry, are still being imbued with the idea that Germany is supreme in all matters of technical excellence. That this, unless counteracted, must lead to a marked leaning of trade and industrial prejudice in favour of Germany would seem to follow. There seems, moreover, some reason to expect that the enhancement of German prestige in this and similar ways has some reaction in the judgment formed upon the questions at issue between the Central Powers and the Allies. It is obvious that it has no logical bearing upon them, but it is a commonplace experience that sides are not always taken upon abstract grounds of right and wrong, but that the choice is very frequently influenced by questions of prejudice and expediency. Indeed, one is inclined to infer from the misguided efforts of sundry not very influential Dutch professors to justify the Germans, not that they are in German pay (though this may be the case), but that they have become blind to the blemishes of the one country which they have always been accustomed to regard as the home of perfection.

It would, therefore, appear to be not altogether foreign to war propaganda to seek to find means to combat the Germans on this ground. Accordingly we view with special interest the efforts of the Publishers' Association so to reorganise the book trade as to place it in a position to compete with that of Germany with something approaching equality.

### 5.—PROPAGANDA FOR GERMANS IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

In the *Times* of June 5th, Bethmann-Hollweg, in the course of his speech in the Reichstag, is reported to have made the following remarks:—

"The existence of the Press censorship is causing very deplorable inconvenience, about which I must briefly speak. I refer to the agitation by means of public and private pamphlets which have been circulated, some with and some without names attached. As if the confidence of the people could thus be destroyed! Some of these writings have been composed at great pains for that purpose."

In saying this, Herr Bethmann-Hollweg was not, of course (so far as I am aware), referring to the publications issuing from Wallington House; but, nevertheless, he afforded us some encouragement by pointing out so clearly that the effect of the severity of the censorship is greatly to increase the relative importance of the uncensored pamphlet. Our efforts to circulate pamphlets in Germany have accordingly been redoubled, and the total number exported directly to that country must now amount to a very considerable quantity. In addition to this, a certain amount of



indirect export goes on owing to the fact that nearly all our German pamphlets are published by Messrs. Payot, in Switzerland, and that others are circulated widely in Holland, especially near the frontiers, and it is only reasonable to expect that a certain number of these fall into the hands of Germans who have come across the frontier, and that some may even trickle through into Germany itself.\* Whether these have, or will have, any effect, it is, of course, impossible to say. It is, however, a noteworthy coincidence that Herr Harden, in an article denouncing Prussian militarism, adopted precisely the same line of argument, and supported it with precisely the same quotations from Bismarck as are contained in our pamphlet "The Weight of the Imponderables," which was published here by us, and also for us by Messrs. Payot, in Switzerland.

#### 6.—EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE AND THE PRESS.

One of our publications, *Nederland en Duitsland* ("Holland and Germany"), still continues to attract attention and a new edition is on the point of being issued. Early this year the *Frankfurter Zeitung* devoted a long article to it, and it obviously appreciates the inconvenience of many of the quotations from German writers which it contains. The conclusion of this article is interesting:—

"Our attention has been called in Dutch quarters to this questionable 'selection of documents' with the indication that it has made an impression in Holland and by the tendencious putting together of its 'authentic' evidences has injured the reputation of Germany. The temper which meets the matter halfway is, unfortunately, to be met with widely in Dutch circles. On the other hand, we know, too, that in Holland there exists, both in the Press and in the public, a strong desire to judge impartially, and not to be led away by preconceived ideas. The crude and even tactless words which the little book diligently puts together [this is, of course, a reference to the German writers quoted in the book] can only make an impression on anybody who misconceives the effect which these words had in Germany itself. The German Empire, after all, is not governed by the Pan-Germanic League.

"Meanwhile the many experiences of this war will perhaps teach some Germans to deliver their political wisdom to the world with a greater feeling of responsibility in future. The phrase has long ceased to be correct that our 'policy' must 'restore the windows which the German Press have broken abroad.' Window-breaking has become the business of generals and professors."

The Dutch edition of Monsieur Davignon's *Belgium and Germany* seems to have aroused great interest. A very large number have already been despatched to Holland and a reprint of several thousands has now been demanded. Dr. Terwagae writes:—

"le 29 avril 1916.

"En un seul jour, on me re demande plusieurs exemplaires de la brochure *Davignon à Koewacht* (Monsieur —) et on me fait la même demande à Eede (Zelande).

"L'Etat Major, dans son local à La Hays, Smidswater, s'est passé d'un officier à l'autre, le livre *Davignon* que j'avais fait remettre à un soldat, par un hollandais de connaissance.

"Reflexions des officiers: 'Ca doit tout de même être vrai, sinon, on n'aurait pas pu prendre des photographies.'

"Tous les militaires sont avides de lire cette brochure.

"Aussi, je prends mes mesures pour en faire parvenir le plus possible à bonne destination parmi eux."

He has also sent me a number of letters from recipients of the book. One of them writing from the Hague on the 13th April says:—

"Herewith I express the thanks of my wife and myself for sending us two copies of *Belgium and Germany* by Henri Davignon, and we will pass them on when we have read them. I have only read a few things in the book so far, but I already see that it is a shame that such are not better known among the general public. No words suffice to describe the vile, mean, cowardly deeds of the Germans reported in the book."

\* That our pamphlets do not fail to reach Germany is shown by the fact that they are occasionally referred to in the German press. The following review of Mr. Toynbee's "Death of Edith Cavell" is from the *Weiser Zeitung* of 6th April 1916.

#### "MISS CAVELL ONCE MORE.

"A pamphlet has recently appeared in London, in the German language, which chants a remarkable hymn of praise on the spy Miss Edith Cavell who was shot by sentence of court-martial. The spirit of the publication is shown by the picture by which the text is preceded. It shows our Kaiser sitting grinning by a curtain, behind which one sees the body of the spy who has just been shot. A senior Prussian officer is grinning back at him, and to him the Kaiser says, 'Well then, now you may bring in the American protest.' The draughtsman of this piece of repulsive scurrility is naturally the artistic demigod of the Allies, Louis Raemaekers. On page 6 Edith Cavell's activities in the management of a Brussels hospital are referred to."

[Here follows a quotation of a paragraph of the pamphlet describing Miss Cavell's work in aiding fugitives to get over the Dutch frontier. After some further comment the article concludes]:—  
"A very clumsy attempt to whitewash a Moor, and to work up feeling in neutral countries and in Germany itself (hence the printing of the pamphlet in German). So the defence of Edith Cavell becomes in its transparent insufficiency and artificiality an indictment against her."

Dr. Terwagne's distributions seem particularly well received, and he has sent me many letters expressing appreciation of pamphlets sent. Writing in May, he says:—

*"L'Opinion publique s'anctiere.*

"A notre bureau on remarque que plus aucune brochure ne revient refusée comme cela arrivait jadis."

The following letter may serve as an example of how the distribution of books is appreciated. (The book concerned in this case, Jorgensen's "Klokke Roland," is not one of our publications, but we bought copies for distribution):—

Dear Sirs,

I thank you very much for sending "Klokke Roland" for the library of the Natural History Museum. It is a good book which cannot fail to considerably assist the good cause. I immediately recommended it in my circle, and shall recommend it further in our organ. I will send you the issue containing the announcement of the receipt of the book. We have no time at all to discuss such books in detail, but I will put a very clear indication in the announcement. I should be very glad of any further brochures distributed by you.

I hope that this card will reach you; I send it on spec. to the address which I found printed on the flap. It is splendid that the Boches [Moffen] are now getting knocked on all sides. It might well go more rapidly, but it now begins to appear that everything is going well, and then peace—for how long?

Fraternaly pressing your hand,  
I remain, Sir,

Teacher at the Royal Training Institute for Teachers at \_\_\_\_\_,  
Librarian of the Dutch Natural History Society.

A further letter from a teacher in the Technical High School at Delft is also worth quoting:—

To the "Office Belge,"  
The Hague.

Permit me to express my sincere thanks for the much appreciated despatch to me of the books "Klokke Roland" and "L'Effort Britannique" [Lebon] which have renewed and strengthened my belief in the justice of the cause of the Allies and my confidence in their final victory.

May brighter days soon dawn for your sorely-tried country!

Some of the pamphlets published in Amsterdam under the arrangements made last winter have already been reviewed in the Press. As a rule, the reviews merely consist of one or two extracts, and the reviewer generally takes particular care not to express any opinion on his own.

The Bryce Report is still read in Holland. Since January 1st nearly 200 applications for it from individuals have been received in London alone.

S. A. GUEST.

## 5.

**SWITZERLAND.**

From the point of view of British propaganda Switzerland has always been divided sharply into two parts, East and West, French and German. It is often asserted, and I think quite rightly, that intellectually and culturally speaking, French Switzerland stands much nearer to Paris than German Switzerland to Berlin. The result is that French Switzerland, from the very outset of the war, was, with a few exceptions, absolutely at one with the Allies in their conception of the origin and aims of the war.

Our work in this part of Switzerland, therefore, has been chiefly confined to the distribution of pamphlets of general interest, to placing articles, and to emphasising the magnitude of the British effort. That this last was by no means superfluous was proved by the anti-English leading articles which were written a short time ago by Monsieur Maurice Muret in the pro-Ally *Gazette de Lausanne*.

A counterblast to uninstructed comments of this kind was given, and is still being given, by the wide distribution of certain appropriate pamphlets in French such as Lord Bryce's "Attitude of Great Britain in the present War," and Mr. Archibald Hurd's "Revelations of the Budget."

Another useful piece of propaganda has been the regular supply of articles by well-known English authors to the leading French-Swiss review, the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. This important work was begun by Mr. Gould last February, and it is still being carried on. Month by month our articles appear, and one or two of them have since been reprinted as pamphlets for wider distribution in French-Switzerland and in France. The articles published up to the present include: "A Note on England at War," by "Anthony Hope" (February). "Switzerland and the Naval Blockade," by Archibald Hurd (March). "The Egoism of England," by J. W. Headlam (April). "England's Liberty," by J. M. Robertson (May). "Les Anglais reviendront-ils en Suisse ?," par un Anglais (July). "To the Neutrals—A Plea for Patience," by William Archer (August). "Anglo-Swiss Friendship and Ideals," by A. D. Godley (September).

Other articles by distinguished writers are in course of preparation, and we have already received several letters of appreciation and thanks from the editor, Prof. Maurice Millioud, who is hopeful, and has recently expressed his confidence that the articles will do a great deal to strengthen British influence in Swiss intellectual circles, which, particularly in Zürich and other academic centres, show a decided tendency to be swayed by respect for German scientific and intellectual accomplishments. It is noteworthy that the last article but one, which was written by an English gentleman, a warm friend of Switzerland, who saw with regret how the country was being overrun by Germany, formed the text for an interesting leading article by M. Maurice Muret in the *Gazette de Lausanne* for July 1st. It was pointed out—and this was principally for the benefit of Zürich and the Bernese Oberland—that the increasing Germanisation of Switzerland was becoming a great danger to Swiss prosperity, to say nothing of the menace to her political stability.

It is just this fact of the Germanisation of Switzerland that makes propaganda in German-Switzerland such a difficult and complicated question. German influence has certainly lost a good deal of ground since the last Wellington House report. As Dr. Professor Kraemer admits in the *Schwäbische Merkur* for July 6th, in an appeal for assistance for the Stuttgart Propaganda Bureau, the *Süddeutsche Nachrichtenstelle für Neutrals* :—

There is no doubt that popular opinion in Berne and other German-Swiss towns is no longer so favourable to us as it was in the beginning of the war.

As to the causes of this change, there is the persistent British and French propaganda, which the Professor mentions. There is also the outstanding fact that the popular belief in German invincibility has been given a very bad shock; the German deserters who constantly cross the Swiss frontier at Bâle, and are to be found in hundreds in Zürich and other large German-Swiss towns, are a living piece of anti-German propaganda. The notorious two colonels' affair also did a very great deal to discredit militarism, which, even to the German-Swiss, is typified by the German

army. He may admire the Germany of Bismarck, but as a Swiss writer in a South-German periodical (*Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, May 1916) openly confesses, he fears it; he has come to know the official German view as to the value of small states and their neutrality; and this fear, coupled with the old "méfiance du Schwob" is, especially at a time when Germany is showing signs of weakening, a very effective obstacle to German propaganda. Nevertheless, the hard fact of Germany's economic domination remains; as a letter written from Switzerland recently declared:—

"If German influence depended on German journalism, Switzerland would be Entente-friendly *en bloc*. What gives Germany a pull is German economic and political interest here."

And as the *Journal de Genève* pointed out in a leading article on the German note in the matter of exports, the Allies supply Switzerland with 4 tons of goods to every 15 tons supplied by the Central Empires. The number of German commercial travellers in Switzerland is nearly three times the number of French, English and Italian put together. Against economic facts such as these intellectual arguments and humanitarian appeals have an uphill task before them.

A second hindrance to British propaganda in Switzerland is the censorship. Several of our pamphlets and books have been prohibited by the Censor. Even the Report of the Bryce Committee in a German translation was forbidden until the publishers were able to prove that it was the official British Government version. A short time ago a new Censor was appointed, and we may hope for the removal of this hindrance, although owing to the discouragement of some of our distributors a good deal of the mischief has already been done.

A third complication is this: the German-Swiss people, so we are informed by a gentleman recently returned from the country, are very tired of propaganda of any kind. They have been wearied by the incessant and ostentatious methods of the Germans and are inclined to think highly of us because we are supposed to leave them alone. There is every reason, therefore, for avoiding indiscriminate distribution of literature and open propagandist activity. Our intention in German-Switzerland has been, and is, not to reach the largest possible number of people, but to supply the right people with the right material.

In a great measure this has been attained. About two months ago a list of German-Swiss addresses was drawn up by Monsieur Samuel Payot, who still continues to publish for us at Lausanne. This list included a large number of Protestant clergymen and Catholic priests, University professors and tutors, libraries and scientific institutions. It should be remembered that of all classes in German-Switzerland the clergymen and the professors are the most inclined to be pro-German; the Catholics have the usual sentimental attachment to Austria; the Protestants have a very great admiration for German Lutheranism, and the University professors see in Germany the best educated and most scientific nation in Europe. Any propaganda which aims at sweeping away these illusions is work well done.

Since the last Wellington House report Messrs. Payot, of Lausanne, have issued or are at present issuing 47 pamphlets and books for us, of which 27 were in German and 20 in French. The average circulation of the pamphlets amounted to 1,400 to 1,500 copies, in addition to any copies which have been distributed by the agents of the Cunard Line. It may be mentioned that this last method of distribution has been hindered a great deal by the attitude of the Swiss Censor, but that as a compensation Messrs. Payot have agreed not merely to print and publish selected literature for us, but in urgent cases to issue and put on sale copies printed in this country.

Among the larger works of which publication was undertaken for us by Messrs. Payot may be mentioned a French translation of Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer's "Between St. Dennis and St. George," which was favourably reviewed in a recent number of the *Journal de Genève*, and German translations of Mr. Headlan's "History of Twelve Days," and Mr. James Beck's "Evidence in the Case." 700 copies of the last-named work were distributed to professors and clergymen in German-Switzerland.

Good use has been made of our literature by H.M. Consul-General at Zürich, who, among other achievements, secured a prominent place in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* for lengthy extracts from the pamphlet "Some Aspects of the War as viewed by Naturalised British Subjects," and also succeeded in getting printed in full in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and the *Basler Nachrichten* the British report on the conditions in the Wittenberg Camp. The Zürich paper also printed practically the whole of the interview with Lord Revelstoke on "British Staying Power." Among

other German-Swiss newspapers we may mention the *Vaterland*, of Lucerne, whose editor, Herr Winiger, has shown himself increasingly pro-Ally; an eloquent message from him appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on France's Day, July 14th.

The latest report from the Neue Korrespondenz Bureau, which was mentioned in the last report, is that "it is going strong and making headway." The gentleman who quotes these words of Mr. Berlinger, who is in charge of the bureau, adds that it is his own opinion also. "German propaganda," he says, "is only strong in quantity. There is a lot of it, but it is mostly amateurish, plump, and very often unscrupulous. . . . All the changes that take place in the newspapers and popular opinion are in favour of the Entente."

The agent mentioned in the last Wellington House report still continues his activities, of which a monthly report is now furnished to us. His work chiefly consists in showing our photographs at various places in Switzerland and in placing these photographs in Swiss papers. The following list of his showplaces may be of interest:—

*Lausanne; Bâle* (two, of which one is at the offices of the *Nationale Zeitung*, whose pro-German tendencies were very marked during the first months of the war, but have been considerably modified lately); *Lucerne* (two); *Berne* (four); *Schaffhausen*; *Interlaken*; *Baden*; *Zürich* (two, of which one is at the offices of the *Tagessieger*); *Winterthur* (at the office of the *Neues Winterthurer Tageblatt*); *Appenzell*; *Rohrloch* (two, of which one is at the office of the *Rohracher Zeitung*); *Kreuzlingen*; *Neuchâtel*; *Olen*; *Frauenfeld*; *Thun* (at the office of the *Oberländer Tageblatt*); *Geneva* (at the Palais Eynard); *St. Gallen* (three, one being at the office of the pro-German *St. Galler Tageblatt*, and another at the office of the *St. Galler Stadt-Anzeiger*, which has hitherto exhibited German photographs only); *Romanshorn*.

In addition, our photographs are regularly exhibited at 17 *Maisons du Soldat*, which are Swiss Army huts corresponding to the Y.M.C.A. huts in this country.

As a result of the expansion of our Pictorial Department we have been enabled to supply this agent more regularly and with a greater number of photographs. Since the last report our pictures have been taken by:—

*Das Schweizer Heim*; *Die Schweizer Familie*; *Fürs Schweizer Haus*; *Familien-Weekendblatt*; *Mars* (Bâle); *Berner Tageblatt*; *La guerre mondiale* (Geneva); *Tribune de Lausanne* (Illustrated Supplement); *Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung* (Zürich—has a circulation of 50,000 copies weekly, and was once decidedly pro-German, but now takes our photographs frequently and seems anxious for more); *Neue Freie Zeitung* (Olten—intends also to reproduce our photographs in a book entitled *Der Weltkrieg und die Schweiz*); *Demokrat* (Lausanne); *Bauern-Kalender* (30,000 copies) for 1917 and *Arbeiterfreund-Kalender* (50,000 copies) for 1917 will both reproduce several of our photographs.

There is no doubt about the effect which all these varied influences are having on Swiss opinion. The result of the municipal elections at Zürich last March when the candidates of the *Bürgerverband*, a strong pro-German organisation, were heavily defeated, are an indication of the way public opinion has turned. The growing demand for the *Zwangseinbürgerung* (Compulsory Naturalisation) of foreigners living in Switzerland shows that the Swiss people are becoming less afraid of expressing their views openly on the subject of German peaceful penetration. For a general view of the change which public opinion has undergone during the last few months we may turn to a report from a Swiss gentleman who keeps us regularly supplied with notes and information on German-Switzerland. In his letter of a few weeks ago, written from Paris, he said:—

"Monsieur André Mercier [it should be noted that M. Mercier is a Professor of Lausanne, and the leading Swiss authority on International Law] told me that he was struck with the evolution which public opinion had undergone since the beginning of the war. He saw with great satisfaction that many of his colleagues were becoming every day more favourable to the Allies. Two other Swiss gentlemen who had lately been in Switzerland, the one from Geneva, the other from Bâle, whom I have seen this week, tell me the same thing about the development of pro-Ally sympathies in German-speaking Switzerland. People are seeing now clearly into Germany's game, and realise better the meaning of a German victory for Switzerland and all small countries."

Another gentleman, a German-Swiss, reports as follows:—

"I feel confident that now, if a vote was taken amongst the German-Swiss, 75 per cent. will show themselves strongly anti-German. In her propaganda campaign Germany has overstepped the boundary and the Swiss are sick and tired of Germany's ways. Her campaign was of the 'Paris in six weeks' system, that is to say, it was intense, expensive, and meant for quick results; I heard that the Germans spent 1,000,000. in Switzerland. . . . At the beginning of the war, German propaganda proved very effective and was done with great system; but the war going as it does, the German-Swiss—who are somewhat slow in thinking—have had time to think for themselves and have now shaken off the German influence, proclaiming their feelings very loudly."

The facts to which these letters bear witness were most strikingly demonstrated a few weeks ago in the reception given to the returned British invalid prisoners. In a recent communication the British Minister tells us :—

“ The really astounding reception of our invalid soldiers—the German invalids passed in silence—shows what Swiss people, as apart from the military authorities and the Federal Council, think of the Huns. Unless I am crazy, it also shows that the German propaganda has been an utter failure.”

Two further facts may be mentioned in conclusion. The first is that we have had a list of some 950 hotels in Switzerland compiled to which copies of our *War Pictorial* and other literature of a not emphatically propagandist nature are being sent, in many cases with the compliments of members of the Alpine Club, London. The second fact is that a part of Switzerland, which has not received much attention hitherto, will shortly be able to read our pamphlets. We have just put Mr. Mills, of Rome, in touch with a large publisher's and bookseller's business in Lugano, and Mr. Mills writes that he hopes to secure a wide distribution for Italian pamphlets by this means.

ALEC W. G. RANDALL.

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## 6.

**SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.****SPAIN.**

It seems probable that during the last six months the great German effort in the way of propaganda has passed its zenith and that it is already on the wane. Not that there are now fewer Germans in Spain; on the contrary, their number has been reinforced by the exiles from Portugal and those brought for internment from the Cameroons, so that the means for personal propaganda—so great a feature of the German campaign—have, if anything, increased. Notwithstanding this, however, a certain weariness seems apparent in the German propaganda itself which may well mean that the authors are either losing heart or find themselves short of the necessary money.

The change of feeling in favour of the Allies during this period has also been remarkable. Perhaps nothing illustrates this more forcibly than the success of a recent pronouncement in favour of Belgium signed by Spanish Catholics. This pronouncement has been signed by 500 leading representatives of the more Conservative Catholic classes, among them 93 professors. In August 1915, when an address of sympathy was addressed to Louvain, only 39 signatures were obtained, of which only 4 were those of University professors. Various causes have contributed towards this change of feeling.

The French have recently made a serious effort to capture the sympathies of the country, a field hitherto somewhat neglected by them, and have organised visits of Monsieur Bergson and other Intellectuals and of Monsignor Baudrillart and other Catholic divines.

The visit of Spanish journalists to the British Fleet and front resulted in some excellent articles, notably those by Gomez Carrillo in *El Liberal*, and it was particularly fortunate that their visit to the German prisoners' camps both in England and France should almost have coincided with the publication of the Report on the treatment of British prisoners in the Wittenberg camp.

The sinking of Spanish ships by German submarines and the death of the famous Spanish musician, Granados, as the result of the torpedoing of the "Sussex," has not helped to increase the popularity of the Germans. The Regionalist agitation in Catalonia, which has become a question of practical politics, has also drawn the attention of those concerned to the British Empire, which, though perhaps less organised than the German, has, nevertheless, demonstrated how united a loosely knit system can prove. The foundation of the Cervantes Chair of the Spanish language at King's College was widely noticed and commented upon and afforded an opportunity for the friends of England to give expression to their sentiments in the Press.

Finally, if reports and unsolicited testimonials are to be believed, the effects of our propaganda have begun to make themselves felt.

This report is not concerned with newspaper propaganda other than that carried out by our paper *America-Latina* which is dealt with under a separate sub-heading, and it will therefore be sufficient to state here generally that there is evidence that the Spanish newspapers are becoming more friendly to the Allies in tone. The majority of the more important newspapers are pro-Ally in their sentiments, and even the subtly pro-German *A.B.C.* has latterly been showing English pictures on its front page.

In the earlier part of the year a Manifesto in reply to the Declaration of Faith by Spanish writers in the Justice of the Allied Cause was prepared, and the signatures of upwards of 250 eminent Englishmen were obtained. It was translated into Spanish and appeared prominently in the Madrid *El Liberal*, *A.B.C.*, and *España*, and in some of the provincial newspapers. It was received with expressions of cordiality and sympathy, of which the following extract is a fair sample:—

"The wording of the testimonial not less than the importance of the signatories is bound to cause in Spain deep satisfaction that across the Channel the same cordial sentiments are felt for us as strongly as of yore. The gallant Knight of La Mancha found his first admirers in England, and he has kept them through the ages and through all political vicissitudes."

It has always been realised that a large proportion of the population of Spain cannot be reached by pamphlets or even newspapers, and the difficulties in this



respect will be the more appreciated when it is stated that according to statistics recently appearing in *El Imparcial* over 80 per cent. of the population of Spain is illiterate. The wonderful success of our illustrated literature can probably be ascribed to the easier appeal made by this kind of propaganda. Foremost among this literature must be placed the Spanish edition of Raemaekers' Cartoons, which, as one correspondent puts it, "have created a sensation in this country." In order that there should be no risk of this publication being stopped by the authorities some 20,000 copies were posted simultaneously to as many separate addresses and, when their appearance was a *fait accompli*, further copies were sent in the ordinary way. Scarcely a day passes without the receipt of requests for further copies of the Cartoons, and new editions have had to be printed. The Germans have issued a reply from Barcelona in the form of an illustrated booklet, but it is very ineffective, and only serves to show that they have thought it necessary to try to counteract the effect of the Cartoons.

The Consul at Seville reported on the Spanish edition as follows:—

"The Spanish edition of Raemaekers' Cartoons has now arrived and been widely distributed. According to information continually reaching me from those interested in the work of propaganda in this country, the success attending the publication of these cartoons is as great as I had anticipated. Applications reach the distributors from many quarters, and I have received gratifying assurances that on this occasion our propaganda has placed similar efforts of our enemies completely in the shade."

So also a professor of law of Zaragoza wrote:—

"The Cartoons of Raemaekers have had a tremendous success. All my friends fight for them. I believe that they are the best means of propaganda, for that great artist has known well how to represent with his inspired pencil the indignation which the German atrocities produce in him and which is reproduced in whoever looks at the picture, inspiring the hatred deserved by those cruelties committed by the enemies of liberty and art. Proof of what I say is shown by the fact that on a certain occasion I was showing these drawings to a man of Germanophil ideas against which my opposing arguments had always broken in vain, and there came a moment when, without being able to prevent it, he exclaimed indignantly: 'What barbarians they are!'; the fact is that aesthetic emotion makes a far deeper impression than reasonable logic."

Editions were prepared in the Catalan and Basque languages, and these have been very well received. The latter elicited an angry article from the pro-German *Correo Español*. While among the more enthusiastic letters which we have received concerning it was the following from Bilbao, written in Basque:—

"I am very pleased at having received the Cartoons, and I am very thankful to you for having remembered me. The English nation has always been kind, and we see with great pleasure that even now it has opened its heart to the small nationalities. Poor Belgium deserves everything we can do for her (our *Euzkadi* is also a subject nation). We thank you very much for having remembered our beautiful *Euzkera*, and you deserve the affection of all the Basques. I would ask you to be kind enough to send me more copies."

The Basque paper *Euzkadi* of the 5th July also contained the following paragraphs:—

"In contrast with the indifference with which a certain religious review, which is published in this town, regards the national language of the Basques, we have received a beautiful edition with most careful and unique Basque text which the English have made of the well known pictures of the great Dutch painter Raemaekers concerning the German invasion of Belgium."

In thanking our good friends for sending us this work, we are glad to express to them our gratitude as Basques for this edition and especially for favouring the much persecuted language of *Euzkadi*."

The Spanish edition of the *War Pictorial* is also doing useful work as is shown by the letters received asking for copies. Photographs are sent to our agents at Madrid and Valencia and are reproduced in the Press. The arrangement for the display in shop windows of pictures, photographs, postcards, &c. have been continued, and these exhibitions are very popular in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and Bilbao.

A very useful list of barber's shops, hotels, clubs, and casinos throughout Spain has been compiled, and suitable illustrated literature is sent to these addresses from time to time. Thus, copies of the *Illustrated London News* dealing with the battle of Jutland were distributed, with sufficient effect to make the pro-German Press pretend that this propaganda was carried out on behalf of Germany in order that the readers might see how fine the British ships were which the German fleet had sunk!

While, however, illustrated and pictorial propaganda is having an especial success, there is also evidence that the careful distribution of printed pamphlets is both appreciated and useful. This distribution has been carried out as before through the steamship companies and consuls, and we are further indebted to Messrs. Nelson and Sons, who have placed their imprint on some of our pamphlets and distributed

them through their correspondents and libraries. A few quotations taken from letters received will help to show the utility of this form of propaganda.

A barrister from Zaragoza writes :—

"I have received the pamphlets which you were so good as to send me. I think that they are excellent for the end in view, and among them I think of special utility those containing official documents or declarations of statesmen, owing to the authority of their statements. Also those containing photographic reproductions, for they bear the evidence of truth on their face. I think that you should see that a wide distribution is made of them, especially in towns like Zaragoza, Burgos, &c., in which, as the clergy and army are predominant, Germany counts many admirers. Please send me copies of these pamphlets so that I may comply with the requests for them which I have received from well-known persons of this town."

Another correspondent :—

"I notice with great satisfaction that for the last few months we have started in Spain a campaign of serious propaganda. *America-Latinas*, *Raemaekers*' Cartoons, Thomas Nelson and Sons' pamphlets, and numerous other publishing firms are doing excellent work on behalf of our cause, besides it being greatly appreciated by the immense majority of the Spanish people."

A shipowner :—

"I have received a most enthusiastic letter from Mr. C. of Barcelona this morning, announcing the arrival of the 200 pamphlets, *One Master or Many Friends*, by Anthony Hope. He says that they have all been successfully distributed, and were very well received. This is satisfactory."

A bookseller from Barcelona :—

"We received again copies of the pamphlet *Belgium and Germany*, which were distributed among our friends and customers, the result being that the number sent was found insufficient to satisfy everybody. We thank you very much for your shipments, and we should like you to send us, if possible, a few more copies of this pamphlet so as to satisfy various people who asked for it, and to whom we were unable to give it. The demand for your interesting pamphlets is increasing every day, and we are glad to push them without any profit."

The President of the Co-operative Society of Cabrenys sent thanks for pamphlets received, and added :—

"For your guidance I have pleasure in informing you that the leaflets which you have hitherto sent me are not only well received by the public, but that their reading produces effect, and there is daily noticeable a veering of the said public in favour of the cause of the Allies. Here, as in the rest of Spain, there is a daily increase in the number of persons convinced of the necessity for the triumph of the arms of reason and for the destruction once and for all of the representatives of brute force."

