

# The Economic Condition of India

DURING

## The Sixteenth Century



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## PREFACE

I would not have ventured to place before the public this somewhat incomplete study of the economic conditions of India at the time of Akbar's conquest but for the demand for copies of the paper I read under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir John Thompson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., at three of the sittings of the Historical Study Circle in Delhi. If it serves to arouse interest in a much neglected aspect of Indian History and to correct the impression created by Mr. Moreland's writings, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

Delhi University, April 1929.

H. L. Chablani.

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## Introductory

Historical research has made considerable progress in India during the last quarter of a century ; but inspite of excellent monographs on particular topics, a real history of the Indian people has yet to be written. It is not so much the material necessary for the purpose that is lacking as the ability to take a proper perspective of India as a whole, and to take due note of the fact that a *real* history of a country is not a chronicle of its court and of the fortunes of its court adventurers but a record of the condition, economic, social, intellectual, and religious of its people as a whole. Old habits die hard ; and it is so easy to follow the beaten track, marked by the foot-steps of Muslim and Anglo-Indian historians, whose hopes and ambitions were centered either on the kingdom of Delhi or on the fortunes of the East India Company. But from the 12th to the 16th century, the history of the kingdom of Delhi is certainly *not* the history of India *as a whole*, for except for occasional intervals during this period, the *major* portion of the country was outside the jurisdiction of the kings of Delhi. From the death of Aurangzebe right up to the time of Lord Wellesley, the *greater* part of our country was neither under the Moghul rule nor under the control of the East India Company ; but the space devoted to these two in the pages of Indian history as it is written at the present day, is apt to create just the opposite impression and to give a misleading perspective of India as a whole. In one of those illumf-

nating passages which indicate Dr. Marshall's great breadth of vision and his capacity for valuing at their proper worth the various factors that have governed the lives of men, he rightly draws attention to the fact that "the great forming agencies of the world's history have been the religious and the economic," and reminds us that the "religious and economic influences have nowhere been displaced from the front rank *even for a time*" and that they "have nearly always been more important than all others put together." And yet but for occasional paragraphs which conceal more than they reveal and often end exactly where they begin to be interesting, none of the recent writers on Indian History, with the notable exceptions of Moreland and Balkrishna, has anything substantial to say on the economic aspects of Indian History. Speaking from ~~partial~~ acquaintance with some of the available sources of information, I feel confident that it is possible to supply the existing gaps in Indian history by avoiding these two fatal mistakes, and by diverting energies from the mechanical task of identifying this place or that place, verifying this date or that, or even collecting and collating unpublished manuscripts, to the more important and difficult task of tracing the general tendencies and movements, and of picking out the *significant* facts from a mass of worthless details that fill the pages of many of the existing volumes. It is more with a view to stimulate interest in this re-construction of Indian history than to fill up these gaps myself that I have ventured to give you today a few glimpses of the economic condition of India on the eve of the Moghul conquest by Akbar, or in the period immediately preceding the destruction of the Vijayanagar kingdom.

#### OUR SOURCES

At the very outset, it is necessary to emphasise the truism that economic and social conditions know very few

abrupt revolutions; they are generally the result of changes that take place silently and slowly even in the restless West, much more so in the quiet East. Our survey of economic conditions at any point of time must, on that account, necessarily involve a reference to the period before and the period after any particular date that we choose for our study. We shall, therefore, have to draw our materials for a picture of India in the first half of the 16th century both from the 15th century and the second half of the 16th, when the Mughals under Akbar completed their conquest of Hindustan. Our sources of information on this particular aspect of History are the observations of a number of foreign travellers who visited India in the 15th and the 16th centuries, and the occasional references to economic facts in the Indian Chronicles and Memoirs. Our first informants are Mahaun, a Chinese interpreter who came to Bengal in 1405, and the Venetian Conti who visited Vijayanagar about the year 1420; we have then Abdul Razaak, an envoy of Persia, who came to India in the year 1442 and travelled extensively in the south, followed by Nikitin, a Russian Armenian who travelled through a portion of the Bidar Kingdom during the period 1470-74. Later on, we have not only Vasco-de-Gama but also Ludovico-di-Varthema, a citizen of Bologna who left Europe for his eastern travels towards the close of 1502, and Duarte Barbosa who was in the service of the Portuguese government from about 1500 till about 1516 or 1517. The accounts of these travellers are supplemented by the invaluable narrative of the Portuguese Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz, translated for English readers by Sewell in his "Forgotten Empire." On the Indian side we have a few significant facts noted in Todd's Rajasthan, some interesting observations made by Babur in his Memoirs and by Mirza Haider in his chronicle, and occasional references to economic facts in the Persian chronicles translated in Dorne's History of India and Elliot's



History of India as told by its Historians, and lastly the mine of information contained in Abul Fazi's *Ain-i-Akbari*. Occasionally for the purpose of verification and verification only, I shall call attention to some of the observations of even later European travellers who visited India in the latter half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, though unlike Moreland I feel it rather unsafe to apply without discrimination to the year 1525 or 1556 or even 1565 the observations of travellers during so long a period as the interval between the account of Conti and the *Memoirs of Jehangir*. Nor am I prepared to accept without qualification Moreland's dictum that the period is marked by uniformity rather than diversity, for there is a vital difference between the settled condition in the south and the unsettled conditions in a part of Northern India during the period relevant to our enquiry. Moreover, I find it difficult to believe that the long wars of Sher Shah and Akbar, and the destruction of the extensive kingdom of Vijayanagar had no effect on the economic condition of the people of India towards the close of Akbar's reign. It is best, therefore, to confine oneself to the sources for the period before the completion of Akbar's conquest, and make very sparing use, and that only for the purpose of removing a possible doubt, of the material available for the reign of Jehangir or even for the latter part of Akbar's reign.

#### DELHI NOT THE CHIEF CENTRE OF INTEREST.

At the time of Babur's invasion the empire of Delhi had practically ceased to exist, the effective sovereignty of its kings having been limited to Delhi, Agra and the districts along the Jumna for nearly a century. The reins of its power had fallen into weak and feeble hands. The terrible Timur, that curse of mankind, had from all contemporary accounts inflicted on the Delhi Kingdom a blow from which even in modern days it would have been

difficult to recover in less than 50 years under strong and capable hands. But hardly had Timur left, when pestilence and famine completed his destructive work; and if we are to believe the testimony of the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, affairs had come to such a pass that during the years 1441 to 1445 "there were empires at 20 Kos from Delhi, which shook off their allegiance and made pretence of their independence." Babur himself bears a striking testimony to the state of insecurity that prevailed in at least a portion of the North. "In Hindustan," says he, "the populousness and decay of villages and even cities is most instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years, if on an alarm the inhabitants take to flight, in a single day or a day and a half are so completely abandoned that you can scarcely discover trace or a mark of population." It is necessary to bear these particular facts in mind when reading the description of the economic condition of India in the *Memoirs of Babur*, for a part of that description is applicable only to the portion of India in which this state of insecurity existed, viz. the portion wrested by Babur from the hands of the feeble rulers of Delhi. Political conditions in the rest of India were entirely different. The Hindu Kingdom of Mewar was at the height of its glory; and in the opinion of Todd, but for Babur's invasion "the crown of Chakarvarta might again have been encircling round the brow of a Hindu and the banner of supremacy transferred from Indraprastha to the battlements of Chittor." The boundaries of Mewar were Bianna to the north, Malwa to the south, Indus to the east and native hills of Mewar to the west. The princes of Marwar and Amber and the Rajas of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raeson, Kalpy, Chanderi, Boondi, Gagrown, Rampura, Abu—all acknowledged the supremacy of Mewar. In the south of India, the kingdom of Vijayanagar had been under capable rulers for more than two centuries and was at the time of Babur's invasion

in the hey-day of its prosperity. When Abdur Razaak visited it, it extended "from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulburga and from Bengal to Malabar." The Portuguese Nuniz tells us that all southern India was under Krishna Dev's sway and that many quasi independent chiefs were his vassals including "the chiefs of Seringapatam, Bankapur (40 miles south of Dharwar), Garsopa, Calicut, Bhatkal, Barkur." Duarte Barbosa tells us that the Kingdom "is so great that it contains five vast provinces, each with its own language. The first of these extends along the coast as far as Malabar, and this they call Tolinate, and another in the back country behind it, which they call *Danseam Rayen*. The next which marches with the kingdom of Narsyngua proper, is called *Telingu*; then the city of Bisnaga itself, which they call Canarim, and the Kingdom of Charamandel, where the language is Tamil. This kingdom is very widespread, and a very fruitful land with many farmsteads, large villages, towns and cities." During the period of Krishan Dev's Raj, 1509 to 1530, the Vijayanagar's army had been everywhere victorious. It had conquered the eastern petty chiefs, inflicted a crushing defeat on Bijapur at the siege and battle of Raichpur (1520) and occupied the city of Bijapur itself. The Portuguese Domingos Paes adds that this kingdom "has 300 graoas of coast, each graoas being a league—until you arrived at Ballagate and Coromandel: and in breadth it is 164 graoas, each large graoas measures two of our leagues, so that it has six hundred leagues of coast, and across it 340 leagues ... across from Batacalla to the kingdom of Oriya. And this kingdom marches with all the territory of Bengal and on the other side to the north with the kingdom of the Deccan, belonging to which are the lands of Yadallcao (Adilkhan) and Ozemelluco, (Nizamshah of Ahmednagar). The land of Malabar extending over "one hundred and thirty leagues along the coast" from a place called Cumbola belonged

then to the Hindu States of Cananore, Calicut, Cochin and Coulam<sup>1</sup>. Gwalior, Bundelkhand, Central India were under Hindu rulers. So was the kingdom of Orissa which marched "with the kingdom of Narsyngua on the one side, and with Bengala on the other, and on yet another side, with the kingdom of Dely." Even among the Mohamadan kingdoms, Delhi was easily the most insignificant. The Muslim rulers of Gujrat, Bengal or Malwa had then a far better claim to supremacy than the enfeebled and worthless rulers of Delhi. The power of Gujrat kings in particular was at its height. Their dominion embraced not only what is now known as Gujrat but also Sirohi, Jhalor, and Nagore, Dungarpore and Bansvada in Rajputana ; Nandurbar now in Khandesh ; Mulhir and Baglan now in Nasik, Jangira, Bombay, Bassein and Daman now in the Konkan ; Sorath and Navanagar now in Kathiawar, and Kutch. Its kings received not only the revenues of their twenty five districts, but also tribute from the rulers of Ahmednagar, Berhanpur, Berar, Golkonda and Bijapur, and customs dues from 25 ports on the Western Coast of India and 26 foreign marts, some of them in India and others in the Persian Gulf and along the Arabian Coasts.<sup>2</sup> As for Bengal, the "Decadas" of Joa De Barros tells us that the trade of Gour and that of all Bengala was such that "Soltham Bahadur (Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat) would say that he was one, the king of Narsinga two and the King of Bengala three, that is that the King of Bengalla alone held as much as he and King of Narsinga held jointly." It is thus plain that if we are to take a view of the economic condition of India as a *whole* at this period we must attach much more importance to the conditions prevailing in Vijayanagar, Gujrat, Mewar, Malabar and Bengal than to those existing in the petty kingdom of Delhi. At any rate, Delhi cannot be our chief centre of interest ; and it is necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa Vol. II pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Bird pp. 110. 129 and 130.

bear this in mind at every stage of our inquiry lest the centuries' old glamour of Delhi leads us astray.

### POPULOUSNESS OF INDIA

Our very first European traveller, the Venetian Conti found India densely populated and ventured to give the following significant explanation of this fact:—"Pestilence is unknown among the Indians; neither are they exposed to those diseases which carry off the population in our own country: the consequence is that the numbers of these people and nations exceed belief."<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl, writing a century and a half later conveys much the same impression, observing, "you cannot accomplish a stage or indeed travel a *Kos* without meeting populous towns and flourishing villages."<sup>2</sup> At any rate all accounts seem to agree that Vijayanagar was very thickly populated, as compared to any European country at this time. Abdur Razaak who travelled through Vijayanagar in 1442 tells us that "it is so well populated that it is impossible to give an idea of it without entering into the most extensive details. Travelling between Manglore and Belour (Bednoore) he observes that after passing a fine temple, three parasangs from Mangalore, "I came *each* day to some city or populous town." And referring to the commerce of the country, he significantly adds that the King of Vijayanagar "has 300 seaports, every one of which is equal to Calicut," whose extent of commerce had struck him with wonder. Duarte Barbosa notes that it "possesses many great cities, towns, villages and fortresses," while Domingos Pass confirms this description by repeating "that the whole country is thickly populated with cities and villages." Along the Coromandel coast there were "many cities, towns and villages wherein dwelt great numbers of Heathen folk;"<sup>3</sup> while the coast of Canara

<sup>1</sup> Major pp. 26-32.

