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A FOREIGN POLICY FOR  
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URGENT NEED OF WORLD  
PEACE.

GEN. SMUTS ON CONTINENTAL  
ENTANGLEMENTS.

CAPETOWN, FRIDAY.  
Speaking in the Union House of Assembly to-day General Smuts, the Prime Minister, made a statement regarding the impending conference of Prime Ministers of the Empire in London. It was impossible for him to be absent from London when grave questions which might affect South Africa were being discussed.  
"Perhaps more than in the case of any other combination or group of States," said General Smuts, "world peace is our greatest requirement, and the policy of South Africa will go entirely in the direction of working to the utmost of her power to secure a real world peace."  
It was impossible for them and for the British Empire to continue to be entangled in these embroilments in Europe. It had not been the traditional British policy, which was as far as possible to keep out of entanglements on the Continent. If ever there was a time when that policy would be wise in the interests of the Empire it was to-day.  
There was, unfortunately, a great feud between the French and the Germans which had gone on for centuries. He thought the time had come for the British Empire to appear on the scene as peacemaker and to see whether it was not possible by a great effort to get Europe out of the rut into which she had been drifting, and in which she was drifting to final disaster. The British Empire emerged from the war the most powerful organisation on earth, and he did not think it a worthy part for the Empire to appear at the back of any policy which did not bear the highest character. He thought the proper course for the British Empire was to lay down her own peaceful policy and without being dragged about by the Continent to say: "That is the policy for which we are going to stand, it is the policy we are going to foster and the policy we are going to stand by in the future."  
He was sure if this were done it would be possible to secure world peace. The foreign policy of the Empire should be that of trying to remove the feelings which were keeping asunder the countries of Europe and trying to establish normal conditions on the Continent.  
**The Anglo-Japanese Treaty.**  
The renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty did not affect them directly. It was a Pacific question and affected Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Yet it did affect them to some extent. General Smuts referred to the speech made by Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, some time ago, in which he said it was in the interests of Australia to renew that treaty on certain conditions and that subject to the interests of Australia's White policy and the desirability of not offending America he favoured the renewal of the treaty. General Smuts also mentioned the change in the position of Russia, Germany, and Japan in the Far East, and declared that from all these points of view they would be able to see how very intricate the whole question was.  
The paramount consideration that they ought to keep before them was that it was essential as far as possible to secure an understanding and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States. He considered that to be the second essential, cardinal principle of their foreign policy. The essential policy for the British Empire was to work with America.  
The third matter to come up for discussion at the forthcoming conference was Imperial Defence. The correct policy for South Africa was to become responsible for her coast defence. The Government maintained the position that South Africa should become directly responsible so far as her means allowed.  
There remained another question, especially important from the South African

THE TURKS' POINT OF  
VIEW.

WHAT THEY ASK OF THE  
WESTERN NATIONS.