A gentleman, having read one of our pamphlets, took the trouble to write to the printers asking for more, and having received a consignment wrote in reply as follows :—

"Thanks to the great interest which you have taken in the matter, I have received the several pamphlets which deal with the war with such impartiality. They are books which one is pleased to read, and I, as well as all my friends, have been quite taken up with them. I therefore ask you very earnestly to be so good as to send as many pamphlets as may be published, with the assurance that you will be doing me a great favour."

One of our distributors, writing on the 21st July, says :—

"As regards Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, and the other Mediterranean parts, we have never had any difficulty in distributing all the literature you have sent, and I should say it met with a welcome reception. Here in Barcelona we sent it to the clubs, hotels, mayor, doctors, &c., and in the case of the Wittenberg horrors we sent it to all the army medical men in the neighbourhood."

At the same time, the way of the distributor is not always an easy one. Thus a bookseller from Seville wrote :—

"I am distributing the pamphlets you sent me among the middle classes and workmen, since the aristocracy destroy them as soon as they are received, as I myself have witnessed. If they are members of a firm to whom you send direct, the chief at once destroys them on receipt, in order to prevent his clerks from reading them. I think this also happens in the case of booksellers if they sell religious books, or have customers who are strong Catholics. They do not distribute them for fear of losing their customers, as the clergy here are doing all they can to prevent any propaganda in our favour. As I told you before, the middle-class and the workmen here are in favour of the Allies, and the greater portion of the aristocracy are pro-Germans owing to their ignorance, although it appears that this state of things is slowly changing."

And again another bookseller from Madrid :—

"I send these pamphlets gratis to the most cultured customers I have, and now I am surprised by a letter I received from one of them, asking me to stop sending the pamphlets in question, and that if the said customer finds that I am pushing the reading of these pamphlets, he will break off commercial relations with my firm and try to expose me and do me harm by any means in his power."

Some 80 pamphlets have now been translated into Spanish. A recent departure has been the translation of pamphlets into Catalan. Requests have been received for consignments of these for Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands. The Catalans, although they all speak Spanish, are very proud of their language, and take it as a compliment that anything should be written or translated therein. Thus a barrister writes:—

"I have had the greatest pleasure in receiving the pamphlet by Xammar, entitled *Contra l'Ides d'Imperi*, for I am a Catalan, and nothing pleases the natives of that region more than proofs of respect and deference for our language, which are all the more opportune at this moment when the Spanish Parliament has rejected a demand made by the representatives of Catalonia that their tongue should be recognised officially. In this region the majority, almost all, are sincere friends of the Allies."

The clubs have not been forgotten, and a Spanish edition of *J'Accuse* having been published in Valencia, copies were sent to all the clubs and business houses throughout the country. We are also making the experiment of publishing brochures in the country itself, and have secured a publisher for this purpose in Madrid. The experiment promises to be successful in those cases in which promptitude in publication is of less importance than Spanish type and appearance.

## PORTUGAL.

Since the date of the last report, Portugal has entered the war on the side of the Allies. We have not, however, on this account ceased to busy ourselves with propaganda in the country, and we still distribute a certain number of pamphlets and copies of *O Espelho*. The British Minister reports that the pamphlets are satisfactorily distributed by Messrs. Garland and Laidley and their 60 sub-agents in Lisbon, Oporto, and the provinces. The literature goes to all thermal establishments and hotels, clubs, workmen's and shopkeepers' unions, hairdressers, and schools in all the principal towns and to Coimbra University. Quite recently, through the mediation of the Booth Line, we have arranged to supply 30,000 copies of a Portuguese translation of Herbert Strang's *England and the War*, specially written for children, and the Minister of Education has promised to distribute them throughout the schools in Portugal. At the request of the Portuguese Minister we are also undertaking to purchase and distribute 1,000 copies of a new illustrated, artistic and economic review, *Atlantida*. The review is produced under the supervision of the Portuguese and Brazilian Governments, and is to be distributed in Brazil.

## SPANISH-SPEAKING REPUBLICS.

It can be said that the majority of the inhabitants of the Spanish-speaking Republics still continue to favour the Allies in their sympathies. In the period under review, the opposing elements have become more crystallised, and it is becoming more apparent than ever that the Central Powers derive their adherents in these countries chiefly from the members of the Church and the army. Some impression has been made on the former by literature especially designed for their consumption, and especially by Mr. Randall's excellent pamphlet *Is Germany Anti-Catholic?* and some of Cardinal Mercier's Pastorals. Other brochures likely to interest Catholic minds are in preparation. That our efforts in this direction have not been wholly unsuccessful is shown by a report from Ecuador that the Germans have been forced completely to shift the ground of their attack, and now rely, as their chief weapon, on the charge that the Allies are ultra-Catholic!

The military parties, whose admiration for the doctrine of force is the main reason for their support of Germany, are not likely to waver in their sympathies until the defeat of the Central Powers in the field has proved to them that they have been backing the wrong horse.

There has been a marked decrease in German propaganda literature in Central and South America of late. At the beginning of war, with characteristic thoroughness, every town, every Chamber of Commerce and nearly every business house in Germany were mobilised for propaganda purposes. With great lack of originality they all hit on the same idea, the idea of providing a news service for their correspondents. The news was translated into faultless Castilian and forwarded to their respective correspondents in the form of fly-sheets, bulletins, pamphlets, brochures and even books, according to the means of the sender. This over-organisation, however, proved

disastrous, as a Chilian propaganda agent wrote to Berlin in a letter which was intercepted by the British censor :—

"Since the beginning of the war there have been too many sources of supply and we have been flooded with articles which are largely valueless, long-winded and without interest for our public. Regular masses of reports and articles were sent from all parts of Germany with the result that the same reports came in the most diverse forms, either direct to our papers or to a whole army of Germans abroad who sent on and spread them. It was decidedly too much of a good thing and frequently had the effect of tiring the reader. Among them was a series of first-class reports which were widely circulated, but mostly lost their effectiveness through the excess of literature to which I have referred, and the continued repetition of news in itself quite interesting. I must, therefore, repeat my opinion that the sending of news abroad should be co-ordinated by means of a central bureau. For one thing, useless expense for printing and postage might thus be saved."

Even the faultlessness of the Castilian into which the reports were translated proved a snare. The same correspondent testifies :—

"The Spanish in these articles and translations is splendid, but during the last year I have constantly reminded Herr A. that the Spanish translations of articles of the Continental Correspondence suffer from a too decided Madrid idiom. Of course the Spanish of these articles was correct, but it was just a little too obviously designed for the Madrid public. They contained a whole number of expressions and phrases which are scarcely used except in Madrid and are unknown or unfamiliar to the South American public. So the effect was often positively bewildering."

The next phase showed that the expense of printing and postage was proving a severe strain on the propagandists; and notes were appended in each case to the effect that in order further to improve the service, those who wished to continue to receive it were requested to subscribe towards the cost of the production. Whether this appeal for funds would have proved a disappointment or not, its originators were fated never to know, as the recently increased strictness of British censorship prevented in most cases the arrival of the printed matter. Thus in April we received the following report from Uruguay :—

"As far as regards Uruguay there has been a great lull in German propaganda of late. Large quantities of literature printed in Spain were received with Dutch, Swedish and Danish postage stamps, showing that the same had been despatched from those countries. The matter being reported to the authorities, there has been a considerable falling-off of late. The Germans, however, will not be satisfied to leave the matter at that, and we shall be on the look-out for the next move."

If a guess may be hazarded the next move is likely to be the intensification of locally produced propaganda.

It may here be stated that the pitfall of providing literature for the American Republics translated into perfect Castilian has, as far as possible, been avoided in the case of our own pamphlets by dividing the work of translation into Spanish between Spaniards and South Americans. Thus the review *Por la Civilizacion* of Montevideo, on May 25th, stated :—

"Among the series of propaganda pamphlets which the English have been publishing and circulating throughout the world, carefully turned into various languages, there have been some notable in every sense of the word. They will have opened the eyes and informed those who have read them concerning the generally unknown causes of the attitude adopted by the Germans in this war. The last of these small books which came into our hands is that of the American writer, Owen Wister, entitled *The Pentecost of Calamity*. From this pamphlet we copy the following page." (A long quotation from the pamphlet follows.)

The pamphlets have also proved satisfactory as far as their matter is concerned. Thus the British Minister at Lima, writing on May 8th, reports :—

"I have had the honour to receive six packets containing various pamphlets. I am distributing these pamphlets, in the centre and north of Peru through the good offices of the Peruvian Corporation, and in the south through the Arequipa Patriotic League. Their nature appears to be very suitable, and those who have so far received them, state that both in form and substance these pamphlets are just what is required."

A lady who made herself responsible for sending pamphlets to a very wide acquaintance in South America also wrote :—

"With regard to the literature sent to South America, I am glad to say that I have received a fair number of acknowledgments mainly from Chili. The letters came from army officers, government officials and ladies of some social importance, including the wife of the President of the Republic, who has since completed his term of office. This lady, while expressing her emotion at seeing the ruined churches of Belgium and France in the publication sent to her, says she prays night and morning for the success of the Allies. Other ladies also tell me how much impressed they were by the church pictures. One of the officers in writing says, that the literature shows the justice of the Allied cause."

Many newspapers have reproduced our literature, from *La Vos del Atlantico* in Nicaragua and *La Informacion* in Costa Rica to *The Magellan Times* of Punta Arenas in the far south. The latter reproduced the whole of Mr. Maasterman's *The Triumph of the Fleet*. In this connection a correspondent from Bogota (Republic of Colombia) writes:—

"The greater number of the newspapers reproduce articles from the propaganda matter and contain many articles based on the pamphlets you send. The Germans are the only ones who have to pay for publications, which are only accepted by second-rate newspapers. They have also their own newspaper *Germania*, which nobody buys."

In the Argentine and Uruguay the thirst for pro-British propaganda seems unslaked. Mr. Bayne, the Honorary Secretary of the British Patriotic Fund of Montevideo, is continuing to do excellent work for the British cause. He not only organised propaganda committees throughout Uruguay, Southern Brazil, and up into Bolivia, but he helped Mr. Wilmot Blomefield of Buenos Aires to organise similar committees throughout the Argentine. He has reported at various times as follows:—

"We have now built such an extensive connexion for literature that you may be assured that whatever quantity you send out will be put to the fullest possible service. We have always demands on hand."

"Propaganda work in Uruguay, Southern Brazil, and Argentina is now well organised. I have to thank you most cordially for the London letters we are regularly receiving from you. All the English papers in the River Plate value them very much. The news contained in them is very informing and the readers of these papers, who comprise a large number of English-speaking better-class Latin-Americans, are always on the look-out for your London letter."

"Propaganda work is going on well here and there is no diminution of interest."

"We have just received two magnificent consignments of literature—46 bales in all—and are employed at the moment in despatching assorted packets of the same to various country committees. Results are evident everywhere as regards the effect on the neutral mind of this propaganda, thanks to the energetic manner in which your Committee took the matter in hand."

"I thank you for the support we are receiving at your hands, which was and is necessary to counteract the lying German propaganda still intermittently maintained by them."

The manager of an insurance company in Montevideo writes:—

"I have distributed the booklets to those clients who I know will appreciate the contents. Brochures such as you send are of great value in this part of the world, especially being printed in the Spanish language. German propaganda in this district is enormous, and literature of the kind in question goes a long way to counteract the effects of the German falsehoods, which, unhappily, are continued in the books issued by the enemy."

Mr. Wilmot Blomefield, the Honorary Secretary of the *Comision de Propaganda pro-Aliados*, speaking of the Argentine, says:—

"The local interest is extraordinary and our daily correspondence brings us letters from all parts of the Republic."

and writing as recently as June 9th:—

"Our work continues to prosper and keeps us busy. We are opening up new districts and are satisfied that all the literature which you can send us will be circulated to the very best advantage."

The activities of Mr. Wilmot Blomefield's "*Comision*" were the subject of an article entitled "*Propaganda in favour of the Allies: A Laudable Work*," which appeared in the *British Magazine* of Buenos Aires on July 18th, and as it sheds light on what is done with our publications an extract from it may perhaps be permitted:—

"Under the title '*Comision de propaganda pro-aliados*,' a number of our British residents in Buenos Aires are carrying on an active work in the distribution of all kinds of literature in the Spanish language among the Argentine population.

"We have visited the office at which the work of the Commission is carried out and we were astonished at the extent of its operations and the far-reaching nature of its ramifications. Since its inauguration the Commission has distributed close on 400,000 copies of the various publications which are being issued at home and elsewhere to tell the truth about the war and to counteract the German influence which is under the direct control of active emissaries of the Father of Lies.

"One of the most useful and interesting publications distributed by the Commission is *America-Latina*, which, besides being well written, is copiously illustrated. A pamphlet dealing with the atrocities in Armenia is being widely circulated in response to letters received from Armenians and others, while the story of Miss Cavell and Raemaekers' famous drawings have been sent all over the land. The latter expression is not a mere figure of speech as, in addition to a list of 4,500 names to whom publications are sent direct from the office, the Commission has at least a 100 agents scattered over the country from Salta to Rio Gallegos and from Mendoza and Choe Malal to Misiones. Some of these agents in their turn are centres of distribution for many hundreds of pamphlets."

The Raemaekers' Cartoons have proved as popular in these countries as in Spain. The French Consul at Bluefields (Nicaragua) wrote, on the 24th May, as follows:—

"The French Chargé d'Affaires in Costa Rica sent me a copy of the Raemaekers' Cartoons. As a Belgian and as the French Consul and the only active ally to whom to look for news, this is just the thing I want. The Germans have done a great deal of propaganda here and receive ample material for it, but the great majority of the Nicaraguans and negroes are pro-Ally."

while the Editor of *Las dos Republicas* of Comaguay, in Cuba, both published complimentary articles about them in his journal, and wrote:—

"Here, in this town, we are allies, and we hate Germany for her cruelty and for destroying the weaker nations. I have shown the Cartoons of Raemaekers to clubs, and with their help have increased the number of friends of France, England and Russia."

### BRAZIL.

Throughout Brazil, even in the south where the German settlers predominate, the enthusiasm of the Brazilians for the Allied cause has been quite remarkable. Although the Germans have spared no effort in their propaganda, it cannot be said that they have been successful in gaining the sympathies of the Brazilians. Thus the British Consul in Rio Grande, in a letter received in the earlier part of this year, wrote:—

"Replying to your inquiry, I may say that the Brazilians almost to a man are pro-Allies, but we are living in a nest of Germans and their propaganda is tremendous. With their business ramifications all over the State they can easily disseminate their vile literature in all directions."

While Mr. Lockwood Thompson, who is in charge of one of the committees set up by Mr. Bayne in the South of Brazil, reported that the Germans were furious over our propaganda work and even threatened personal violence. Still later, Mr. Bayne reported:—

"In South Brazil there remains much pounding still to be done, but the Brazilians, who never loved the German colonist, are delighted to have an opportunity of making his position as uncomfortable as possible by distributing as widely as possible *O Espelho*, and the other pamphlets in Portuguese which you send us."

The Germans find it almost impossible to get any of the native newspapers to reproduce articles favourable to them, except by the payment of advertisement rates, and have been forced to rely on their own newspapers in order to obtain a hearing. On the other hand, the Brazilians seem as anxious as the inhabitants of the neighbouring Republics to obtain the pro-Ally pamphlets.

Some 50 books and pamphlets in Portuguese are now available and these are widely distributed by the Consuls, the Steamship Companies, and the Committees in the South. The Consuls have been particularly active in this country and the results appear to be satisfactory. Thus the Consul at Sao Paulo, who distributes 5,000 copies of each pamphlet, writes:—

"I put the pamphlets about in Sao Paulo and the interior. The R.M.S. Packet Company seem as a rule to be extensively provided with printed matter, and they generally send me a large quantity of what they can't get rid of. But it all goes. I send it to senators, deputies, schools, municipalities, and clubs, besides the distribution to individual people who can best deal with it."

### "AMERICA-LATINA" AND "O ESPELHO."

We make increasing use of the Spanish paper *America-Latina* and the Portuguese paper *O Espelho*. Mr. Hayne, the secretary of the British Patriotic Fund of Montevideo, who has organised propaganda committees throughout Uruguay, Southern Brazil, and Bolivia, and who has helped Mr. Wilmot Blomfield to form similar committees in the Argentine, has written concerning these papers as follows:—

"These two illustrated publications are extremely popular. They ought to establish themselves as permanent commercial publications, and manufacturers in England should find them most valuable mediums in making their wares known in South America. The cause of the Allies is being admirably served by them and they are regarded by neutrals as high-class standard publications on the war."

*O Espelho* and *America-Latina*.—"Further arrivals are to hand. The numbers are most beautifully got up and there is a great demand in all parts for the same."

And again as recently as 27th June:—

*O Espelho* and *America-Latina*.—"A copy of each number of *O Espelho* and *America-Latina* is sent to each paper in town and country, and it is quite a common occurrence to see some of the illustrations reproduced in the Montevideo papers. The attached cutting from the Government



paper *El Dia* is one example of what I refer to." (A copy of the paper of the 22nd June, was attached containing 11 pictures taken from *America-Latina* of the 15th May.)

"I can only reiterate that these two illustrated papers are creating a wonderful effect on the neutral mind, and their popularity is the greatest testimony of the appreciation of their contents. The wider they become known, the greater the demand, and you may rest assured that whatever quantity you send is being put to the best possible use."

#### "AMERICA-LATINA."

At the date of the last Report on propaganda in Spain and the Spanish-speaking republics, the circulation of *America-Latina* amounted to less than 45,000 copies; now it is more than 80,000. This additional supply of 35,000 copies per number even now scarcely meets the increased demand, and the issue will probably have to be further increased in the near future. The invitation contained in the paper that readers should send the names and addresses of friends who sympathise with the cause of the Allies and who wish to have the paper forwarded to them is widely accepted, and after every issue letters pour in to the editor, either congratulating him on his efforts or requesting that copies should be sent to new addresses. Thousands of such letters have been received, and that so many people in so many distinct walks of life take the trouble to write appears to be a sure sign that the paper is appreciated by the wide and very varied public to which it is directed. The French Government think so highly of the publication that they have now arranged to make themselves responsible for the cost of one issue per month. The effect of this is that from the 1st of June last, the paper appears twice instead of once a month. On the first of the month it appears in Paris and on the 15th of the month it continues to appear in London. The form of the two issues is exactly the same and the French issue is distributed to the same addresses and in the same way as the English issue has hitherto been distributed.

The work entailed in preparing the two editions is considerable, but the energy and resource of the editor, Dr. Benjamin Barrios, have surmounted all attendant difficulties.

Besides a certain number of copies sent in bulk for distribution, the paper is sent to some 23,000 individual addresses in Spain. These addresses comprise the leading persons in each state and town, hotels, and hairdressers' shops. The hairdressers' shop is a particularly useful channel of propaganda, as being the place where Spaniards more habitually congregate for the purpose of discussing news and politics. Thus a Barcelona hairdresser writes:—

"Having seen a copy of your interesting publication and knowing that you offer to send it to friends who may wish to receive it, I would ask you to be so kind as to send me, if possible, the back numbers, so that I may use them as a good weapon against my enemies, the Germans, with whom I have daily and heated altercations, since my business as a hairdresser enables me to discuss and defend the cause of the Allies which I most enthusiastically admire."

Spanish hairdressers are not, however, the only ones who make use of *America-Latina* for propaganda purposes. The following amusing letter was received from a barber at Arecibo, in Porto Rico:—

"Dear Sirs: I have had the opportunity to read your illustrated review, *America Latina*, on the part that I have seen beautiful photoengraving of the war, where is highly demonstrated the allied heroism. I wish that you send me the last number to be informed with certainty of the last incidents of the war. Here in the West Indies we need of trustworthy notices, owing to that our journals on his greater part to be suborned for Germany perfidy. Here we are the true people with your just and decorous cause, do not we shall be substantially but on sentiments and aspirations we are identified for the reason of to be lovers of the democracy and the progress that to day conduct the world that on his greater part we owe to the democratic.

France and the democratic and generous England, I admire to your government and to your people for his system of governing your country mother, so much in earth as at the sea.

Ha! go on! allied peoples that the success shall crown your sacrifices.

I am entirely yours  
(84) MANUEL GARDIA."

A lady from Seville wrote in February that "if a copy of *America-Latina* found its way once a month to all the barracks of the Spanish Civil Guards along the coast towns of the Atlantic and Mediterranean, it would do more to counteract German influence than anything." This suggestion has been adopted and the Civil Guard who are on duty on the Spanish seaboard and who can read will now be able to devote some of their leisure hours to the study of the Allies' case.

Appreciative letters have been, and are continually being, received from readers in all parts of Spain, the Balearic Islands, the Canaries, all, even the most remote, Southern and Central American Republics, the West Indies and the Philippines. The



paper seems to appeal to almost every class of the population and to every profession. Looking at a pile of letters taken more or less at random from those received, I find communications from doctors, lawyers, merchants, members of the Federated Trade Union of San Salvador, the mayor of a Spanish town, the Vice-President of a Spanish Provincial Council, the staff of some copper mines in Bolivia, the officials of several Southern and Central American railway companies, a member of the staff of the Military Governor of Barcelona, a major of the Headquarters Staff of the Republic of San Salvador, a Jesuit Father from Cuba, a Protestant pastor in Spain, a Canadian missionary in the Dominican Republic, a Marist Brother from the Republic of Colombia and a Salesian Brother from Bolivia. It is interesting to note that the paper seems to be read with approval by Catholic clergy, a class which it has been particularly difficult to touch.

One of the letters mentions the "growing success" of the paper, another urges the Editor "to continue on his way without fainting, sure in the knowledge that "good seed finds ample soil wherein to fructify, as is clearly shown by the abundant "harvest hitherto reaped from his patriotic and meritorious work." The writer of another considers the work "one of great literary and informative value and at "the same time a link of friendship and of union with Latin-America, countries "treading the same path of progress, peoples guided by the same torch of "liberty." A merchant from Mahon "feels real satisfaction at the receipt of an "English review published in the language of Castile, for it shows that 'perfidious "Albion,' as the Spanish reactionaries call it, remembers and is interested in "unhappy Spain which the humane German nation rarely does, except when she "murders the sons of Spain and sinks her merchant ships in the depths of the "ocean." Cheng, a Chinaman from Guatemala, writes that a friend had shown him a copy of the review, that he had read it several times and found it all very interesting and, to a great extent, just, although he was one of the few Germanophiles to be found in the country; he therefore requests that the review be sent to him. This is being done, and it is to be hoped that by now the number of Germanophiles in Guatemala has been even further reduced. From Monterrey (Mexico), a Mexican writes:—

"I take the liberty of writing these lines to ask you to send me periodically your interesting review. A copy of *America-Latina* came into my hands by chance and although to start with, owing to my indifference with regard to the present war, I only took it up in order to look at the pictures, the printed matter gradually attracted me so much that I finally read it from beginning to end without omitting a single word. Believe me when I say that, when I had finished, my indifference had vanished, for the impressions which I received caused me to feel an active sympathy towards the cause of the Allies. I should, therefore, be glad if you would send me your review monthly so that I may follow the events of the war step by step. I sincerely congratulate you on the handsome way in which your review is got up, as well on the select writing contained in all its articles."

The following letter deserves perhaps to be noted in full:—

"SIR,  
Alcala Pangasinan, Philippine Islands.  
I HAVE the greatest pleasure in addressing to you this letter in order to give you my most heartfelt thanks for the kindness which your office has done to me by sending me some copies of the review which you so ably direct, and for which I feel profound admiration and sympathy.

"What I have read in the few numbers which I had in my possession has greatly moved me, and not only do I give my adhesion to Great Britain at the present time, but I even feel able to offer my small services to the British Government in defence of the holy cause, if the laws of war will admit me to the army.

"I am a native of the Philippine Islands, 29 years of age, sympathise greatly with the English nation, and hold the titles of Bachelor of Arts, Professor of Secondary Education, am a skilled mechanic, novelist, journalist, doctor and surgeon, and am at the present moment candidate for Parliament for the Fifth District of this province, having been nominated by the Great Convention held by the National Progressive Party on the 12th March 1916.

"I would like to know through you whether I could answer the call of the British nation, and in case this should be so, I authorise you to offer my services unconditionally to the War Office.

"Awaiting your reply,

"I am,  
"Yours very sincerely,  
(Signed) Dr. JOSE A. DIAZ."

— Editor of *America-Latina*, London.

Local papers have not been slow to copy the articles and pictures from *America-Latina*, and in this way some of the propaganda material has reached an even wider circle. One number of *Iberia*, of Barcelona, consisted almost entirely of two articles taken from *America-Latina*. *La Cultura-Latina*, of Guatemala, also draws articles from the same source. *Por la Civilización*, of Montevideo, in its issue of the 25th May, reproduces the whole of an article on asphyxiating gases by Maitre Edouard Clunet, which appeared in the March number of *America-Latina*.

A member of the Town Council of Nbuyapey (Paraguay) "takes the liberty, in the name of the population of his department, to thank the Editor for having sent *America-Latina*. He is happy to assure him that all are unanimous in their manifestations of gratitude." He adds: "We do not lack German papers and propagandists who try to conquer our sympathies in favour of their cause; fortunately, however, we have a good champion of the Allied cause in the newspaper *La Tribuna*, of Asuncion, and we have seen reproduced in it some of the articles from *America-Latina*."

The secretary of the "Catholic Club," an institute formed by young students of the principal universities of Peru, writes that they are anxious to receive *America-Latina*, and that as a paper would shortly appear as the organ of the institution, he would be pleased if he could have the blocks of the pictures which appear in the review, so that they may be reproduced.

The editor of *El Porvenir*, a paper circulating in Cartagena (Colombia), asks that the illustrations which appear in *America-Latina* should be sent to him so that they may be published in his paper.

The editor of *La Voz del Atlantico* writes from Bluefields (Nicaragua) also asking for the blocks of the pictures appearing in *America-Latina* so that they may be reproduced in the paper, while the editor of *El Independiente* writes from Reconquista (Argentine) requesting that a bound copy of *America-Latina* should be sent so that it may take the place which it deserves in the public library of the paper. "It is the desire of this undertaking to endow the population with an effective means of attaining a culture which it lacks, and to this end I request your valuable co-operation. Our library will be honoured by acquiring your review, and we shall be glad to send you the number of *El Independiente* in which a notice of your publication will be inserted."

From San Fernando (Chile) an offer was received to circulate copies of *America-Latina* "among the best social and political readers of *La Provincia*." Quotations from letters written by readers of the paper might be multiplied, but the foregoing extracts are sufficient examples of the kind of letter received.

Perhaps, however, some instances may be given of letters written by those responsible for the distribution of the publication as showing that they too are satisfied with the work that it is doing.

The Chancery at Madrid has asked for an extra number of copies in bulk in view of the success which it has attained.

The British Minister in Chile says:—

"*America-Latina* is very much appreciated in Chile."

The British Minister in Cuba reports:—

"*America-Latina* is eagerly sought for and greatly appreciated."

The British Minister in Mexico writes:—

"*America-Latina* is in much demand and if the number now sent to the Consuls could be doubled it would be advantageous."

The British Vice-Consul at Santander (Spain) writing quite recently:—

"Will you please be good enough to supply me with fifty complete series of *America-Latina* to date, at your earliest convenience, as my stock has been depleted and I have a big call for them."

The British Vice-Consul at Guadalajara Jalisco (Mexico), writing on the 6th May, says:—

"I write to thank you for the packets of *America-Latina* which you have sent to this Vice-Consulate. It first attracted attention by the excellent illustrations. It is read here by everybody who has a chance to see it and does really to a great extent enlighten Mexican public opinion and accomplish the object for which it is issued. I am always being asked for copies. I congratulate you on this most admirable publication."

The Honorary Secretary of the Union of British Subjects resident in Mexico wrote acknowledging receipt of copies of *America-Latina*, and said:—

"We here in Mexico feel sure that it will do a lot of good chiefly on account of the superior quality of the magazine, which far exceeds anything of that nature published in Mexico both in style and in the absence of vituperation which rather distinguishes those of German origin."

The British Vice-Consul at Puerto Plata (Dominican Republic) writes:—

"Allow me to congratulate you on the good work your publication is doing in this country among a large number of people. It is the foreign paper most looked forward to; they find lots of true enlightening news in it regarding this terrible war."

A correspondent from Bogota (Republic of Colombia) writes:—

"What is best liked here amongst all the propaganda matter is *America-Latina*."

Mr. Bayne writes from Montevideo :

" We sent this correspondent 50 copies of *America-Latina*. In acknowledging the same, he says : ' These we distributed immediately, and so great has been the demand for more that I have written to Mr. Blomfield at Buenos Aires to send me as many as he can. ' "

And Mr. Wilmot Blomfield, from Buenos Aires :—

" I am very glad that you have been able to arrange for an increase in the number of copies of *America-Latina*. It is a publication which is very much sought after here and we are very much obliged to you."

" O ESPELHO."

The success of *O Espelho* in Portugal and Brazil has been almost as marked as that of *America-Latina* in Spain and in the Spanish-speaking republics. In addition to the number sold we are distributing some 17,000 free copies, and from all sides we receive testimonials as to the valuable work it has accomplished. It appears that there is no local illustrated paper, at any rate in Brazil, which can vie with *O Espelho* in interest or in general appearance.

PERCY A. KOPPEL.

## 7.

**GREECE AND ROUMANIA.****GREECE.**

German propaganda in Greece is under the direction of Baron Schenk, and there can be no doubt that he carries on his duties with untiring energy and no little success. Nominally he is Wolff's agent at Athens, having been induced eighteen months ago to give up an important appointment, which he held at Krupp's works, in order to occupy that post.