<sup>2</sup> A in. Vol. III Blochmann pp. 7

<sup>3</sup> Barbosa Vol. II pp. 125.

district in particular was so densely populated as to elicit from Barbosa the remark: "albeit the country is but small, yet it is so fulfilled of people, that it may well be called one town from Mount Dely to Coulam."<sup>1</sup>

Much the same impression is left on the mind by the available evidence about the populousness of the Deccan or the South of India under Muslim rule. At the time of Nikitin's visit, Bidar was a large city and contained "a great many people." He took one month and 10 days in travelling from Jooneer to Koluberg (Kulberga) via Bidar and Kulougher and found that "between these large towns there are many small ones; three for each day, and occasionally four. So many *Kos*, so many towns."<sup>2</sup> The Sultan of Bidar had, we are told, 300,000 men of his troops; while among his nobles, Melick-Tuchar kept an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan 100,000 men, Kharat Khan, 20,000; and many other Khans had 10,000 armed men. In another place Nikitin gives us the detailed composition of the Sultan's army which brings up its total strength to over 9 lakhs.<sup>3</sup> At Pervota (Perwattum) he saw a famous temple, *Budhkhana* as he calls it, to which people from all parts of India were drawn during a fair held there annually for 5 days. "Twenty millions of people", he tells us, "assemble at Bootkhana, but sometimes, *hundred millions*". Duarte Barbosa adds that "in this kingdom of Deccan there are many great cities and many towns and villages in the inland country, inhabited by Moors and Heathens. The country is exceedingly fertile yielding much food, and with great traffic."<sup>4</sup> This is confirmed by Ralph Fitch who found the Kingdom of Bidar "marvellous great and a populous country."<sup>5</sup> As regards War-rangal which was at this period incorporated with the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, the remains of old irrigation works among which is to be found Pakhal, one

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa II, 194. <sup>2</sup> Travels of Nikitin pp. 12; <sup>3</sup> Nikitin 27-8

<sup>4</sup> Barbosa I, 178. <sup>5</sup> Foster's early Travels pp16.

of the largest artificial lakes, some twelve miles square with an average depth between thirty and forty feet, about 25 miles from Warrangal in a part of the country which at the present time has not enough population to make use of its water, raise a strong presumption that it was then not only thickly populated but also highly cultivated. Outside the limits of the Vijayanagar and the Bahmini Kingdoms, we had then the prosperous "land of Malabar" containing the Hindu states of Cananore, Calicut, Cochin and Coulam with their many thriving coastal towns; and inland from the Kingdom of Calicut, the country was "thickly peopled" by Nayres who were very fine men and gave "obedience to no king."<sup>1</sup>

About the north of India or Hindustan proper, the observations of European travellers in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir show that Gujrat and the country on the roads from Multan to Lahore and from Agra to the borders of Bengal must also have been thickly populated; and this is confirmed by the direct evidence available for the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nikitin tells us that "the banks of the Ganges were covered with towns amidst beautiful gardens and orchards." Barbosa states that "the river Ganges is very great and fair on both banks and well peopled with fair and wealthy Heathen cities,"<sup>2</sup> that in the Kingdom of Bengalla "are many towns, as well inland as on the coast, the inhabitants whereof are Heathen,<sup>3</sup> that the king of Bengal "is a great and rich Lord over wide and thickly peopled lands,"<sup>4</sup> and "there dwell there as well strangers from many lands, such as Arabs, Persians, Abexis and Indians; and this by reason that this land is large, fruitful and healthy."<sup>4</sup> Ralph Fitch (1583-9) found "the country very fruitful and populous" when "he went from Prage down the Ganges."<sup>5</sup> The Kingdom of Otisa (Orissa) extended "far

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa ii, 81-5. <sup>2</sup> Barbosa ii, 134. <sup>3</sup> Barbosa ii, 135.

<sup>4</sup> Barbosa ii, 139-40 and 143. <sup>5</sup> Foster pp 20

inland"; its people were Heathen and "very good fighting men;" and its king had "a mighty army of foot-soldiers" and was often at war with him of Narsyngua.<sup>1</sup> Of Gujrat it is said that "this kingdom is very great and possesses many towns and cities along the coast and inland, and many seaports with much sea-trade, wherein dwell great merchants both Moors and Heathen, who trade here in great abundance of goods,"<sup>2</sup> and that the true king of Guzerate is a very great Lord, as well *by the people he rules* as by the revenues he enjoys, and his very wealthy country."<sup>3</sup> He describes Cambay as "a well built city *in a beautiful and fertile country* filled with merchants of all nations, and with artisans and manufacturers like those of Flanders." Babur in his Memoirs observes that "the empire of Hindustan is extensive, populous and rich," and that the "population of Hindustan being unlimited, the inhabitants swarm in every direction."

No direct evidence is available for the populousness of Mewar. But we know that for nearly two centuries before Babur's invasion the country enjoyed peace and freedom from foreign attacks; and if Todd's account based upon Rajput annals is to be believed, the country had the benefit of very strong and capable rulers in Koombho (1419) and Sanga (1509) and Rana Sanga was an "heir to 10,000 towns of Mewar." The large armies they commanded and the magnificent public works ascribed to the rulers of Mewar in the two centuries preceding Babur, raise a presumption that it too must have been well-populated. This presumption is supported strongly by what the Ain tells us about the strength of Rajput cavalry and infantry in Akbar's service. Leaving out of account the Bhati, Jarejah, Januhah, Sescodia, Chandrawat and Parihara clans for which no particulars are given in the copy of the Ain translated by Jarret, the total cavalry and infantry supplied by other Rajput clans amounted

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa ii, 133.    <sup>2</sup> Barbosa i 108.    <sup>3</sup> Barbosa i, 117.



to 2,62000 horse and 12,25000 foot.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate to draw the inference that in point of populousness it could not have been an exception to the general rule.

### CITIES.

This general impression is confirmed strongly by the detailed description of particular cities in India of this period. Varthema describes Cananor as "a fine and large city" with a "very strong" castle and "much traffic"; and Conti found Calicut "a maritime city, eight miles in circumference, a noble emporium for all India, abounding in pepper, lac, ginger, a larger kind of cinnamon, myrobalans and zedvary." Abdur Razaak too was "struck by the extent of the commerce in Calicut," and tells us that "ships from China to Eastern Africa had their rendezvous in Calicut" and that "everything is procurable at this port." And if we are to believe his further statement that the "king of Vijayanagar has 300 seaports, every one of which is equal to Calicut," the kingdom of Vijayanagar must have been very thickly populated. The same traveller describes the city of Vijayanagar as "a place extremely large and thickly populated," and gives a glowing description of it in the following vein:—"The city of Vijayanagar is such that the eye has not seen nor the ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Between the first, second and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the 3rd to the 7th fortress, shops and bazaars are closely crowded together...By the palace of the King (in the 7th fortress) there are four Bazaars, situated opposite to one another. The Bazaars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides." According to Venetian Conti, the circum-

Jarret's translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* iii,117-8.

ference of the city was 60 miles: its walls were carried up to the mountain and enclosed the valleys at their foot, so that its extent was thereby increased. "In this city," continues Conti, "there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms." Duarte Barbosa (1514) describes it as a "great city", "wherein dwell folk without numbers." with "great and fair palaces," "water tanks in great numbers." "gardens full of trees and sweet scented herbs." "great traffic and endless number of merchants and wealthy men," and "long streets with many open places "where the folk are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them."<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese Paes (1520) observes that "the people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous: but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and the elephants. "The size of city I could not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it: *I could not see it all* because it lies between several ranges of hills. *What* I saw from thence seemed to me *as large as Rome* and very beautiful to the sight." The city thus was, according to Paes, *much larger than Rome*, and not as Moreland misquoting Paes states "*as large as Rome*." In another passage Paes is still more definite. "Of the city of Bisanga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in it, all one-storyed and flat-roofed." Assuming only 5 souls per house even in those days when cots were seldom used in Indian cities and Hindu families were normally joint, the population of the city of Vijayanagar must have been more than 5 lakhs. Even this must be an under-estimate, for a city of 5 lakhs cannot possibly supply 90,000 men fit to bear arms, as this city did according to Conti. At a

distance of eight day's journey from Vijayanagar, Conti saw the "very noble city of Pelagonda, ten miles in circumference:" and travelling thence by land, he "passed two cities viz Odeschira and Cenderghiria where the red sandal-wood grows," and visited "a city and seaport called Pendifetania" and a "maritime city named Malepur".<sup>1</sup>

Among other good-sized cities of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar Duarte Barbosa specifically describes Mergen (Mirgan), Honor (Onor), Baticala (Bhatkal), Majaudur, Bacanor and Bracalor, Mangalor, Cunhola (Kumblah), and Palea-cate (Pulicat.)<sup>2</sup>

Of Bidar, the capital of the Bidar Kingdom at this time, Nikitin says, "Bidar is the chief town of the whole of Mahomedan Hindustan: the city is large, and contains a great many people".<sup>3</sup> Barbosa refers to it as a place "where there is great luxury". The description given by these travellers is generally confirmed by Ralph Fitch who was in India during 1583-91, by Monsieur Thevenot who visited it in 1667 and by the noble ruins of the city disclosed by archaeological investigations. Chaul, an important port of the Bidar Kingdom at this time, was a centre of "great trade" where according to Barbosa "ever in the months of December, January, February and March a great concourse of ships is found, the more part of which are from the land of Malabar, and from many other parts as well". And leaving out of account the towns of Danda (Danda Rajpur), Mandaba (probably Kol-Mandla), Cinguicar (Sangameshwar), Bamda (Vengoria), which are all described as places of great trade and much shipping, there was Dabul, "a great town of Moors and Heathen", and "a fine and well-situated place",<sup>4</sup> which had a very good harbour" whither sailed "many ships of the Moors from diverse lands, to wit, from Meca, Aden and Ormuz (which bring hither many

<sup>1</sup> Major pp. 7

<sup>2</sup> Barbosa i, pp 185-197 and ii, pp 129.