TO BE TREATED AS AN EQUAL.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

I am anxious to put the Turkish point of view before the readers of the "Manchester Guardian." It is not easy to do, because the Turks are habitually more reserved than the other Near Eastern peoples, and especially so at this time, in Constantinople, towards Englishmen. The British contingent looms largest in the Allied Army of Occupation; Turkish notables whose presence was not desired by the military authorities are, or have been till recently, interned in Malta; and last summer the British forces co-operated with the Greeks more conspicuously than others in the military operations, undertaken with the approval of the Allied Governments, which resulted in the Greek occupation of Smyrna and Thrace. It is therefore natural that an Englishman who tries now to get into touch with Turks should find barriers that are difficult to overcome, and I must be pardoned for offering bricks with little straw in them. But I do not think they are seriously out of shape, and, at any rate, they are better than no bricks at all.  
The point of view of the Turks (who when it comes to the point are all Nationalists) needs to be put in England. The Greek case has had many able advocates, and has found a sympathetic public brought up on the tradition of the Greek War of Independence. But the "bloody tyranny of the Turk" is not a formula that fits a situation in which Greek armies are invading Turkish territory and Turkish towns and villages are getting burnt. The less widespread pro-Turk tradition seems to me also to be behind the times. It too is an old tradition which took shape about the period of the Crimean War and has not kept pace with recent changes. About a year ago I heard a distinguished British soldier, speaking in England about the outlook in the Middle East, remark that "we must buttress the British Empire on the support of two friendly Moslem Powers, Turkey and Afghanistan." I do not know how the Afghans feel, but I am sure that this officer, if he found himself in Constantinople, would be startled to discover how little the Turks reciprocate the feeling he entertains for them. There is an idea, rather prevalent in the British army, that the Turk is like the Gurkha or the Pathan—a simple soul with a primitive psychology, fierce when provoked, but easy to manage when well treated and humoured. I suppose this comes from handling Turkish peasants as karasses or gendarmes, but it is certainly not true of the Turkish educated and governing class. For good or ill, they are not at all unsophisticated, and at present they certainly do not love us. Why should they? Before the war we made an *entente* with their most formidable enemy, Russia. During the war we destroyed their Asiatic Empire by detaching the Arabs from them and beating their army. And since the Armistice we have till recently supported the Greeks. Their present hostility is really inevitable; yet it has been a shock to me to realise, since my arrival in Constantinople, how intense it is. Though always polite they keep one at a distance, in marked contrast to the Turks in Smyrna. I imagine the reason for the difference is that in Smyrna the military occupation is by another nation, while here it is

NEW ISSUES.

JOSEPH NATHAN AND CO., LTD.—Subscribers are invited, at par, for an issue of 300,000 ordinary shares of £1 each (participating in 12 per cent) in Joseph Nathan and Co., Ltd. The present Company was formed in 1899 to acquire the business of colonial mercantile manufacturers, and produce brokers carried on in London and in Wellington, New Zealand, and elsewhere. In 1908 the Company floated on the market a dried milk for infants and invalids under the name and trade mark "Glaxo," which, the prospectus states, has met with remarkable success, and it has become one of the largest and most profitable branches of the Company's activities. The sales for the first six months of the present financial year are said to have resulted in an increase of over 30 per cent over the corresponding period of the year ended September last. This expansion has necessitated the provision of further capital, and the proceeds of the present issue will be used to provide additional factory equipment and extension of other capital requirements of "Glaxo" for general trade expansion. The present capital is £750,000. The subscription list closes to-day, May 23, and will close on or before Saturday next.  
METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANY LIMITED.—There is offered for public subscription an issue of £500,000 7½ per cent extended debenture stock, 1921, of the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company, Limited. The price is 95 per cent, and the stock is redeemable at par by means of an annual cumulative sinking fund, beginning in 1922, so that the whole amount of the issue will be repaid by the end of 1941. The Company has an issued and outstanding loan capital of £324,300, and a paid-up share capital of £1,380,605. The present issue of debenture stock is required to meet the cost of installing further plant at the Company's main generating station at Willesden and to trunk mains to link up with the generating station at Uxbridge. The list opens to-day and will close on or before Saturday next.  
MELBOURNE AND METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.—An issue is being made, at the price of 99 per cent, of £1,140,000 6½ per cent interest stock, 1932, of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, State of Victoria, Commonwealth of Australia. The loan is being raised to meet debentures for £1,140,000 maturing on October 1, 1921. Holders of 4 per cent debentures maturing on that date have the right to convert the whole or part of their holdings. The list for cash subscriptions will be closed on or before Friday next, May 27, and for conversion applications on Wednesday, June 1.  
**MOVEMENTS OF STEAMERS.**  
(Ireland's Telegrams)  
BOSWORTH, from Montreal, arrived Gravesend 20.  
CAYDIAN NAVIGATOR, for Liverpool, left Quebec 20.  
CARINA, for Brisbane, left Gravesend 21.  
CARNARVONSHIRE, Yokohama, for London, arrd. Suez 20.  
CASTALIA, for Liverpool, left Boston 20.  
CHINA, from Alexandria, arrived Gravesend 21.  
CITY OF DELHI, Bassein for London, called Perim 20.  
COLONIAL, from London, arrived New Orleans 20.  
DUENDES, from London, arrived New York 20.  
KNIGHT TEMPLAR, from L'pool, arrived New York 20.  
KASTALLA, for Liverpool, left Savannah 20.  
KENUTA, from London, arrived Talcahuano 20.  
MESABA, for New York, left Gravesend 21.  
NORTONIAN, from Manchester, arrived Galveston 21.  
OLD NORTH STATE, for New York, left Gravesend 21.  
ORONTES, Brisbane for London, left Fort Said 20.  
ORSOVA, for London, left Acacia 20.  
PORT ADELAIDE, from London, arrived New York 21.  
PORT KEMBLA, Hull for Sydney, arrived Melbourne 21.  
RUNCIN, Brisbane for London, left Melbourne 20.  
SAXONIA, for New York, left Gravesend 21.  
SYDIA, Bombay for London, arrived Gibraltar 21.  
TROPIC, Brisbane for Liverpool, left Sydney 20.  
WARRI, for London, left Las Palmas 20.  
AQUITANIA, from Southampton, arrived New York 20.  
PANNONIA, from Naples, arrived New York 20.  
**LIVERPOOL SHIPPING.**  
Arrived  
City of Alton ..... Norfolk Alice Marie ..... Dunkirk  
Tarakian ..... New York Paratiah ..... Antwerp  
Solvicher ..... Georgia K. R. Kingabody ..... London  
Kellenora ..... Capetown Sunningdale ..... Antwerp  
War Pig ..... Hueiva Desado ..... Buenos Ayres  
Tarnholm ..... Copenhagen Steadfast ..... Galveston  
Highland Enterprises ..... Makkinonge ..... Sydney, C.E.  
Monte Video ..... Canadian Raider ..... Montreal  
Mayumbo ..... West Africa Sabeth ..... Boston  
Tempo ..... Rouen Sarah Joilife ..... Rotterdam  
San Teodoro ..... Buenos Aires Rajah ..... South Georgia  
Manhattan ..... New York Electrician ..... Galveston  
Median ..... New Orleans  
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City of Palermo..... Alexandria Zent ..... Santa Maria  
Vaux ..... Rouen Nervian ..... West India  
Blamo ..... Rangoon Sicily ..... Rosario  
Cervantes ..... Alicante La Rochelle ..... Brest  
Hyranthes ..... Newport News Mahopal ..... New York  
Oxonian ..... Boston Discoverer ..... Capetown