Previously to his arrival only one of the great newspapers published at Athens, *The Nea Himerá*, showed pro-German tendencies, the proprietor of it having been educated in Germany. *The Embros* represented itself as being independent, though, perhaps for personal reasons, it was strongly anti-Venizelist. The remainder of the daily press, including about fourteen papers, were pro-Ally. At the present moment only seven newspapers—the *Patris*, *Hestia*, *Ethnos*, *Nea Hellas*, *Astir*, *Ethniki* and *M. Venizelos's* organ, the *Kiryx*, still espouse the cause of the Allies. The remainder have succumbed to the temptations put in their way by Baron Schenk and his staff; and they succumbed all the more readily because their owners were in a condition bordering on poverty. No one in Athens is ignorant that they were bought by German gold. *The Akropolis* is a good instance in point; the proprietor of this newspaper had, all his life, evinced the strongest sympathy for England, paying constant visits to this country. He was a blind admirer of everything English; but latterly, having fallen into debt and being unable even to pay his workmen, he had not the courage to resist the advances which Baron Schenk made to him, on hearing of his circumstances. If any one whom the Baron approached entertained any scruple, it was represented to him that true patriotism lay in espousing the German cause and not that of the Allies, since the Germans must inevitably win the victory, and those who opposed them would meet with severe retribution when all was over. In some cases the papers have been bought outright, in others so much is paid per line. From two to five francs is paid for the insertion of the German *communiqué*; from two to five thousand francs have been paid for important leading articles. It is alleged that three million marks have been spent on the newspapers in one year.

The Athens correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Journal* of the 15th November 1915, describes in the following words the propaganda carried on by Baron Schenk through the venal Greek press:—

"Disregarding the interests and the good name of their country, and openly subventioned by the Ambassador, they spread abroad every morning the poisonous news fabricated in the offices of the Wolff agency.

As M. Venizelos said in his memorable speech of October 5th:—

"We have before us the repugnant spectacle of men who direct certain organs of public opinion, and are therefore regarded as the interpreters of that opinion and who, nevertheless, have sold their pens to a foreign propaganda." Since M. Venizelos' disappearance the shamelessness of these men has been carried to greater lengths than before. My profession forces upon me the painful duty of daily perusing these newspapers. They are marvellous instruments for the poisoning of the soul! They sully the very name of heroism; they breathe out suspicion; they affirm what is false and misrepresent the truth; they minimise and distort, like the grotesque mirrors at the fair, all the events of the most appalling tragedy ever known to history which is being developed in Europe. A pernicious and pestilential vapour arises from their columns. Alas, for public opinion in Greece! This Germanised press is Germany's daily emission of asphyxiating gas."

As the articles published by these newspapers are in every case written to order, it is clear that they are not in any way representative of public opinion. The vast majority of the population still look to the Entente Powers as their natural friends and protectors. They have not forgotten what they owe to England, and the names of Byron and Gladstone are still familiar in every household, while their civilisation is practically an adaptation of French methods; their judicial system is entirely based on the code Napoléon, and their language, as it is written to-day, abounds in French idioms literally translated. They have thus become penetrated with French thought. Every Greek with any pretence to education speaks French and reads French literature, and if he acquires a second foreign language, it is English or Italian rather than German.

The only supporters of the German cause, before Baron Schenk appeared on the scene, were those who were in the immediate entourage of the King, or sought the royal favour, and the superior officers in the army, many of whom were trained in Germany, and all of whom have been taught that the German army is invincible. It is Baron Schenk's policy to spread this belief amongst all classes of the population, since he is convinced that this is the surest, if not the only means of reconciling them to a policy of neutrality.

To obtain his ends, Baron Schenk does not only subsidize the newspapers; he has distributed, and still distributes, masses of pamphlets throughout the country. The most important of these is a brochure of eighty pages entitled *English Policy and Hellenism*, in which England's attitude with regard to Greece, during the last century, is reviewed in a very hostile spirit. The author endeavours to prove that England, even where she acted in the interest of Greece, was in reality moved by selfish considerations. The Baron has, at Athens, hundreds of Germans and Greeks in his pay, whose duty it is to engage people in conversation at the cafés and other public places, and by promises and misrepresentations, to obtain adherents to the German views. Many of these are in the Greek Secret Police.

The attempts which were made to counteract German influence in Greece, during the first year of the war, were confined to the translation and distribution of some books and pamphlets, including ministers' speeches and Lord Bryce's Report on German atrocities. These were translated in England with the help of the Anglo-Hellenic Society. Later it was decided, at the suggestion of Mr. Atchley of H.M. Legation at Athens, to issue the translations in Greece itself. Mr. Atchley is of opinion that translations made out of Greece are looked upon with some disfavour; and, apart from this, experience has shown that the work can be done much more expeditiously at Athens than in England.

The following books and pamphlets have been published, or are on the point of being published, in Greece under Mr. Atchley's directions:—Beck's *Double Alliance v. Triple Alliance*, and the same author's *Case of Belgium*, Prince's *American View-Point*, Fisher's *British Share in the War*, the Prime Minister's Speech *How do we Stand To-Day*, the Report on Wittenberg Camp, and a summary of *J'Accuse*, of which five to six thousand copies are being printed. Of Beck's pamphlets six thousand had been distributed up to last March, and nine thousand more have been printed since then. Of the Wittenberg Report eight thousand copies were printed. Mr. Atchley has also distributed a number of copies of the French translation of *J'Accuse* which we sent to him, and a revised translation of Lord Bryce's Report, for which he says there has been a considerable demand; and he informed me, not long ago, that he was arranging for the publication of a brochure in Greek on *British and German Methods of Warfare at Sea*.

Mr. Atchley has lived for twenty years in Greece and is a close student of Greek character; he is, therefore, well qualified to judge what kind of matter is best suited for translation. I am in frequent communication with him, and send him copies of all our publications as they appear, so that he may make use of them as he thinks best. He informs me that he has organised an amateur distributing agency with the help of Greek friends. The Anglo-Hellenic Society has also offered to place the services of their agency at Athens at our disposal.

Excellent work is being done by the Greek weekly illustrated newspaper *The Hesperia* which is published in London, with our assistance and under our supervision, by a Greek gentleman, Dr. C. Poutis. Each issue contains a number of pictures illustrating the achievements and the resources of the Allies, and leading articles on the war in which the justice of our cause is set out in forcible and carefully chosen language. The writers are careful to avoid any semblance of exaggeration, their object being to refute, by facts and plain arguments, the false statements made in the pro-German press and to hold up to ridicule the extravagant notions concerning German *Kultur* and invincibility. The following are some of the principal subjects which have been dealt with in the order in which they have appeared:—Great Britain's Contribution to the War: German Frightfulness: An Inglorious Year for Greece: The Impressions of a Phil-Hellene with regard to the Greek Election: Great Britain and the Supply of Munitions: Germany and the War: Who is responsible? Von Bernhardt & Co.: The Philosophy of Professors Treitschke and Nietzsche: Germany and the Small States: The Credit of the Central Powers: The British Fleet, Protector of the Small Nationalities: Prussian Distortions: Financial War, British Finance: The Fall of Trebizond and its Meaning to Greece: The Blockade of Germany: The British Parliament, the Mother of all Parliaments; Lies of the German

Propaganda in Greece: Liebknecht, the Only Truth-Teller in Germany: The Rulers of Greece and the Voice of the People: The Aims of the Allies: The War and Greece's Duty: The Indelible Stain: The Surrender of Greek Territory to German-Bulgars: The Theatre of Our National Dishonour: The Naval Battle of Jutland: England's Contribution to the War: The Fall of the Erring Government and the Duty of the New Greek Cabinet: German Agents in Greece, and German Lies: An English Poet on the Action of the British Submarines: Anxiety of the German Press.

But the columns of the *Hesperia* are not filled only with political and military news, there are articles on all kinds of subjects—science, literature, music, and the theatre. An English novel is translated by way of a *feuilleton*, and there are chess problems. This insertion of matter of general interest causes the paper to be more generally read than would be the case if it were confined to war topics.

The newspaper is sent gratis, by post, to all the principal residents in Athens, including the Ministers and members of Parliament, judges, lawyers, schoolmasters, Government officials, the clergy and leading merchants. In all nearly sixteen thousand copies are dispatched to Greece and to the countries where there are Greek colonies.

That the newspaper has found favour is evident from the very large number of letters which the editor has received from readers testifying to the usefulness of the work which it is doing. In forwarding these letters to me Dr. Poupitis writes as follows:—

"They come from different parts of the Greek world and from different classes of people, and show that the journal is greatly appreciated, not only for its contents but also for the patriotic spirit, a fact which is of the greatest importance, and at which I was aiming when I accepted to bring out a paper of this kind. The genuineness of the readers' appreciation is best shown by the regret and embarrassment many of them feel at not being able to subscribe to the paper, although they were never asked for any subscription. A proof of the keenness of the readers is that they constantly ask for copies of the back numbers lost or gone astray.

"The fact that out of about 15,000 copies that were sent out each week there have hardly been returned a few hundred, and these only by bitter anti-Venizelists, shows that the paper is read not only by those who have pro-Ally sympathies, but also by many of the opposite camp. This is borne out also by the fact that many of the opposition papers consider the *Hesperia* as a serious *bonâ fide* patriotic opponent, from which they do not consider it harmful to reproduce articles.

"The *Hesperia* has already got such a hold on the Greek-reading public that my correspondent at Athens, who is a very prominent man and represents also one of the leading European daily papers, does not hesitate to say this publicly as you have probably noticed in the current number.

"In summing up I can say that the success of the *Hesperia* is greater than I expected. The paper is becoming an important moral power in the Greek world, and in time will be an indispensable companion of every Greek thinking man and woman."

In a second letter he writes:—

"I have pleasure in sending you herewith some more extracts from letters received from readers of *Hesperia*.

"As you see, they show more and more clearly the influence and the real hold that *Hesperia* has already got on all classes in Greece and amongst the Greek colonies abroad.

"I may point out that all these letters from Greece were written during the 'reign of terror,' and before the deliverance brought about by the intervention of the Powers.

"There is not any doubt that the great majority of the Greek people is devoted to England and France, and that the Anti-Entente, or rather the Neutralist Party, is composed of all the bad elements of the old political regime, which have been badly knocked down by the advent of Mr. Venizelos, and were again brought to life under royal patronage during these last 18 months, and of the purely Pro-German Party which is composed of the adherents to the German propaganda, and of part of the Army which is influenced by the King, the General Staff, and the officers who have made their studies in Germany.

"All the above Anti-Entente elements have not changed much their feelings or views by the last intervention of the Powers, neither will they alter both as regards their attitude to the Entente or the free and peaceful development of Greece, unless the protecting Powers impose with the greatest vigour the full execution of their last demands, and unless they exercise a very vigilant watch and put down with severity any attempt on behalf of that party to behave with disloyalty to the Entente or to falsify Greek public opinion."

Translations of a number of the letters alluded to have been communicated to me by Dr. Poupitis. A few samples may be of interest. Thus:—

From the Etablissements d'Instruction et de Bienfaisance, De Janina, Grèce:—

"Your illustrated journal *Hesperia*, although so young, has already made an excellent impression among the people of our town, and I may say that the circle of its readers will quickly increase, because the paper contains excellent matter from every point of view. As a warm appreciator of your work I take the liberty of asking you to kindly send regularly a copy to our library.

"The Secretary,

"ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΟΥΤΣΟΒΛΙΑΣ."

From Janina :—

"12th February 1916.  
 "I read with great pleasure a second number of *Hesperia*, in which you publish an article and the portrait of the hero, Palmer Newbould, who died for Greece in Manolissas. I have pleasure in sending you two photographs of the grave and the place where the noble son of Albion fell.

"I am, &c.,  
 "G. C. DEMETRIADES."

From the Agricultural Society of Velonades, Corfu :—

"Having seen that the journal *Hesperia*, which is published under your directions, is warmly supporting the rights of our country, we wish to become its regular readers, and we beg to ask you to kindly send us all the copies which have been published up to the present, so that to distribute them to the members of our Society. Hoping that our request will be taken into consideration.

"We remain, &c.  
 "The President,  
 "I. ARMENIA."

From the Community of St. Nicholas, Voia, Grèce :—

"19th February 1916.  
 "I received the copies of your excellent paper, and I thank you. Please believe me that I am extremely sorry not to be able to subscribe to it, neither to induce others to subscribe, because the dearth of life here became so high lately that the bread costs 98 centimes per oke, and as I have to look after a large family, I cannot afford to dispose anything for intellectual food, although I value it more than bread.

"Yours, &c.  
 "D. SOUPIS,  
 "Postmaster."

A schoolmaster at Moscopolis writes :—

"Allow me to express to you my indescribable joy and gratitude for sending me your excellent paper *Hesperia*, which is my regular intellectual food in this small community. I am only sorry that I cannot become a regular subscriber because, as you know, the salaries of schoolmasters are always very small, but at the present time we cannot procure even our daily bread which in our district costs 1½ francs per oke. The position is very bad, let God help us. I hope that you will continue sending the paper to a teacher who has worked all his life for the education of the children of the nation.

"THEOPHANTIS GEORGIADES."

From the Agence Commerciale Hellenique, Constantza, Roumania :—

"I read with the greatest interest the first number of your paper, and I warmly greet the publication of such an organ for the promotion of the many interests of our nation which you so ably defend in the universal capital and the centre of civilization, London. I will be delighted to help your paper in every way I can, and I wish that *Hesperia*, having as model the English press, becomes the guide for the creation of a similar Greek press.

"Yours, &c.,  
 "E. DOKATIS,  
 "Director."

From a Chess Player of Janina :—

"Please accept my warmest congratulations for your admirable journal. Would it be possible to devote a column to the game of chess in the form that the *Times* weekly edition does it? All the chess-players of this town who follow with the greatest interest your patriotic endeavours, wish you every success.

"S. ANGIDES."

From Cailaria, Macedonia :—

"11th February 1916.  
 "Allow me to congratulate you for the excellent idea and the pluck to undertake the publication of so useful a national work at such difficult times as the present. There are many papers published in the 'glorious' city of Athens, but one cannot find any of so great interest. I beg to ask you to kindly send your journal gratis, if possible, to us, because our little town is inhabited by Greek refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor, to the children of whom I am reading every number of *Hesperia*.

"ZOE D. MARTZONI."

From Selukwe, Southern Rhodesia :—

"28th February 1916.  
 "I was very glad to hear of the publication of *Hesperia*, in the columns of which you defend so well the interests of our country. Our constitution has been trampled on, Venustos, the Messiah of Hellenism, is condemned to inaction by the traitors who serve, alas! the interests of Bulgaria and Turkey. Our failure to keep the engagements stipulated in the Greco-Serbian treaty will be the darkest page of Greek History. Raise your voice, Sir, in favour of noble France and England which are calumniated by some Greek papers. Raise your voice in favour of Hellas which is led to her grave by those who have sold their souls to the Germans."



From the Educational and Charitable Institutions, Mytilene:—

"We have the honour of acknowledging receipt of ten copies of each number 4, 6, and 7, of your excellent journal *Hesperia*, which you were good enough to send gratuitously to the hospital of our town for the use of the patients.

"With grateful thanks,  
"We remain, &c.,  
"The Secretary,  
"I. PROTIO."

"The President,  
"Archbishop of Mytilene,  
"CYRILLUS."

From the Hospital of Samos:—

"I have the honour of acknowledging receipt of ten copies of the journal published by you in London which you were good enough to send for the use of our patients. Allow me to tell you that *Hesperia* is an excellent and most instructive paper to all Greeks and is doing credit to the Greek press. Your idea of sending gratuitous copies for our patients is very praiseworthy, because the patients get not only instruction from reading the paper, but also consolation. Expressing to you the gratitude of my patients and mine,

"I remain, &c.,  
"The Matron,  
"RODOPE, I. VOUSNOVA."

From the Editor *The Hellenic World* (a yearly review):—

"Athens, 4 June.  
"If you can kindly send me some blocks of pictures showing the strength and achievements of England and France in this war, I will be very pleased to publish an article on this subject in the coming volume of my Review.

"A. PRINTEZIS,  
"Editor."

An edition of the *War Pictorial* is being issued with the legends in Greek and Russian, 5,000 copies of which are to be sent to the British Legation in Athens for distribution. A Greek edition of Raemaekers' Cartoons is in process of publication.

Our work has, I believe, done much towards checking the influence of the German propaganda; but Dr. Poupitis is no doubt correct in his view that the unscrupulous Anti-Entente element will persevere in their attempts to misrepresent the cause of the Allies, and to "falsify Greek opinion" as long as they are able to do so with impunity. No argument will avail with them, because they are not guided by any honest principle or personal conviction except, in so far as they have allowed themselves to be persuaded that Germany will win, and that Greece will suffer the fate of Belgium, if she abandons her neutrality in the interest of the Allies. Two of the pro-German papers have lately become much more moderate in their views. They seem almost to be veering round to the opposite cause; but I understand that other newspapers have, before now, shown a similar tendency, in the hope of obtaining better conditions from Baron Schenk.

#### ROUMANIA.

In Roumania the pro-German element is confined to the German residents, numbering 70-71,000, about 240,000 Jews, mostly German-speaking, and a certain number of men of the educated classes, some of them members of Parliament. The mass of the population, including the army, sympathizes at heart with the cause of the Allies, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the German agents to influence it in the interest of the Central Powers. A Roumanian paper not long ago alluded to these agents as "the spies, bribers and hired plotters of the two Imperial Legations at Bucharest"; but the newspapers have, for the most part, been "persuaded" to advocate the German cause. The owner of one of them, it is stated, was offered a million francs if he would publish nothing but pro-German articles. This he refused, but he accepted 600,000 francs to cease the publication of his paper. Pamphlets are distributed everywhere and a campaign for the distribution of false news is carried on with unabated zeal. Already a year ago, according to the French journal *Le Temps*, the German Government agents had paid 70,000 francs in customs duties on pamphlets published in Germany for distribution in Roumania.

The feeling in the country at the end of last year was described as follows by the *Journal de Genève*:—

"Since the last two months there has been a considerable reversion of public opinion in favour of M. Brătianu's neutrality policy. This change has been brought about mostly by the Austro-German invasion of Serbia, a fear of sharing the terrible fate of Belgium and Serbia bringing adherents to the wise policy of the Prime Minister. The sympathies of the majority of persons, who

move in Government circles, are with France, whom they wish to see victorious. Many of them temper these sentiments with admiration for Germany's strength and power of resistance; most of them detest Russia, and have no confidence in her army. However, Roumania desires to bring about a national union. On the whole, the majority of the people consider that M. Bratianu has done well to wait; for the war will last a long time, and a small nation has not the strength and means of resistance which the great Powers possess. There is, however, a conviction that M. Bratianu will intervene on the side of the Quadruple Entente, but not until the latter is able to oppose the 800,000 troops of the Austro-Germans, Turks and Bulgarians, with an army of equal if not superior strength."

Up to the end of last year we had published in the Roumanian language, and distributed in the country: Diplomatic correspondence, Some pamphlets and speeches of Ministers, Lord Bryce's *Report on German Atrocities*, and 10,000 copies of an original work (*O Causa Dreapta*) by a Roumanian gentleman, M. Mitrany.

Beck's *Judgment* was translated in the country. This year we have issued an edition of Raemaekers' Cartoons, with the legends in Roumanian, and a translation of the Report on the Wittenberg Camp is in course of publication. Films of *Britain Prepared* have been exhibited at Bucharest, and are reported to have had a great success. The new War Films are on their way to Bucharest. A large number of pamphlets in English, amongst them stories of the War for children, have been circulated in the country.

The distribution of our pamphlets and efforts of friends on the spot are, no doubt, exerting good influence and counteracting in some measure the German propaganda; but it must be remembered that Germany does not content herself with the distribution of pamphlets. She has long since obtained a strong position in Roumania, as elsewhere, by her methods of "peaceful penetration," and she strengthens this position by threats and promises, continually holding up to the population the spectres of Belgium and Serbia.

As a French writer has remarked: "Les actes seuls comptent dans les Balkans."

J. S. WILLMORE.

## 8.

**FRANCE.**

There is no doubt that the need for British propaganda in France was never greater than during the first half of this year. Reports from all sides combine to show that there was a good deal of mistrust of the English and of ill-feeling towards them in various quarters in France, particularly owing to the belief that the British soldiers were doing nothing and that England was going to profit, at small expense, by any successful issue of the war. But even before the beginning of the British offensive in July this condition seems to have improved, and reports from the *Maison de la Presse* speak favourably of the way in which the French Press dealt with the naval battle in the North Sea.

It is suggested by Captain Millet, head of the English Department of the *Maison de la Presse*, that a large part of the efforts of British propaganda in the near future should be concentrated upon economic questions and should counteract the feeling (prevalent, for example, in the textile industry in France) that England is trying to make profit out of the war. A good deal has been done by the *Maison de la Presse* in the way of influencing newspaper opinion and of providing articles by French and English writers, but Captain Millet writes very strongly on the importance of influencing the French provincial papers as well as the Paris newspapers, and of providing more material for the "Bulletins des Armées."

British propaganda in France as carried on by Wellington House may be divided into four sections:—

- I. PERSONAL PROPAGANDA.
- II. DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
- III. INFLUENCE ON THE PRESS.
- IV. PICTORIAL AND CINEMATOGRAPH PROPAGANDA.

## I.

By personal propaganda is meant the interchange of visits by prominent men between this country and France. The visit of the French Deputies last March is one example of this; that of the Socialist Members of Parliament to France, an account of which was given in the last Wellington House Report, is another.

More recent instances of this form of propaganda are the visit of the French Professors, which was arranged by Mr. Gould and Mr. Fisher in Paris and successfully carried out by the Board of Education, and of Monsieur Maurice Barrès, the well-known French Academician, who delivered a lecture before the British Academy and was shown various centres of British activity. Monsieur Barrès appears to have been profoundly impressed by what he saw in England, and he is now writing a book on his visit, parts of which are already appearing as articles in the *Echo de Paris*. Such a work, by the writer who is perhaps more directly representative of the leading mood of France at the present day than any other, should produce a far-reaching result.

The same is true of Monsieur Herriot, the Mayor of Lyons, whose visit to this country was also arranged by Wellington House. Leading articles written by Monsieur Herriot on Great Britain's effort have already appeared, which must have a good effect in the neighbourhood of Lyons where anti-English feeling, owing to the lack of authentic information, was apt to be rather bitter. Fortunately H.B.M. Consul at Lyons, Mr. Edward Vicars, has been carrying on a conspicuously energetic and effective personal propaganda there. His reports to the Foreign Office reveal the existence of a peculiarly insidious form of misrepresentation practised widely and with some success by the Germans. This consists in taking advantage of the physical weakness and natural credulity of the seriously wounded French soldiers who are shortly to be returned, in exchange, to their own country, and impressing upon them the idea that the French are being sacrificed in order that the English may win a world dominion

in commerce without more than insignificant loss to themselves. Mr. Vicars has been approaching these exchanged soldiers locally and distributing suitable literature "as an antidote to the poison they have been imbibing at the hands of their gaolers." He has been able to exercise some control over the Press through the Prefect, and, in the case of Clerical papers, through Mgr. Deploige; and he hopes that a vigorous Press campaign may be initiated in favour of the Alliance in all the local papers—a campaign which has already been opened, as mentioned above, with the co-operation of M. Herriot. I was able to spend a day with Mr. Vicars at Lyons at the beginning of August, and to hear at first hand about the work he is doing. He strongly approved of a suggestion that a special pamphlet should be written in very simple language for distribution among the "*grands blessés*." In the afternoon I went with him to visit M. Arland, the Swiss photographer who has been giving such invaluable assistance in getting British propagandist material into Switzerland. M. Arland, who is a most enthusiastic worker, seems to be doing this in every kind of way; sometimes in ordinary postal parcels of a kind which he has found will not excite suspicion, and sometimes in the personal luggage of various travellers. He is confident that he could manage a good deal of distribution in German Switzerland, for which he alone could be held responsible in case of any objection being raised, and German pamphlets are being sent to him for that purpose.

Other visits similar to those of MM. Barrès and Herriot have been, and are being, arranged by the Foreign Office and Wellington House. Thus Mr. Fisher and Mr. Gould arranged with the French Government in Paris for a visit of two French socialist soldiers (Lieutenant Weill, formerly a deputy in the Reichstag, and M. Cabannes), and their tour through the great towns and munition centres of Britain was successfully carried out by the Munitions Committee, assisted by Mr. Adolphe Smith. This visit seems to have been attended with very great success; meetings were held at Leicester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Norwich, Leeds, Edinburgh, Portobello, Glasgow, Newcastle, Manchester, Bristol, Cardiff, Aberdare and Merthyr, as well as in London, and it is hoped that important results may be obtained in bringing certain sections of the Labour Party into touch with the patriotic elements which predominate in French Socialism. Even in the case of those for which Wellington House was in no way directly responsible we have been able to keep in touch with the arrangements made; as to the visit, for example, of M. Painlevé, the Minister of Public Instruction, arranged by the Fight for Right movement in connection with the second anniversary of the Declaration of War.

At the suggestion of Sir Claud Schuster, the Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher) visited Paris in April in company with the late Mr. Gould, and had interviews with almost all the principal persons with whom Wellington House is in touch. Mr. Fisher's letters from Paris give a detailed account of the working of the Maison de la Presse, and particularly of the work done by M. Ponsot, M. Bréal (who supplied much interesting information as to the methods and prospects of propaganda in Spain, and as to pictorial propaganda in general) and Captain Millet. The latter laid great stress on the need for constant personal communication between London and Paris, and on a closer co-operation in the matter of agencies of distribution, and urged the desirability of the suggested visit of Monsieur Maurice Barrès to England. In regard to general work, arrangements were discussed by them as to distribution of literature in South America and as to the circulation of the Arabic paper in the French colonies.

Mr. Fisher and Mr. Gould also visited the Ministry of Munitions, which composes and publishes a bulletin "*L'Alliance Française*" of its own. Accompanied by Mr. Adolphe Smith they visited M. Louis Dubreuilh, the Secretary of the French Socialist Party, in co-operation with whom the preliminary arrangements were made for the English tour of the two French Socialist soldiers referred to above, and the important question of general propaganda in connection with the Socialist Party was considered. They had the further advantage of a conversation with M. de Bavier on the difficulties and possibilities of work in Switzerland, more particularly in the German cantons, where much still remains to be done. Satisfactory visits were also paid to M. Lavisse and to M. Painlevé, the Minister of Public Instruction, with whose ministry definite arrangements for co-operation were discussed.

They were not very favourably impressed with the potentialities of the Comité Franco-Britannique presided over by M. Hovelague, which appeared to them to be of hardly more than academic interest; nor did Mr. Fisher consider that the actual work done so far by the Comité de Propagande Catholique had been altogether as

successful as it might have been. But Catholic Propaganda, especially in Spain and Holland, offers a large field for effective work, and it seems most desirable that Wellington House should keep in close touch with this influential committee in Paris.

Mr. Fisher gave a valuable, if rather disconcerting, account of the state of public feeling in France, and of the causes which combined to encourage a distrust of England—a distrust which seems fortunately to have been allayed, at least for the present, by the dearly-bought British advance on the Somme. The not unnatural resentment felt at the apparent inactivity of the British troops while the French Army was being bled white at Verdun was fostered, in his opinion, not only by German propaganda, opened and concealed, but by the depreciatory and anti-Governmental attitude of some of the English papers.

A great effect had, however, just then been produced in France by Mr. Asquith's recent speech to the French delegates; it seems to have been widely regarded as the best exposition of the true aims of the Allies, and Mr. Fisher was convinced from many sources of the very strong position held by the Prime Minister in France. The French Press was even then far from anti-English, and many articles in support of the Alliance were being published, but they apparently failed for one reason or another to make the desired impression at the time. The British offensive, however, appears to have had a most beneficial effect on French public opinion..

## II.

The distribution of books and pamphlets in France has been carried on by several different agencies. A very large number of pamphlets have been distributed by the leading steamship companies, such as the Cunard, White Star, and Moss lines, the first two working in France generally, the third in the south of France and in Algiers. Their agents have circulated (amongst others):—

- 10,000 copies of an interview with Mr. Lloyd George under the title "Why the Allies Will Win";
- 20,275 copies of the Album of Raemaekers' Cartoons;
- 1,500 copies of Mr. Owen Wister's "The Pentecost of Calamity";
- 10,150 copies of Mr. Headlam's "The Truth about England";
- 12,500 copies of the tract on the Horrors of Wittenberg;
- 10,000 of Mr. James Beck's "The Case of Edith Cavell"; and
- 20,000 of an interview with Sir Edward Grey, under the title "A Free Europe."

Altogether over 700,000 books and pamphlets have been distributed in this way, and considerable testimony to the effect produced by them has come to hand. When I was in Paris at the beginning of August I saw M. Drouard, the manager of the Cunard office, and Mr. A. P. Crow, the head cashier of the White Star. The Cunard office does a very successful distribution in their own premises.

As to the distribution to schools I taxed M. Drouard with a rather pessimistic letter we received from the Cunard on the 19th May. I still cannot understand what the inspiration of that letter could have been, but anyhow M. Drouard is perfectly willing now to distribute as many copies as we please to schools in France. He suggested, however, and I think there is something to be said for the idea, that it would be best for us to send direct to the better class schools (Lycées and Collèges) and to leave them to distribute to the vastly more numerous primary schools. I think that it would hardly be possible to send too many copies of our quite simple pamphlets such as Mr. Strang's in this way, as the teachers give them to the more intelligent pupils who take them home and pass them on to their parents, so that a whole class can be reached in this way which would be untouched by our other methods.

The White Star do not undertake the work of distribution in schools, but they have been particularly active in working among the municipal libraries in Paris, where a quantity of publications have been distributed. Mr. Crow has sent batches of our publications to all the mayors of the different "arrondissements" in Paris, and grateful letters have been received by him in every case except in that of the Mayor of the 20<sup>e</sup> Arrondissement, who sent back copies of the Raemaekers' Cartoons which had been posted to him. The said mayor is the well-known brewer Karcher, and his name may explain his lack of enthusiasm.

Mr. Crow showed me a number of letters which he had received from various recipients, e.g., from the hospital at Val-de-Grâce, and from other institutions. Like

almost everybody else whom I talked with, he spoke with great appreciation of Mr. Gray's pamphlets though he complained of the obscurity of their titles. He has had continual requests for copies of "La Peau de l'Ours" and "La Nouvelle Betique," and a number of people, including the Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy, have spoken of them to him with the greatest possible enthusiasm.