<sup>3</sup> Major pp 14

<sup>4</sup> Barbosa i 166

horses) and from Cambaya, Dio and Malabar, which constantly dealt in goods of *every* kind, with many very worthy merchants, of whom some in this land were of great wealth, as well Moors as Heathen", and where" great sums of money were gathered in at the custom-house".<sup>1</sup> Goa, another important possessions of the Bidar Kingdom was even then "a very great" city situated amidst an "exceeding fertile" country on land that by reason that the harbour was exceeding good, had great trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Meca, the city of Adem, Ormuz, Cambaye, and Malabar".<sup>2</sup> Bijapoor too must have been a fair city at this time: for many years it had been the seat of a Governor of the Bahamane King: Yusuf Adil Shah, the first King of Bijapur who reigned from 1489-1510 had built its famous citadel and commenced its city walls: and at the time of Vartbema visit it was an "extremely beautiful" city, and 'very fertile'.<sup>3</sup> Ahmednagar which was built by Ahmedshah in 1495 is reported by Ferishta to have "rivalled in splendour Bagdad and Cairo". Ellichpore, the capital of Berar, and Golconda, which were founded at this time must have been fairly large towns: and so also Doulatabad and Burhanpur which are frequently mentioned by Muslim historians of the period as places of importance. In the extreme South, the Kingdom of Cananor contained Maravel (Madayi), "an old town, prosperous and well-furnished with food", Balaerpartam (Vallarepattanam), "a very fine Moorish and Heathen town," Taliparam (Taliparamba), a town that had "great traffic with the merchants of the kingdom of Narsyngna", Cananor, a "great city inhabited by many Moors and Heathen", Tremopatam "a great town of Moors, rich merchants owning many and great ships", and Quategatam (Kottayam), "another large and wealthy town of the Moors", the inhabitants whereof carried on"

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa i 164-5    <sup>2</sup> Barbosa i 175    <sup>3</sup> Vartbema pp 117

a very great trade with those of Narsynga" <sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Calicut had besides Calicut important towns and harbours at Tiramuingate (Tellichery), Maujaim (Maha), Chamobai (Chombala), Pedirpatam (Puthupanam), Capucate (Kappat), Chiliate (Chaliyam), Propriamguary (Parappanangodi), Parananor, Tanor, and Pananee, Chatua (Chatwai), and Craganore— all great centres of trade and much shipping. <sup>2</sup> Quilon, then the capital of the Kingdom of Coilam was a very great city "with a right good haven" whither "came Moors, Heathen, and Christians in great numbers". <sup>3</sup>

In the North-West of India, the most important towns then as now were Srinagar, Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Of Srinagar, we are fortunate in having a fairly detailed description from Mirza Haider, a companion of Himayun, who invaded Kashmir in 1533. He tells us that "in the town there are many lofty buildings, constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are at least five stories high and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who beheld them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to the exterior. The passages in the markets and the streets of the city are all paved with hewn stone .....The population of this city is equal to that of [the other] large towns." At the time of Timur's invasion, Lahore is mentioned as a city of sufficient importance to have been captured and held to ransom by Timur's armies [1399]: while Father Monserrate visiting it in the reign of Akbar describes it as a "city second to none either in Asia or in Europe with regard to size, population and wealth", "crowded with merchants" who foregather there from all over Asia", and having "a population so large that men jostle each other in the streets," and a citadel built of brick laid in cement with a circumference of

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1 Barbosa ii 79-83 ; 2 Barbosa ii 84-9 ; 3 Barbosa ii 97.

nearly 3 miles and "the remainder of the city (outside the citadel) widely spread".<sup>1</sup> During the turbulent period covered by the rule of the Syeds and the Lodis, it must have suffered a good-deal owing to frequent sieges and plunder by opposing factions, for we are told by the author of *Tarikhi Mubarakshahi* that in 1421 it was "a ruined city in which no living thing except the owl of ill-omen had its abode" and that Mubarakshah had therefore to commence its rebuilding; but at the time of Babur's invasion it must have been on a fair way to recovery under the administration of Dowlat Khan Lodi, the powerful Governor of Lahore who invited Babur to India. It was still the capital of the province, and Babur's army, elated with their success plundered it and burnt its bazar.<sup>2</sup> Modern Delhi is the creation of Shah Jehan, but even the Delhi of the 14th century was according to Ibn Batuta "a magnificent city, its mosque and walls being without an equal on earth," though at the time he visited it "the greatest city in the world, had the fewest inhabitants" owing to the folly of Mohammad Tughlaq.<sup>3</sup> At a distance of 5 Kos from this old Delhi, Ferozshah Tughlak had founded Ferozabad which included, according to the author of *Tarikhi Ferozshahi*, "the kasba of Indrapat, the Serai of Shaikh Malik Yar Paran, the Serai of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the village of Gawin, the land of Kethwara, the land of Lahrawat, the land of Andhrawali, the land of Serai of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultan Raziya, the land of Bhari, the land of Mahrola and the land of Sultanpur," and had so many buildings erected in it that "from the Kasba of Indrapat to the Kushki--Shikar, five cos apart, all the land was occupied".<sup>4</sup> Timur had inflicted on it a blow from which it could not have recovered under the feeble and foolish Syeds and Lodhis. His troops had sacked the city and indulged in bloodshed and rapine for several days, raised, pillars of skulls of the slaughtered Hindus and in the words of the

1 Monserrate's commentary pp. 159-60. 2 Babur's Memoirs pp 151,

3 Elliot iii, 585. 4 Elliot iii, 303,

Muslim historian "given their bodies as food to their birds and beasts, and sent their souls to the Depths of Hell." The artisans of Delhi had been deported to the various provinces of Timur's empire and stone-masons to Samarqand to construct his Friday Mosque. Famine and pestilence followed in Timur's wake, and so complete is said to have been the destruction that "the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left behind died, while for two whole months not a bird moved wing in Delhi." The century that followed was but for occasional intervals a period of utter confusion; so that we can safely presume that Delhi was on the decline at the time of Babur's conquest. Agra, which at the time of Fitch's visit [1583-1591] was "much greater than London and very populous" was the creation of Akbar. William Finch [1608-11] tells us that "Agra had not been in fame above 50 years, being before Akbar's time a village"; but the old Agra founded by Sikandar Lodhi in 1506 on the left bank of the Jumna must have been a city of considerable importance as the residence of the Lodhi Sultans and the headquarters of the army.

Meerut is said to have offered stout resistance to Timur. Prayag, Benares and Ayoudhia as ancient cities of Hindu pilgrimage must have been cities of considerable importance, Prayag being in William Finch's time (1608-11) "one of the wonders of the East" and Benares the "principal mart of Bengal goods", and Ayudhia being "one of the largest cities of India" in the days of the Ain. Ralph Fitch (1583-91) tells us that when he with his party went down the Ganges to Patna, on the way they "passed many faire towns, and a country very fruitful", and found that "Pathenaw is a very long and a great town." William Finch (1608-11) describes Kanauj, a city of great military importance mentioned in Babur's Memoirs, as "the citie great and unwalled, seated on an ascent, and the castle on the height well-fortified. Lucknow is described in the Ain as

“a large city on the banks of Gumti, delightful in its surroundings,”<sup>1</sup> and in William Finch’s account “as a town of great traffique for linnen and other merchandise”. Jaunpur founded by Firoz Taghluk (1359-60) was for more than eighty years the capital of Sherkhi Kings, who have left behind creditable memorials in the public buildings of Jaunpur, and continued to be a city of considerable importance not only in the days of Akbar when William Finch described it as a producing centre for “excellent oils, carpets, hangings embroidered with silk, all sorts of linnen etc”, but also in the reign of Jehangir when Fancisco Pelsart states that it “produces and exports large quantities of cotton goods, such as turbans, girdles, white *Chelas* (probably a plain calico), *zelal* (calico), *T’ser*, and coarse carpets”. In Bengal, the wide flung ruins of *Gaur* where the Muslims successively established their capital during 1338-1526 bear elequent testimony to its former greatness as a city. In the days of Hussaini Dynasty it is said to have been three leagues in length and to have contained 200,000 inhabitants. Its streets according to De.Barros, “where so thronged with the con-course and traffic of people.....that they could not force their way past”. Sailing up the mouth of the Ganges, at the end of 15 days, Conti came to “a large and wealthy city”, called *Cernove*.<sup>2</sup> Proceeding up the river Ganges for the space of three months, Conti left behind him “four very famous cities” and landed at “an extremely powerful city called Maarazia”.<sup>2</sup> We are further told by the Barbosa that the Kingdom of Bengala had “many towns, as well inland as on the coast, the inhabitants whereof (were) Heathen”, while the Moors dwelt “in the seaports where there (was) great traffic in goods of many kinds and sailing of ships both great and small to many countries”. Sonargaon, situated fifteen miles

1 “a very large town” according to De Laet pp 72. 2 Major pp. 10.



east of modern Dacca was another large town in Bengal, having been the capital of Eastern Bengal during 1351-1608. Satagam (Satagaon) on a creek which entered the Hugli was another town of importance, being described by Fitch (1583-91) as "a fair city for a city of the Moores, and very plentiful of all things".<sup>1</sup> Chittagong must also have been a great trading centre, being referred to by the Portuguese travellers as *Porto Grande*.

In Sind, Tattah was a great centre of commerce. All earlier accounts seem to confirm the statement of Nicholas Withington who was in India during 1612-16 that "no cities is by general report of greater trade in the Indies than Tattah"—an impression strengthened by its vast ruins at the present time. Bukkur too is mentioned several times as a chief city of upper Sind. All accounts also agree that in Gujrat the chief city was Cambay. According to Nicolo de Conti (1420-44) it was "a very noble city situated near to the sea"<sup>2</sup>, 12 miles in circuit abounding in spikenard, lac, indigo, myrobalans and silk.<sup>3</sup> Athanasius Nikitin (1468—1471) found it a "manufacturing place for every sort of goods as long gowns, damasks and blankets." Varthema who visited the west coast in 1502 makes the observation that "Calicut rivalled Cambay for the dignity of being the greatest port in India"—a statement that shows that Cambay was as populous as Calicut. Barbosa confirms this, saying it "is a great and fair city in which dwell substantial merchants and men of great fortune, both Moors and Heathen. There are also many craftsmen of mechanic trades in cunning work of many kinds as in Flanders." Among the other great and fine cities of Gujrat, Barbosa mentions the city of Champanel (Champaner) where the King "always dwells with all his court," and where "there is enough and to spare of all things." In the inland country going forwards from this city of

Champaner, there was, according to Barbosa, "another much greater than it, called Andava (Ahmedabad) in which the kings of this kingdom held their courts of old, in as much as it is *very rich*."<sup>1</sup> The Ain tells us that it had as many 360 surburbs while Mirati Ahmedi adds that each of its 380 surburbs was "of considerable size, containing good buildings and markets filled with everything valuable and rare so that each was almost a city."<sup>2</sup> According to De Laet, it was the headquarters of 35 large rural areas, containing 2995 villages with an annual revenue of 6 millions of gold pieces.<sup>3</sup> Patanexy, identified by Sir E. C. Bayley with Virawal, the port of Somnath, was then "a large town with a good harbour, rich and with much trade,"<sup>4</sup> while Curiate (Sorath) and Manglor (Manoglossoe) too "had good harbours and much trade."<sup>5</sup> Diu is described as a great town which had a right good harbour, a trading port used by many ships, with *exceeding great* traffic and commerce with Malabar, Baticala, Goa, Chaul, and Dabul."<sup>6</sup> Between Diu and Cambay there were "many havens pertaining to the kingdom of Gujrat, places with much trade," the chief of which was a large town with a good harbour Cuogarim ( Gogo )<sup>7</sup>; Barbasy [ Bhavnagar ] was also "a good port with much shipping," and a customs house which yielded the King "great revenues." Gandhar on the coast near Broach was another good town with "a very good harbour" in which all sorts of goods were dealt with, "for the reason that the great city of Cambaye is situated further up the same river".<sup>8</sup> Reynel (Rander) was then "a very pleasant and wealthy place" with "very fair houses and open places" wherein those who dwelt had "many great and fair vessels, and whosoever would have at his disposal things from Malaca and China, let him go to this place, where he will find them in greater perfection than in any other place soever".<sup>9</sup> Surat, which in

1 Barbosa pp 125; 2 Bird 311; 3 De Laet pp 23; 4 Barbosa pp. 126-127.  
5 Barbosa pp. 127-8; 6 Barbosa pp. 129; 7 Barbosa i, 134; 8 Barbosa pp. 137  
9 Barbosa pp. 146-7.

Monserate's days was "thronged with merchants" and "full of shops", and which in Hawkin's time was "the centre of trade with the Red Sea" was even in Barbosa's days a port of "much trade" with a custom house which brought in yearly "a great sum of money to the King of Cambaye," "whither sailed ships in great numbers from Malabar and other parts", and wherein there were "many substantial merchants, as well Moors as Heathen." Nor must we forget 'Dinuy' on the south side of the estuary opposite Daman, then "a very good town" which had "great trade in goods of many kinds"<sup>1</sup> nor Bazay ( Bassein ), "a very good harbour" which had "great sea trade and traffic in wares of diverse kinds", nor Tena-Majambu ( Than a) then "a very fine Moorish town, a right good haven with a fair trade"<sup>2</sup>

The most important town in Malwa was its capital *Mandu* which though partially in ruin at the time Father Monserate visited it was even then "a great city", "the former importance of which, in the days of its prosperity, (was) indicated by the huge circuit of its walls, vastness of the buildings which remained standing and the ruins of those which (had) fallen". The total circuit of its walls was according to Monserate nearly 24 miles. This description is corroborated by Ralph Fitch (1608-11), who tells us that the old city "is from gate to gate 4 c long north and south, but east and west ten or twelve coses, "that" aloft on this mountain are some sixteen fair tankes here and there dispersed about the city", and that "that which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison with the former, with diverse goodly buildings all of firme stone and faire high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome". Even the existing ruins are 3 3/4 miles from north to south and 5 1/2 from east to west. Ujjain, an ancient Hindu city, was even in William Finch's time "a faire city, twelve long coses". Ajmer, the old capital of

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1 Barbosa pp 150-51. 2 Barbosa pp 152-153.