...to become responsible for her coast defence. The Government maintained the position that South Africa should become directly responsible so far as her means allowed.

There remained another question, especially important from the South African point of view, namely, the programme for the Constitutional Conference next year. It was essential for them and for other Dominions to have a clear conception of what their status as members of the British Empire was and their position in the League of Nations. The ideal he had always put before South Africa was a country which looked after herself, which was mistress in her own house and independent in all essential meanings of the word.—Reuter.

## THREAT OF BIG NAVIES.

### CANADA DEMANDS CLEAR THINKING.

(From our Correspondent.)

TORONTO, MAY 7.

Who is the enemy that the British Empire must now guard itself against? The question is asked wherever in Canada Imperial affairs and the approaching June Conference of Premiers is discussed. Is it broken Germany? Or helpless Russia? France, our bedfellow? The United States, our kinsman, or far away Japan?

It is hard to tell which of these suggestions strike Canadians as being the most fanciful. But it is evident that some persons in England—not the people, not Parliament—but busy persons who have had much to do with foreign relations in the past, the successors of the Simon Pure Jingo Imperialists of a few years ago, who in spots and at intervals seek to lay tribute upon the earth in the name of patriotism, who for the most part work in secret like the moles and who are as costly in politics as moles in the furrier's shop—these are about to produce a new defence scheme. To give the scheme any point there must be an enemy to aim it at.

In the game of world affairs Canada is young and probably unsophisticated, but most Canadians feel that with Germany disposed of we have not an enemy, real or potential, in the world. Then why the haste to rush into fresh defence expenditures?