All the books and pamphlets mentioned above were published in England, but certain of the more important among them have also been published by French firms, such as Messrs. Hachette, Nelson and Payot, and numbers of these have been distributed by them directly. Thus, Messrs. Nelson published a French edition of 10,000 copies of Mr. Owen Wister's book "The Pentecost of Calamity," and they also disposed of 20,000 copies of Sir Edward Grey's speech "British Measures against German Trade," 20,000 copies of "Murder at Sea," and 10,000 of "The Revelations of the Budget," the last two pamphlets having been written by Mr. Archibald Hurd. Messrs. Payot are undertaking the simultaneous publication in France and Switzerland of Monsieur Cazamian's "Les Forces Britanniques" and of a translation of Mr. Headlam's "The Egoism of the English." Messrs. Hachette are publishing two of Mr. Gray's pamphlets and a translation of Mrs. Humphry Ward's well-known book "England's Effort" for which M. Hanotaux has written a preface and Mrs. Humphry Ward an additional letter, bringing the book up to date. Arrangements are now under consideration for the sale in France by the same firm through their *Messageries de Journaux* of "La Guerre Illustrée"; in connection with which it may be noted that 10,000 copies of our last number of this "Latin" edition of our War Pictorial were taken by the Cunard and White Star Companies. The distribution of suitable literature through French publishing firms might be most effective, and it is hoped that it will be very largely increased in the near future.

Books are also distributed direct to selected French addresses. As part of the closer co-operation arranged between Wellington House and the *Maison de la Presse*, the late Mr. Gould undertook on his last visit to Paris to supply Captain Millet at the French Bureau with about 7,000 suitable English addresses in return for a similar number of addresses of influential people in France, and the despatch of books and pamphlets to these French addresses has already begun. The first book to be so distributed was the work of the Belgian Deputy, Monsieur Jules Destrée, entitled "What the English have done," with a preface by Monsieur Clémenceau, and 3,500 free copies of this important book were sent out. Smaller quantities of several other books have been sent to the more influential names only on this list. The *Maison de la Presse* has also promised to help us in the actual distribution of pamphlets and books, and 2,000 copies of Raemaekers' Cartoons have been sent to be distributed in this way by Monsieur Reboux, of the French Propaganda Bureau, in addition to the steamship companies' distribution of 20,000.

The question of distribution of suitable literature among French schools was discussed in the last Wellington House report. A beginning was made most successfully some months ago, when 70,000 copies of an illustrated book on Great Britain's Naval Power were sent out. The system is now to be considerably extended and it will in future have the active assistance of Monsieur Poincaré, Directeur de l'Instruction Supérieure, who has already given the scheme his approval. Copies of pamphlets which might seem to be suitable are sent direct to Monsieur Pécaut, Chef de Cabinet of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and several pamphlets have been selected by him for general distribution in French schools, the work being put in the hands of the Cunard Company. I was able to see the assistant secretary of M. Lapie, *Directeur de l'enseignement primaire*, at the Ministry in Paris, and to discuss some details of distribution among the secondary schools with him. Much importance is attached in competent circles in France to this particular side of English propaganda work, and no more efficient method of influencing the younger generations in France could possibly be devised.

Among the smaller institutions in Paris, the Comité de Propagande Catholique has agreed to distribute selected pamphlets for us, and copies of our publications are regularly submitted to them for this purpose. I saw M. Bloud, the publisher, who is practically the managing director of this organisation, when I was in Paris, and made arrangements for our obtaining a more regular supply of their publications. But they do not seem to have much chance of effective distribution except in Spain. Similarly, the Comité Lavisse has undertaken to assist us in the production and distribution of pro-English literature in France. This organisation has, for example, just allowed us to make full use of the admirable pamphlet by Monsieur Cazamian to which reference has already been made above.

One result of the visit paid by Mr. Fisher and Mr. Gould to Paris was that Monsieur Dubreuilh, the Secretary of the French Socialist Party, undertook the selection and distribution of literature particularly suitable for French Socialists. It may be noted that French Socialist circles have been considerably influenced in the past by personal propaganda methods. The visit of the Socialist members of Parliament, which has already been mentioned, may be instanced as an example, and also the correspondence which is carried on by Mr. Adolphe Smith with prominent members of the French Socialist Party. Through Mr. Adolphe Smith Wellington House is being kept in close touch with the writers and thinkers of the French Socialist Party, and the English point of view is constantly being presented to them.

### III.

The question of influencing the French newspapers naturally rests almost entirely in the hands of the *Maison de la Presse*. A number of excellent articles have been published during the period of the recent British Offensive on the Somme, and even before it began, a strong leader in praise of the "Contemptible British Army," by Gustave Hervé, appeared in "La Victoire" of June 28th. This has been followed in the number of July 16th by a leader by M. Loison, entitled "A la gloire des Tommies," and on July 19th by another leader on the Colonies and their achievements, by M. Hervé. Again, M. Dubreuilh published an article "L'Angleterre et Nous" in "L'Humanité" for July 14th, and M. Herriot, the mayor of Lyons, articles entitled "L'effort calme et méthodique de la Grande Bretagne," and "L'idéal britannique et l'idéal français se confondent," in "Le Journal" for July 12th and 19th, while an account of Sir Douglas Haig, by Lord Escher, was published in "Le Matin" for July 20th. Another article deserving special notice is that on the British Empire, by M. Hanotaux, in the "Figaro" for July 21st, which contains a striking passage in praise of English bulletins and propaganda:—

"The English," he writes, "are past masters in matters of publicity. They know the value of opinion, they appeal to it by insistent repetition till they produce a kind of hypnotic effect. And that is just what was wanted to reply to the German publicity which has been at work on us too long. The English do not higgler over the cost of official announcements or of a telegram, for they know that it is money well invested."

These are, of course, only a few typical examples selected during a single week. Newspaper articles of this kind are undoubtedly capable of producing far-reaching effects, particularly when they are signed by well-known French or English names; but it is obvious that, with the best will in the world, the *Maison de la Presse* cannot force an unlimited quantity of pro-English articles on the French papers, when they have quite enough business of their own on hand to occupy their columns.

However, apart from what might be classed as special articles, Captain Millet has been exceedingly successful in encouraging French journalists to write about English affairs (and particularly about the English advance), and in keeping them supplied with suitable English matter. Some weeks ago he arranged for a select party of provincial French journalists to be taken on a visit to the British front, with the happiest and most far reaching results. Articles have appeared in provincial papers all over France; and it must be remembered that the provincial press in France is very much more powerful and influential than it is in England, since there is as yet no such widespread early delivery there of daily papers from the capital as there is here. But apart from the temporary effect produced by this visit, Captain Millet is able to get a great deal of the material issued by the English Press Bureau into the newspapers, both in Paris and in the provinces. We have made arrangements with the Press Bureau to supply him with all their "reserved" matter as it is issued to the British provincial press; in consequence it reaches him on the morning of the same day that it is published in England, and he immediately translates and circulates matter of special interest, so that it may even appear in the afternoon issues of that day. I saw a whole sheaf of cuttings at the *Maison de la Presse* entirely composed of matter supplied by the English Press Bureau in this way, and Captain Millet is anxious to extend this most useful form of propaganda still more widely.

It is obvious that, during the long period of comparative inactivity on the part of the British Army in France, it was of the utmost importance that all these methods of British propaganda should be assiduously followed, and that every suggestion of our disloyalty or indifference should be counteracted as soon as possible after it was uttered. But only those who are unacquainted with the undercurrent of French opinion in every class could suppose that this work in France has become unnecessary



now that the great advance has begun. Every care must still be taken that the British share in the efforts of the war should be truthfully and prominently presented to the French nation. Even if the French are sufficiently impressed with what is being done on the Somme, they have still to be reminded of the British effort in supplying munitions and money to the common cause of the Alliance, and any slackening of propagandist effort might well lead to a recrudescence of doubt and mistrust in France, which would go far towards endangering the common cause of the Alliance.

## IV.

Separate memoranda on pictorial and cinematograph propaganda will be found elsewhere in this report; and only incidental references will be made to this section here. But it is evident that cinematograph propaganda might be made extremely useful in France, and that a section of the public might be touched by it which could never be reached by pamphlets or by journalism, even in the form of illustrated papers. The best of all propaganda in France, as Captain Millet put it on his recent visit, is the English advance on the Somme. And now that this advance has been recorded, apparently with admirable success, in a series of special films by the military authorities, it is most important that these films should be shown in France with every possible advantage. As it appeared likely that the ordinary French firms would be unwilling to give the films the prominent publicity which is so desirable, it has been thought best to appoint an experienced man (Mr. Welsh) to take exclusive charge of the whole business in Paris and the principal French towns, and General Head Quarters have been approached with a view to their according him special facilities in various ways. The plan of concentrating cinematograph work in the hands of a single representative has proved eminently successful in Russia, and it is hoped that equally satisfactory results may be obtained, though under very different conditions, in France. If the arrangements made with regard to the films of the British Advance on the Somme justify themselves by their result, other films will be pushed in France by the same hands.

ERIC MACLAGAN.

## RUSSIA.

It was stated in the last report that since the control of propaganda in Russia had been placed in the hands of the British Ambassador at his request, Wellington House had done little beyond supplying him with material, but that the Foreign Office had recently decided to send a special representative to Russia to take charge of propaganda work in that country, and that we expected important developments of the work in the near future.

This special representative, Mr. Hugh Walpole, has now been at work for six months. The Foreign Office and Wellington House have kept in close touch with him and supplied him with all necessary material. He gives the following account of his activities:—

### REPORT ON BRITISH PROPAGANDA WORK IN RUSSIA.—JANUARY TO JULY 1916.

1. *Organization.*—When, in December 1915, it was determined that some more organized efforts at British propaganda in Russia should be made, the Ambassador recommended that the work should be put in the hands of Major Thornhill, of the English Staff in Petrograd, Professor Harold Williams, and myself.

After surveying the field we divided the work into three, Major Thornhill taking charge of the army side, Professor Williams of the Russian, and myself the English.

We found that there was great need for some central organization that should be responsible for disseminating British news through the Russian counteracting the extremely able German propaganda and reconciling the very various Russian points of view.

During the month of February we took offices in one of the principal streets in Petrograd and tried to get in touch with the Russian press. We also started in Moscow a Bureau under the directorship of Mr. Bruce Lockhart and Monsieur Lykiadopolous for dealing with the Russian provincial press. This was started and arranged by Mr. Lockhart. After a month's work we discovered that we could make no progress owing to our lack of constant touch with England. The Anglo-Russian questions that arose, the points of dispute and discussion changed so continually, the newspapers and letters arrived so irregularly from England that we were hopelessly at sea. We discovered that we were not aware of changing English conditions and that in England they could not be aware of the questions that were arising in Russia. The Ambassador therefore decided that it was necessary to have some more personal contact, and the Foreign Office instantly agreed that I should come home at regular intervals to collect publicity material, to see authorities in England with regard to Russian questions and to carry back to Petrograd answers to many arguments and disputes. During my visit to England in March I collected a great deal of publicity material. I was given every possible help by the Foreign Office and Wellington House, and I saw many persons who were able to answer many of my questions.

After my return to Petrograd in April we began to see many results of our efforts.

Mr. Williams had during my absence worked extremely hard at the Russian end of our business. He had established a complete connection, both personal and official with all the Russian journals. They on their side showed themselves extremely anxious to do everything in their power to assist us. We had now a staff of translators, and on my return in April I found that we were at work (1) Translating books, e.g., "The First Hundred Thousand," by Ian Hay; "Between the Lines," by Boyd Cable. (2) Pamphlets: "Gallipoli," "Edith Cavell," "What we have done in the War," &c. (3) Articles, paragraphs, extracts in all the Russian papers.

Major Thornhill was also doing fine work in the Russian army, visiting the fronts, distributing great numbers of copies of Chukovsky's book on "The English Tommy" and getting articles after articles on English subjects into the army papers.

We also were doing very good work with the kinematograph under the care of Captain Bromhead whose exhibitions of English films in the provinces and on the Russian front were immensely appreciated and were asked for again and again.\*

In Moscow also much work was being done and the visit of the Ambassador to receive the freedom of the City was made the occasion of much Anglo-Russian propaganda.

In this connection Monsieur Lykiadopolous worked especially hard and filled the Moscow press with English articles.

So much work was now being done by us in Petrograd that in May we were compelled to move into larger premises on the Admiralty Quay. We then inserted throughout the Russian press notice of this new address, that there was a large English war library there, that any question of English affairs would be answered to the best of our ability and that we invited discussion.

The result was extraordinary. During the fortnight before my departure for London we were inundated with Russian visitors of every sort and kind. Our war library has been greatly used. We have established a regular connection with every Petrograd paper. We have also regular meetings about once a week with leading members of the Duma, politicians, artists, officials in Government offices, &c. I think I may say with absolute truth that every Anglo-Russian question that arises in Russia comes to us.

\* A full account of Captain Bromhead's remarkable work is given in the Report on Cinematograph Propaganda, pp. 102 to 107.

After the Jutland battle we distributed throughout Russia articles of one kind and another, especially an excellent translation of an article by Mr. Archibald Hurd. By this time the opinion in Russia seemed so immensely to have improved that we were encouraged to give some of our time and discussion to the many questions that arise out of the *after the war* relations between England and Russia.

About the middle of June we came to the opinion that for a still closer connection with the Russian press it was necessary to have a series of telegrams direct from the English Foreign Office and especially adapted to publicity purposes.

At the end of June I came home to further the arrangement of these telegrams, to collect publicity material, to obtain special articles for the Russian press by Conan Doyle, G. K. Chesterton, Archibald Hurd, &c.

I have found now that a real communication is established between the publicity workers here and ourselves in Russia. By my constant actual presence in both England and Russia I am able to collect opinions concerning the immediate colour of Anglo-Russian questions both there and here.

I would especially speak of the work of Mr. Harold Williams in Petrograd who, by his exceptional Russian experience, his perfect knowledge of the Russian language, his friendship with every type of Russian is quite invaluable in this propaganda work.

Our organisation in Russia is now able by means of—

1. Newspapers,
2. Army publications,
3. Photographs, postcards, &c.,
4. Kinematograph,
5. Personal meetings,
6. Articles especially written for this purpose by well-known Englishmen,

to be in touch with every side of Russian life. The whole Bureau is of so recent a growth that we feel agreeably surprised at the very marked improvement in Anglo-Russian feeling. That this is only slightly due to the work of our Bureau is of course true. Many other things such as the progress of our new army, the proclaimed agreement about the Dardanelles, &c., have combined to bring about this result. But we are now disseminating continuous information about England through every possible Russian channel.

Especially are the efforts of Mr. Lockhart and Monsieur Lykiadopoulos important with regard to the provincial press.

2. With regard to the future we greatly hope that the present Bureau may be the nucleus for a permanent Bureau that may deal with Anglo-Russian relations after the war.

In all commercial questions such a Bureau will be of the first necessity.

In questions of *language* it can be of great importance.

After the war there will be a large number of young Englishmen resident in Russia and there should be some central commercial college or club for them.

Above all such a Bureau makes a meeting place for the type of Russian and the type of Englishman who have most at heart a true entente between the two countries really possible.

It is possible to co-ordinate the many separate English and Russian interests here and combine them.

Again and again during these last months Russians, referring to our Bureau, have said: "We have wanted something of this kind here for years."

It is chiefly owing to the kindness and energy of the Ambassador and of the Foreign Office that the Bureau has made so emphatic a position in so comparatively short a time.

July 25th, 1916.

HUGH WALPOLE.

It may be added that, besides supplying Mr. Walpole with such literary material as may from time to time be required, we sent him a regular supply of photographs (about 800 a week) and 86,000 copies of the Russian edition of each issue of the monthly illustrated magazine, the "War Pictorial." At the time of the Russian Easter we sent out 200,000 picture postcards with a suitable message of greeting printed in Russian on each for distribution among Russian soldiers as from British soldiers. Captain Bromhead, in his account of his cinematograph tour, testifies to the success of this plan. He writes:—

"An item which will probably interest you is that in many cases I arrived simultaneously or very shortly after the arrival of the regimental cards of greeting which were sent by regiments in the British Army to regiments of the same number in the Russian Army. These cards were very much appreciated. One regiment, the 9th in the 35th Division, had not received cards when I was there, but had decided, nevertheless, to send a greeting to the British 9th Foot. Subsequently these cards turned up a day or two late, and they sent all the way to Kremenets to advise me, because they had previously asked me to communicate the fact that they had apparently been overlooked."

## 10.

ITALY.

British propaganda in Italy, as was mentioned in the last report, is still in the hands of an organisation controlled by Mr. Mills, of Rome, working directly under the control of the British Ambassador. A slightly abridged version of Mr. Mills' three reports, giving a view of his work from its commencement to the present, together with the report of his co-worker, Donna Bettina Della Valle di Casanova, which arrived too late to be included in the last Wellington House Report, may be given here.

Mr. Mills' three reports, dated January 22nd, May 18th and July 27th, 1916, respectively, are divided under the following headings:—

- (1) Historical.
- (2) Appreciation of Italian Public.
- (3) Work published in Italy.

"I left London about the end of November 1914, and travelled through to Rome, halting at Genoa and Florence for the purpose of making arrangements for correspondents and distributors in those places. The pamphlets which I took out from London were duly submitted to Sir Rennell Rodd and were approved of by him, with some exceptions, and from that time a method of working and distribution was adopted and carried out.

"Arrangements were made with the Orient Line to carry the pamphlets (then printed in the Italian language in England) to Naples by sea, and Messrs. Holmes & Co., the agents of that line, were duly instructed how to distribute them on arrival. Arrangements were made with agents in 13 of the principal towns throughout Italy, and distribution was carried out by them. These towns were Genoa, Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Pisa, Florence, Perugia, Ancona, Rome, Naples, Taranto, and Palermo. Instructions were duly given to distribute only by means of personal acquaintances from hand to hand, and to avoid indiscriminate distribution. This principle has been followed out to the present day.

"It was soon discovered that it was advisable to print and distribute local articles and other works. So in addition to the matter sent out from England, a great deal of other work was printed locally and circulated amongst the people. Most of the original distributors were English people and Italian friends who, when the summer time came, gradually disappeared and went to England and elsewhere. But this had been thought out, and other arrangements were made for distribution through entirely Italian agency. The work in Northern Italy was undertaken by the Marchesa Bettina Della Valle di Casanova, who has given the most valuable assistance from the very commencement of the work. Southern Italy, including Rome and Florence, was in my charge.

"On starting the work, the first copies sent were accompanied by a letter so as to ascertain whether any more copies were required or acceptable. It is gratifying to be able to say that a great number of secretaries of all political parties, from Nationalists to Socialists, were urgent in their demands for more copies, and were duly supplied. An organisation which has been of great help in distributing is the Committee of Internal Defence, which has organised branches all over Italy, and undertakes all kind of patriotic work, from the warm clothing for soldiers to propaganda and the suppression of espionage.

"There can be no doubt that the distribution through Italian agency is far more satisfactory than the one previously adopted. The reason is that, as far as our English distributors were concerned, they were mostly ladies who were not very much in touch with the Italian population. They are now fully engaged in Red Cross work, and have no time to spare for other occupations. Still they were of great use to me in starting the work.

"This has grown so much of late that we have no less than eight different address books of political societies and private individuals, in addition to which we have to use official lists, such as those of members of the Senate, members of the Chamber of Deputies, Universities, school teachers, male and female, &c., &c.

"To give an instance of how the work is carried on, I would mention that we have recently published a translation of the White Paper on the execution of Miss Cavell. We printed 40,000 copies, and it was suggested to me by Donna Bettina Della Valle di Casanova that, after supplying the libraries with copies, the best people to get at were the female school teachers throughout Italy. So we have sent two copies to every teacher in Italy, ten copies to every school mistress, and at the same time we have not neglected our usual distributors. All this work has meant some 5,000 packages being made up; but I feel certain that this literature has got into the right hands. I would mention, in this connection, that only last week two indignation meetings of protest against the official murder of Miss Cavell were held in the cities of Milan and Turin, which will show that public feeling is still very strong in this country on this subject. And it is worth while remembering that Turin is supposed to be devoted to the Giolittian interest, and to be strongly opposed to the war. Milan, on the other hand, is the most industrial town in Italy, and its chief business men are bound hand and foot by the German commercial penetration which has become such a serious danger to Italy.

"I now come to another subject, namely, the appreciation of the work by the people of Italy. At first I found that it was very coldly received. I think this was due to the fact that they had been deluged with a mass of vituperative literature from Berlin. It is really amusing, on looking back at what happened, to think how useless all this expenditure of German money has been. It is estimated that this propaganda must have cost Germany at least ten millions of francs, and it is

generally believed that Prince von Bülow brought with him a credit order of 300,000*l.* sterling. Whether this is true or whether it is not, the main fact remains that every hotel in the large cities, every business person who had ever had commercial connection with any German firm, every parish priest, every proprietor of a café or a barber's shop, down to the smallest villages throughout Italy received regularly either a copy of a subsidised newspaper or other literature which was proportionate to the importance of the recipient.

"For instance, I was residing at the Hôtel Marini in Rome, before war was declared by Italy. Regularly every fortnight the manager used to hand me a thick bundle of printed matter, comprising the *Continental Times*, the fortnightly illustrated *History of the War*, as published in Germany, and other matter of the same kind. These I used to send on to the British Embassy for information as regularly as I received them.

"One could not help admiring the completeness of the organisation, and the manner in which the work was carried out. The principal agent in Rome was well known, and every morning a cartload of this matter was seen being carried away from his office in the Via Condotti, the Bond Street of Rome. Even Prince von Bülow himself condescended to carry pamphlets with his own hand to the Society for the Protection of Animals, to which, it must be acknowledged, both he and his wife were generous contributors.

"The Banca Commerciale, which was at this time entirely under German control and direction, is known to have the most elaborate card index system of every individual who has ever had any business relations with it, even to the cashing of a cheque; and there is no doubt that every kind of business man in Germany was asked to communicate for this purpose the names and addresses of any person who, at any time, had dealt with him in any way. I am certain of this, because I have frequently been asked by indignant tradespeople and others, why they should be bothered with all this political literature which to them was more or less pestilential, and wondering how on earth their addresses were known to the distributing agency in Berlin, from which place the more important packages were always sent. It generally happened that on asking these people to think whether they had had any business relations, or had ordered any goods from German manufacturers, they recollected an occasion on which they had done so, generally through the agency of a German commercial traveller, and it was in this way that their addresses had become known. Every trade circular coming from Germany was accompanied by a small assortment of literature, which illustrated the power of Germany, the progress of her arms from victory to victory, *et hoc genus omne*. Naturally they got sick of it, and when we started our modest little propaganda work, we were told that it was worse than useless; that the Germans had done themselves far more harm than good by it, and that the Italians would probably resent being worried with a dose of English literature of the same kind.

"At first I felt very discouraged, but on thinking the matter over I felt pretty certain that if we were to distribute nothing but good literary matter, avoiding all polemics and invective, that could not do much harm.

"The first distributions were of pamphlets which came from England, written by English authors; but it was soon felt that it was necessary to do the translations in Italy itself, and to publish important articles written by Italians for Italians. This has had a thoroughly satisfactory effect. We have often been deluged with applications for particular work, and have had to reprint as many as two or three editions of certain pamphlets which have struck the popular mind and appreciation.

"Of all the thousands and thousands of packages which have been sent out, only two have been returned through the Dead Letter Office of the post. In one case we know that the man had been recalled to the colours and was at the front; in the other case, it was evident that the addressee thought that he would have to pay for the contents of the package if he opened it, which, I am sorry to say, is not an uncommon occurrence in Italy. Now we put on every package that 'this contains literature for distribution gratis,' and instead of getting things returned through the post, we receive urgent appeals for more pamphlets, which we supply so far as we can.

"We make no distinction of political parties whatever. We send to Clericals (especially the Vatican), the Nationalists, who correspond to our Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists. Probably the most useful agency we have are the Popular Libraries of Italy. There are some 1,500 in number, and every library has one copy of every pamphlet which has been issued, the more important libraries have two copies. By this means we get at millions of readers of the poorer classes, and I know from personal observation that this literature is widely read and appreciated for the simple reason that nearly every Italian is a born politician.

"Coming to the third heading, namely, works published in Italy, they are as follows:—I would premise that this statement is not quite complete, as the accounts with the original receipts have been submitted either to you or to the Embassy, and as some of the pamphlets are totally out of print, I cannot be quite certain whether the list is absolutely correct:—

	Copies.
Cardinal Mercier's Pastoral Letter	2,000
Andriulli's Pamphlet, with Ferrero's Preface	1,000
Bagot's Article, 'La Psicologia Inglese e la Guerra'	2,000
G. Calza Beldolo's Article, 'L'Esercito Inglese, &c.' (3 editions)	25,000
'La Guerra Europea,' by Dr. J. Church	5,000
Mr. Asquith's Speech of March 1st, 1915	10,000
Rava's Pamphlets by Ferrero, Ojetti, and other authors	4,500
Tazzoli's 'L'Inghilterra nel grande conflitto'	1,500
Sir Edward Grey's Speech	6,000
Baldwin's Pamphlet	6,000
'Chiesi's Article, 'C'io che gli Inglese, &c.'	10,000
Second Edition of same	10,000
Poultney Bigelow's Article, 'L'Opinione, &c.'	10,000
P. Santamaría's 'Libertarioci,' 1st Edition	10,000

	Copies.
Second Edition of same	5,000
Calvi's 'Guerra senza Sangue'	10,000
'Punch' Cartoon, and Poem 'I Due Ideali'	10,000
Borsa's Article, 'Che Cosa fanno gli Inglesi'	10,000
Second Edition of same	5,000
Third Edition of same	10,000
Arpol's Article, 'I Primi Rimpianti'	10,000
Church's 'Il Verdetto Americano'	20,000
Bryce Report on German Atrocities	21,000
'I Metodi Tedeschi' (Herr Ballin)	15,000
Haldwin's Article, Second Edition	10,000
Giretti's Article, 'L'Inghilterra e i suoi Alleati'	20,000
White Paper on the Execution of Miss Cavell	40,000
Mons. Jules Destrée's Book, 'C'io che hanno fatto gli Inglesi'	8,000
Ezio Gray's Book, 'L'Invasione Tedesca'	2,000

" In addition to the above, I received from private sources and from the Embassy a large number of miscellaneous pamphlets which were duly distributed. They consisted of various White Papers, one of which had been translated at the Embassy, namely, the Report by the Ambassador at Constantinople on the rupture with Turkey. Others were Church's 'Reply to German Professors,' 'The Violation of Belgian Neutrality' by van Heuvel, Mr. Lloyd George's Speech, &c. I have no means of fixing the precise number of these, but I should estimate them to be approximately 30,000.

" This gives up to February 1916 a gross total of 329,000 pamphlets printed in Italy, to which must be added approximately 100,000 received from Wellington House, making a total distribution of nearly half a million of pamphlets and books.

" Since February the following publications have been distributed:—

	Copies.
Gilbert Murray's 'L'esultà Italiana'	15,000
Second Edition of same	5,000
Borsa's 'Italia e Inghilterra'	30,000
Destrée's 'La Suprema Resistenza'	20,000
Second Edition of same	7,000
Asquith's Speech of April 10th, 1916	30,000
White Paper on Wittenberg Camp	50,000
Owen Wister's 'Pentecost of Calamity' (slightly abridged version)	12,000
'Daily Chronicle' Albums ('Where the German Army has Passed') handed over to Red Cross	5,000
Cadorna-Kitchener postcards	20,000
Raemaekers' Cartoons	8,000
Second Edition of Church's 'Verdetto Americano'	10,000
Third Edition of Church's 'Verdetto Americano' (ordered at Donna Bettina di Casanova's request)	10,000
Cramb's 'Germany and England'	200
Sir Edward Grey's Interview with <i>Chicago Daily News</i> ('A Free Europe')	40,000
Second Edition of same	5,000
Cabiati's 'La Questione dei Noli'	10,000

" The translation or despatch of the following books, pamphlets and postcards is in hand:—

	Copies.
'Is Germany Anti-Catholic?'	15,000
'L'Inghilterra Cavalleresca'	20,000
Hughes' Speeches (selection) probably	20,000
Raemaekers' Cartoons	20,000
Postcards of 'Viva Italia'	50,000
Corbella's Postcards of the Murder of Miss Cavell, probably	20,000

" When present orders are supplied, and distributed, the total of our work will be as follows:—

	Copies.
From commencement to February 1916	429,000
From February 16th to May 18th, 1916	195,000
From May 18th to date (July 27th, 1916) on completion of present programme	232,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>856,200</b>

" Some of the books are of considerable size; for instance, Monsieur Destrée's book is over 300 pages in length, Ezio Gray's is 260, Tazzoli's about 200, the Bryce Report is 64 pages.

" The works which have been most popular and have attracted most attention are probably the following:—M. Destrée's book, the cartoon and poem from 'Punch,' the Bryce Report, 'Guerra senza Sangue,' 'Liberiamoci,' Borsa's Article 'Che Cosa fanno gli Inglesi?' and the White Paper on the execution of Miss Cavell.

" We have adopted other means of propaganda, namely, the display of photographs in shop windows. These are now shown in the cities of Rome, Milan, Turin and Bologna.

"Finally, we have assisted the organisation of lectures bearing on the war by M. Jules Dostrée, and made ourselves responsible for the expenses of the last one held in Rome in December on the subject 'England's Share in the War.' The date coincided with the placing of his book on the market. This meeting was undoubtedly a very great success and was very largely attended. The report of it will have no doubt been seen by you in the London Press, and it was described at length also in the Italian and French journals.

"Future arrangements are under consideration at the Embassy.

"I wish particularly to draw your attention to the help which has been given to me by Signor Pietro Santamaria. He has been my right-hand man ever since the distribution by Italian agency came into force, and it is only quite recently that in consequence of the great stress of work owing to the distribution of the White Paper on Miss Cavell he has had any assistance. I had to put a clerk on a salary of 125 francs per month for this great rush of work, and we are getting out sometimes as many as 500 packets a day. This is the only paid agency employed by me, with the exception of translations which are paid for at the rate fixed by you. All the other work is done without remuneration for the love of the cause, and I cannot sufficiently express to you the gratitude that I feel for the assistance which I have always received from Signor Pietro Santamaria."