Chauhan Rajputs had after suffering devastation at the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa in 1457 come back into the hands of the Rajputs; and was a moderately sized city even in the days of William Finch (1608-11), for he describes it as "seated upon the top of an inaccessible mountain of 3c ascent, being a fort invincible; the citie at the foot not great, inclosed, with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable fair".

### ESTIMATE OF POPULATION.

A comparison of this list of Indian cities in the 16th century with the table No. 5 in the last Indian Census Report shows remarkably small differences. With the exception of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi and Cawnpore—the creation of British trade, of Poona made by the Marahattas, and of Amritsar founded by the Sikhs, most of the important cities of today are a legacy of the past to modern India. Then as now, Delhi, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Benares, Agra, Allahabad, Srinagar, Patna, Meerut, Dacca, Surat and Ajmere were the great inland centres of India's population. At the census of 1921 only 31 cities claimed a population of more than 1 lakh each in British India excluding Burma. Excluding the four ports, the number of inland cities comes to only 27 in a total population of more than 28½ crores (India excluding Burma) in 1921; and 13 of these existed in the 16th century as far more populous cities, if we are to place any reliance on the evidence I have just cited. We miss Vijayanagar, Tattah Mandu, Gaur, Jaunpur, Cambay, Calicut, Ujjain Multan, Pulicat and Bengalla in our present list of big cities; and judging from the description given above, the urban population in these could not have been smaller than in the eight comparatively modern towns of Hyderabad, Karachi Nagpur, Jabbulpore, Bareilly,<sup>1</sup> Poona, Bangalore, and

<sup>1</sup> This too was founded in 1537 by Bas Deo and Barel Deo but we have no reliable description of this old city; the new city of Bareilly was founded in 1657 by Raja Makrandrai.

Amritsar. Four centuries of British trade and enterprise have given us only one new inland city of importance viz. Cawnpore, in addition to the four big ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Karachi. As against these gains we must set off the disappearance of those fair-sized ports on the Western Coast from Sind to Ceylon which impressed Barbosa with the importance of India's Coasting and foreign trade. The total urban population in the early half of the sixteenth century could not have been, therefore, much less than now. Allowing for the effect of modern means of transportation on the growth of cities, it appears to me, permissible to assume that the proportion of urban to rural population must have been *smaller and not greater than now*. If this be a safe data to go upon, the total population then could not have been *very much less* than at the present time.

This estimate is widely different from that made by Moreland in his *India on the Death of Akbar*. It would be strange if the long wars of Sher Shah and Akbar involved no substantial loss of human life and a temporary decrease in cultivation; it is difficult to believe that the bloody battle of Talikota and the devastation and destruction of Vijayanagar Kingdom in 1565 and the years following did not result in a decrease of population in India at the end of Akbar's reign. But apart from these important factors of which Moreland has failed to take any account, there are serious errors in his estimate even on the data on which he has relied and the method he has followed. After admitting that five of the contemporary writers, of whom four at least may be regarded as independent, put the nominal strength of the Vijayanagar army at about one million, while two of them add that it could be increased to two millions if necessary,, and after telling us that though the Portuguese account of the battle of Talikota [1565] puts the strength of the Deccan army at

half the numbers of Vijayanagar, "allowance must be made for the wastage of invading armies which had marched some distance from their basis to the scene of the battle" [p.18], he performs the arithmetical feat of putting the total strength of the armies of Vijayanagar and the Deccan kingdoms *at only a million*, and concludes on the basis of proportion mobilised in France and Germany before 1914 that the total population of the Southern territories was 30 times this number. This is plainly a gross underestimate. In the first place, we must remember that for more than 200 years Vijayanagar performed its duty as warden of the Hindu marches, and that even when defeated she was able to at once replace the beaten armies by fresh levies. In the second place, the cumulative evidence of contemporary travellers is far too strong to admit of such heavy allowance for possible exaggeration. The Venetian Nicolo di Conti who was at Vijayanagar as early as 1420 speaks of an army of "a million men and upwards." Abdur Razaak who visited Vijayanagar in the forties of the 15th century makes a definite statement that "the army consists of eleven lakhs of men". All accounts agree that Vijayanagar was at the height of its power in the reign of Krishna Dev who ruled over Vijayanagar at the time of Babur's invasion; and the statements of Domingos Paes are far too detailed to leave room for any heavy deductions. "This King of Vijayanagar", says he, "has *continually* a million fighting troops, in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are *in his pay* and he has these troops *always together* and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary... And when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdoms, they say that he puts into the field *two million* soldiers. And although he takes away so many men from his kingdom, it must not be thought that the kingdom remains devoid of men;

it is *so full* that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man, and this by reason of the many and great merchants that are in it. There are working people and all other kinds of men who are employed in business, besides those who are obliged to go into the field; there are also a great number of Brahmins." In another passage, he describes the system by which this huge army was raised and maintained. "The captains whom he (the King) has over these troops are" says he, "the nobles of his kingdom; they are lords..... There are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million and a half of Paradaos,<sup>1</sup> others a hundred thousand Paradaos; and as each one has revenue, so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse, and elephants. In this way he has *this million of fighting men always ready*. Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries; and in this review there are the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array *I did not see* a man that would act the coward. Besides maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payments to the king, and *the king has his own* salaried troops to whom he gives pay". According to the author of Roterio or a journal of the First Voyage of Vasco de Gama[1497-1499], the Zamorin alone could "muster one lakh troops, for the number under his proper jurisdiction is very small"; so also the vassal of Chomandara [Choramandel].<sup>2</sup> According to Nikitin, the sultan of Bidar kept 3 lakhs men as his own personal troops while one of his own noblemen had 2 lakhs and another one lakh of men.<sup>3</sup> He gives us also details as to the Sultan's forces in a campaign 'against the great Indian dominion of *Chemudar*', and the total of the number given comes to the enormous amount of over 900,000 foot,

1. Pardao=7 s. 5½d.= Rs. 3½ roughly. 2. First voyage of Vasco de Gama pp 96  
3 Major pp 14

190,000 horse and 575 elephants.<sup>1</sup> I am inclined, therefore, to put the numerical strength of the army of Vijayanagar kingdom including its dependencies at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million (the mean between the lower and the upper estimates of Paes), and the combined fighting strength of the five Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan at another million, leaving out of account altogether the smaller kingdoms. This will give us an estimate of 75 millions for the South on Moreland's own basis of calculation. Orissa is curiously enough omitted altogether from Moreland's estimate, though Barbosa whom he frequently quotes tells us that the kingdom of Otisa [Orissa] "marches with the kingdom of Narsingua on the one side, and with Bengala on the other, and on yet another side with the kingdom of Dely", that "it is of the Gentiles, very good fighting men, and the king is frequently at war with the king of Narsinga and is *powerful in the number of his foot soldiers*... His territory extends seventy leagues along the coast as far as the river Ganges, which they call Guenga, and on the other side of this river commences the Kingdom of Bengala with which he is sometimes at war." Domingos Paes supports Barbosa and adds that "the kingdom of Oriya is said to be *much larger* than the kingdom of Narsinga". Fernao Nuniz records that the king of Orissa led against Krishna Rao an army consisting of 1300 elephants, 20,000 horsemen and ~~five~~<sup>500</sup> thousand foot soldiers".<sup>2</sup> Allowing for possible exaggeration due to want of first hand knowledge of these travellers, we may safely assume the population of Orissa to have been *at least* half that of Vijayanagar. This brings the total for the portion of the country outside the limits of Akbar's dominion to  $97\frac{1}{2}$  millions: i. e. only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions less than Moreland's estimate for India *including* Akbar's empire.

For northern India, Moreland gives up the basis of his estimate for the South on the specious plea that "the

<sup>1</sup> Major 14-15 ; <sup>2</sup> Sewell pp. 317.



strength of the Moghul forces is unknown"<sup>1</sup>. But so far as *capacity to furnish* soldiers is an index to the total strength of a population, the truth is just the opposite. We have far more definite and reliable information in this respect for Akbar's dominion than we have for the South. Abul Fazl makes a definite statement in Ain 1 Book II of his Ain-i-Akbari\* that "the zamindars of the country furnish more than four million four hundred thousand men as shall be detailed below". In his Book III again we find the following details for every Subah except Khandesh:—  
and Berar:—

Subah.	Cavalry.	Infantry
Bengal.	23,330.	801,150.
Bihar.	11,415.	449,350.
Allahabad.	11,375.	237,870
Oudh.	7,640.	168,250.
Agra.	50,681.	577,570.
Malwa.	29,668.	470,361.
Ajmere.	86,500.	347,000.
Delhi.	31,490.	242,310.
Lahore.	54,480.	426,086.
Multan.	8,965.	90,650.
Kashmir [Sarkar in Kabul].	4,892.	92,400
Gujrat.	12,440.	61,000.

Totalling up these figures, we get 3,32,876 cavalry, and 39,63,997 infantry. Dr. Horne adding the *Zat* figure for the mansabdars puts the total strength of Akbar's cavalry at 12000 plus 3,84,758 and that of the infantry at 12000 plus 38,77,557<sup>3</sup> — a very close approximation to these figures. But the figures for Gujrat given above are obviously a misprint, for the Sarkar of Sorath alone is shown on page 258 of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol II. of Jarret's

1 India at the Death of Akbar. pp. 20.    2 i.e. vol i Jarret's translation.  
3 See Irving's Army of the Indian Moghuls pp 61.

translation to have had "cavalry 17,000, infantry 365,000," and Bahadur Shah's forces in 1534 were estimated by Fariay Souza as 100,000 horse, 415,000 foot and 600 elephants. It is therefore quite reasonable to suppose that if we had the correct figures for Gujrat, Khandesh and Berar, the total of the figures given in Book III would very likely tally with that given in Ain I of Book II. William Irving doubts whether in the days of Shah Jahan the number brought into the field actually corresponded with that fixed as an obligation of the Mansabdars; but he admits that "when Akbar first introduced the *Mansab* system, which ranked his officers according to the number of men supposed to be under the command of each, these figures had possibly some connection with the number of men present under these officers and actually serving in the army".<sup>1</sup> Whatever, however, may have been the actual efficiency of the Moghul army organisation under Akbar or after him, the number fixed for the Mansabdars even as a *possible* limit of their obligation in Akbar's days is quite good enough for forming an estimate for the total *population* on Moreland's method of calculation. This will give us a population of 130 millions for Akbar's empire alone—an estimate that exceeds by three millions Moreland's estimate for the *whole* of India. But there is another, and in my opinion, a better method open to us. Babur estimated the strength of his opponents "according to the *custom* in Hind by which a country yielding a lakh (Tankas) furnishes one hundred horse and one yielding a Kror [or ten millions] ten thousand horses".<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the revenue figures for Akbar's empire viz 640 crores Tankas given to us by Nizamuddin Ahmed, a practised accountant and one of the most experienced administrators of Akbar's reign, this would mean a capacity for furnishing 64 lakhs of horsemen; and assuming that the entire army consisted

<sup>1</sup> The Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp 58. <sup>2</sup> Leyden and Erskine's edition pp 292.

of cavalry, this would give us, on Moreland's method, a population of 192 millions in Akbar's dominion. Our estimate for the whole of India thus reaches a total of 289½ millions *minus* a reasonable allowance for double counting in the case of Ahmednagar kingdom which has been included in this estimate both in the Bahamini kingdom and in Akbar's empire.

Much the same conclusion is reached by another line of approach. Nizamud-din after giving us the exact limits of Akbar's dominion tells us that "at the present time, namely A.H. 1002 [1593], Hindustan contains 3200 towns [including 120 large cities] and 500,000 "villages, yielding a revenue of 640 crores Tankas Muradi."<sup>1</sup> At the Census of 1921, British India had only 1561 towns and 498,527 villages, and its total population exceeded 24 crores. Whatever may have been the variation in the exact significance of the words "city" and "town" since the days of Akbar, there is no reason to suppose that the word "village" has changed its meaning. The population of Akbar's empire could not, therefore, have been less than 24 crores in 1593 unless we make the unwarranted assumption that the proportion of people residing in villages and towns to those living in scattered isolated huts is far *less today* than in the 16th century. That of India including Vijayanagar, the Deccan kingdoms, Orissa and the Land of Malabar must certainly have been greater in the period just preceding the destruction of the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas' Revenue Resources, pp 7.