As far as one can gauge, the country is a unit on two points with respect to the approaching Conference:—(1) That there shall be no attempt to impose an Imperial Constitutional reorganisation; (2) That there shall be no commitments as to Imperial Defence.

The Premier, who will be the Canadian delegate, goes with a free hand, but he can bring back not a decision but a recommendation. No other course is, or ever was, possible, not merely because of Canada's constitutional development, but because of the attitude of the public. Why, in view of such a situation, Mr. Churchill persists in describing the Conference as an Imperial Peace Cabinet is not understood here.

The debate in the Canadian Parliament marked another epoch in the development of Canadian national status. It was really the first Canadian debate on foreign relations as it was the first time a Canadian Premier had asked suggestions from his Parliament in advance of an Imperial Conference.

The speeches in particular of Sir Robert Borden and of Hon. N. W. Rowell, who occupies a similarly detached position, will warrant the closest study by students of foreign relations both in England and in the United States. Both emphasized the necessity of the United States being included in an agreement on disarmament. Both emphasized the necessity of Britain accepting Canada's recommendation on any issue involving the United States. Incidentally, Mr. Rowell expressed himself as opposed to a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, for one reason, because the United States is opposed to it.

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BAKENDALE'S MARCHESTER.—(ADVT.)

...in marked contrast to the Turks in Smyrna. I imagine the reason for the difference is that in Smyrna the military occupation is by another nation, while here it is by ourselves. The foreign military occupation of a large and overcrowded city inevitably creates ill-feeling. There are many personal complaints about the system of requisitioning houses, there are the deportations to Malta, and there is wounded national pride. For all these reasons it is both difficult for English people to learn the Turkish point of view and important for them to understand it.

### The Governing Class's Aspirations.

The principal points in the Nationalist programme are all, I think, expressions of one fundamental motive—the desire to be on an equality with Western nations. Equality does not mean identity. The Turkish nation has certain traditions that are better than those of many other nations, and, like every nation, it does not underestimate the number of its special virtues. Mere imitation of the West has led the Turks into many pitfalls already. But I think the Turkish consciousness is feeling its way towards something better than that. It aspires to a moral equality supplemented by the common ground of custom necessary for international relationships. If I am right in this diagnosis, then the present attitude of the Turkish governing class, however violent and intransigent some of its manifestations may be, is at least profoundly different from the attitude of its predecessors, who simply regarded Moslems as inherently superior to Christians and thought it right to assert this superiority by force. No doubt this old prejudice still has a strong hold on the Turkish mind, probably a stronger hold than the complementary prejudice about Christian superiority has upon our own. Nevertheless, it is a hopeful sign if the dominant party in Turkey are basing their policy on a new ideal which, if genuinely accepted and translated into practice, would make satisfactory relations between Christian and Moslem peoples possible for the first time in history. At any rate, it seems worth trying to meet the Turks on such ground by attempting to work towards this ideal from our side.

I know that scepticism will be expressed on account of Moslem fanaticism, yet I do not find the Turks more fanatical than their Christian neighbours. I met quite recently a Christian Pharisee and a Moslem publican. The Pharisee, who was the librarian of a distinguished educational institution and who had not been disturbed during the war, argued to me that the rival nation was uncivilised and that the uncivilised have no rights. The publican was an old reserve officer who had fought against us at the Dardanelles and is now living with his wife in a garret after losing four successive homes through the vicissitudes of war. Yet when I told him that I was English he embraced me and exclaimed that all men are brothers. Such individual instances are, of course, no ground for generalisations, but they do disprove generalisations in the opposite sense.