*From Donna Bettina Della Valle di Casanova, dated February 8th, 1916.*

"Having consented in January of last year to assist Mr. C. A. Mills in his propaganda work, by undertaking the distribution of literature in my province of Lombardy, it became necessary to find suitable helpers, possessing, besides energy and enthusiasm for England's cause, great tact, lest we should be accused of following the aggressive method of German propaganda which has aroused so much indignation and hatred in Italy. To avoid this danger, it was, in my opinion, essential to make use of Italian rather than of English agents for distribution.

"One of these, a leading man in the industrial world of Northern Italy, undertook to distribute, amongst his own workmen, and also at the Università Popolare, where the pamphlets (especially Mr. Asquith's and Mr. Lloyd George's speeches) met with great favour amongst professors and students. By limiting the distribution at first, the demand soon became great, so that it was considered a favour when the request for a further supply was granted.

"The daughter of one of our best known horticulturists did very good work amongst her father's friends, clients, and workmen, and, thanks to her efforts, our pamphlets were distributed in all agricultural circles in and around Milan.

"A distinguished Italian General in Milan introduced our pamphlets in military clubs and circles, as well as in the 'Casa del Soldato,' of which he is President.

"A young and energetic commercial traveller, devoted to England and her cause, distributed to engineers and head workmen in many of our most important iron and steel works.

"And so the propaganda made good progress. Requests for larger consignments of books kept flowing in, requests which Mr. Mills very kindly and promptly complied with, as far as his then limited supply permitted.

"In March, after some difficulty, I was enabled to approach Professor Fabietti of Milan, Director of the Biblioteca Popolare. He received me most kindly, and promised to have our pamphlets placed in each of his 1,600 libraries. These libraries, scattered throughout the country, are frequented by the reading public of Italy. Reading rooms are open daily, while a circulation library is kept for those who prefer to take the books away. Professors, teachers, students, workmen, officials of every class are to be found amongst their readers, and each volume is read by hundreds. Professor Fabietti, after promising to distribute our pamphlets himself, added with a smile: 'Since August, German books of the most shamefaced and scurrilous nature have poured into my office, but they have all gone *there*,' pointing to his wastepaper basket. From that day a regular supply has been sent to him, for which we have received the warmest thanks. How greatly our efforts have been appreciated will be shown by the fact that Professor Fabietti has had the various pamphlets bound. I made a point of ascertaining whether the books had reached the various libraries, and can truthfully state that they have been read with real pleasure and have done good work.

"In May, after a personal interview with Mr. Mills, it was decided that I should undertake the propaganda from Bologna upwards. This I gladly agreed to do, for, although many of my most efficient helpers had gone to the front, our intervention in the war had removed all obstacles.

"At Genoa and Sampierdarena several thousand pamphlets have been distributed by an engineer of one of our largest firms, and by a well-known university professor. At Savona the work was undertaken by two prominent members of the industrial world, who brought on themselves the indignation and resentment of the Banca Commerciale.

"But the ground was good for propaganda, and repeated demands were made for more books, with the assurance that 'they had taught many to understand and value England's attitude and efforts.'

"So at Spezia, in the Arsenal and the Fiat San Giorgio, at Leghorn, Piacenza, Forlì, Bologna, Venice, Massa, Carrara, Bergamo and many other towns and villages.

"At Milan an intelligent and enthusiastic workman, belonging to the 'Società del Tipografo,' has given the most valuable assistance by distributing the different workmen's guilds and clubs, such as the 'Società Lavoratori del Libro,' 'Cooperativa Induno,' 'Società di Mutuo Soccorso Figli del Lavoro,' 'Associazione Inquilini,' 'Biblioteca Mutuo Soccorso Monbello' and many others. He writes continually, asking for more books, and has done much to convince the most obstinate neutralist Socialists:—

"After reading the pamphlets,' he writes, 'many workmen have come to me saying they are now convinced of the justice of the Allies' cause and of Italy's intervention.'

"In July and August libraries were formed for soldiers and officers in hospital, in Milan, Padua, Venice and Turin. To these I offered some of our books, and they were thankfully received by all except by Turin, where I met with opposition. After considerable difficulties, however, the books were accepted, and now more are asked for! We have also sent pamphlets to the libraries which were instituted for winter reading in the trenches.



"Through the great courtesy of the Admiral in command at Venice, who not only gave his permission, but personally superintended the distribution, our pamphlets have been given in the Arsenal, on the warships, &c., and in His Excellency's own words (literally translated from the Italian) :-

"I have ordered them to be distributed among the ships' crews, and feel sure that they will strengthen (if indeed there were any need for such strengthening) the feeling of good will between men who are fighting for the same ideals of liberty and civilisation."

"My request for a collection of English books, Oxford pamphlets, and Official Reports bearing on the war, has been most kindly granted, and these have been placed in our principal libraries where the future students and writers of history will be able to consult them."

"It is impossible to give any just idea of the help and encouragement given me on all sides. Senators, deputies, professors, officers, workmen, all have assisted where they could, and all alike have expressed the opinion that valuable work has been done, much misunderstanding of England's policy and attitude removed, and Germany's methods made clear."

Wellington House has, in the main, confined its work in Italy to supplying material for Mr. Mills and his assistants (articles, pamphlets, and photographs).

We supply 12 dozen photographs a fortnight, for exhibition and reproduction in the Italian illustrated press, and postcards whenever an opportunity offers. For example, on the occasion of General Cadorna's visit to England, at the suggestion of Donna Bettina della Valle di Casanova we sent out 20,000 coloured postcards of General Cadorna and Lord Kitchener; the victorious offensive of the Italian Army gave us an opportunity of supplying Mr. Mills with 50,000 postcards entitled "Viva l'Italia!" representing the homage of the Allies to Italy.

A recent letter from Mr. Mills bears witness to the success of this form of propaganda in Italy :-

"The Kitchener-Cadorna postcards have had a most extraordinary success and it is now suggested by Donna Bettina della Valle di Casanova that similar postcards with the portraits of the King of England and the King of Italy would be very much appreciated by the soldiers in the field. I should tell you that the Kitchener-Cadorna postcards have been issued exclusively to the wounded in hospitals and to soldiers at the front, partly by the agency of the Italian War Office and the Red Cross. The general public are so anxious to get hold of them that we have to keep those left under lock and key. Could you have some more printed off? I should be very glad of them."

In spite of considerable Customs difficulties, we have exported large numbers of illustrated books. A recent instance is the collection of Raemaekers' cartoons (Italian version) of which 10,000 copies were supplied; these met with such a great success that 20,000 further copies, as mentioned in Mr. Mills' report, were ordered. Frontier restrictions have interfered with the import of our "War Pictorial," but it is hoped that these will shortly be overcome. Mr. Mills' standing order for this publication is 12,000 copies a month in addition to the 3,000 copies which are distributed through the steamship companies in Italian ports.

All our pamphlets are sent regularly to Mr. Mills on publication, or, in urgent cases, when still in proof, and those of which the Ambassador approves are translated into Italian. The success of the Miss Cavell pamphlet has been described in Mr. Mills' report. A more recent example is the official report on the conditions at the Wittenberg camp, of which 50,000 copies, as has already been mentioned, were printed and distributed.

Pamphlets have also been specially written for Italian consumption. An instance may be mentioned—the essay by Professor Gilbert Murray, entitled "La Lealtà Italiana," to the success of which the following remarks of the Ambassador bear testimony :-

"I dare say Professor Gilbert Murray would like to know that his article 'La Lealtà Italiana' has had a great success here. We started with 15,000 copies and the demand for more is so great, that Mr. Mills has had to order another 5,000."

Another Wellington House pamphlet, "Italy our Ally," an account of Mr. Asquith's visit to Rome, together with all the most noteworthy speeches delivered during the visit, was described by a leading Italian journalist, Dr. Mario Borsa, writing in the "Messaggero" for July 17th, as "one of the best things which has appeared up to date on the relations between England and Italy."

On numerous occasions we have supplied material, statistics, &c., which have then been worked up in Italy and put to use in books, lectures and conferences, or in quiet personal propaganda in various Italian centres where we were informed that neutralist influences were at work or that the British share in the war was not properly understood. The most noteworthy example of this was the book mentioned by Mr. Mills, which was written by the Belgian Deputy, Monsieur Jules Destree, entitled "C'io che hanno fatto gli Inglesi" "Monsieur Destree, when in England, was supplied with every fact which it was possible to give concerning Britain's share in the war,

and as the bibliography to his book testifies, he made very good use of a large number of our pamphlets. In Italy, Monsieur Destrée undertook a highly successful lecturing campaign, and the book on which his lectures were based has undoubtedly been of very great influence.

Mr. Edward Hutton, the well-known authority on Italy, is now in Florence working unostentatiously, especially with the friendly Italian newspapers, with the object of placing the Allies' case before the Italian people. Before setting out Mr. Hutton was liberally supplied with literature from Wellington House, and anything, newspaper cuttings, articles, &c., which we consider likely to be of use, is sent out to him. We have received two or three interesting reports from him; three requests mentioned in a recent letter—for further copies of the Wittenberg pamphlet ("the best of all Italian pamphlets") and of the "splendid" diagram sheet "The British Empire at War," together with a pamphlet in Italian about the British Army—are being complied with.

Mr. Hutton's latest report gives a very interesting account of one or two aspects of his work:—

"This last journey of mine has been chiefly concerned with visiting priests. I find everywhere, in town and village alike, two classes among the priests: the younger men who really are Italian first and Tuscans only second, who are genuinely patriotic, believe in the future of Italy, whose loyal citizens they are, and who are eager to do anything they can to instruct their people in the conditions of the war.

"Such men, and every day they become more numerous, are very keen to hear all I can tell them of England and her immense work and contribution to the Crusade. After a time with one of these men I have more than once heard him preach a sermon at Mass in which much which I had put into him was passed on to the congregation. It is with men like this that I leave the maps, cards and pamphlets, which I find most useful. The map and the Wittenberg pamphlet are especially appreciated.

"During the last weeks all over Tuscany the harvest has been reaped and the corn is now being beaten out with the flail. You would, perhaps, smile to see me any evening reading to a group of peasants, which often becomes quite a crowd, that excellent work, 'The Horrors of Wittenberg,' or an account of the Jutland action, or, more intimately, trying to describe how an army of millions was raised in England in 20 months, how armies have come from Canada, Australia and Africa to fight under the British flag in this Crusade. No man could want a more attentive audience."

A useful piece of indirect British propaganda was undertaken a short time ago—the exhibition of Italian cartoons and drawings at the Leicester Galleries, which was opened by Lord Robert Cecil on June 21st last. This was organised with great enthusiasm and enterprise by the Belgian Deputy for Termonde, Monsieur Oscar Vermeersch. Financial assistance was given by the Foreign Office, and several details of arrangement were carried through by Wellington House. The success of the exhibition produced an excellent effect in Italy; well-written accounts of the opening were sent out by various Italian correspondents and appeared in the leading Italian papers. The Italian people were thus made to feel that their aims and their share in the war were being appreciated in England, and it is noteworthy that the longest and best article on the subject appeared in the *Tribuna*, which has hitherto been one of the most "difficult" of Italian papers. Appreciations of the exhibition, records of the visit of well-known personages and any news showing that Italy's effort is being properly appreciated here have been sent to the Stefani Agency for transmission to the Italian press, which is thus influenced, perhaps even more than by direct propaganda. The knowledge that Her Majesty the Queen and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, and several other members of the Government have visited the exhibition, and expressed great interest in the work of leading Italian artists, cannot fail to be of influence upon Italian public opinion.

Italians generally have long been thoroughly convinced as to the rights and wrongs of the war; all our more recent efforts have been directed towards the double object of explaining Great Britain's share in the war and showing the Italians that their own difficulties, aims and achievements are appreciated in this country.

The general effect of British propaganda in Italy is fairly summed up in a recent letter from the Ambassador:—

"I believe that the work which has been done quietly through the popular libraries has been of great importance in moulding and maintaining sound views among the people."

The calmness with which the Italian people took the Austrian offensive in the Trentino, the smoothness with which the change of Government was effected, the gradual falling off in querulousness in the tone of the *Idea Nazionale* and other extremist newspapers, and, finally, the enthusiasm with which the declaration of war against Germany has been welcomed—all these things show that the work which has been done in Italy has not failed to bear fruit.

ALEC W. G. RANDALL.

## 11.

**PROPAGANDA FOR THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT.**

In earlier reports we have done no more than draw attention to the fact that this department has made itself responsible for executing the official propaganda of the Belgian Government. In the early days of the war we agreed, at the request of the Foreign Office, to finance and arrange for the translation, publication, and distribution of any books or pamphlets which had the approval of the Belgian Minister and for which the Belgian authorities desired circulation in Allied or Neutral countries.

At first our relations were mainly with the Bureau Documentaire Belge, a special propaganda department attached to the Minister de la Guerre at Havre and under the direction of M. Passelecq, but subsequently the Belgian propaganda work, so far as concerns its connection with this country, was put wholly in the hands of the Belgian Relief Committee in London, of which M. Henri Davignon is the honorary secretary.

During the past eighteen months close relations have been established with this committee and a very large volume of work has been transacted. Over forty books and pamphlets have been or are being published, translated into various languages, and distributed at the request of the committee, and there is a constant interchange of views and information of every sort relating to actual or potential propaganda in the interests of Belgium.

A brief reference to a few of the publications will give some idea of the nature and scope of this branch of our work.

The first and possibly the most important class of Belgian propagandist literature is represented by the official publications of the Belgian Government. These include the first and second Belgian Grey Books dealing with the diplomatic correspondence immediately preceding the war; the first and second series of reports of the Commission d'Enquête sur les Violations des droits des Gens, and the Third Belgian Grey Book (now in process of translation), a very long and important work which takes the form of an elaborate reply to the German White Book of May 1915 regarding the methods of warfare adopted by both sides during the invasion of Belgium. Closely allied to these, though not official in character, are M. Passelecq's abridged summary of this last volume designed to reach a wider circle of readers; a pamphlet entitled "The Destruction of Belgium," by Mr. E. Grimwood Mears (one of the joint honorary secretaries of the Bryce Commission), on the same subject, of which some 40,000 copies have been circulated; and an admirable little brochure by a Dutch professor, Prof. Struycken, which has now been translated into English, Spanish, and Swedish, and has proved a particularly useful and effective piece of propaganda, especially for South Africa, Spain, and South America.

A second category consists of those books which deal with the position of Belgium in Europe and her relations with Germany from the purely historical or legal standpoint, and which, therefore, make a special appeal to the "Intelligentia" of various countries. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these are the two treatises written by the late Prof. Emile Waxweiler, "Belgique Neutre et Loyale" and "Le Procès de la Neutralité Belge," of which we have arranged for the publication of English editions both in this country and in America. Prof. de Visscher's "La Belgique et les Juristes Allemands" and Prof. van der Essen's "L'Invasion et la Guerre en Belgique" (an elaborate military history of the invasion), are two other works of considerable importance shortly to be published in an English edition under our auspices, and we have also distributed copies of Baron Beyens' well-known book "Germany before the War."

A third and largest class includes a series of personal accounts by Belgian and neutral witnesses of events which have occurred during the invasion and occupation of Belgium by the German Army, and those books which, though not personal narrative, are based mainly or entirely on evidence and material gathered from first-hand and unimpeachable sources. The history of the destruction of Louvain in particular has been chronicled by many eye-witnesses.

Several of these books are the work of neutrals, and outstanding among them are the Dutchman Grandys' volume "Les Allemands en Belgique," and the book by the

well-known Danish writer, Jorgensen, which, under the title of "Klokke Roland," has made a very powerful impression and won much sympathy for Belgium throughout Scandinavia and Holland, and which will shortly be published in this country and America through our agency.

Perhaps the most successful of all our propaganda books is an illustrated volume compiled by M. Davignon himself, which tells, by means of a selection of sketches, documents, and photographs, without comment, the story of the German invasion. This has been translated into six languages and the total distribution has exceeded 100,000 copies.

Amongst other pamphlets, too numerous to mention, dealing with various phases of the Belgian question, those associated with the name of Cardinal Mercier have certainly proved among the most powerful weapons in the armoury of Belgian propaganda, especially in Catholic countries.

The first pastoral letter was translated into four languages and widely distributed among the Catholic clergy. Of "An Appeal to Truth," the Belgian bishop's challenge to the Catholic bishops of Germany and Austria-Hungary, some 200,000 copies have been distributed in English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and German translations; and to the later pastoral letter "On our Return to Rome," we have given a very large circulation not only in all the English-speaking countries, but also in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and South America.

There is a continuous demand for many of these publications from all parts of the world, and the importance of keeping the Belgian issue in the forefront when later events tend to obscure it needs no demonstration. The recent manifesto addressed to Belgium by the Spanish Catholic Conservative leaders, the great majority of whom are or were—doubtfully pro-Ally or notoriously pro-German, is an incident of considerable significance.

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## 12.

**PROPAGANDA IN THE EAST AND AMONG MOSLEMS  
GENERALLY.****1. INDIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND GENERAL MOSLEM  
PROPAGANDA.**

In those countries which are either within the Empire or under the influence of the Allies, it has not been an easy matter for the Germans to carry on work of a propagandist nature. But early in the war German agents did, undoubtedly, carry on a certain amount of propagandist work in India, mostly in a very subtle manner by disseminating false and misleading rumours in the native bazaars, by exaggerating German power and under-rating the power of the Allies. In Egypt, also, a great deal was done in this way to weaken British influence, and both there, in India, and throughout all Allied countries containing a Moslem population, Germany endeavoured, by compelling the Turks to declare a *Jehad*, to inflame the Moslem mind against its Christian rulers and induce Moslems everywhere to rise in the supposed defence of their faith.

In those countries which are not directly under British influence, German propaganda has of course been rife. In Turkey, Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan the population is practically all Moslem, and Germany has endeavoured to make the most of her *Jehad*. The German illustrated propagandist paper *Welt im Bild* is printed in Arabic and Turkish, as well as in many European languages, and innumerable pamphlets support the cause. The latest German activity as regards propaganda in Persia is the production of a journal in Berlin by Persian Nationalists, under the title of *Kareh*. This propaganda proceeds on the lines of an exposure of what is called the injustice of British rule in India, the wickedness of Great Britain in allying herself with Russia (which country is invariably described as the arch-enemy of Islam), and hence the intention of Great Britain to act harshly to Moslems generally, whilst on the other hand Germany is represented as being very great and powerful, all-victorious, and the friend of Islam. Photographs of British Moslem prisoners being treated kindly are shown, also the large mosque Germany has built for their benefit. In Persia, too, the *genlarmerie* has been excited to revolt. In Afghanistan we have been represented as waiting for an opportunity to crush small Moslem states, and the Afghans have been, counselled to rise, and promised help by way of Persia.

It follows, therefore, that there is abundant need for propaganda from our side in these countries. There is a German-inspired Turkish hostile influence to counteract amongst all Moslems, and a profound ignorance of the strength and resources of the Allies to be dispelled, and in its place an impression created of the vast resources of the British Empire and its Allies, and of the hopelessness of the German prospect of victory. At the present time in many of these lands, in India especially, the natives have an exaggerated idea of German power, and particularly of German cleverness. The tale is that the British fight bravely, but the Germans are too clever for them, and the results to date of the fighting in Europe are used with effect to illustrate this argument. It is difficult in the extreme to get millions of people who have never seen the sea, and who possess no conception of it, to realise the value of sea-power to the Allies; on the other hand, the feats of the "Emden" in shelling Madras and in sinking so many British vessels in Indian waters caused consternation throughout India and gave Indians a wrong impression of Germany's naval strength. Again, they take a keen interest in aerial warfare. This excites their imagination; the larger the airship is, the more marvellous it becomes and the more capable of performing the impossible. The German Zeppelin, therefore, is looked upon by many a native of India as the unquestionable proof of that country's supremacy in the air. The fact that Zeppelins have been able to raid England, and even to drop bombs on London, whilst we have done comparatively little in the way of retaliation, and have never succeeded in dropping bombs on Berlin (it is, of course, firmly believed that we should do so if we could), acts to our disadvantage.

The need is mostly for pictorial propaganda. The native of the countries with which we are concerned is generally unable to read, and often he mistrusts both the person who is reading to him and that which is written. Pictures, however, awaken in his mind impressions which are not easily effaced. We ordinarily use photographs

in preference to drawings (the oriental has a firm belief in the veracity of the camera), and select them with the object both of making a special appeal to Moslem susceptibilities and also of giving as complete an illustration as possible of the power and resources of the British Empire and its Allies. For instance, battleships, big guns, airships, masses of troops, stores of shells and shell factories, shipbuilding yards with vessels on the stocks, and aircraft factories are shown, together with those curious contrivances of modern warfare which are calculated to impress the Oriental and African mind; British and Allied victories on land and sea and in the air are illustrated; photographs of German and Austrian prisoners, wrecked Zeppelins, and captured guns and seaplanes are used. A special feature is made of the various types of Moslem soldiers who are fighting for us and our Allies, and the facilities granted for the special observance of their religious rites. Photographs are shown of Oriental and African potentates who have contributed generously to war funds, together with suitable letterpress. The importance is borne in mind of portraying in the most favourable light the benevolent toleration of the Powers of the Entente towards Islam. Photographs of the King are also useful, and His Majesty has been good enough to give us special facilities for our work.

The medium used to convey this pictorial representation is that of a fortnightly illustrated journal entitled in Arabic *Al-Hakikat*, or *The Truth*. It is printed in photogravure, in two colours (it being essential that a striking and very finished method of reproduction should be adopted), and the size is double that of an ordinary illustrated paper, in order that a more spectacular effect may be obtained. The letterpress accompanying the various pictures is printed in four Eastern languages, viz., Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindustani.

Seventy-five thousand copies of each number are at present distributed. The work is carried out, first by means of distribution made by the Governments of India and Egypt, and by the War Office, the Foreign Office, and the Colonial Office, and secondly by distribution through steamship companies, the Over-Seas Club and private firms.

As far as the official distribution is concerned, the Government of India at present receives regularly 13,500 copies, of which some are sent to the Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia, and some, it is understood, into Afghanistan. Supplies also go to Aden. In addition, 10,000 copies of each number are sent for a special distribution, which has been arranged on behalf of the Government of India, by Messrs. A. H. Wheeler, of Allahabad, particulars of which are given below. The Foreign Office send out 10,000 copies of each number to Cairo, and quantities varying from 50 to 250 to British representatives in the East and elsewhere (notably Persia and Abyssinia), totalling 1,500 copies. The Colonial Office take, under present arrangements, 1,707 copies, and the War Office 700 copies for Salonica. Arrangements have also been made with the latter Department for copies of the paper to be dropped in Turkish villages from Allied aeroplanes. The entire official distribution, as at present arranged, amounts therefore to 36,207 copies. The Colonial Office were approached with regard to the distribution of *Al-Hakikat*, and in March last sent out a despatch with regard to the distribution of the paper. The comparatively small number of copies which are being sent out to Colonial Governments may be accounted for by the fact that replies have not yet been received from many of the Governors, though the demand from those who have answered is distinctly disappointing in the case of colonies containing large numbers of Mahomedan subjects. The Governor-General of Nigeria has asked for 114 copies and the Acting Commissioner of British Somaliland for 100. In certain cases there has been hesitation in making use of the paper on account of the languages in which the letterpress appears, but it is to be hoped that there will be a considerable improvement in the demand later on. There is no slackening of the effort to arrange whatever satisfactory distribution can be carried out through channels other than official. It is interesting to note that the Government of British Guiana is obtaining through the Colonial Office 1,000 copies of each number of *Al-Hakikat*, as the Emigration Agent-General considers that the paper "would be most excellent for distribution" there.

With regard to steamship distribution, the companies have, without exception, welcomed the new publication, and have done everything in their power to secure for it a wide distribution. Several companies which have not previously assisted in propaganda work have volunteered their services, and the rapidity with which they got their consignments into the hands of readers in the East has been most gratifying. The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company at once undertook to take supplies to

Morocco, where their distribution was effectively carried out from the ports at which their steamers call. The following is an extract from a letter sent to the R.M.S.P. from their representative after a visit to Morocco:—

"They were generally impressed with the style of the paper, and are of opinion that it was just what was needed. As you are aware the steamer does not stay long at these ports, but during the short time I was on shore I noted the paper was being read by groups of Moors, and the agents were repeatedly asked for copies. As regards the area of distribution, the agents will send them to all the towns and villages where there is a regular trade to their ports, but the following may be useful to you on this point:—

"Tangier will send copies to Larache and Arzila.

"Casablanca to Rabat and Kenitra.

"Mazagan to Azamoor and neighbouring towns.

"Saffi to the country Moors. The paper will no doubt find its way up to Marakesh.

"Mogador will send to southern towns and Agadir."

Here, unfortunately, there have been difficulties owing to the unwillingness of the local French authorities to allow propaganda other than their own to be carried out, but fortunately these have now been satisfactorily overcome. The Saffi agent to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. write that their—

"agents report that until recently the country was subject to the influence of German subsidized Spanish papers, but French authorities have now forbidden the entrance of prejudiced papers of this character. The agents themselves have met natives who are under the impression that London no longer existed. Pamphlets were delivered to the commandant of the district of Abia and the local Kaidis. The Commandant was pleased to receive them, and promised to arrange that the country governors should have them read aloud to the Arabs."

The Elder Dempster Line arranged an excellent distribution through ports of Western Africa and Nigeria, and copies of *Al-Hakikat* are sent regularly to the ports of Sierra Leone, Sekondee and Accra, in the Gold Coast, Lagos and Port Harcourt in Nigeria. From the information supplied by the company it is clear that copies of the paper reach no less than twenty trading centres in all parts of Nigeria, from the coast, to the extreme north. In Sierra Leone, their agents have reported that they have arranged for the distribution of copies sent to them and that the Director of Education has very kindly promised to assist in this matter. Their Accra agents have facilities for the distribution of the paper to Mahomedan tribes at the different stations on the Gold Coast, as they are the principal *kola* shippers. Copies are also sent out to West Africa, through the Over-Seas Club. The Union Castle accept regular quantities for South Africa, where they are arranging for a special distribution. In the Mediterranean, the Moss Line distributes copies in Algiers and Alexandria. The Over-Seas Club members in Cyprus are endeavouring to get copies into Turkish territory, through neutral ships, but no large supplies can be dealt with in this manner. The Cunard were approached with a view to getting their agents to help in distribution in Alexandria, and in reply we received an offer from the Brocklebank Anchor Line to undertake this work, instead of the Cunard; this was gratefully accepted, and copies are now being regularly sent to Alexandria through this company. The Peninsula and Oriental Steamship Company and the Bibby Line take supplies to Port Said, and the latter also to Colombo and Rangoon for their own distribution, and also convey, free of charge, supplies for other distributors. Messrs. Steel, the company's representatives in Rangoon, have distributed the paper to the Mofussil, through their agencies in Burma. Outside the Rangoon district, Messrs. Gregson, their agents at Colombo, besides distributing their supplies in Ceylon, have sent copies to Madras, Singapore and Penang, and their agents at Port Said, Messrs. Stapleton, have distributed the paper amongst the native population in and about the Canal regions. The Ellerman Line have very kindly undertaken to convey copies to ports on the west coast of India, and the British India take some 6,000 copies of each number, which are distributed between Bombay, including the Persian Gulf ports, and Calcutta.

A very important part of the distribution of this paper is that carried out through the Over-Seas Club, which is valuable, not so much on account of the number of copies distributed, but in the way in which the work is done and the number of places reached, practically everywhere where Mahomedans are to be found. The following letters will give some indication of the interest which is taken in this work, and the way in which the most is made of every copy sent out:—

From Hong Kong:—

"Thanks very much for the Indian papers. We get six copies a week, but they are not enough to go round, and the ones you sent are most acceptable."



A letter from Busrah at the end of May contains the following:—

"Many thanks for the copies of *El-Hakika* in Urdu. I have been here since February working chiefly amongst Indian troops in hospital, and am glad of any reliable literature. Everyone speaks very highly of the pictures and letterpress. I could do with regular supplies. . . . As I come in contact with other classes, I hope to send some copies to Amara and Baghdad. I will place copies in the best schools."

A letter from Alexandria:—

"I have just received copies of *El-Hakika*, which are very interesting, and am passing them over to the library of the *Mashikhet El Ulema*, which is the important native university in Alexandria, and corresponds to the *El Azhar* in Cairo."

From Tantah, Egypt:—

"I am very glad to see that some views of the present war which was break out by the hands of the foolish Germans being published in Arabic in your fortnightly illustrated journal *El-Hakika*, but on the other hand we regret to say that it is impossible to obtain a copy of the same here. Few of it are being despatched to certain Gentlemen, who are very kind to allow us to have a look at it. . . . I shall esteem it a great favour if you will kindly send me a complete set. . . . I beg to excuse me with troubling you, and hope glory be to kind Great Britain and the war ended in the interests of the Allies."

From a Steamship Officer at Bombay:—

"I have done my best to circulate the copies received to date among the influential men with whom I come in contact. I was in Makalla, on the east coast of Arabia, a few days ago and gave three copies to His Highness, the Sultan of Makalla and Ash Shear. I have also distributed copies in Busrah and vicinity."

From Madras:—

"I am in receipt of . . . two packets of *El-Hakika*, for which I thank you. I have placed these in Mohammedan Public Reading Rooms through the help of the editors of two papers printed in vernacular, one in Madras and the other in Bangalore."

From Port Said:—

"We received your parcels of illustrated Arabic papers. The first lots we took with us on a short holiday to Suez and distributed them along the line to the Egyptians on the staff who can read them. They were very pleased to have them. The second lot we had forwarded to us at Suez and distributed those also."

From El Obeid, Sudan:—

"I beg to acknowledge copies of the illustrated paper *El-Hakika*. . . . It is just the sort of thing that appeals to the natives, and I am sure will do an immense amount of good. I sent one copy to the schools and asked the head master if he would be so kind as to give a lesson to the scholars, explaining the various items of interest. . . . Copies were also sent to influential natives and distributed in the cafes."

From the Southern Shan States:—

"I have distributed four copies of the paper to the Postmaster, the Mohammedan head man of the town, a Sikh, my head clerk, a Hindu Persian, the Military Police, native officers, and our Sikhs and Gurkhas."

From Tarquah Mine, Secondee, Gold Coast:—

"There are very few natives here who can read Arabic, but nevertheless I have given out the copies after understanding to the best of my ability the contents. The manager hit on the very brilliant idea of having them pasted on a boarding at the shaft head, and the few who did understand Arabic soon explained the illustrations to the other natives. As fresh copies come along we will paste them up."