## II

**Agricultural Production.**

We next turn to the agricultural production of India.

All accounts seem to agree that judged by South of India. *contemporary* standards, India then was a land of plenty, and tend to show that the crops grown then were very nearly the same as we have at the present day. Everywhere in the South the country struck the foreigner as very productive. Nikitin who visited Bidar, the capital of the Bahamini kingdom in 1470 noticed "that the land was laid out in fields, and the ground *well-tilled*." The lands near Dabul [Dhabol in Ratnagiri] then within the Bahamini Kingdom were "well-tilled, rich and fertile, with good ploughing and breeding of cattle"<sup>1</sup> and the country generally was "exceedingly fertile, yielding *much* food and with great traffic".<sup>2</sup> Varthema found near Chaul an immense quantity of grain, of barley, and of vegetables of every description, and remarks that "the country abounds in *everything* except grapes, nuts and chesnuts".<sup>3</sup> The city of Bijapur was "very fertile" and the realm generally "most *abundant* in everything."<sup>4</sup> Abdur Razaak tells us that "most of the land" in Vijayanagar "was well-tilled and fertile" — a statement confirmed by Barbosa who says, "this kingdom is very widespread and a *very fruitful* land with many farmsteads"<sup>5</sup>. He found in it "much husbandry of rice, peas, beans, and other pulse, also much breeding of goats, cows and sheep," and many small ponies, good walkers, asses and oxen, all of which they use as beasts of burden and for ploughing"<sup>6</sup>. Domingos Paes remarks that "these dominions are well cultivated and *very fertile*' and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep.....the land has plenty

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1 Barbosa i, 166; 2 Barbosa i, 178; 3 Varthema pp 114; 4 Varthema, 151  
5, Barbosa i, pp 184; 6 Barbosa, pp 200:

of rice and Indian corn, grains, beans and other kinds of crops which are not sown in our parts; and also an *infinity of cotton*. Of the grains there is a *great quantity* because, besides being used as food for men, it is also *used for horses* since there is no other kind of barley and this country has also *much wheat and that good*." Barbosa adds that the land along the seventy or eighty leagues of Charamandel coast then under the King of Vijanagar "is very fruitful and abounds in rice, flesh-meat, *wheat* and all vegetables of other kinds are found there," and that "this is the *best* supplied of all the lands in this part of India saving only Cambaya".<sup>1</sup> Mention of "*much wheat*" in the south is rather surprising since in the year 1926-27 out of over 24 million acres under wheat crop in British India only 18,543 acres were under wheat crop in the Madras Presidency. [Statistical Abstract Table No. 164]. Powdered sugar was in plenty in this land and was exported to Ormuz from Bhatkal.<sup>2</sup> The lands near Bhatkal produced no grain, barley or vegetables, "but other most excellent fruits, usual in India," and reared cows, buffaloes, sheep, oxen and goats.<sup>3</sup> Centacola [Uncola], Onor and Mangalor, "excellent districts of India" in Varthema's days, produced much rice and roses, flowers and fruits *all through the year*, and had red cows and sheep in great abundance.<sup>4</sup> The district of Pulicat grew no grain but rice was in great abundance there; and the country was the "most abundant in everything which is produced in India."<sup>5</sup> Malabar produced and exported to other parts of the country cocoa-nuts and the oil obtained therefrom, palm sugar and palm wine, wax, cardamoms, pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, and many other kinds of spices.<sup>6</sup> The palm trees in particular were an important source of wealth to the folk of Malabar. By their means

1. Barbosa ii, 125; 2. Barbosa i, 187; 3. Varthema pp 120; 4. Varthema pp 122  
5. Varthema pp 195; 6. Barbosa pp 185-86 and 123-9.

according to Barbosa, they were "free from any dearth. even though other food be lacking," for they produced out of it ten or twelve things all very needful for the service of man," viz. "a very sweet and grateful fruit when green": milk like that of almonds; a pint of fresh and pleasant water better than that from a spring; a white fruit as large as an apple, sweet and dainty; much oil by pressing the cocoa; charcoal for the goldsmiths from its shell, close to the kernel; cord from the outer husk which throws out certain threads; wine from the *must* extracted from the sap of the tree in such abundance that many ships were laden with it for export; good vinegar and sugar of extreme sweetness from the same *must* palm-leaves and timber for the houses; and firewood as well—and all these in *such abundance* that ships took in cargoes thereof for export<sup>1</sup>. The kingdom of Cochin grow neither wheat nor barley but it abounded in rice, maize, hemp, and millet<sup>2</sup> and exported areca, cocos, pepper, *Jagura* and palm sugar<sup>3</sup>. Pepper was specially in abundance, for Barbosa observes, "it grows *throughout the land* on trees like unto ivy, and it climbs on other trees and on palms, also on trellises to a great extent." Here also grew "very much fine ginger, cardamoms, myrobalans, canafistula, zermuba, zedoary, wild cinnamon"<sup>4</sup>. In the kingdom of Coilam, (Quilon) the land was rich and produced "supplies of rice and flesh in great plenty"<sup>5</sup>. "Throughout the kingdom of Cananor right good pepper (grew) but not in great abundance, and there (was) *great* store of ginger, cardamom, myrobalans, canafistula, zerumba and zedoary"<sup>6</sup>. Along the river Chatua (Chetwari) were "a number of heathen villages" which produced "the greater part of the pepper grown in the country"; and the land of the kingdom of Calicut in particular was "covered along the

1 Barbosa ii, 90-1 ; 2 Mahaun, vide J. R. A. S. 1896 pp 344 ; 3 Barbosa ii, 93.  
4 Barbosa ii, 92-3 ; 5 Barbosa ii, 102 ; 6 Barbosa ii, 83.

strand with palm trees as high as lofty cypresses", yielding cocos, "a fruit of which they make great profit and where of they load many cargoes yearly".<sup>1</sup> The Jack fruit and the plantain abounded in this country which was also well supplied with melons, gourds, turnips and every other kind of vegetable<sup>2</sup>.

Gujrat was known in Nikitin's days as the land "where the Indigo grows"<sup>3</sup>; and the part of the country in which the city of Champaner was situated, was in Barbosa's time a land of broad plains, which yielded "great store of food; *scilicet*, abundance of wheat, barley, millet, rice, karmes grain, chick peas, lentils and many other kinds of pulse". They also reared much cattle, sheep and goats, whence the *country-folk* obtained *good nurture*"<sup>4</sup>. Among the exports of Gujrat, Barbosa notices cotton and silk muslins, fine indigo in cakes and another coarse kind, *abundance* of wheat and millet, *great store* of rice, gingelly, grains, cock-peas, haricot beans and many other plants with pods, "which do not grow in our country, but here are *good cheap* and are carried *everywhere*." In the kingdom of Diul (Dabal or Sind), full of shikargahs at the time of the British conquest, Barbosa "found great store of wheat, barley and flesh" and observes that "this land is luxuriant, fertile, and *full* of victuals"<sup>5</sup>.

The Chinese traveller, Mahaun who visited Bengal in 1406 mentions two crops of rice in a year and states that wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, bringals, and vegetables of many descriptions grew there in abundance, that besides the plantain they had many fruits and three or four kinds of wines, the cocoa-nut, rice, tarry, and kadjang,<sup>6</sup> and that animals and birds were *numerous*, among which were buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep, geese, ducks and fowls. Varthema observes that

1 Barbosa ii, 88-90; 2 Mahaun in J. R. A. S. 1836 pp 347; 3 Major pp 8; 4 Barbosa i, 123; 5 Barbosa i 107; 6 J. R. A. S. 1895 pp 531.

“this country abounds *more* in grain, flesh of every kind, in great quantity of sugar, also of ginger, and of great abundance of cotton, *than any country in the world*”, and that the city of Bengalla “is the best in the world, that is, for living in”<sup>1</sup>. Barbosa adds that “this land is large, fruitful and healthy”<sup>2</sup> and that “in the city of Bengala are many cotton-fields,<sup>3</sup> sugar-cane plantations, very good ginger and much long pepper.....much good white sugar is also made here from canes in this city (Bengala).....they load many ships with it and export it for sale to *all* parts, for it is a *principal* article of trade...They likewise make many preserves, very good ones of ginger, and of oranges, lemons and other fruits which grow in the country. There are also in this country many horses, cow, sheep, and herds of many other kinds in plenty and barndoor fowl in great abundance”<sup>4</sup>. Cattle was in abundance in every part of India; those of Gujrat were according to the Ain the best, though good cattle were also found in Bengal and Dakhin. We have no further information about the North from contemporary travellers except that Babur mentions in his Memoirs “sugar candy, refined and common sugar, drugs and spices” among the chief commodities of Hindustan, and that Barbosa states that along the banks of Ganges “there were fertile and well-furnished lands”.<sup>5</sup> But the admirable account of each Subah given in the Ain suggests clearly that agriculture must have been in a highly flourishing state even *before* the completion of Akbar’s conquest of Hindustan; for, by the time the Ain was written, no *material* change for the better could have been effected in the agricultural industry owing to the continuous strain of Akbar’s military campaigns. We are told that the principal crop of Bengal was rice, sown and reaped *three* times a year on

1 Varthema pp 212-4, 2 Barbosa i pp 141, 3 It is interesting to note in this connection that in the year 1926-7, out of a total of 15,687,029 acres devoted to cotton cultivation in British India, only 59,300 acres were situated in Bengal. 4 Barbosa ii, 147; 5 Barbosa ii, 134.



the same piece of land with *little* injury to the crop. The harvests were "always abundant" and the varieties of rice grown there were so many that "if a single grain of each kind were collected they would fill a large vase."<sup>1</sup> Agriculture flourished in a high degree in the Subah of Bihar, especially the cultivation of rice which, for its *quality* and *quantity* was rarely to be equalled; sugar-cane was abundant and of excellent quality; fruits and flowers were in great plenty; and milk was rich in quality and cheap.<sup>2</sup> In the Subah of Allahabad, agriculture was in a flourishing state, and the province produced a variety of fruits, flowers and garden herbs and had "always" an "abundant supply of melons and grapes".<sup>3</sup> Agriculture in Oudh too was in a flourishing state, specially rice of the kinds called *Sukhdas*, *Madkhar* and *Jhanwah* which for whiteness delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness, were scarcely to be matched. In Agra, agriculture was "in perfection"; fruits and flowers of all kinds abounded; indigo of the finest quality was produced in Bianah which also produced fine mangoes, some of them more than two pounds in weight.<sup>4</sup> Both harvests were excellent in the Subah of Malwa, specially wheat, poppy, sugar cane, mangoes, melons and grapes.<sup>5</sup> The climate and cultivation of Berar were "remarkably good".<sup>6</sup> The Subah of Gujrat resembled a garden on account of the numerous groves of mangoes and other trees.<sup>7</sup> The soil of Ajmere was, however, sandy and the crops there depended on rains.<sup>8</sup> Much of the land in the Subah of Delhi was subject to inundation and in some places people had *three* harvests a year. Fruits and flowers were abundant, and this Subah in the days of Ain was "scarcely equalled for the choice productions of every clime".<sup>9</sup> The Subah of Lahore was "populous, its climate healthy and its agricultural fertility rarely equalled".<sup>10</sup> Multan resembled Lahore in many respects but the rain-

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1 Ain ii, 121-2 : 2 Ain ii, 151-2 : 3 Ain ii, 158 : 4 Ain ii, 179-81 : 5 Ain ii, 195 : 6 Ain ii, 228 : 7 Ain ii, 239 : 8 Ain ii, 267. 9 Ain ii, 278 : 10 Ain ii, 312.

fall was less and the village cultivation followed generally the course of the river Indus.<sup>1</sup> On the whole it was very large and "remarkably fertile".<sup>2</sup> In Tattah, fruits were of various kinds and mangoes were specially fine; flowers were plentiful; and *Shali* rice was abundant and of good quality.<sup>3</sup> The country in the Subah of Kashmir was enchanting, being fittingly called "a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies." Its lands were artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation; violets, the red rose and wild narcissus covered its plains; fruits were numerous; and *Shali* rice was plentiful, though the finest quality was not obtainable (Ain). "India as a whole, withal its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire", says Abul Fazl, is "unequaled in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is *cultivated* throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a kos.....without being gladdened by the sight of sweet-waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs. In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage.....The soil is for the *most part arable* and of *such productive* power that the same land is sown each year and in many places *three harvests and more* are taken in a single twelve-month and the vine bear fruits in its first year".<sup>4</sup> Much the same impression is produced on the mind by the later accounts of Father Monserrate and Edward Terry. "This empire", says Monserrate, "is very beautiful and healthy.....On account of the diversity of the climate in different parts it produces many and various types of crops.....But the farther one goes towards the north, *the more similar* does one find the staple products to those of Europe.....Rice, wheat, millet and pulse are produced in great quantities .....In many places in the neighbourhood of the Indus flax and hemp are sown....."