The actual claims of the Nationalist Government at Angora are widely, almost universally, approved by the politically-conscious part of the Turkish nation. I will leave the discussion of them to another article, and will merely state my opinion here that there is nothing fanatical about them, though on a number of points there may have to be accommodation between Turkey and her neighbours. Of course there are difficulties in the programme. There is the general difficulty that the Turks are claiming the full sovereign powers enjoyed by a Western country before they have proved that they can or will act up to Western standards. No doubt during the war the Ottoman Government did abuse the four years' licence it secured through the breakdown of the Concert of Europe, but on this there are two things to be said: First, what Western nation would like to be sentenced on its war record; and, secondly, granting that the Turks have given little proof that they would use full sovereignty well, how can they ever be expected to do so unless they are given, not so much the physical opportunity, but the confidence and respect of other nations that the giving of it would imply? There is an

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Vaux	Bangkok	Sicily	Boario
Bhamo	Algeria	La Rochelle	Braz
Cervantes	Algeria	Mahopol	New York
Hydruntis	Newport News	Discoverer	Capoten
Oxonian	Boston	Tonjet	London
Honorius	River Plate	Braywood	Flushing
Digby	Hullifax	Montreal	Avonmouth
Canada	Montreal	Cordishman	

**COTTON COMPANY'S REPORT.**  
ROYD SPINNING (Oldham).—No dividend for half year. Six months ago 1 1/2% per cent per annum.

### CATHEDRAL SERVICES.

Mattins at 11; Evensong at 3.30.  
Holy Communion: Week days, daily at 7.30 a.m.; Fridays (choral), at 11 a.m. Baptisms daily, after due notice.  
Monday (services rendered by men's voices only)—Mattins: Read, in B flat; Anthem: 424 (Lloyd). "I will sing of Thy power," Benaon; Bennett, in D minor; Anthem: 424 (Boyce). "The Lord is King."  
\* Signifies that a portion only of the words in the anthem-book will be sung.

(Continued from previous column.)

interesting parallel in the modern history of Japan. In Japan, as in Turkey, the national revival first manifested itself in a desire to shake off the shackles of foreign control; the foreign Powers insisted on their treaty rights and enforced them by naval operations; the Japanese populace in reprisal assaulted foreign subjects, and the Powers drew the moral that the capitulations must be enforced more rigidly than ever. There seemed no issue from the vicious circle until finally the Western nations changed their policy and decided to safeguard their interests in Japan by methods of trust instead of suspicion. In this case trust has worked wonders. May not the issue from the present impasse in Turkey lie this way? Of course there are special difficulties here. Turkey is not, like Japan, a country with a homogeneous population lying off the main routes of international traffic. The experiment in equality of treatment would risk other interests besides those of the Turkish nation, and there would have to be some compromise over the non-Turkish minorities and the Straits. But these concrete questions, important though they are, are not nearly so important as the general spirit of the relationship between Turkey and the Western peoples, and if that spirit could be improved I believe that political problems which at present seem insoluble might become capable of being settled by agreement.

### A Sincere Movement.

The last point I want to make about the Turkish national movement is that it is sincere. None of the Turks with whom I have spoken are light-hearted about the present war, nor do they regard it as an investment that will bring in a return or as a satisfaction to their national vanity. They are all war-weary. They know quite well that their treasury is bankrupt, that half Istanbul is burnt down, that the only provinces untouched by the Great War are being ravaged by this one, and that the courtyard of every mosque is crowded with refugees. They do not disguise from themselves that this war after ten years of war is a disaster for their nation, yet, rightly or wrongly, they do believe that they have no choice but to wage it. I have found this spirit among reserve officers who had all been from four to six years on active service, and several of whom now found themselves prisoners for the second time. "We want peace," they said with unmistakable conviction, "but the war cannot stop so long as Greece occupies Smyrna." I have heard the same feeling expressed in other forms; for instance, "We accept the consequences of defeat up to a point, but not when they are a death sentence." But the most characteristic expression of the Turkish attitude seems to me to be the following:—"You must either exterminate us or treat us as equals." Clearly we do not intend the first of these alternatives, but in that case is not the only reasonable policy to choose the other?

GEORGE OLD FORT.—"Double C," a specialty of the house; 64/- per dozen, 7/- per bottle. FINEST and MACKIE LTD., South Street, Royal Exchange, Manchester.—(ADVT.)

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