An Over-Seas Club member on board a steamship writes:—

"I have received three packets of the illustrated paper . . . as luck will have it, I am on just the run in which I will be most useful for the work required. We are one of the regular boats between Bombay and Burma, occasionally calling at different ports in Persia and Arabia, on our way to Busrah. I shall be only too pleased to do all I can for the good cause."

A well-known business man in Calcutta writes:—

"They are already being talked about in India and will do immense good, as the best of London illustrated periodicals can convey little to the Indian Sepoy without his understanding the letterpress, besides *Al-Hakikat* explains scenes of warfare and other great and up-to-date battle machinery to one who has only the vaguest notion of such things. It is a great Imperial Educator."

From Kashmir:—

"The papers are much appreciated and people invariably come to me for more."

Another from Fyzabad says:—

"The natives showed great interest in the portraits of the King Emperor reviewing his troops, and the pictures of the big guns and aeroplanes."

**An Englishman in Alexandria, Egypt, writes :—**

"I shall be very pleased to receive further copies of this extremely interesting paper, the pictures of which will be very welcome to the natives of Alexandria."

**Another, in Mansourah, says :—**

"I greatly admire the illustrated papers you sent me. They have been a source of continuous interest to the natives. They are just what is wanted here."

**From Kuala Lumpur, in the Federated Malay States :—**

"The natives are much interested in the beautiful illustrations, but few could read the letterpress, those who could, however, were eagerly surrounded and as keen to explain."

**A writer residing in Quittah, Gold Coast, West Africa, says :—**

"I thank you very much for the illustrated newspapers sent for circulation. I need many more."

**From Taung-gyi, in the Southern Shan States, Burma, comes the following :—**

"The photographic reproductions are unusually good, and the papers are much appreciated by those who can read them."

A number of other letters have been received from Aden, Bombay, and Egypt, with Mahomedan troops, asking for regular supplies, and requests have also come for copies from Indian war hospitals. It would seem that there is a considerable demand for the paper which the Indian military authorities could readily meet by a large and systematic distribution. This would, of course, include Indian regiments in Egypt and elsewhere.

Private firms and individuals, as well as missionary societies, have been most helpful in distributing the paper to their representatives abroad, conveying copies to distributors or giving addresses and information of considerable value. The firm of Messrs. A. H. Wheeler, to whose notice the paper was brought by the P. and O., have, from the very first, done all in their power to assist in the distribution of the paper in India, and have placed their entire resources at the disposal of the Government of India for the distribution of *Al-Hakikat* free of all charge other than the out-of-pocket expenses involved. As far as their scheme for distribution has been approved, at present it involves the utilisation of station bookstalls and waiting-halls on the principal Indian railways. Messrs. Wheeler, in their turn, put us in touch with Messrs. Higginbottom, of Madras, who control the bookstalls on the Southern Indian railways, and copies of *Al-Hakikat* are now being sent to them for distribution. Messrs. John Dickinson, paper manufacturers, have recently placed their resources at our disposal, and are prepared to take large quantities of *Al-Hakikat* for distribution in India and Egypt. Mr. John Glynn, of Liverpool, in addition to arranging for the distribution of some thousand copies of each number to friends of his in India, who are in exceptional positions for distributing the paper, has also enlisted the services of the Rangoon Electric Tram Co., to whom copies of the paper are sent for distribution, these being generously conveyed free of charge by the Bibby Line. Messrs. T. B. Brown, advertising agents, have put us in touch with Mr. A. Davis, the leading newspaper proprietor and publisher in Nairobi, with whom it is hoped to arrange for a regular distribution of *Al-Hakikat* on the Uganda railways. The International Sleeping Car Co. have also very kindly offered the services of their representative in Egypt, with a view to securing distribution on the Egyptian and Sudan railways, and in addition to the Nile steamers. The Religious Tract Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also give valuable assistance by allowing copies to be sent in their names to missionaries and others in the East. Copies of *Al-Hakikat* are being sent to Emir Arslan, the ex-Turkish Consul-General at Buenos Aires, who is taking an active part in pro-Ally propaganda in the Argentine, and to Rio de Janeiro, and efforts are being made through the American missionary organisations to arrange for the entry of copies of *Al-Hakikat* into Asia Minor, and as soon as it is possible to do so, supplies will be sent to Port Sudan, which it is hoped will find their way in sailing-boats to the coast of the Hedjaz. Messrs. Gellatly, Hankey & Co.'s representatives at Jeddah and Port Sudan have kindly promised to assist in this matter.

The distribution referred to above amounts at present to nearly 45,000 and is increasing rapidly, especially that part of it which is carried out through the Overseas Club.

\* Arabic is understood by very few Malays. *Al-Hakikat* is not published in Malay.

Up to the present, no attempt has been made to reach the population of India other than that which is Moslem by faith, for which reason the only Indian vernacular employed is Hindustani in the Urdu character. We have received many letters, however, urging us to publish *Al-Hakikat* in the tongues of Southern and Western India—Tamil, Telegu, and Canarese, Gujerati and Mahratti, and also in Hindi and Bengali, and now a despatch has been received from General Louis Botha asking for an edition of *Al-Hakikat* in English, Hindi, Tamil and Gujerati, whilst Zanzibar has asked for an edition in Gujerati, this being the vernacular which is used by the Indian immigrants there. Accordingly the India Office have been asked to consult the Government of India with a view to ascertaining whether propaganda amongst Hindu peoples is advisable, and upon the answer, the question of an edition of the nature asked for by General Botha must depend, since the number of copies he would require for South Africa would not justify the expense of a separate edition unless the same edition could be used for the Hindu peoples of India.

Many letters from West Africa urge us to publish an edition in Hausa, but we have not yet found it possible to do so. It is, however, a point worth serious considerations, as to whether we should not issue an edition in two of the principal East African and two of the principal West African tongues.

At one time it was thought that the French Government would agree to take a large number of copies of *Al-Hakikat* from this department, circulating them as they considered proper. Eventually, however, they came to the decision that it would suit their purpose better to have a journal of their own, and accordingly they are now producing a fortnightly illustrated journal, modelled very closely on *Al-Hakikat*, no small compliment to this department. As explained above, however, we continue to send copies of *Al-Hakikat* to Algeria and Morocco, at the special request of a representative of the French Moslem Propaganda Department, who paid us a visit recently, and we have arranged for an exchange of photographs likely to be mutually useful.

Other propaganda in India is in the hands of the India Office, whom we assist from time to time by the production of pamphlets, &c., at their request. Propaganda by means of cinematograph in this country, as elsewhere, is dealt with in a separate report.

## 2. CHINA, &c.

Vigorous efforts have been made in China through German agents, who know the country well, to show the cause of Germany as victorious, and the cause of the Allies as one doomed to defeat. The idea of Germany is, probably, not to secure intervention, which is practically impossible, or even a benevolent neutrality, but to prepare the way for a great German trade invasion immediately peace is declared, by seeking to show that Germany is such a great and wonderful nation, so thoroughly top-dog in every way, in fact, over other European countries, that it will be to the advantage of China to accord her the most favourable terms in the matter of trade and commerce. For this reason, if for no other, the Foreign Office have considered it desirable that we should now take active steps to counteract the German measures, and this is being done.

As regards propaganda by means of pamphlets the British Minister reports to the Foreign Office as follows:—

Chinese translations of the following pamphlets have been made and widely distributed, with the assistance of His Majesty's Consuls, to all officials, Chambers of Commerce, and notables throughout the country:—

The White Book on the European Crisis, "Why we are at war with Turkey."

"The Scrap of Paper," the German Chancellor's statement and Sir Edward Grey's reply.

Memorandum on the first three months of the War.

(The above were translated and sent out directly by this Legation.)

"The American Verdict of the War," a reply to the manifesto of the German Professors, by Samuel Haden Church, President of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, U.S.A., translated by Mr. E. W. Mead, of His Majesty's Consular Service; and

A pamphlet in Chinese, prepared by Messrs. Brunner, Mond and Company, of Shanghai, and distributed in all the Provinces, with the help of His Majesty's Consuls. It contains translations of:—

1. The introductory narrative of events contained in the Blue Book, entitled, "Great Britain and the European Crisis."
2. The Statement issued by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, "Why is Great Britain at War."
3. An abstract of "The case of the Double Alliance v. the Triple Entente in the Supreme Court of Civilization," by James M. Beck.

Apart from the above documents in the vernacular, a great number of pamphlets in English have also been given wide circulation.

Arrangements have recently been made with the Christian Literature Society at Shanghai to undertake in future the distribution of all war literature issued by the Government, for which I have sanctioned the payment to them of a subsidy of dollars 250 per annum, in addition to the actual expenses of packing and postage, &c. They are to distribute monthly 10,000 copies of the Chinese version of the "Pictorial History of the War," issued by the Foreign Office, and 1,500 copies of the English edition. They will also send out 1,000 copies each of the following pamphlets, in Chinese, as applied for in my telegram, No. 100, of March 24th:—

- Hurd's "Value of Sea Power."
- Bigelow's "An American's opinion of British Colonial Policy."
- Bryce's "Neutral Nations and the War."
- Murray Interview.
- Masterman's "Triumph of the Fleet."

We also produce an illustrated paper on the lines of *Al-Hakikat*, called *Cheng-Pao* or *The Faithful Record*. It appears fortnightly, at the same time as *Al-Hakikat*, and contains pictures likely to be of special interest to the people of China in the place of that pictorial matter in *Al-Hakikat* which is of interest to Moslem peoples only. In this connection, however, it is borne in mind that there is a large Moslem population in China, for the greater part in Yunnan, Kansu, Hsin Chiang and Chihli, but it has not been found possible to print a special edition for Chinese Moslems. *Cheng-Pao* will, however, be circulated amongst them and it will serve the purpose almost as well as though *Al-Hakikat* printed in the Chinese character were to be sent to them; indeed it may prove to be better, for the Chinese Moslem shares the curious prejudice of other Chinese people against very dark-skinned persons, and it does not help the cause of the Allies in China to portray dark-skinned soldiers fighting on their side.

We have been fortunate in securing the services of the British American Tobacco Company for the distribution of *Cheng-Pao* in China. By means of their wide-spread organisation, which covers practically every district of the country, and which will even enable them to circulate some copies of the paper in Tibet, 30,000 copies will be distributed in a most effective manner, and I should like to express my keen appreciation of the immense help which has been afforded by the company in question and the cordially patriotic manner in which it has come forward to assist us. The Governor of Hong Kong is taking 75,000 copies to distribute through the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. The Foreign Office are taking 30,000 copies of *Cheng-Pao* and we hope to secure the circulation of the remaining 10,000 copies (the whole issue is one of 145,000 at present) by private means, as in the case of *Al-Hakikat*. We are also arranging with the Government of India to have copies distributed in Chinese-Turkestan, by way of Gilgit, &c., and in Yunnan, by way of Burma. Since there are such large numbers of Chinese in the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements and the Dutch East Indies, arrangements have been made to send 5,000 copies for distribution there, through the kind offices of the Ardath Tobacco Company, and this number will be increased as opportunity offers.

Another form of propaganda which is being undertaken by this Department and by the Government in China is that of the poster. For instance, we have published, in the form of a large poster, for the benefit of the Chinese Moslems, the document issued by the German Government for the suppression of Islam in German East Africa which was discovered by General Smuts at Moshi, together with photographs of Moshi town and fort, and of Dr. Schuee, the German official by whom the order was actually issued. Fifty thousand copies of this poster will be distributed throughout the Moslem parts of China by the American Tobacco Company, and here again this company's unique organisation in China is proving invaluable to us. They are also distributing for us 250,000 copies of another poster in the form of a map of the world, showing the whole of the territory which is under the influence of the Allies in one colour, whilst the relatively very small portion of territory under German influence is coloured another. The object of this is both to bring home the insignificance of the Central Powers when measured against the Allies in terms of square mileage, and also incidentally to show how completely China is surrounded by Allied territory. The map also shows the large amount of German territory captured by the Allies and contrasts this with the much smaller amount of Allied territory captured by the Germans.

The Germans have also been busy in the matter of propaganda in the Dutch East Indies and Siam. In the former country they have endeavoured to excite hostility against Great Britain amongst the Moslem Javanese by circulating stories of alleged British misrule in India, and by seeking to show the supposed hostility of the

Allies to Islamic interests, whilst amongst the Chinese they have sought to illustrate their marvellous powers of organisation by means of diagrams of Germany's economic strength; this is a favourite method of German propaganda amongst all Asiatic peoples. In Siam they have, by means of their own journal, *Umschau*, and news paid for, or supplied free, in a supposed neutral English paper (or rather a paper with an English as well as a Siamese edition), attempted to create an atmosphere favourable to German interests by publishing news of a misleading nature, magnifying German successes and denying Allied victories.

According to a list of German propaganda overseas published in the *Deutscher Aussehenhandel* of June 20th last, and which has just reached this country, the Germans are running four propaganda papers in the Dutch East Indies, viz., *Oorlogbeschouwingen*, Batavia (fortnightly), *Commentaren op de Oorlogsoverzichten*, Batavia (weekly), *Oorlogsberichten uit Deutsche Bladen*, Soerabaia (monthly), and the *Deutsche Wacht*, Batavia (monthly).

As has already been mentioned, 5,000 copies of each edition of *Cheng-Pao* are sent to the Dutch East Indies, and other forms of propaganda which we undertake there are described in Mr. Willson's report on distribution. We have been in correspondence with the Legation at Bangkok regarding propaganda in that country, but the Minister was not disposed to regard further efforts as necessary, beyond the news service already supplied. The question is, however, under consideration of bringing out a paper similar to *Al-Hakikat* in Siamese and Malay, for circulation in the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, Siam, and the Dutch East Indies.

EDWARD E. LONG.

## 13.

**PICTORIAL PROPAGANDA.**

The remark was made in the summary of the last report of the work of Wellington House that "there are millions of voters (who ultimately control the "policy of governments) in all countries who will not read letterpress, but from whom the demand for war pictures is unlimited, and we hope greatly to develop "this department in the immediate future." Considerable progress has now been made in this direction.

*Photographs.*—The Department for Pictorial Propaganda has been established a little over five months, and in that time the machinery for supplying Neutral and Allied countries with pictorial matter in every known form has had to be created. The first obvious difficulty to be overcome was the paucity and poor quality of the British war photographs which were then being received for publication. It has taken a long time to achieve satisfactory improvement, but with the co-operation of the War Office and the Foreign Office we have been able to secure additions to the staff of official photographers at the Western Front, and the photographs that are now being produced show great improvement both in quantity and quality. Some months ago we called the attention of the War Office to the great possibilities of photographic material suitable for propaganda at home, and arrangements have now been made for the photographic operators attached to the Royal Flying Corps to take pictures of the new army in training and other suitable subjects in this country. The Admiralty have also given us ready help. The British illustrated papers have, without exception, placed their services at our disposal, and the Press Photographers' Association—a body composed of the seven principal London press photographic agents—has given us invaluable assistance. Without the hearty co-operation of each individual firm this Department could never have been created in such a short space of time. To the material from the official sources and from the usual commercial photographic channels, we have also added special work commissioned by this Department. To this end arrangements have been made to send our own representative from time to time to munition works in this country and in Ireland, to Naval centres and camps, and all places where pictures can be secured which tell the story of Britain's share in the war.

*Drawings, &c.*—Photographs must always be the staple raw material of this Department. But it may here be mentioned that we shortly expect to have very valuable propaganda material from the pencil of both Mr. Joseph Pennell and Mr. Muirhead Bone. The former has been given facilities by the War Office and Ministry of Munitions for drawing pictures of the Army munition works, &c., in this country, and has promised to allow us freely to use reproductions of his pictures in whatever way we please. Mr. Muirhead Bone has been given at our instance a temporary salaried appointment for the purpose of drawing appropriate war scenes both in this country and in France. The originals of these will be the property of the British Museum, and we shall make use of them in reproduction.

*Distribution.* The material thus available is used in two different ways, (a) by means of frankly propagandist illustrated newspapers produced by ourselves or under our auspices, and (b) by reproduction in ordinary newspapers, display in shop windows, &c.

*Illustrated Newspapers circulated by us.*—These are six in number, namely, *America Latina* (Spanish), *O Espelho* (Portuguese), *Hesperia* (Greek), *Al-Hakikat* (Oriental languages), *Cheng-Pao* (Chinese), and the *War Pictorial*.

Of the first three it is only necessary here to say that they depend largely and increasingly on this Department for their illustrations. They are fully dealt with elsewhere in this report, as are also *Al-Hakikat* and *Cheng-Pao*.

The *War Pictorial* is the product of this Department. It was originally known as *The Pictorial History of the War*, in which form it came to us as a rough idea from the Alfieri Picture Service in Fleet Street, who were contemplating publishing it. The first issue, which was principally conducted by the Alfieri Picture Service, was published in April. We then took the publication over entirely, changed its title as more truly indicative of the contents, and produced it in photogravure in the same manner as *Al-Hakikat*. This is a process whose recent invention in Germany has revolutionised pictorial printing. Nearly all German propagandist pictures are produced in this fashion, but a few British firms, and one in particular, can turn out work quite as good and in many cases better. The *War*

*Pictorial*, which now measures 11½ inches by 8½ inches, contains 28 pages of pictures, is printed in five separate editions, namely, (1) English, (2) "Latin" (French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese), (3) "North European" (Swedish, German, Danish, and Dutch), (4) "Russian" (Russian, Greek, and French), (5) Japanese (Japanese and English). In addition, Messrs. Hachette have asked us for a purely French edition, of which they undertake to deal with 20,000 copies, and we are in negotiation with them on the subject.

It is a monthly publication and has proved a great success, as the increasing demand for it shows. It now has a circulation of over 300,000.

*Reproduction in ordinary Foreign Newspapers, &c.*—Large quantities of pictures are daily sent from this department for reproduction in the press in Neutral and Allied countries, and for exhibition in shop windows and in cinema palaces. Over 4,000 a week are now sent out in this way. The photographs go to the following places:—

- (a) *Holland.* About 200 photographs weekly. Mr. C. A. Redfern, at Amsterdam, who writes as follows on June 17th:—

"We are getting the photographs shown regularly in different shops—Cook's place and Dick's, an English bookshop, and further some Dutch book-dealers, stationers, cigar and grocers' shops, and cafés. If we had more photos we could place more. . . . People are very keen on having pictures for show, and it certainly does help our cause as the public opinion is on our side, and seeing those things makes people talk more about them, and makes them more convinced as to the good we are doing to smash the general enemy. We have also got Pathé Cinema, Kalverstraat, to show as many as we can let them have. . . . I can assure you the photos create great interest."

Photographs are also sent to the Rembrandt Company, who distribute them to the Dutch Press generally:—

- (b) *Spain.*—We send about 30 subjects a week to Mr. John Walter at Madrid for reproduction in the Press, and we have had evidence that the papers value the prints which we send. *A.B.C.*, for instance, which is notoriously pro-German, has recently published some of the prints sent to Mr. Walter.

We also send weekly supplies to Valencia and Barcelona for use in the local press, and they appear to be satisfactorily dealt with. From the latter, for instance, we hear:—

"The photographs are doing good service here. Those you sent have been much admired, particularly those connected with the Red Cross."

The exhibition in the Casa Lacoste, Madrid, has been mentioned in a previous report. It may be added that Mr. Essery of Lambert Bros., at Bilbao, wrote to say that the exhibition of our photos in the shop windows of the Casa Lacoste had struck him so favourably that he was anxious to organise a similar exhibition in Bilbao. This has been done. The pictures are now being "exhibited at Villars, stationers and book-sellers, in the Gran Via, the principal street here. If you have any further pictures to spare, Villars will be very pleased to continue exhibiting same." Another exhibition has been arranged in the same town by Mr. Essery.

In every instance we are told that more photographs could be used, and we are endeavouring to satisfy the ever increasing demand.

- (c) *Italy.*—Mr. Mills receives a considerable supply fortnightly, which he uses partly for exhibition and partly for reproduction in the Press.
- (d) *Switzerland.*—Mr. Nabholz has about twelve dozen prints every fortnight, of which he has made exceedingly good use as the illustrated papers reveal.
- (e) *Russia.*—Six copies of every official print are sent weekly to Sir G. Buchanan. As the supply of subjects is increasing, the number of photographs sent here is very large. Mr. Hugh Walpole has asked for an increased supply for the bureau at Petrograd, and has given us further ideas as to the selection of the prints. The pictures are reproduced in Russian papers and are exhibited in various places.
- (f) *Scandinavia.*—At least seven blocks of official pictures are sent weekly to the paper *Vortland* in Denmark. Nearly every picture that is sent by us is used, and a great deal of space is given up to their display. The Minister at Copenhagen wrote on May 3rd, "The zinc blocks now sent have been used with great success, and *Vortland* is delighted with them."

We have also recently arranged with Mr. Alex. Gerfalk to receive official pictures weekly for publication in *Illustreret Familje Journal*,



*Illustreret Tidende, Verden og Vi, København, Berlingske Tidende.* These are all published in Copenhagen, and with this admirable service we shall cover all Scandinavia, as their circulation is very large.

Arrangements are being made to supply other Scandinavian papers with blocks. From time to time we have sent *Aftenposten* pictures, but this has not yet developed into a regular supply.

- (g) *France*.—Here we work through the *Maison de la Presse*, to whom we send copies of every British official picture.
- (h) *U.S.A.*—The Foreign Office expressed a desire some months ago to improve the supply of British pictures in the American papers, particularly the Sunday Supplements of the prominent journals. We have now arranged with the most important American photographic distributing agencies, who have agents in London, to receive copies of all official pictures, including the International Film Service, the Central News, the United Press, and the American Press Association. Papers and agencies recommended by the Foreign Office are also supplied with pictures. This has had a most satisfactory effect already, for nearly all the papers which we now receive from America contain some evidence of the improved service. It is only when national events entirely occupy the American public that our pictures do not get displayed. Lately there have been very few German pictures as compared with English.

We also now supply Commander Walcott at the Admiralty with all our pictorial propaganda for transmission to Captain Guy Gaunt, the naval attaché at the Embassy. They have raised the question of an edition of the *War Pictorial* for the U.S.A., and we are quite prepared to produce this if it is thought feasible and desirable, but no decision has yet been made on the subject, pending further consideration on the spot. We are now engaged on organising a pictorial exhibition for the Allies Bazaar, which will be held in all the chief cities of America.

- (i) *South America*.—*America-Latina* and *O Espello* are the chief pictorial propaganda in South America, but we send pictures through the Topical Press Agency, London, to *La Nacion*, and to other South American papers. The South American Press, Limited, also receive our official pictures.

#### *Miscellaneous Propaganda.*

*Lantern Slides.* This particular section of our work is in its infancy, but we have made a beginning, and slides of war subjects illustrating Britain's share in the war have been despatched to Russia, to Holland and to the Overseas Club as well as to individual lecturers who came to us for help. We are now engaged on the preparation of sets of slides illustrating various subjects, together with a "stock" lecture appropriate to each. There is a considerable demand for this.

*Picture Postcards.*—A good deal has been done by means of picture postcards. For instance, 100,000 postcards prepared by us, containing greetings from the British soldier to the Russian soldier, were sent to the Russian armies at the time of the Russian Easter. We also printed 20,000 cards for Italy, showing General Cadorna and Lord Kitchener in medallions surrounded by the flags of the Allies.

Generally, we are constantly buying postcards from stock for all the Neutral and Allied countries. A series of naval postcards from the Naval Film, for instance, is proving very popular and large numbers are being sent out to the Neutral countries.

*Miscellaneous.*—Other media of propaganda adopted by the Department include enlargements of pictures for exhibition purposes, maps and diagrams, posters (of which very large quantities are being produced for China), gramophone records and cigarette cards. This last method (made possible by the co-operation of the Ardath Tobacco Co.) is likely to be a particularly useful means of reaching the masses in an unobtrusive way.

The possibilities of development in the Pictorial Department are almost unbounded. The progress of its activities in the short time in which it has been in existence has been very remarkable, and the increase in its staff and its removal to better premises, which have recently taken place, will permit of the very important work that it undertakes being largely extended.

IVOR NICHOLSON.

## 14.

**CINEMATOGRAPH PROPAGANDA.**

Since the issue of the last report, much progress has been made in propaganda by cinematograph. The Germans started their film propaganda early and on a lavish scale, and we had some leeway to make up. Soon after the outbreak of war this Department took steps to impress upon the Admiralty and War Office the importance of this form of propaganda, but it was not until the autumn of 1915 that the incidental difficulties were overcome. As soon as facilities were given by the Admiralty and the War Office, we sent operators to take pictures of the Grand Fleet, the training of the new armies in England, and, by the courtesy of Messrs. Vickers, we obtained pictures of munition works. The best of these pictures were made up into the composite film "Britain Prepared," which is now famous all over the world. Of this film a German paper writes, in an article printed in full below, "We must admit a more clever advertisement could hardly be made by the English Ministry of War for its Army and Fleet and for its services in the War in general."

When this series was approaching completion arrangements were concluded by the War Office for sending operators to the Front, and they have been at work there ever since. At first the films that they secured were not very interesting, but they have been steadily improving in quality, and excellent material is now turned out. The pictures of the Somme offensive now being dealt with are of quite exceptional merit. The general opinion of the trade experts of this film (5,000 feet in length) is that it is the most remarkable film ever produced in any country.

"Britain Prepared" was first in the field, and in most neutral and allied countries, or shown before any considerable quantity of war films arrived. These latter, however, are being sent out as rapidly as possible, usually to the same firm which exploited "Britain Prepared."

The success of "Britain Prepared" at the Empire Music Hall last winter is well known. The first performance was opened by an address from the First Lord of the Admiralty. Every seat was booked for the first week, and on one day more money was taken at the box office than has ever been taken at a cinematograph show in this country. Under the arrangements made with the trade, half these profits are ultimately payable to the Admiralty and War Office.

It was afterwards shown to large audiences and with great success throughout the British Isles, generally with the Mayor or some distinguished person to open the first performance. In a large number of towns special free performances were given to the soldiers, to the school children, and other special classes.

Abroad, we decided that the best method to follow was to use, if possible, ordinary trade channels and to give to our concessionaires exclusive rights. The experience that we have now gained, and a comparison of our success with that of other countries, who follow a rather different method, give us no cause to regret our decision.

A brief account is given below of what we have done in each country.

**FRANCE.**

The production in France of "Britain Prepared" (including 2,000 feet of war film) commenced with an inaugural show held at the Gaumont Palace, in Paris, before a distinguished audience, which included General Roques and Admiral Lacaze, the Ministers of War and Marine; M. Albert Thomas, Under Secretary for Munitions; the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and other distinguished persons. It has been shown in all the principal French towns and has evoked much favourable comment. But we are not altogether satisfied with our arrangements in France. It is at once the most important and the most difficult country for cinematograph propaganda—the most important on account of the persistent mistrust of the reality of the British military effort; the most difficult because the tragedies of the war have been brought home too nearly to the French people. After consultation with the Foreign Office and General Headquarters we have decided to try in France the method that has proved so successful in Russia; namely, that of sending a special representative charged with the sole duty of exploiting one film. By the courtesy of the Gaumont Company we have been able to secure the services of Mr. T. A. Welsh, for 18 years their London manager, who left for Paris on the 8th August, calling at General Headquarters on his way in order to concert with them as to the best procedure to be followed. We hope that it may be possible for him to arrange for the films to be shown to the army as well as to the civil population.

## RUSSIA.

In view of the special importance of impressing the Russian people, and especially the Russian Army, with the reality of Great Britain's share in the War, it was decided, with the concurrence of the Foreign Office, to make exceptional arrangements for that country. Captain Bromhead, formerly of the Gaumont Company, whose services were placed at our disposal by the courtesy of the War Office, was sent out to Russia in January as an agent of the Government, with a copy of "Britain Prepared." Nine thousand feet of film from the front have been sent out to him since. His instructions were both to arrange for the display of the film to the public (through the Gaumont Co.) all over Russia and Siberia, and also to endeavour to secure permission to give special shows to the troops at the Front. His success has been so remarkable that it is worth while to quote from his reports at some length.

Captain Bromhead arrived in Petrograd on February 4th, 1916. With the help of the British Ambassador he was able to arrange to show the films for the first time in Russia before the Emperor and Empress and the Russian Court at a private performance at Tzarskoe Selo on March 5th. Reporting on this performance he says:—

"It is gratifying to report that the exhibition was a complete success in every way. There was no hitch of any kind, and both the Emperor and Empress expressed themselves as delighted. . . . The show included nearly all the original military and naval pictures, and also about half of the series from the front. The Emperor congratulated me personally on the exhibition, and informed me that the films had interested him immensely."

After this inaugural show Captain Bromhead, at the wish of the Emperor, proceeded to arrange a performance at the General Headquarters Staff at Mogileff. The first display took place before the Czar, the Grand Dukes Serge and George, and the entire Headquarters Staff, comprising General Alexeiff, and about 30 other generals, the entire audience being about 450 officers. Captain Bromhead remained eight days at Mogileff, during which time the films were shown each day to successive audiences of soldiers until all the local troops had seen them.

On returning to Petrograd Captain Bromhead arranged a private show for the Petrograd Press, to precede the public presentation of the films. This took place on April 5th, and was followed on April 6th and 7th by the public dress rehearsal and official show at the Meriasky Theatre, one of the Imperial opera houses, where pictures had never previously been shown.

Writing of these shows in a letter, Captain Bromhead says:—

"It is by no means wasted effort, for I am doing what has never been done before—getting press mentions with sympathetic English reference."

Among the many enthusiastic press accounts of the film performances perhaps the following is the most representative:—

"Yesterday I went to England for three hours! It cost me 5 kopecks on tram No. 9. And yet there are people who abuse the cinematograph! Yesterday at any rate the cinema rose to the occasion, and I am very grateful to it. It made it possible for me to peep as it were through a chink in a wall and see what is being done in England—what a colossal effort is being made by our loyal ally. . . . For us civilians there was a lesson to be learnt. Even in that conventional presentation (the cinema is not always wholly truthful) we felt the concentrated cheerfulness of a nation, alien to war by its very nature, but plunging as one man into hard collective toil. What impressed me most of all was the mobilisation of industry. There was something to envy. . . . But there's no telling all we saw. . . . This gigantic effort cannot fail to inspire in us cheerfulness and confidence in ourselves."—*Hetch*, March 24th/April 6th.