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1 Ain ii, 327-8. ; 2 De Laet pp 78 ; 3 Ain ii, 338 ; 4 Ain ii, 7-8.

Indigo and opium are largely grown in the south, and bring no small profit to the royal revenues." And Terry sums up his impressions in the sentence: "This wide monarchie is *very rich and fertile*: so much *abounding* in all *necessaries* for the use of man as that it is able to subsist and flourish of *itself*, without the *least* help from any neighbour."

### METHODS OF AGRICULTURE.

Of the methods of agriculture we have only one contemporary picture and that from the pen of Barbosa. Referring to Majandur, a fertile plain near Bhatkal which supplied most of the rice sold at that port he says, "all round they sow it in valleys and flats covered with water; they plough the land as we do with oxen and buffaloes yoked in pairs, and the plough share has a hollow *in it wherein the rice is carried when the land is flooded, and as the share ploughs, the rice goes on settling down under water and earth*. On dry land they sow by hand. And every year this land bears two crops." Evidently, the 20th century records not an advance but a *set back* on the 16th century in the methods of rice cultivation.

### IRRIGATION BY WELLS.

As to irrigation, Babur gives us a detailed description of irrigation by means of wells. "In Lahore and the neighbouring parts" says he, "people water by means of a wheel.....They first take two ropes, of a length suited to the depth of the well, and fasten each of them so as to form a circle; between the two circular ropes they insert pieces of wood connecting them, and to these they fix water-pitchers. The ropes so prepared, with the pitchers attached to them by means of the pieces of wood, they throw over a wheel that is placed on the top of the well. On the one end of axle tree of this wheel they place another wheel with teeth, and to the side of this last they apply a third, which they make with an upright

axle. When the bullocks turn this last wheel round, its teeth, working upon those of the second wheel turn the large wheel on which is the circle of pitchers. They make a trough under the place where the water is discharged by the revolution of the pitchers and from this trough convey the water to whatever place it may be required. In Agra, Chandwar, Biana and those parts again, people raise water by means of a bucket; this is a laborious and filthy way. On the brink of a well they fix in strongly two forked pieces of wood, and between their prongs insert a roller, they then fasten a great water-bucket to long ropes, which they tie to the bullock and while one man drives the bullock, another is employed to pour the water out of the bucket (when it reaches the top of the well). Every time the bullock raises the bucket from the well, as it is let down again, the rope slides along the bullock-course, is defiled with urine and dung, and in this filthy condition falls into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers." It is plain that India has remained unchanged in this respect during all these four hundred years.

#### CANALS AND TANKS.

As regards artificial irrigation, Babur complains that "many though its (Hindustan's) towns and cultivated lands are, it no where has running waters. Rivers and in some places, standing waters are its "running waters. Even where, as for some towns, it is practicable to carry water by digging channels, this is not done." In another passage he adds, "they do not need to run water courses or build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation." Elsewhere he repeats that "except their large rivers and their standing waters which flow in ravines or hollows, there are no waters. There are no running waters in their gardens or residences." These passages have been taken by certain writers as an

evidence of the absence of artificial irrigation in India at the time of Babur's invasion. But this is clearly a mistake. We who live near Delhi cannot forget the beneficent work of Ferozeshah Tughlaq of which we are reaping the fruits even today. The Jumna section of his double system of canals, but little modified, still supplies water to us in this twentieth century along the full 200 miles of its old banks; while its Sutlej section which is stated to have joined the main line at Karnal ran roughly from Rugar to Sirhind.<sup>1</sup> And till recently Sind depended entirely on inundation canals of great antiquity. Mirza Haider, the comrade of Himayun tells us that in Kashmir, "all the land is divided into 4 kinds. The cultivation is (1) by irrigation, (Abi); (2) on land not needing artificial irrigation; (3) gardens; and (4) level ground where the river banks abound in violets and many-coloured flowers." Father Monserrate saw in Surat, "a lake, which is much the largest and the most beautiful (by reason of the pains which have been taken to embellish it artificially) of all the lakes that are to be seen in India", and in Mandu "many tanks and springs." As for the South, the existence of artificial lakes and tanks for irrigation purposes in the 16th century is proved not only by the observations of travellers but also by the noble remains of the past. We learn from the historical sketch given to us by Nuniz that King Dehorai spent all his treasures in bringing "a very large river at a distance of five leagues away" inside the city of Vijayanagar, and by this means his people laid out many gardens and orchards, and planted groves of trees and vineyards. When Abdur Razaak visited the place, he found within it "numerous running streams and canals of chiselled stone, polished and smooth." Both Paes and Nuniz pay a tribute to the "wonderful" system of irrigation which prevailed throughout the series of its

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1 Thomas' chronicle of Pathan kings pp 294.

large enclosures and the large tanks and lakes in which its water was stored. Both of them saw during construction the enormous tank in Nagalpura, the new city of Krishna Dev Rai, to which water was brought "from more than three leagues *by pipes*"<sup>1</sup> and by means of which its people "made many improvements in the city and many channels by which they irrigated rice fields and gardens"<sup>2</sup>. Nor were the needs of the rural areas neglected. Domingos Paes points out that as the country had few rivers, the people of the Vijayanagar Kingdom made "lakes in which the water collects when it rains, and thereby they maintain themselves." Krishna Dev Rai constructed in 1521 the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel, both still in use and of great value to the country<sup>3</sup>. The ruins of *Pakhal* one of the largest of artificial lakes in India, about 25 miles from Warangal, alleged to have been constructed 1600 years ago by Raja Khaldya bear witness even to this day to the scale on which some of our old irrigation works were designed. The lake is some twelve miles square and the average depth of water in it is between thirty to forty feet. At the present time there is not enough population in country below the tank to make use of its waters. Commenting on the Vijayanagar rule in the South, J. D. B. Gribble remarks in his History of the Deccan: "Though fond of accumulating gold and jewels, the Hindu Kings were always liberal in their expenditure of agricultural and irrigation works. The rivers were dammed at different parts, and irrigation channels dug to the rice fields, and where no rivers existed the whole face of the country was covered with a net work of irrigation tanks and reservoirs, some of enormous size, covering many square miles in extent. At the beginning of this century (19th) when Sir Thomas Munro was appointed to settle the

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1 Paes' Narrative ; 2 chronicle of Nuniz ; 3 Sewell pp 162.

Districts which had just been ceded after the Mysore war, he thus describes the country which was situated around the capital, Vijayangar (the present districts of Bellary, Anantpore, Cuddapah, and Kurnool):—"To attempt the construction of new tanks is perhaps a more hopeless experiment than the repair of those which have been filled up, for there is scarcely any place where a tank can be made to advantage that has not been applied to this purpose by the inhabitants." In the sub-division of Cuddapah district where the author was for some years the principal Revenue Officer, there were in an area of 3,574 square miles no less than 4,194 tanks of various sizes"<sup>1</sup>.

#### GARDENS AND GARDEN PRODUCE.

One other complaint of Babur deserves notice in this connection. Among his grievances against Hindustan he includes the absence of "grapes, musk mellons or first rate fruits"; and an admiring editor of his Memoirs draws from this the startling conclusion that there were no orderly gardens in India before Babur and that "Babur was the pioneer of orderly gardens in India." But long before Babur, Sultan Ferozeshah Taghlak is given a similar credit of having been a great gardener by Moslem Historians. We are told that Feroz resuscitated 30 old gardens of Allauddin and laid out 1200 new ones in the vicinity of Delhi. Moreover, this is directly in conflict with Babur's evidence as well as with the testimony of other travellers. On the 24th of March, 1519 Babur "visited some beautiful gardens" near the banks of river Indus and records the following impressions of what he saw:—"In different *beds* the ground was covered with purple and yellow *arghwan* flowers. On one hand were beds of yellow flowers in bloom; on the other hand, red flowers were in blossom. In many places they sprung up in the same bed, mingled together as if they had been flung and scattered abroad.

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<sup>1</sup> Gribble pp 188 ; <sup>2</sup> see Ishwari Parshad pp 279.

I took my seat on a rising ground near the camp, to enjoy the view of all the flower-plots. On the six sides of this eminence they were formed as into *regular* beds. On one side were yellow flowers, on another the purple, laid out in *triangular* beds. On two other sides there were fewer flowers; but as far as the eye could reach, there were *flower-gardens of a similar kind*<sup>1</sup>." On the 31st of May 1529 again he encamped at a place called Kilireh, dependent on Fatehpur "in which there were extremely beautiful gardens, embellished by running streams and handsome edifices;" and he and his companions "particularly admired the number of mango trees and of richly coloured birds of various kinds<sup>2</sup>." We are indebted to Abdur Razaak for the following description of a garden he saw at Belour:—"In the middle of the town is an open space, of about ten *ghaz* in extent, and which, if one may use a comparison, rivals the *garden of Irem*. The roses of all kinds are as numerous as the leaves of the trees; on the borders of the stream rise a great number of cypresses, whose towering height is reflected in the waters, plantain trees shoot out their tufted branches, and it would seem as if Heaven itself looks down upon this beautiful spot with pleasure and admiration. All the ground of this *parterre*, all the environs of this place of delight, are paved with polished stones, joined together with so much delicacy and skill, that they seem to form but one single slab of stone, and look like a fragment of the sky which might be supposed to have been brought down to the earth<sup>3</sup>." The Chinese traveller Mahaun found in Bengal many fruits e.g. the plantain, the jack fruit, mangoes, pomegranates, sugar-cane and preserved fruits<sup>4</sup>. Nikitin speaks of "the banks of Ganges covered with towns amidst beautiful gardens and orchards;" and Conti saw on both sides of Ganges "most charming villas and plantations and gardens, wherein grow vast varieties of fruits, and above all those called



Musa [plantains] which are more sweet than honey, resembling figs, and also the nuts which we call nuts of India (cocoa-nuts)<sup>1</sup>." Domingos Paes saw at Vijayanagar every day "many loads of limes...such that those of Provos [a place near Lisbon] are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges and wild bringals and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one," and states that "grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam* and pomegranates ten for a *fanam*<sup>2</sup>. Duarte Barbosa found in the same city "gardens full of trees and sweet scented herbs", "many excellent gardens and pleasant groves of fruits trees and fair streams of water" near Bhatkal<sup>3</sup>, and "many very fair fruit gardens, with fine trees and tanks of sweet water" around Goa.<sup>4</sup> Varthema found at Cananor "fruits different from ours and which are also far superior to ours"<sup>5</sup>. Among "some fruits of Calicut" of which a very large quantity was found "at all times of the year", he includes the cocoa-nuts and the mango; a fruit resembling a melon called *carcopal*; a fruit resembling a pumpkin in colour, two spans in length and grown like melons; and a fruit called *malapolanda*, the tree bearing which was as high as a man and had branches which produced each 200 or thereabouts of these fruits<sup>6</sup>. In his description of Gujrat Barbosa remarks: "they make much use of dishes of fruit and vegetables and pot-herbs in their food. Wheresoever they dwell they have orchards and fruit-gardens and many water-tanks wherein they bathe twice a day, both men and women,"—a statement confirmed by the existence of beautiful sweet-water streams" and "many fruit gardens and orchards" at Ahmedabad, by the "many vegetable and fruit gardens and orchards" which the inhabitants of Cambaye "used for their pleasure" and whence "they obtained plenty of fruit and vegetables, which were the principal food of the Heathen", and by the "many gardens" which he saw at Thana. We further learn

1 Major pp 10; 2 *fanam*=135d.; 3 Barbosa i, 191; 4 Barbosa i, 175; 5 Varthema pp 124; 6 Varthema pp 161-3.

from the Ain that "from the numerous groves of mango and other trees" Gujrat was said to 'resemble a garden.' From Pathan to Baroda which is a distance of 100 kos, groves of mangoes yielded ripe and sweet fruit. Fine figs grew here and musk-mellons were delicious both in summer and winter. The grapes were only moderate in quantity; flowers and fruit in great plenty. In Kashmir, fruit was then as abundant as now, for Mirza Haider tells us that "as for the fruits, pears, mulberies, sweet cherries and sour cherries are met with, but the apples are particularly good. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break one's resolutions." Babur's complaint was evidently based upon an imperfect acquaintance with India; what was tempting for Mirza Haider should have sufficed for even the delicate taste of Babur.