Perhaps Captain Bromhead's most remarkable success was in obtaining the permission of the Holy Synod for the films to be shown during Passion Week, when all theatres in Russia are closed. This was a great concession, and one which has never previously been granted, combined moreover as it was with permission to show the film after Easter during prohibited hours, i.e., from 3 o'clock onwards—another unique privilege. At the first two shows in Petrograd during Holy Week the doors of the theatre had to be repeatedly closed in consequence of the people struggling to get into an already packed house.

A series of special performances for the troops of the garrison at Petrograd were then given with marked success, and during Easter week over 30,000 men were paraded to see the pictures. Captain Bromhead writing of these military shows says:—

"Every indication of enthusiastic friendship for the British connection was shown, and it was considered that a great compliment had been paid by the British Government in sending the films."

Early in May Captain Bromhead left Petrograd for the Southern Front. His report on his work is so full of interest that it is worth reprinting in full :—

"I have the honour to report that I have now returned to Petrograd after having completed, as far as circumstances would allow, the showing of the films to the troops on the south or General Brusilov's front. The work was interrupted by the Russian advance on this front, and owing to the active nature of the operations could not afterwards be continued.

"I left Petrograd on May 5th and arrived at General Brusilov's Headquarters at Berdichev on May 7th. I was presented to General Brusilov on the 8th as well as to the Q.M.G. Dieдриchs and other members of the Headquarters Staff. General Brusilov welcomed me very cordially. He requested me to show films next day for himself and Headquarters Staff at a local theatre, and informed me that arrangements had been made for me to visit the different armies on his front who were anxiously waiting to receive me, and to see the films about which they had already heard. He mentioned that the armies had been expecting me for some time and were looking forward keenly to the event. I was subsequently informed by the Q.M.G. that it would take me at least three weeks or a month to cover the front, but events proved that he was short in his estimate, inasmuch as it took me nearly three weeks working every day to complete one army alone.

"The same afternoon, May 8th, a show for hospital nurses and soldiers was given in the Berdichev theatre, and next day at four o'clock General Brusilov with about 300 officers of the Headquarters Staff were present at a most successful show. The remainder of the theatre was filled with soldiers. General Brusilov thanked me warmly afterwards and expressed himself as much interested and pleased with what he had seen. Subsequently I dined with the staff and heard that everybody had been much pleased, and that the idea generally of the show was very popular.

"Next day, May 10th, another show was given, crowded with soldiers at which Q.M.G. Dieдриchs and many officers attended a second time. A further show for school children and wounded was also given the same day. The following day, May 11th, I left at 6.30 a.m. for Rowno Headquarters of the 8th Army, was met by an officer on arrival and taken at once to General Kaladin, commanding the 8th Army, also to Q.M.G. and Chief of Staff. General Kaladin invited me to dine with the Headquarters Staff, which I did nearly every day while in Rowno.

"Three shows were given next day, May 12th, in the local theatre, crowded on each occasion. General Kaladin and all his Headquarters Staff attended one of the shows. The shows were well organised, being attended by representatives of all troops attached to Headquarters. A regimental band was in attendance, and at the conclusion 'God Save the King' was played, the General calling for cheers for England, which were enthusiastically given. During the day I discussed plans with the Staff, and ascertained that an itinerary had been mapped out to enable me to visit every corps and every division in the army, beginning next day, May 13th, with the 8th Corps, part of which was stationed at Rowno. Two shows were given on this day (the 13th), one attended by the General and Staff of the Corps and soldiers, the other by soldiers only. On each occasion 'God Save the King' was played, and cheers for England given. The 8th Corps entertained me that night to a special dinner and concert, at which toasts were exchanged and much Anglo-Russian good feeling expressed.

"May 14th.—On this day I motored to Sharr, where a division of the 8th Corps was stationed. I was introduced to the General and Divisional Staff, then went on to Saharol, where two regiments were stationed. Three shows were given here in the small and suffocating theatre during the afternoon. Preparations meanwhile had been made to give an open-air show as an experiment to the remainder of the division at Sharr, to which place I returned after a dinner which was in itself a most cordial Anglo-Russian function. A dynamo, part of a searchlight outfit, had been loaned for the purpose of supplying the light. About 6,000 men were present, and the open-air show, which started directly after dark, about 9 o'clock, was a complete success. The Divisional General made a short speech to the men, and again called for cheers for England, while 'God Save the King' and the Russian Hymn were both played.

"I subsequently learned that nearly all the regimental bands had been practising 'God save the King' in anticipation of my visit for some time. Considerable doubt existed as to whether 'Rule Britannia' or 'God save the King' was the correct thing to play, and the matter had been referred to authority to find out. Later on some bands compromised by playing both. There was a further supper that night at which the generals were present and Anglo-Russian toasts exchanged. I returned late that night to Rowno, and next day motored to the headquarters of the 39th Corps at Radichka, where I was received by General Mikolin, and passed on by him to the 408th Regiment, with whom I dined. Three shows were given that night in the open air, each to about 6,000 men and officers. I was taken during the day to visit the front line trenches occupied by the 408th Regiment, the shows being given within a mile or so of the front line, to the accompaniment of a good deal of artillery firing as well as the band. Next day more shows were to be given on the same spot to different troops, and on this occasion General Mikolin—mortally wounded, I regret to say, a few days subsequently—had organised a special demonstration. When I arrived, he had a battalion on parade, which he invited me to inspect with him, subsequently putting them through a number of manoeuvres for my benefit, including an attack practice. Two shows were given that night, attended by about 15,000 troops. Again 'God save the King' was played, and General Mikolin, after addressing the men on the subject of their English ally, called for cheers for King George. I responded in French, and called for cheers for the Tsar. This was translated to the men, and the greatest possible enthusiasm prevailed. Subsequently, in the Divisional Staff, a supper and concert were given, and again international courtesies of the most cordial nature took place.

"I cannot describe in detail all these various suppers and functions which invariably took place, but I wish to emphasize that every division which I visited had been expecting me for some time and each one had apparently determined to outvie the other in extending hospitality and in organising a real Anglo-Russian demonstration on the occasion of my visit. The welcome was so cordial as on some occasions to be almost embarrassing. Regimental headquarters and others were decorated with flags. As far as circumstances would allow, men were gathered in from all directions to see the films at night. In some places, of which Radichka was one, eight men from each company in the front lines themselves were recalled from the trenches with the object that every company should be

represented. The men were fully armed ready to leave at a moment's notice in case of alarm, rifles being piled during the show and the men seated on the ground.

" May 17.—I went to the 32nd Corps at Molodarna, and was received by General Fedotov. At the Corps Headquarters a show was given that night in the open air to about 3,000 men. I stopped there the night, and next day continued to Mirogoshka, close to Dubno, then still in Austrian occupation, where the 102nd Division were holding a sector of the front. During the day I was allowed to visit the front trenches, some of which were within thirty paces from the Austrian lines at Dubno. A show was given at night to about 6,000 men. This show was notable, because although the audience were hidden behind a clump of trees, part of the show was within sight of the Austrian lines and well within artillery range, being just outside the village which the Austrians were in the habit of shelling each day. Things were quite quiet until the end of the show when the band played 'God Save the King' and the troops cheered loudly. At this, apparently, the Austrians took offence, for firing recommenced, not, however, in our direction. The usual festive supper took place after the show.

" May 19th.—I went to the 30th Corps at Lipno and was presented to General Zayarovski in command and General Monkiavich, Chief of Staff. The show was given at nine in the open air as usual. The General made a fine speech to the men, explaining that the English were brothers-in-arms, that their armies were composed of volunteers and were suffering the same hardships as themselves, &c. As usual cheers for the British Army, and at my request for the Russian Army, were given. I stopped that night at Lipno and proceeded on May 20th to Purbolanka where the 80th Division was stationed. Here again I received an overwhelming welcome from the General and Divisional Staff, was requested to inspect various contingents on parade, as well as their positions in the front trenches, artillery in action, &c. Even my orderly who accompanied me was presented by the General to a company of troops on parade as a specimen of the British soldier. The General particularly requested, if I would mind his doing this, as his men were very anxious to see what a British soldier was like. All these divisions and regiments along the front were particularly enthusiastic at all times. A special lunch and a special supper took place with the usual toasts, and the show was given at night to about 3,000 men only, detachments from different battalions. More could not be spared owing to the fact that the Austrian lines were held in considerable strength at this point. The chief of the 80th Division is General Kicheenko and his Chief of Staff, General Chitavich. They both personally expressed their great delight at my visit and at the pleasure given to the men by the show.

" I returned to Rowno next day and on the 22nd proceeded to Satiw, headquarters of the 40th Corps. On arrival was very cordially received by General Kashtelinski and Staff. An open air show was given at night to about 3,000. Unfortunately it rained during the show, but as the machine was under cover in a motor lorry, this did not interfere with the effect of the pictures, nor did it seem to cool the ardour of the soldiers. I slept at Satiw that night and proceeded next day to the 4th Division at Lechani, where I was received by General Deliken and Staff and passed on to the 16th Regiment at Ratchisai. In the course of these movements it was necessary to motor for some distance in full view of the Austrian lines, with the result that, no doubt, imagining the car contained some important members of the Staff, the Austrian artillery honoured us with a good deal of their attention. Some shrapnel shell burst quite close to us; one grenade intended for our party, I regret to state, fell among a party of 10 men, of whom one was killed and several seriously wounded. The show at night was given behind a clump of trees and was the largest show which we had so far given, something over 9,000 men being present. Although close to the front lines the position was well concealed from view and consequently quite safe. The front, however, was itself visible and particularly active, star shells or Roman candles and projectors being busy all the time.

" May 24th.—I went to Zdobonovo, gave two shows in the afternoon in the small cinema to representatives from various Cossack regiments, and the same evening proceeded to Zlobitsa, where a mixed cavalry audience from the 7th and 12th Cavalry Divisions, numbering about 8,000, saw the films in the open air at 9.30 p.m. Most of these cavalry contingents had ridden in from the surrounding country, some of them having come as far as 20 versts. The sight was an interesting and impressive one. I omitted to say that on the previous day at Ratchisai on arrival within half a mile of the front trenches, Colonel Berukov, of the 14th Tirailleurs, had his battalion, such of them as were not actually in the trenches, on parade waiting for me. His band immediately played 'God Save the King,' and rousing cheers were given. The reception was as overwhelming as it was unexpected.

" On returning to Rowno I learned that a pathetic telegram had been received from the 4th Cavalry Division who were stationed 15 hours away in the marshes and whom the Staff had previously decided it was impracticable for me to visit, begging that I should be allowed to come to them nevertheless. The telegram which I saw stated that they had been all the winter in an inaccessible and dangerous spot, holding trenches as infantrymen when they were cavalrymen, and that if anybody was entitled to the distraction of a visit from an English officer with films it was themselves. There were other reasons stated in the telegram why they should not be overlooked, and finally the greatest possible disappointment was expressed inasmuch as they had been looking forward to my visit for weeks past. I, of course, stated that I should be only too pleased to go to them no matter at what inconvenience, and it was therefore decided that I should go next day. This I did, remaining two days, and giving one show to the 77th Division at Politzi, and the other to the Cavalry Division. Needless to say their welcome was of the most hospitable and kindly description. They organised sports and a concert in my honour, and were intensely gratified at my having come to them in spite of the difficulties. Incidentally, it is interesting to bear in mind that the 77th Division had already received orders to move in preparation for the great advance which was generally known to be pending, and when I again passed through Politzi on my return many of them had already gone, while the others were packing or on the move.

" I returned to Rowno on the 28th in the morning, and having then completed every corps in the 8th Army, arranged to leave that day for the 11th Army to repeat the performance. I attended a farewell luncheon with General Kalinin and his Staff, and left at 3.15 p.m. for Krevin. General Kalinin thanked me again most cordially for visiting his army and showing the films, and

asked me to express the keenest appreciation felt by himself and all ranks; he had no doubt that the show would tend to bring the two nations closer together as it had undoubtedly helped the Russian soldier to understand something of his British brother-in-arms both in the Navy and the Army. He particularly asked me to convey the thanks of the entire army to those who sent me, and trusted that on my return to England I would make it known to all concerned that from the Russian standpoint the visit had been an entire success and deeply appreciated. Similar sentiments were expressed to me by other members of the Staff, as they had been by Russian officers generally, whether Staff or regimental, throughout my journey. I replied to General Kaliadin in suitable terms, thanking him for the great courtesy and kindness which had been shown to me on all hands, complimenting him on what I had seen of his army, and stating that I would not fail to report the more than amiable manner of my reception everywhere. Before finishing with the 8th Army I must say that everything was extremely well organised, the programme was carefully adhered to, and day after day, as I have described above, shows were given to different units, nearly all in the open air. This was not done without very hard work, entailing little or no rest, and as long journeys had to be made almost daily it would have been impossible to cover the ground had not a motor car been placed at my disposal as well as a motor lorry to carry the cinema machine and effects. The only trouble I experienced arose with the operator I had taken with me from Petrograd, who was very nearly worn out with the constant work and movement, and became at one time very difficult to manage. I am much indebted to Captain Basilévitch, of General Kaliadin's Staff, for never-failing courtesy and help: most of the arrangements were made by him.

"As you can readily surmise, the work of propaganda was by no means confined to the mere showing of the film. My own time was always fully taken up with officers, of whom a great many spoke French, and not a few English. They were always full of questions of all kinds. As a rule I sat through the shows, either with one or more generals or with a party of officers, briefly commenting on the films shown or answering questions to the best of my ability relative to the British forces. At the innumerable lunches, dinners, and suppers I was of course required to do the same kind of thing, as well as answer and propose reciprocal toasts. In all probability my work in the way of conversations of this kind has been as valuable in a different way for propaganda purposes as the films themselves.

"On May 28th at night I reached the 11th Army at Jilobki, going first to the headquarters of the 17th Corps. This entailed a cross country journey along the front by car of about 80 miles. I was presented that night to General Jakoleff and his Chief of Staff, General Skobeltain, and the next morning left at once for Kremenez, and thence to Smeqa, both places right on the front line, the 3rd Division at the Smeqa was holding a long sector under the command of General Sebott, who received me on arrival. This division owned a small cinema theatre which they had themselves created under a large barn. Four shows were given that night, each to about 2,000 officers and men. The General was present at one show in its entirety and part of another. He led me across to the theatre by the arm and made a speech of about ten minutes' duration, praising England and all her works, and stating what an excellent thing it was for Russia to have such an Ally, and how glad they were to see a representative of the British Army, &c., &c. The speech was an exceptionally friendly and impressive one, and the men responded by cheering most enthusiastically for King George and the British Army when called upon to do so. I responded in French and my words were translated to the men by the General himself, and the cheers which I asked for for the Tsar, the Russian Army, and the Anglo-Russian Alliance were given with equal heartiness. 'God save the King' and the Russian anthem were played about ten times. The usual supper took place afterwards, also particularly cordial, and I returned by motor to Kremenez about 2 a.m., feeling that a very good day's work had been done, inasmuch as undoubted pleasure had been given to a division actively engaged in the firing line. Here, as in several other places, men were sent to they had seen the show to relieve others in the trenches, who in turn came back to see the later shows.

"The road between Kremenez and Smeqa is in most places in full view of the Austrian lines at a distance of between two and three kilometres from them, and as they almost invariably shell a car travelling along it, motoring between the two places does not lack excitement.

"At Kremenez next day, May 30th, I was entertained by General Talgrin and the Staff of the 35th Division. During the afternoon and evening three shows were given in a stifling theatre, one show being attended as usual by the General and his Staff, the usual amenities of cheers and 'God save the King' taking place. During the day I visited the front line of trenches, also an artillery observation post, from which for some time I watched the Russian shells falling on the Austrian trenches. Both Smeqa and Kremenez were in a state of suppressed excitement, because the forthcoming attack was more or less an open secret among the officers, and was expected to take place that night. As a matter of fact it began next night.

"On the 31st I returned to Jilobki and an open-air show was given there in the evening to the Headquarters Staff of the 17th Corps and about 5,000 men. General Jakoleff, a very fine old gentleman, made a lengthy and very eloquent speech to the men, in which he outlined the history of the Franco-Russian alliance, the causes and beginning of the war, with special reference to the moment when England joined the alliance, and to her work since. The speech was a very interesting one, and was fully interpreted to me, although I could understand a good deal of it in the Russian. I was even surprised at the emphasis laid by the General on England's liberal institutions and the voluntary nature of her efforts. The usual cheers were given, and, as usual, I briefly replied in French and called for cheers for the Tsar. My words were translated by General Jakoleff to the men.

"After many kindly adieus, I left next day for Volochisk, on the Austrian frontier, arriving June 2nd. This was the G.H.Q. of the 11th Army. I was received by General Zakaroff, commanding the 11th Army, and Staff. A show was given that night for the General and the Staff officers, amounting to about 200 or more, in the garden. Next day, nearly all the Staff had disappeared, having gone on to Tarnopol, in consequence of the operations which had commenced on a large scale."



Capt. Bromhead then explains that he found it impossible to give a show to the men at Volochisk as he could not obtain the loan of a dynamo. He continues:

"I therefore decided to return that night to Berdichev and ascertain from General Brusilov's Staff if I could be transferred to one of the other armies where shows could be given.

"On this train journey I came into contact with the officer appointed to command reserve troops then at Proskurov, and learning there were about 16,000 men in this town as well as a cinema theatre I asked this officer if it would be agreeable to him for the films to be shown there. He had himself seen the films at Volochisk and readily agreed. I therefore left my operator and the films at Proskurov for two days, during which eight shows were given to audiences of over 14,000. I myself proceeded to Berdichev, where on arrival I reported to Headquarters front. There I was advised that all the armies were very busily engaged, that General Brusilov was considering the matter and would let me know in the course of a few days whether it would be possible to continue showing the films at present. In a day or two I learned that no decision could be arrived at for several more days. I therefore applied for permission to join one of the armies for the purpose of observing the operations. General Brusilov informed me that he would be pleased for me to do so, provided that the application was made through General Hanbury Williams, the British officer attached to the Tsar at Grand Headquarters, Mogilev. Consequently I wired General Williams, and at the same time communicated with the British Military Attaché at Petrograd to inform him of my intention.

"It was my idea that being the only British officer on the front my presence might possibly be of service. In due course the reply came back from General Hanbury Williams, directing me to remain and observe until June 19th, and after that to return to Petrograd. I thereupon returned to Rowno, and from thence was sent to the front where the 8th Army was actively engaged. As directed, I returned to Petrograd, *via* Moscow, on the 19th instant. I reached Moscow on the 21st, spent 24 hours there, going over the results of the commercial handling of the films with the Gaumont Company. I learnt that of the 16 copies of the films in their hauls all but four had been disposed of, and practically the whole of Russia and Siberia, except the Caucasus, Finland, and the town in the war zone, had been or were being covered. I also learnt that the Parisiana Theatre in Petrograd had completed their contract, shown the films in their theatre for three weeks, and taken over two copies of the films for exploitation in the regions around Petrograd. The last fortnight of the show in the Parisiana had nevertheless not been a success financially, and was very poorly attended by the public, therefore full advantage had been taken of the arrangements I had made before leaving Petrograd, and the theatre was kept full of soldiers wounded and otherwise, who, of course, were admitted free. Meanwhile another copy of the film had been continuing the rounds of various barracks and regimental headquarters in or near Petrograd.

"With regard to General Brusilov's front, I estimate from first to last that close on 100,000 men and 3,000 officers saw the films, and as in many cases the men were representative detachments who would undoubtedly return to their companies and describe what they had seen, it may be taken that the British Forces had received very widespread publicity among those armies which I visited, and the foregoing diary will show that no time was wasted. Forty-four shows were given.

"I think that I omitted to say that before leaving Berdichev, I saw General Brusilov for the last time, when he informed me that there would be no prospect for many weeks of giving further shows on his front, not only because troops would be so much on the move, but because the search-light dynamos could not be spared. I therefore returned the operator and films to Petrograd at once. I took the opportunity of thanking General Brusilov and of taking leave of him. He in return thanked me for the pleasure which had been given to his soldiers and asked me to convey his message of thanks and greeting to those who had sent me from England. I ought also to say that, of course, all armies in General Brusilov's command had been advised weeks before of my forthcoming visit, and that it was at the Tsar's wish as well as that of the British Government that the films were to be shown. This, no doubt, had considerable influence on the nature of my reception everywhere, for I gathered several times from conversation with different officers that they understood both H.I.M. the Tsar and H.M. King George V. had personally interested themselves in the matter. Personally I would be very glad if some official acknowledgment of all the kindness extended to me could be made, particularly to the 8th Army.

"An item which will probably interest you is that in many cases I arrived simultaneously or very shortly after the arrival of the regimental cards of greeting which were sent by regiments in the British Army to regiments of the same number in the Russian Army. These cards were very much appreciated. One regiment, the 9th in the 35th Division, had not received cards when I was there, but had decided, nevertheless, to send a greeting to the British 9th Foot. Subsequently these cards turned up a day or two late and they sent all the way to Kremenetz to advise me, because they had previously asked me to communicate the fact that they had apparently been overlooked. Great competition existed among corps and divisions to receive me, and I saw many telegrams at different times enquiring as to my whereabouts and when to expect me from army corps or divisions who feared they might be forgotten. The incident related on page 5 in respect to the 4th Cavalry Division is by no means an isolated one. My task would have been very different and well nigh impossible for anyone not a combatant officer, the whole strength of my personal reception lay in my being an officer and a representative of the British Army: in nearly all cases the first questions being directed to ascertain whether I was a serving officer or had been merely given military rank for the purpose of the mission, and relations were at once established on the most cordial basis when the facts were ascertained. In Russia there are many Civil functionaries who wear military uniform scarcely distinguishable from that of an officer. They are not popular in the army.

"On return to Petrograd I reported at once to the Embassy and saw the Ambassador. It is considered important by His Excellency and the Military Attaché that I visit all the other fronts that can possibly be arranged in view of the success of the work on the southern front.

"General Knox, Military Attaché of the British Embassy, to whom I reported, at his request, impressions I had gained during the recent fighting, expressed himself as pleased that I had remained on for a few days to see something.



"My orderly, Private Greengrass, has been of great assistance in many ways.\* On several occasions, in consequence of trouble with my operator, I had to rely on him to do most of the work connected with the show, and although he had no previous experience of cinema apparatus, he very rapidly picked up enough to be more than useful. On more than one occasion had it not been for him I fear that the show would have stopped. As it was, all shows, many of them given under extremely difficult conditions of working, were quite successful. I am glad to state that I understand Private Greengrass has been recommended for the St. George's Medal in consequence of being under fire in the course of duty with the 8th Army, and I was informed before leaving that my own name had been submitted to the Emperor for the Stanislav Cross, Third Class.

"While an officer of higher rank than captain might have been advisable as carrying a little more weight and importance with all grades, I would lay special stress on the fact that I have been everywhere received by Russian officers of the highest rank in the most courteous and friendly way, and practically as an equal, or rather, as an honoured guest."

Captain Bromhead is now with the Army in Finland and hopes as soon as he has finished his tour there to go to the Armies of the Caucasus.

### ITALY.

At the request of the Foreign Office we gave 3,000 feet of war film to an Italian journalist who wished to have a film to illustrate lectures that he was giving throughout the country. He used it with great success, and it was subsequently used by Mr. Mills. But this policy had the unfortunate result of making it impossible to place "Britain Prepared" and subsequent war films through the usual trade channels, which proved unwilling to take up such an enterprise except on an exclusive basis. We have now arranged for agents to go out to Italy to exploit the films as Mr. Welsh in France and Captain Bromhead in Russia.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In February we sent out Mr. Charles Urban to New York to arrange for the exploitation of the films in the States. He found himself in very great difficulties.

"I have never," he wrote after a few weeks, "found myself in such a difficult position. I would not trust myself to express my opinion of the film crowd on this side in cold type.

"I decided to give a private exhibition of these pictures to the principals connected with the Press and the Trade, who evinced an interest in the pictures. They were all enthusiastic. The pictures were fairly well produced and accompanied by music and were introduced by Mr. Frederick Palmer. The general opinion expressed to me was that the pictures were 'too good,' 'too classy,' 'too intellectual,' and that they would not be successful as a financial proposition on that account. Others in the trade who were not in a position to handle the pictures started depreciating the pictures—'knocking' them, as they call it over here.

"I was more determined than ever that this picture should have a popular run throughout the United States and sought other methods to be applied for the broadcast publicity which our Government Committee anticipated getting in this country. I am now in the midst of forming an organisation or syndicate to handle these pictures on a 'States Right' basis, the exhibition to be inaugurated in each State by the Governor of the State as well as the naval and military officials with the assistance of members of the various Preparedness Societies."

A contract was duly entered into with a syndicate by which they undertook to take a minimum of 30 copies of "Britain Prepared" (including some of the earlier war films), and were given an option on subsequent war films. Some 13,000 feet of the latter have already been sent to them. The success of Mr. Urban's scheme seems likely to reach his most sanguine expectations.

The British Ambassador was present at the inaugural performance at Washington, and subsequently wrote to Mr. Urban:—

"I am sure my Government has every reason to be satisfied with the result of the special facilities that they have afforded you."

Mr. Urban received many letters from notable men, testifying to their appreciation of the film. For instance Mr. Baker, the Secretary for War, wrote:—

"I take this occasion to express my very keen interest in the pictures, and to say that both in subject and in execution they give us valuable information and great pleasure."

\* Private Greengrass was always the centre of an admiring (sometimes embarrassingly so) group of Russian soldiers, and having gained a smattering of Russian, quickly made friends. Russian officers invariably commented favourably on these facts as well as on the fact himself, his smart appearance and discipline; which pleased me very much as I had impressed on him the importance of seeing that the British soldier should not suffer in reputation through him.

A letter from Mr. Young, President of the Association for National Service, said :—

"The finest thing in your country allowing this picture to be brought to us at this time is to be found in the fact that Great Britain, struggling as she is to preserve the great ideal of democracy, should have found time to turn aside to render this real service to a sister nation."

Finally, "the most extraordinary, the most intensely interesting, as well as "entertainingly instructive exhibition ever presented in picture form in this country" was the comment made by Colonel Robert M. Thompson, President of the Army and Navy League. He also allowed his words to be used in an advertisement of the performances of "Britain Prepared," appearing in the *Washington Times* and other papers, which read as follows:—"These motion pictures are the most wonderful I ever witnessed. No American, young or old, should fail to see them. Wake up, "Washington! Wake up!"—Signed Col. R. M. Thompson.

In New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other great cities the display of the films was made an occasion for demonstrations of a very remarkable character in favour of the cause of the Allies. At the Lyceum Theatre at New York the public exhibitions of the films were packed and hundreds were turned away. "Enthusiasm" says the *New York Herald*, "over the cause of the Allies ran high, and during the evening the audience joined in singing "Tipperary" which was sung as well as other martial airs "night after night." "The most complete and worthwhile war pictures that have yet come to town," the *New York Tribune* describes "Britain Prepared." "An assemblage," says the *New York Evening Sun*, "to stir the spirit even of a pacifist." Everywhere the favourite picture was the review of 40,000 Irish troops by the King before their departure to the Front.

At Boston the films were given, says the *Boston Globe*, "before a large and at times wildly demonstrative audience." "The pictures of British national significance were greeted with tumultuous approbation. Even more demonstrative, however, was the Irish element in the theatre, and the beautiful pictures of the loyal Irish troops were greeted with prolonged cheers and loud shouts of delight."

"The pictures are immense," says another paper. "The smoking-car theorist who daily establishes the thesis that Great Britain is going down for the last time with no insurance had better see the pictures at the Shubert Theatre." And in Chicago the leading papers drew a contrast between the faked series of such a display as "Civilisation," then running in another theatre in Chicago, and "How Britain Prepared"—"a masterpiece in cinema production," as the *Chicago Tribune* calls it, "real, dignified, truthful, and at times magnificent."

"Moving pictures are being used for propaganda. In that work they are much more effective than editorials. A moving picture can do in three hours something that it will take editorials three years to undo, if the editorial ever can accomplish it.

"The same reality of the picture at the 'Colonial' ('Britain Prepared') is a rest to the mind. It shows an unready nation, one whose unreadiness did not prevent it from needing every military item it had neglected to provide. It shows the recruiting, the organising of factories, the production of material, the gathering of the nation's strength.

"It is a handling of the most real and unimaginative material. It goes along without an attempt to intoxicate the emotions. It takes undecorated details that seemingly have not a thrill in them. It seems to be as uninspired as a hardware catalogue. Gradually in the mind of any perceptive person there forms the idea that this is a real nation in a real trouble. The immensity of the effort begins to appal the comprehension. A thing is in the forming, and it is a tremendous thing. And when out of all this grim workaday agony there appears on the screen such masses of trained, disciplined, willing men as American eyes have not seen since 1865, the thrill is real."

At the end of July Mr. Urban wrote :—

"Their (the American Syndicate's) latest advice re the film is that, while these are being shown in eleven big cities, they have booked practically all the states and territories, the main proportion of them to begin about the middle of September. This is owing to the present hot weather throughout the United States."

Copies of War films, and especially the Somme films, have been despatched to Mr. Urban in America, and should be showing throughout the United States in the early autumn.

#### SCANDINAVIA.

To Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, we have sent "Britain Prepared," and 8,500 feet of war films. The following report has been received from Mr. Bjorkman at Stockholm :—

20th July 1916.

"Some time ago I asked Mr. Magnusson, director of the Svenska Biografteatern, to give me some data concerning the use of the English war films for which he acquired the rights last April. I have now received a letter containing the desired figures.

"The set of films in question contained seven reels of varying length. These were divided into 'programmes,' each of which contained one or two reels. The figures given refer to such 'programmes' or subdivisions of the set put on different theatres for a week's run of two daily performances.

"As the Swedish cinema theatres close about the last of May and stay closed until August the time available for the display of the films this spring was only four or five weeks. During this time they were shown to the public as follows:—

"SWEDEN:—

"Stockholm, 18 programmes in eight theatres (including the three best cinema theatres in the city).

"Gothenburg, 5 programmes; Malmö, 4; Eskilstuna, 3; Gävle, 3; Södertelje, 3; Norrköping, 3; Karlskrona, 2; Örebro, 2; Visby, 2; Lund, Östersund and Kristianstad, 1 each.