We must, however, be grateful to Babur for condescending to notice the many fruits and flowers of Hindustan and putting in a kind word for many of them. Mango is the best fruit of Hindustan; such mangoes as are good are excellent, specially in Bengal and Gujrat. The plaintain has two good qualities; the one is, that it is easily peeled; the other that it has no stones, and is not stringy. In taste *Kirni* bears a perfect resemblance to the grape; it leaves a rather bad flavour behind, but it is a good fruit and is eaten. The *Kermerik* "if plucked unripe, is very bitter, when well-ripened, it has an agreeably sweet acid, and is a pleasant sweet-flavoured fruit." The *Kathal* (Jack) looks a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a *haggis*; it has a sweet sickly taste. The fruit of the date-tree is like a bunch of grapes but much larger; the wine made from it, if drunk immediately, the liquor is sweetish; they drank a great deal of it and felt no symptoms of intoxication. The cocoanut tree resembles the date; before the kernel is formed within, the whole inside of the cocoanut is filled with water,

which has an agreeable taste : you would say it was the cheese of the date melted. The *tari*, the juice of the *tar* or palm tree is more intoxicating than the liquid of the date tree. There are besides, the naranj (or seville orange) and the various fruits of the orange species, both plentiful and good, sweet-smelling, delicate and fresh. The lime is very plentiful : its size is that of hen's egg, which it resembles in shape : if one who is poisoned, boils and eats its fibres, the injury done by the poison is averted. The citron (turanj) of Hindustan and Bajour is acid and its sherbet is very pleasant and tasteful : the size of the citron may be about that of the Khosravi musk melon. The santerah (or common orange) too has a pleasant acid ; its sherbet is extremely agreeable and wholesome : like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, and it is not a weakening fruit like the citron. The *kilkil* (or large lime) has a remarkable quantity of juice ; *jambiri* yields a pleasant acid ; *Sadaphal* has a sweet taste but not so mawkish as the sweet orange.<sup>1</sup> And so on, we are taken into confidence as to the taste and properties of each variety of fruit and led into the kingdom of flowers, of which again we are told, there is a great variety in Hindustan. Evidently those who make much of Babur's longing for " grapes, musk-melons or first rate fruits " of Kabul and Kandhar have never cared to read the good word he puts in for the fruits and flowers of Hindustan. But whatever may have been the case in the Hindustan of Babur's empire, gardening in the days of Akbar was in an excellent condition, for according to the Ain " gardens and flower beds are everywhere to be found " and " travellers nowadays admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains." The supply of fruit in the north definitely improved both in quality and quantity by the time Ain was written. Melons and grapes had become " very plentiful and excellent ", water-

mellons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, etc., were "everywhere to be found." Musk-melons, delicious, tender, opening, sweet-smelling were grown in Kashmir but good ones were obtainable also in the Punjab and the vicinity of Bhakhar (Sindh). Eight seers of grapes sold in Kashmir for one *dam*, and the cost of transport was two rupees per maund. Qandhar dry grapes sold at 7 dams per seer; pistachios at 9 dams per seer; mangoes per hundred upto 40 dams, figs at 1 dam per seer, fresh dates at 4 dams per seer and dry ones at 6 dams and so on. Of flowers there was a rich variety in the days of the *Ain*, which specifies no less than 21 varieties in its list of fine smelling flowers, and 29 in its schedule of flowers notable for their beauty, and ends with the modest confession of its author: "It is really difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of this country. I have mentioned only a few for those who wish to know something about them."

#### FISHERIES.

*Fisheries* formed an important addition to the national wealth specially in Bengal, Sindh and Malabar. Babur describes several kinds of fish and tells us that "the flesh of the fishes of Hindustan is delicate" and that "they have few small bones." According to Barbosa, the people of Sindh had long strands where they carried on fine fisheries and took fish of great size, which they dried that they might be consumed in many other lands. Here they fed *their horses on dried fish*. According to Farnao Nuniz, the city of Vijayanagar got fish from its rivers in large quantities.<sup>1</sup> In the land of Malabar, fishermen (Monquers) paid four percent duty on dried fish but fresh fish was duty free; thus fish was "good cheap" and some fishermen were "very rich and well-off."<sup>2</sup> In the city of Marvel (Madayi) then under the king of Cananor and around mount Dely, there existed a great fishery;<sup>3</sup>

1. Sewell pp 375; 2. Barbosa ii, 65; 3. Barbosa ii, 80.

while the people of Porqua between the kingdoms of Coilam and Cochin, lived in the winter season on nought but fishery. And Linschoten who visited the west coast of India in 1583 tells us that "Fish in India is very plentiful and some very pleasant and sweet", that "crabs and crevishes are very good and marvellous great that it is a wonder to tell", that "there are also good shads and other sorts of fishes . . . . also muskles and such like shel-fishes of many sorts, oyster very many, specially at Cochin," and that "fish in India is very good cheap" (Purchas X, 287).

### INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

Direct evidence as to the industrial production of India at this period, though not as detailed as one would wish it, supports the popular impression that compared to the *standards* of the time, Indian industries were then in a flourishing condition. In Bengal, Mahaun noticed five or six kinds of fine *cotton* fabrics viz. *Pichih*, a fabric "of a soft texture, three feet broad, and made up in lengths of fifty six or fifty seven feet;" *Mancheti*, a ginger-yellow fabric, four feet or more wide and fifty feet long, very closely woven and strong; *Shah-na-kieh*, a fabric five feet wide and twenty feet long; *Hin-pai-tung-ta-li*, three feet wide and sixty feet long with open and regular meshes, somewhat like a gauze and much used for turbans; *Shah-ta-urh*, made up in lengths of forty or more feet, and two feet and five or six inches wide, resembling the Chinese *Sanso*; and *Mo-hei-mo-leh* made up in lengths of twenty feet or more and four feet wide, with a facing on both sides four to five tenths in thickness, and resembling the Chinese *Tow-lo-kein*. He found both the mulberry tree and *silk* worms there, and mentions among its manufactures silk-kerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, *basins*, cups, *steel*, guns, knives, scissors and a white *paper* made "from the bark of a tree, which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin." In his description of the same part of the country, Duarte Barbosa observes, "there are woven many kinds of *very*

*fine* and coloured cloths for their own attire and other white sorts for sale in various countries. They are very precious, also some which they call *estrvantes* (probably Sar-band), a certain sort of a very thin kind of cloth much esteemed among us for ladies, head-dress, and by the Moors, Arabs and Persians for turbans. Of these *great store* is woven, so much that many ships take cargoes thereof for abroad; others they make called *mamonas*, others *duguazas*, others *chautares*, others *sinabafas* (سین بافته). All these sorts of cloths are in pieces, each one whereof contains about three-and-twenty or four-and-twenty Portuguese yards. Here they are sold *good cheap*; they are spun on wheels *by men*, and woven by them." Varthema confirms this by saying that "fifty ships are laden every year in this place with cotton and *silk* stuffs which stuffs are these, that is say, *bairam*, *Namone Lizati*, *Ciantar*, *Doazar* and *Sinabaff*," and that "these same stuffs are sent to through *all* Turkey, through Syria, through Persia, through Arabia Felix, and through *all* India"<sup>2</sup>.

Babur tells us that in his dominion "workmen of Northern India. every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work or any employment there is always a set ready to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages. In the Zafar-namah of Mullah Sherif-ed-din Ali Yezdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Timur Beg was building the Sagin (or Stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azarbijan, Fars, Hindustan, and other countries to the number of two hundred working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Agra, Sikri, Biana, Dhulpur, Gwalior, Koil (Aligarh), there were every day employed on my work 1491

.See also Ain Vol. ii pp. 123

2. Varthema's travels pp 212.

stone-cutters. In the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindustan".

Indigo in Agra, glass in Alwar and Bihar, paper in Bihar, cloth in almost every Subah in the north,<sup>1</sup> woollen carpets in Alwar and woollen fabrics in Kashmere and in the northern mountains of Oudh existed in India of the Ain not as newly established industries but as legacies of the past. In the days of Akbar carpet weavers were to be found in every town, especially in Agra, Fatehpur and Lahore".<sup>2</sup> In Kashmere, Mirza Haider met with "all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-making, gold beating etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-nahr except in Samarkand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmere they are even abundant".

As to the West Coast, Sind exported "great store of **West Coast** cotton and cloth".<sup>3</sup> So did Sorath and Chaul, Dabul and Diu<sup>4</sup>. In Patanexy (the port of Verawal-Somnath), there was "much coloured silk cloth, richly embroidered, which is worn throughout India, Malaca, Bengala, also abundance of cotton cloth," "while much silk cloth, common silk camlets" were made in Cambay which 'were good and cheap'; and "many large carpets, taffety, cloth of scarlet-in-grain and other colours" were exported from Diu to Meca, Aden, Ormuz and other parts of Arabia and Persia"<sup>5</sup>. The city of Cambaya in Nikitin's time was "a manufacturing place for every sort of goods as *talach* (long gowns worn by Tartars, half cotton and half silk), *damask*, *Khun* (a sort of satin), *Kiota* (blankets) and blue stone colour"<sup>6</sup>. We learn from Varthema that "every year 40 or

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1. Especially in Benares, Jalalabad, Mau, (Ain Vol. II pp. 158), in Malwa (Ain II pp 196); in Berar (Ain II pp 230); 2. Ain Vol. I pp. 55; 3. Barbosa i, pp. 107. 4. Barbosa pp. 129 5. Barbosa pp. 129-30. 6. Nikitin pp. 19

50 vessels used to sail from this place laden with cotton and silk stuffs", and that Cambay and Bengalla together supplied "*all Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, that is Africa, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, India, and a multitude of inhabited Islands, with silk and cotton stuffs*"<sup>1</sup>. We are further told by Barbosa that in this place "there are many *craftsmen of mechanic trades* in cunning work of many kinds, as in Flanders; and everything *good cheap*. Here are woven white cotton fabrics both fine and coarse, and others printed in patterns; also much silk cloth and coloured velvets of poor quality, velvety satins and taffeties, also thick carpets. A great quantity of *ivory* is used here in very cunning work, inlaid and turned articles such as bracelets (bangles), sword-hilts, dice, chessmen, and chess-boards; for there are many skilful turners who make all these, also many ivory bedsteads very cunningly turned, beads of sundry kinds, black, yellow, blue and red and many other colours, which are carried hence to *many* other places. Here too are many workers in *stones*, and makers of false stones and pearls of diverse sorts which appear to be real, also very good *goldsmiths* who do very fine work. They also make here very beautiful *quilts* and testers of beds finely worked and painted and quilted articles of dress. A great amount of work is also done here in coral, alaquequas (cornelians) and other stones; so that in this city the *best workmen in every kind of work are found*". Among the industrial products exported from "the great and wealthy kingdom of Gujrat and Cambaye," the same traveller notes "many cotton muslins for veils and other white and coarse cloth of the same, of which many ships take cargoes to Arabia, Persyra, India, Malaca, Camatra, Melynde, Magadozo and Mombaca; also other coloured cloths of diverse kinds, silk muslins, cornelians, gingely oil, southern wood spikenard (aromatic drug), tutenag (zinc or spelter), borax,

1. Varthema, 107 and 111-112. 2. Barbosa pp. 143.



opium, fine indigo in cakes and another coarser kind, as well as many other drugs unknown to us."<sup>1</sup>