"Total, Sweden, 48 programmes in 20 theatres in 13 cities.

"The performances will be resumed in August, and the films are expected to run throughout the coming winter.

"NORWAY:—Parts of the set have been shown in Bergen, Kristiansund, Stavanger, Trondhjem, Tinnberg, Drammen, Kristiania and Fredrikstad.

"DENMARK:—Parts of the set have been shown in Aalborg, Aarhus, Fredericia, Holbaek, Randers and Copenhagen.

"It is difficult to give exact figures as to the number of spectators to which the various programmes have been displayed. In one theatre at Stockholm alone they are known to have been seen by more than 60,000 people. The total number of people who have seen them in Sweden is estimated at 275,000, and in Norway and Denmark at 100,000.

"I understand that these films have been very well received, so that their display in Sweden must be held to have exercised a wholesome influence in the right direction.

### HOLLAND.

The Dutch Press has given long and favourable notices of our films, of which the following extract from the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* is a typical example:—

"How England armed itself for War within a Year.

"Our Amsterdam correspondent writes:—

"The English War Office has regarded it of importance, not only in the case of its own country, but also as regards neutral countries, to give an impression of the immense work which has been done in the space of a year in forming, arming, and equipping an army of millions by a non-military nation.

"How the British Army was created, how the recruits, entirely ignorant of military matters, acquired the necessary knowledge, how they were drilled and how, by extensive manoeuvres in England itself, they were taught the lessons of this modern war; how they learnt to deal with the newer weapons, like hand-grenades, bomb-throwers and catapults; how they learnt to make trenches and position, and to use them in the proper manner so that they should be thoroughly *au fait* when they arrived in the actual firing line—all that we saw in an hour or two happening before our eyes with almost bewildering speed. But much more than that; we also saw the stupendous manufacture of munitions to which nearly the whole of British industry with all its resources has devoted itself. We saw thousands and thousands of men and women in endless rows in immeasurable workshops, standing at the lathe, never resting, with feverish zeal working to maintain continuously the mighty stream of shells from the mother-country to the front. For a second the eye gazes into an impenetrable darkness, a moment later we see the pursuit of a war-plane by an enemy flyer high above the clouds, or we follow the admirable Motor Machine Gun Corps on their swift reconnaissance expeditions, often so deadly to the enemy and so difficult and dangerous to themselves, dashing over all manner of obstacles which we should never have imagined the boldest motor-cyclist would have tackled. Brilliant cavalry charges are carried out by the newly-instructed cavalry; we follow immeasurable masses of troops, excellently drilled and equipped, making long marches and manoeuvring, and in this the reality of modern warfare is so faithfully imitated that one can hardly escape the impression that these films were taken in the actual firing line.

"The second part of this very interesting film is entirely devoted to the fleet, 'England's Sure Shield,' as it is called in one of the titles. We follow the life on board from hour to hour, the morning prayer presided over by the clergyman in his surplice, the physical drill of the men, the exercises, the battle-practice; we see the mighty naval guns in operation, follow the mine-sweepers in their dangerous work on the tossing North Sea; we are given a glance at the life on board a submarine and see, *inter alia*, how the officer on the watch sees a representation of an enemy ship.

"The whole thing flashes past the eyes of the spectator in such rapid succession that, however much interested he may have been in all the wonders of organisation, it is simply impossible to give a complete conspectus of everything that one has seen. But there is not any doubt that these films will attain the object for which the English Staff has prepared them, that is, to increase the popularity of the army and the fleet.

"The film, 'How England armed Itself for War within a Year,' is shown at the Cinema Palace.

"Especially for soldiers, high and low, the film seems to us interesting."

The Consul-General at Rotterdam reports:

"I made time yesterday to go and see our British War Film in Rotterdam. I specially selected this town, as you know it is the centre of pro-Bosche feeling. . . . It would interest you to learn that the Dutch public was most enthusiastic. . . . They cheered the King and his staff, and above all the hoisting of the British colours on the quarterdeck of a British man-of-war. They hissed the portion of the film showing a German Taube over Paris. Had I not been personally, I should hardly have credited the above, as such a demonstration would have been impossible in the beginning of the war. Although I do not attach very great importance to music-hall demonstrations, yet I think that such an event, occurring in this town, is of some symptomatic interest."

The Somme film has now been sent to the same concessionaire.

## SWITZERLAND.

From Switzerland complaints had been received in March that in the local cinemas "the Germans lead, the French and Italians being bad seconds, and the British nowhere." We have, we hope, now turned the tables.

A press notice from a German-Swiss paper, the *Bund*, describes the films as "a long series of tremendously impressive pictures . . . a representation of the brilliant achievements of the English war industry." A German paper, the *Rheinisch Westphälische Zeitung*, writes:—

"The cinema theatres have developed an influence which receives, and must receive, consideration. They work on the mind and imagination of the people, and the impression which they make, if not led into the right channels, would be dangerous. The pictures have been a better education than the spoken word or printed word. And a still better medium are moving, living pictures. It is not, therefore, surprising that in view of these facts, the Englishmen make use of the cinema for their war purposes. We observed in the Swiss paper, *der Bund*, which appears at Berne, an advertisement of the cinema theatre St. Gothard, in Berne, which, in the usual manner of such advertisements, informs its readers that the programme contains 'L'Angleterre est Prête, England's military strength, Lord Kitchener and his Army, the English Battle Fleet. Striking military films issued by the English Ministry of War.' We must admit a more clever advertisement could hardly be made by the English Ministry of War for its Army and Fleet, and for its services in the war in general. This speculation on the sensibilities of the cinema visitor will not fail of its object. *Strongly recommended for imitation.*"

The initial performance at Zurich produced a remarkable demonstration. Our Consul General writes:—

"I was present last night at the first exhibition in Zurich of the cinematograph film approved by the War Office, the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions, entitled 'L'Angleterre est Prête.' Great interest was taken in the representation, which was given in the largest and most important cinema in this town.

"Before the film was shown a notice was thrown on the screen asking the spectators to abstain from any demonstration, and this request was repeated on the programmes.

"The first portion of the film, showing the British army in training, which lasted for about 20 minutes, was received in silence. A picture was then shown in which His Majesty was reviewing his troops. Immediately the King was recognised applause broke out in various parts of the house, which was renewed with marked enthusiasm when another picture was thrown on the screen showing the late Lord Kitchener and General Joffre in the trenches. As soon as this occurred, and the attendants had vainly attempted to prevent the people from applauding, the whole film was withdrawn, and the spectators were disappointed in not being given the opportunity of witnessing the second and third parts of the film, which had been advertised for representation, dealing with the making of munitions and the British fleet.

"Some features of this occurrence seem to be worthy of special notice:—

- "(1) The demonstration was entirely unprepared and spontaneous, in evidence of which more than 20 minutes elapsed before any applause was heard.
- "(2) Very few British subjects were present, the British colony at Zurich being at the present moment greatly reduced in numbers.
- "(3) There was no counter-demonstration.
- "(4) I have on several occasions seen the Kaiser represented at cinemas in Zurich, and there has never been the slightest demonstration, either in his favour or against him, on the part of the spectators.
- "(5) Zurich being the principal city in German-speaking Switzerland, the demonstration was, I believe, intended to make it clear that although the population uses the German language it is not in sympathy with Germany.
- "(6) The present occasion is the first one on which a film has been applauded at Zurich.

"The Consuls-General of Italy and the United States, the Consul for Belgium, and the French Vice-Consuls were present at the representation. The French Consul is sending a report on the occurrence to his Government.

"The owner of the cinema, Monsieur Speck, is a naturalised Swiss citizen of German origin. That is, no doubt, the reason why the remainder of the film was withdrawn when the sympathy of the spectators for the Allies was so evident."

Despite this difficulty, the films have been shown in Zurich again, by another cinema firm, also at Lausanne for a second time where it "once again had a great reception," at Montreaux, Sey Sen, Yvedon, Geneva, Bienne, &c., and there are still "many more applications."

The Vice-Consul at Bâle reports as follows of the performance in that town:—

"SIR,

"Basel,

21st July 1916.

"With reference to my Despatch, No. 25 of the 9th March, on the subject of cinematograph films as a means of propaganda, I have the honour to report that 'Britain Prepared' is being given this week at the 'Fata Morgana,' one of the three leading cinematographs in Basel.

"The proprietor of the 'Fata Morgana' is a German Jew named Rosenthaler, who is at present serving the German Government in Belgium; the lessee and manager a German-Swiss of enemy sympathies, named Singer.

"At the latter's invitation I took a party, including my French, Italian, and American colleagues, to see the British film, with which they were well pleased.

"It will be observed from the programme, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, that the audience were requested to refrain from any demonstration. The manager apparently feared a hostile reception. I doubt if his fears were justified, for the Balois, although his inmost feelings may not have changed, has recently grown more reserved in giving vent to German sympathies. The general attitude of the audience struck me as one of cold curiosity to start with, but they gradually became more interested, and eventually went home, I should say, in a somewhat reflective mood, with the intention possibly of revising their political account. On the whole, there is no doubt that the film will have a very wholesome effect.

"Sir Cecil Hertslet, Kt.,  
- His Majesty's Consul-General,  
"Zürich."

"I have &c.  
(Signed) G. B. BEAK,  
H.M. Vice-Consul.

We have now taken steps for the immediate exploitation in Switzerland of the Somme War Films, and have entrusted this task to Mr. Welsh, concurrently with his work in France.

#### SPAIN.

Unfortunately in Spain our concessionaire finds himself in difficulties, owing to the embargo laid by the Spanish Government on the display of war films. We have asked the Foreign Office to move the Embassy to get this removed. In the meantime, however, we have heard that the concessionaire has himself had some success in this direction, and the films have now been shown in several places.

#### GREECE.

In Greece the Legation undertook to make arrangements for showing the film, and we have supplied them with 7,500 feet of war films, and the naval part of "Britain Prepared" (6,000 feet). We have not yet received any report from them.

#### ROUMANIA.

Here again the Legation made arrangements, and Roumania was one of the first countries in which "Britain Prepared" was shown, a copy of the film having been supplied by Capt. Bromhead from Russia. We have now sent out to Sir George Barclay the 5,000-foot film of the fighting on the Somme. We have heard from private correspondents that "Britain Prepared" created a great impression in Roumania, and it is described as an "enormous success".

#### SOUTH AMERICA.

To South America we have sent out the following films:—

- Brazil, 10,000 feet of "Britain Prepared" and 4,000 feet of war films.
- Argentine, 5,000 feet of "Britain Prepared" and 2,000 feet of war films.
- Chili, same as Argentine.
- Paraguay, same as Argentine.
- Uruguay, 7,000 feet of "Britain Prepared," and 5,000 feet of war films.
- Columbia, 12,000 feet of "Britain Prepared."
- Panama, same as Columbia.

The only country from which we have received a detailed report is Brazil, of which the Consul-General of Rio writes as follows:—

"With further reference to your telegram, No. 13 of the 8th April last, and to my letter to the Director of the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade of the 19th February last, respecting the opening for an official British war film in this country, I have the honour to report that the version of the film 'Britain Prepared' exhibited in this city met with substantial success and afforded much useful propaganda.

"The film, which was exhibited for seven days at the cinematograph palace owned by Senhor Gustavo Jose de Mattos, was visited by 15,800 people, to which total must be added 2,500 sailors of the Brazilian Navy, who witnessed the film at the invitation of the manager.

"The whole matter has been excellently handled, both by Messrs. Davidson, Pullen & Co. and Senhor de Mattos. Although no advertising matter at all was sent out by the producers in England, the joint recipients here made every effort to supply the deficiency, and the success with which the film has met is undoubtedly due to the energy and to the goodwill which they expended upon it. I understand that Senhor de Mattos has now taken over the property of the film, and is exploiting it in Sao Paulo and up and down the coast. As already indicated in my letter to the Director of the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, the cinematograph forms the best medium of propaganda so far as Brazil is concerned, and it would be well to continue the work which has begun so auspiciously."

## INDIA, CHINA, AND THE FAR EAST.

We suggested to the Government of India that they should undertake the exploitation of the films in India, but after consideration they decided that it would be better for us to negotiate direct with the trade. We have therefore done so, and after some delay have been able to make arrangements for a very thorough display of the films by a Calcutta concessionaire, who will also exploit them in China, the Straits Settlements, and Japan. We have sent him 9,000 feet of "Britain Prepared" and 3,000 feet of war films, and have also arranged with another concessionaire for the simultaneous exploitation of other war films in India.

## THE DOMINIONS.

Under our arrangements with the War Office it does not fall to us to exploit the war films in the Colonies; but we were responsible for the display of "Britain Prepared." This has been thoroughly exploited throughout the Dominions.

In Canada the first performance took place before the Duke and Duchess of Connaught on April 17th, and subsequently the films were widely shown throughout Canada to large and enthusiastic audiences.

In South Africa the first performance took place on April 15th at Cape Town, before the Governor-General and Lady Buxton and a large audience.

Mr. Burton, Minister of Finance, speaking during the interval, said —

"I feel sure that every man, woman and child in the building will agree that the pictures have afforded them not merely a pleasure, but that it was a privilege to be present at the presentation of such a remarkably spectacular illustration of this Empire to which we all belong. I hope that the film will be shown throughout South Africa. If that is done, I cannot help thinking it will stir chords which are now neutral and still."

An article in the *Cape Argus* of April 15th, says:—

"Until this afternoon it is questionable if anyone in Cape Town had anything approaching an adequate idea of the remarkable and tremendous fighting powers of Great Britain . . . the film is a marvelous production."

Throughout Australasia and New Zealand the films have been shown amidst great enthusiasm. The inaugural performance in Australia took place before the Governor in the Town Hall at Sydney; and the first week's performance broke the record of the cinematograph in Australia. "Britain Prepared," one newspaper declared, "is a national anthem on the cinema. It is a series to make every Briton and Australian proud and confident."

## OTHER COUNTRIES.

In addition to the countries enumerated above we are supplying films to Egypt, the West Indies, Iceland, Malta, Gibraltar, British East Africa, Peru, &c., and arrangements are being made for supplying all other countries which possess facilities for the cinematograph.

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**SCHEDULE OF LITERATURE.****PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.**

[This list does not include newspaper articles, articles in reviews, &amp;c., but only literature directly issued in book or pamphlet form.]

Author.	Title.	Languages in which Issued.																					
		English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
Max Aitken	Canada in Flanders	x																					
Jane Anderson and Gordon Bruce.	Flying, Submarining, and Mine Sweeping	x	x																				
Ch. Andler	Frightfulness in Theory and Practice	x	x																				
Ch. Andler	Pan-Germanism	x	x																				
Giuseppe A. Andriulli	Documents relating to the Great War	x	x																				
William Archer	The Thirteen Days	x																					
William Archer	Colour Blind Neutrality (Open letter to Georges Brandes).	x				x					x												
W. J. Ashley	War in its Economic Aspect	x																					
W. J. Ashley	Germany's Food Supply	x																					
R. Perez de Ayala	Lord of Battles									x													
A. J. Balfour	The British Blockade	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
A. J. Balfour	The Navy and the War	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ernest Barker	Great Britain's Reasons for going to War	x																					
Ernest Barker	Submerged Nationalities of the German Empire	x																					
Ernest Barker	The Relations of England and Holland	x																					
Maurice Barrès	The Soul of France	x																					
A. de Bassompierre	The Night of Aug. 2-3, 1914	x					x																
B. Basu	Why India is heart and soul with Great Britain	x																					
René Bazin	A Visit to the Grand Fleet	x																					
André de Bavier	Chivalrous England	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
James M. Beck	The Double Alliance r. the Triple Entente	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
James M. Beck	The Case of Belgium	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
James M. Beck	The Evidence in the Case	x					x																
James M. Beck	The Case of Edith Cavell	x	x																				
J. Bédier	German Atrocities	x	x																				



## PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS—continued.

Author.	Title.	Languages in which issued.																					
		English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Yurck.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Rumanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
J. Bédier	How Germany seeks to justify her Atrocities	x	x																				
H. Belloc	The Second Year of the War		x																				
Baron Beyens	Germany before the War		x																				
Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee	The Verdict of India		x																				
P. Bigelow	An American's opinion of British Colonial Policy		x	x		x																	
Cloudesley Brereton	Who is responsible?		x																				
A. Clutton Brock	Sweden and the Anglo-Russian Alliance																						
E. Brunet	German Calumnies		x																				
James Bryce	Neutral Nations and the War		x	x		x		x															
James Bryce	The Attitude of Great Britain in the present War		x	x		x		x															
J. Buchan	The Battle of Jutland		x	x		x		x															
J. Buchan	The Battle of the Somme		x																				
M. Bukowinski	The Destruction of Kalisz		x																				
J. R. Bury	Germany and Slavonic Civilisation		x	x		x																	
Boyd Cable	Doing their Bit		x	x																			
A. Catholic	Is Germany Anti-Catholic?		x	x		x		x															
L. Casamian	Les Forces Britanniques		x																				
R. Chambery	The Truth about Louvain		x	x																			
G. K. Chesterton	The Barbarism of Berlin		x	x		x																	
G. K. Chesterton	Letters to an Old Garibaldian		x	x																			
A. Chevillon	England and the War		x																				
August Cohn	Some Aspects of the War as viewed by Naturalised British Subjects.		x	x		x		x															
S. H. Church	A Reply to the German Learned Men's Appeal		x	x		x		x															
E. T. Cook	Why Britain is at War		x	x		x		x															
E. T. Cook	How Britain strove for Peace		x	x		x		x															
E. T. Cook	Great Britain and Turkey		x	x																			
Julian Corbett	The Spectre of Navalism		x																				
F. R. Coudert	British Trade Restraints and Peace Prospects		x																				
Harold Cox	The Economic Strength of Great Britain		x																				
Lord Cromer	Germania contra Mundum		x																				
Lord Cromer	Pan-Germanism		x																				
E. F. Davies	British and German Finance		x	x		x		x															
E. F. Davies	Finances of Great Britain and Germany		x	x		x		x															



## PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS—continued.

Author.	Title.	Languages in which issued.																					
		English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Rosette.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
Archibald Hurd	Outlawry at Sea	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	Revelations of the Budget	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	The Value of Sea Power -	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	A Sure Shield	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	Murder at Sea	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	Submarines and Zeppelins	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	An Incident of War, by Order of the Kaiser	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	Germany Besieged, Memories of 1870-1871	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Archibald Hurd	If there were no Navies -	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
C. A. Montalto de Jesus	German Crimes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
R. Johannet	Alemania en Belgica	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Take Jonesco	The Policy of National Instinct	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Johannes Jorgensen	False Witness ( <i>Klokke Roland</i> )	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
S. Farnell Kerr	What the Irish Regiments have done	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
R. Kipling	Fringes of the Fleet	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
F. G. La Chenais	The Socialist Party in the Reichstag	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
E. Lavisse and Ch. Audler	German Theory and Practice of War	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Hugh P. Law	Why is Ireland at War -	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
A. Lowenstein	Germany and Belgium before and during the War -	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
A. M. Low	The Law of Blockade	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Léon Maccais	German Barbarism	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
M. Macdonagh	The Irish at the Front	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
J. W. Mackail	Russia's Gift to the World	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
J. Maccart	Belgium under the German Eagle -	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
H. W. Masjingham	Why we came to help Belgium	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
C. F. G. Masterman	After Twelve Months	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
C. F. G. Masterman	The Triumph of the Fleet (All's Well)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
E. Grimwood Moars	The Destruction of Belgium	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Cardinal Mercier	Pastoral Letter	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Cardinal Mercier	On our Return from Rome	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
F. Melgar	Germany and Spain	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
J. U. Menny	Das Bunte Buch	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
R. Meyer	The Policy of England	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
J. Saxon Mills	The Gathering of the Clans	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Lord Milner	Cotton Contraband																				
D. Mitrany	O Causă Dreaptă																				
J. H. Morgan	A Dishonoured Army																				
J. H. Morgan	German Atrocities in France																				
Gilbert Murray	Ethical Problems of the War																				
Gilbert Murray	How can War ever be right?																				
Gilbert Murray	The Foreign Policy of Sir E. Grey																				
Gilbert Murray	Impressions of Scandinavia in War Time																				
Gilbert Murray	The United States and the War																				
L. B. Namier	Germany and Eastern Europe																				
L. B. Namier	Poland under the Germans																				
Henry Newbolt	The War and the Nations																				
J. Shield Nicholson	The Neutrality of the United States																				
Roy Norton	The Man of Peace																				
Alfred Noyes	What is England doing?																				
Oxford Historians	Why we are at War																				
Gilbert Parker	The World in the Crucible																				
Gilbert Parker	Is England apathetic?																				
Gilbert Parker	What is the matter with England?																				
Gilbert Parker	Two Years of War																				
Fernand Passelecq	Letter to a Neutral on the Atrocities in Belgium																				
Fernand Passelecq	Truth and Travesty (Synopsis of 3rd Belgian Grey Book)																				
N. P. Peteraen-Pauli	From English Prison Camps																				
E. Perez	The Massacre of the Innocents																				
Philosophus	The War. What is England Doing?																				
Morton Prince	American v. German Views of the War																				
Morton Prince	The Psychology of the Kaiser																				
G. W. Prothero	German Policy before the War																				
R. Punux	L'Armée Anglaise sur le Continent																				
A. Rosde	Russia under Nicholas II.																				
Louis Raemaekers	Selection of Cartoons																				
John Redmond	A Visit to the Front																				
E. Reiss	How Austria-Hungary waged war in Serbia																				
A. Reppier and J. White	Germany and Democracy																				
J. M. Robertson	War and Civilisation																				
J. Holland Rose	German Misrepresentations																				
R. F. Roxburgh	The Prisoners of War Information Bureau																				
E. Royer	German Socialists and Belgium																				
Paul Sabatier	The Ideals of France																				
Leslie Scott and A. Shaw	Great Britain and Neutral Commerce																				
E. M. Sidgwick	The Morality of Strife																				

## PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS—continued.

Author.	Title.	Languages in which issued.																				
		English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Rumanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.
Munroe Smith - - -	The Weight of the Imponderables - - -	x	x	x																		
Gustave Somville - - -	The Road to Liège - - -		x																			
Stanhope W. Sprigg - - -	The British Blockade - - -		x			x																
Herbert Strang - - -	England and the War - - -		x	x		x					x											
E. Stillebauer - - -	Prussian Organisation - - -			x																		
A. A. H. Struycken - - -	A Dutch Reply to the German White Book on outrages in Belgium. - - -	x				x					x	x										
Lord Sydenham - - -	India and the War - - -		x																			
A. J. Toynbee - - -	Armenian Atrocities - - -		x	x		x																
A. J. Toynbee - - -	The Death of Edith Cavell - - -		x	x	x	x						x	x	x	x							
A. J. Toynbee - - -	The Destruction of Poland - - -		x	x	x							x	x	x	x							
E. Trevelyan - - -	India and the War - - -		x																			
G. M. Trevelyan - - -	The Serbians and Austria - - -		x																			
R. G. Usher - - -	Pan-Germanism - - -																					
P. Vinogradoff - - -	Russia: The Psychology of a Nation - - -		x			x						x	x									
D. M. Wallace - - -	Our Russian Ally - - -		x																			
H. Walter - - -	The English Spirit - - -		x	x																		
Wilfrid Ward - - -	England and the present War - - -		x																			
Mrs. Humphry Ward - - -	England's Effort - - -		x																			
T. Cathcart Wason - - -	The Beast - - -		x	x																		
Emile Waxweiler - - -	Belgium: Neutral and Loyal - - -		x																			
Josiah Wedgwood - - -	With Machine Guns in Gallipoli - - -		x																			
A. Weiss - - -	The Violation by Germany of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemborg. - - -		x	x																		
H. G. Wells - - -	Tidstankar - - -																					
J. W. White - - -	America's Arraignment of Germany - - -		x	x																		
J. Whitehouse - - -	Belgium in War - - -																					
F. W. Whitridge - - -	One American's Opinion of the European War - - -		x	x	x	x																
F. W. Wile - - -	The German-American Plot - - -		x																			
P. E. Hume Williams - - -	The International Law and the Blockade - - -		x																			
B. R. Wise - - -	The Freedom of the Seas - - -		x																			
Owen Winter - - -	The Pentecost of Calamity - - -		x	x																		
E. Xammar - - -	Against the Imperial Idea - - -																					

## MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

Title.	Languages in which Issued.																					
	English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
An Ordinary Briton's View of the War																						
British Labour Movement and the War																						
British Author's Declaration																						
Bernhardi Converted																						
Eye Witness at Louvain																						
German Barbarians																						
Germany's Methods of Naval Warfare																						
Germany's Economic Strength																						
London Chamber of Commerce Letter																						
La Bataille de Champagne																						
Germany's Economic Policy in Poland																						
Hungary and the War																						
Learned Men's Declaration																						
Reply to German Theologians																						
The War and German Propaganda																						
Sixty American Opinions on the War																						
The Violation of Belgian Neutrality																						
A South American Priest in Belgium																						
Sir E. Grey's Reply to Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg																						
Working Dr. Conybeare																						
Reception of Irish M.P.'s in Paris																						
The Irish Nuns at Ypres																						
Belgica Martir																						
Where the German Army has passed																						
J'Accuse																						
A Suspect Manifesto																						
On German War Ethics (Article in "The Tablet")																						
A Sketch of the German Fleet																						
La Renaissance																						
Je Sais Tout																						
Open Letter from British Authors to Russian Colleagues																						
Spanish Intellectuals' Manifesto																						
The Case of Naturalised British Subjects																						

## MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS—continued.

Title.	Languages in which issued.																					
	English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
Decline in German Credit	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Memorial to the International	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Signor Salandra's Speech	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Legend of the Francs-Tireurs	x	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Why the Allies will Win (Interview with the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George).	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Crimes of the German Army, Supplement to "The Field"	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
An Appeal to Truth (Letter from Belgian Bishops)	x	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
English Reply to Spanish Manifesto	x	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Germany's Fading Credit	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Horrors of Louvain	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The War for Public Right	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Straight Path and the Crooked	x	x	x	x	x	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Achievements of the Zeppelins. (By a Swede)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Empire and the War (Emergency Legislation)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
How the British Blockade Works (Interview with Sir Dudley de Chair).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
American Address to Peoples of Allied Countries	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Germans at Louvain	x	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Strong Words from Mr. Redmond	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Freedom of the Seas (Interview with the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour)	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
A Free Europe (Interview with Sir E. Grey)	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loyal India (Interview with Lord Hardinge)	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
What is Great Britain Doing?	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Some American Opinions on the Indian Empire	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
How Long will it Last?	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Italy Our Ally (Mr. Asquith's Visit to Rome)	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
British Staying Power (Interview with Lord Revelstoke)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
A German Naval Victory	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Voice of Ireland	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Mail Censorship (Interview with Lord Robert Cecil)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The One Condition of Peace (Sir Edward Goschen)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Reception of Wounded Soldier-Prisoners of Great Britain in Switzerland.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.





## SPEECHES—continued.

Title.	Languages in which issued.																					
	English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Russian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
After a Year. Speech by the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., 4th August 1915.	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.
Speech by John Redmond, M.P., at Waterford County Hall - -	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
How do we stand to-day? Speech by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 2nd November 1915.	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Great Britain's measures against German Trade. Speech by Sir E. Grey in the House of Commons on 26th January 1916.	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
What Britain is Fighting for. Speech by the Prime Minister, 10th April 1916.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
For Our Soldiers—Sermon by Cardinal Mercier - - - -	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

## OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

English Diplomatic Correspondence - - - - -	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Russian Diplomatic Correspondence - - - - -	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Belgian Diplomatic Correspondence - - - - -	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
French Diplomatic Correspondence - - - - -	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Collected Diplomatic Correspondence - - - - -	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
German Atrocities in France (Official Report of the French Commission).	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Reports on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and the Laws and Customs of War (Belgian Commission Reports), Volume I.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Scrap of Paper (German Chancellor's Explanation and Great Britain's Reply).	x	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Violation of the Neutrality of Belgium (with a Preface by M. Paul Hymans).	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Report of Lord Bryce's Committee on German Atrocities - -	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.
Appendix to the Report of Lord Bryce's Committee - - -	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Treatment of German Prisoners of War and Interned Civilians in the United Kingdom (Misc. No. 5 (1915)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.



## OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS—continued.

Title.	Languages in which issued.																					
	English.	French.	German.	Portuguese.	Spanish.	Catalan.	Basque.	Italian.	Dutch.	Swedish.	Danish.	Norwegian.	Hungarian.	Polish.	Greek.	Romanian.	Serbian.	Bulgarian.	Turkish.	Arabic.	Chinese.	
Reports on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and the Laws and Customs of War (Belgian Commission Reports), Volume II.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Recommendations of the Economic Conference of the Allies in Paris (Cd. 8271).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sir John Jellicoe's Despatch ( <i>London Gazette</i> , 4th July 1916) -	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Conditions of diet and nutrition at Ruhleben Camp (Misc. No. 21 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Withdrawal of the Declaration of London Orders in Council (Misc. No. 22 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Examination of Parcels and Letter Mails (Misc. No. 23 (1916)) -	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
German Atrocities and Breaches of the Rules of War in Africa (Cd. 8306).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sir John Maxwell's Report on Ireland ( <i>London Gazette</i> , 21st July (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Relief of Allied Territories in the occupation of the Enemy (Misc. No. 24 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Conditions of diet and nutrition at Ruhleben Camp and Proposed Release of Interned Civilians (Misc. No. 25 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Treatment of British Prisoners of War and Interned Civilians in Germany (Misc. No. 26 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Collective Note to the Greek Government by the French, British, and Russian Ministers and the reply of the Greek Government (Misc. No. 27 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Detention by the Swedish Government of the British Transit Mail to Russia as a reprisal for the search of Parcel Mails by His Majesty's Government (Misc. No. 28 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Visits by United States Embassy Officials to various Internment Camps in the United Kingdom (Misc. No. 30 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Relief of Allied Territories in the Occupation of the Enemy (Misc. No. 32 (1916)).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
The Deportation of Women and Girls from Lille (French Yellow Book).	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Note.—In addition to this, some are in process of translation into other languages, and a large number of publications (dealing mainly with present and immediate problems) are in course of preparation.

**END**