The city of *Kan-pa-mei* (Koyampadi or Coimbatore) was "a great seat of cotton manufacture where  
**South.** was made, as also in the surrounding districts, a cloth called *chih-li* cloth, made up into piece four inches wide and 25 feet long." The people there prepared also raw silk for the loom, dyed it in various shades of colour and then wove it into flowered pattern goods, "made up into pieces 4 to 5 feet wide and 12 to thirteen feet long."<sup>2</sup> In Vijayanagar city there were to be found "metals both wrought and unwrought, *copper* in abundance, quicksilver, vermillion, saffron, rose-water, great store of opium, sanders wood, camphor, musk and scented materials".<sup>3</sup> "In the city of Pulicat," then a city belonging to the Vijayanagar king, says Barbosa, "are made great abundance of printed cotton cloths which are worth *much money* in Malacca, Peeguu, Camatra, and in the kingdom of Guzerate and Malabar for clothing"<sup>4</sup>. About the Bahmini kingdom we are told that "great-store of cotton goods, cloth and other ware" was exported thence to Malabar in exchange for its products, and likewise "wheat grains, rice, millet and gingelly, *pieces of fine muslin and calicos*, which are woven in this Kingdom of Daquem"<sup>5</sup> Cotton stuffs were also manufactured in the city of Chaul' in great abundance."<sup>7</sup> The *Zambucos* of Malabar came yearly to Bhatkal for "loads of sugar."<sup>8</sup> Here also were found "great store of myrobalans of good quality," and of these they made a conserve in order to sell them to the Moors of Arabia and Persia who bought them *at a good price*'s. "Much copper" was also used and taken inland for coinage, also for "*cooking pots and other vessels, used by the country people*; and

1. Barbosa pp. 154. 2. Mahaun pp. 345 J.R.A.S. 1896. 3. Barbosa pp. 203. 4. Barbosa Vol. II. pp. 132. 5. Barbosa i, 159-60; 6. Varthema pp. 114; 7. Barbosa i, 180. 8. Barbosa. i, 189

much quicksilver, vermilion dye, coral, alum, and ivory were are also dealt in at the place.<sup>1</sup>

Mining was undoubtedly a great industry both in the north and the south. In a summary **Mining.** view of India as whole, given in Vol III of the Ain, Abul Fazl makes the general statement that "mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron *abound*". In the detailed description of each subah he mentions specially the mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, orpiment and borax in the Subah of Delhi; iron and copper mines in the Subah of Agra;<sup>1</sup> iron mines in Kalingar (Allahabad), in the Sarkar of Bazoha (Bengal), in Indore, in Normal (Berar), and in Tattah; copper mines in Chainpur (Ajmere)<sup>2</sup>; and diamond mines at Kalinagar, Harpah (Bengal), and Biragarhi (Berar). The existence of rich mines in the north is testified to, fifty years later (1616-19) by Edward Terry who observes that "the earth yields good minerals of lead, iron, copper, and brass and they say of silver." At six day's journey from Cambaya, there was, in Varthema's time a mountain whence Cornelians were extracted and also a mountain of Chalcedonies; while at nine day's journey from the same place there was another mountain in which diamonds were found (Varthema pp. 107). As for the south, we are told by Paes that "in the country itself many diamonds are found because there is a mine of them in the Kingdom of Narsinga and the other is in the Kingdom of Deccan"; while Barbosa says, "these diamonds are found . . . in the Kingdom of the Moors called Decan, and the Moors and Indians carry them thence to all other countries; there are other diamonds of poorer quality, yet white enough which are entitled

1. Barbosa i, 191. 2. Perath in this Subah possessed on a copper mine, so profitable that from a *man* weight of ore, they obtained 35 sers of metal (Ain ii pp. 181). 3. Extremely profitable mines according to Ain ii pp. 268.

“ of the New Mine ” which is in the Kingdom of Narsinga. He further adds that “ in India are fabricated false diamonds, rubies, topazes and white sapphires which are *good* imitation of the true stones.” Sapphires were likewise found in a mountain above Bacanor and Mangalor in the Kingdom of Narsinga and on the sea-strands at a place called Capucar in the Kingdom of Calicut.<sup>1</sup> The loads of iron exported from Bhatkal<sup>2</sup> and the fact that Portuguese found it necessary in their interests to impose severe restrictions on the export of steel, iron, and lead from the western coast<sup>3</sup> indicate the existence of rich mines in the country ; and the relics of the past to this day confirm the popular belief that mining in the past was a flourishing industry. A striking testimony to this is borne by Gribble in his History of the Deccan. He points out that “ the *whole* of the Deccan, from Mysore upto the northern limits of the Nizam’s dominion is covered with remains of old mining works,” that “ in Mysore it was been found that these old mines extend to a considerable depth and traces of what in mining language, is called “ the old men ” are found at *three or even four hundred* feet beneath the surface,” that “ in some of the Mysore mines in which the work has been carried to a point beyond which the “ old men could not go,” the yield of gold is so great, that they rank among the richest gold mines in the world,” and finally that “ there is little doubt, that it was from *these mines* that the Hindus obtained their vast wealth.” That metal industries must have been in a flourishing

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1 Barbosa i, 223 2 Barbosa i, 189. 3 Cf the following stipulation in the treaty between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagar king dated Feb. 26, 1546:—“The king of Vijayanagar will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the kingdom of Adilshah from any port or town of his own; and his merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbours of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, where they will be quickly purchased by the Governors of India, not to cause them loss” (vide Father Heras Aravidhan dynasty pp. 62-3).

state is proved by another well-known fact. There was no Arms act then and carrying arms was then a general custom, evidenced alike by the existence of huge armies to which I have already referred and by the definite statements of our travellers. The naked tribe that Abdur-Razaak saw at Calicut had "in one had a Hindi dagger, (bright as a drop of water) and in the other a shield made of cow's hide, large as a portion of a cloud." Metal articles figure largely in the list of decoration of the different sections of the Vijayanagar army given to us by Paes; who wishes us further to "know that there are *women also* who handle sword and shield" in the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Every one of the men at arms of the Gujrat king carried in the days of Barbosa "two swords, a dagger, a Turkish bow with very good arrows; some of them carried steel maces; many wore coats of mail and had the foreparts of their horses caparisoned with steel and had their short swords finely damascened with gold and silver according to the rank of the wearer"<sup>4</sup>. The peasants and even the grain dealers were never without arms in Malwa (Ain). Nor must we forget the goldsmiths who supplied huge quantities of ornaments to a population that was inordinately fond of gold and silver. But to this we shall refer again in another connection.

### COMMERCE AND TRADE.

A part from these facts, the extent of trade and commerce noted at various centres gives a fairly good impression of the general productiveness of the country. Abdur Razaak was struck by the extent of commerce at *Calicut*, then a rendezvous for "ships from China to Eastern Africa" and tells us that vessels were continually sailing thence for Mecca, "for the most part laden with pepper", and that one could have there *everything* that

4. Barbosa ii, 119—20.

can be desired except that you cannot kill cows and eat their flesh." Nikitin adds that it is "a port for the whole Indian sea." Barbosa found therein many *pardesis*, native of diverse lands, Arabs, Persians, Guzrates, Khorasanis and Deccanis, and explains that "as the trade of this country is *very large*, they gather here in great numbers with their wives and sons, and seem to have increased." The Moors of Calicut took on board their ships goods for every place, and "every monsoon 10 or 15 of these ships sailed for the Red Sea, Aden and Mecca, where they sold their goods at a profit, some to the merchants of India who took them on thence in small vessels to Toro, and from Toro they would go to Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria and thence to Venice. These goods were pepper (great store), ginger, cinnamon, cardomams, tamarind, canafistula, precious stones of every kind, seed-pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, great store of cotton clothes and porcelains." (Barbosa). *Triamuingate*, a Moorish town had "many ships and much traffic by sea"; so also *Majum* (Mahe), Chamobai and Pedirpatam<sup>1</sup>. Among the other important places of trade and shipping in the south, Barbosa includes chiliate, Propriamguary, Parananor Tanor, and Pananee in the kingdom of Calicut; Cragnora and Cochin in the kingdom of Cochin; and Cale Coilam and Coilam in the kingdom of Coilam; Varthema adds to his list the city of Cananor "to which 200 ships" came every year from different countries. Among the large trading centres on the west coast Barbosa mentions Deval in Sind; Champaner, Ahmedabad, Surat, Dinuy, Bassein and Thana under the King of Gujrat; Chaul, Danda, Dabul, Sangameshwar, Goa and Bidar in the Deccan Kingdom; and Mirjan, Onor, Bhatkal, Majandur, Bacanor and Brucalor, Mangalor, and Kumbah under the Vijayanagar King.

At Deval ships from Malabar brought "abundance of rice and sugar", and 'spices, timber planks, and certain

1. Barbosa ii, 85.

canes which are found in India and are of the thickness of man's leg, by all of which trade "much money was gained," and took back in return "great store of cotton, horses, and cloth". The detailed description of the commerce of Diu ends in Barbosa's book with the significant conclusion: "all these goods are carried by the folk of this country to Meca, Aden, Ormuz, and other parts of Arabia and Persia, to such a degree that this town now has the *greatest trade* of any found in these regions; and yields such a sum of money that it is an *astonishing thing*, by reason of the bulky and precious goods that are here laden and unladen. Thus from Meca and Aden alone they bring hither coral, copper quicksilver, vermillion, lead, alum, madder, rose-water saffron, gold silver (coined and bullion) in such abundance that it can not be reckoned." The custom-houses at Barbasy (Bhavnagar) and Surat brought the King of Gujrat great revenues. Of Cambay and Rander we have already heard enough; and of the commerce of Chaul, Barbosa gives us the following details:- "spices, areca-nuts, cocoanuts, palm-sugar, wax and emery, all of which here find a good market, and is used in the greater kingdom of Cambay (the ships whereof come hither to search for these things) and in return they take back "great store of cotton goods, cloth, and other wares worth much in Malabar. The Zambuquos which come thence take these things in exchange of what they bring, they take likewise wheat, grains, rice, millet, and gingelly (which is found here in great plenty), pieces of fine muslins and calicos, which are *woven* in this Kingdom of the Daquem".<sup>1</sup> Dabul (Dabol) in Nikitin's time was "a very extensive seaport" and "a very large town, the great meeting place of all nations living along the coast of India and of Ethiopia." At the time of Barbosa's visit it had trade "in goods of every kind"; its "many very worthy merchants" sent "inland great store of copper, also much quicksilver and

1. Barbosa i, 159—60.

vermilion dye; and to it came from the inland region down the river to be laden on the ships, also much wheat, grain, chick-peas, and sundry other sorts of pulse." At Goa there was "great trade in many kinds of goods from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, and the great kingdom of Cambay, which are consumed on the main lands" and the Ormus merchants took thence in their ships "cargoes of rice (great store), sugar, iron pepper, ginger, and other spices of diverse kinds and drugs." <sup>1</sup>

In Bidar there was "trade in horses, goods, stuffs, silks and all sorts of other merchandise"<sup>2</sup>. In the city of Vijayanagar there was great traffic and "infinite trade (Paes); and the streets and the markets were full of laden oxen without count so that you (could) not get along for them, and in many streets you came upon so many of them that you had to wait for them to pass or else had to go another way." At Bhatkal there was great traffic in goods of diverse sort"; there dwelt both Moors and Heathen, "all given to trade"; thither came "every year many ships from Ormuz" to get cargoes of white rice (great store) and powdered sugar of which this land has great plenty", a few ships of the Moors of Mecca to take in loads of spices though by the rules and orders of the Portuguese they were forbidden to do so, and also the Zambucos of Malabar "yearly for loads of iron and sugar." The place was very rich and "a great revenue" was collected from it by the king and his Governor. Pulicat was "inhabited by both Moors and Heathen, great traders", had very fair sea-heaven, whither resorted ships of the Moors in *great numbers* conveying goods of diverse kind, and by land also from the Narsyangua kingdom many traders to buy goods of many kinds, and where the king maintained a Governor under his orders and collectors of his duties.<sup>3</sup> Not only the

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1. Barbosa i, 178. 2, Nikitin p p 12. 3 Barbosa ii, 130—2.

city but also the district of Pulicat was "one of immense traffic in merchandise"<sup>1</sup>

In *Bengal*, Barbosa further tells us, "the sea-ports are inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, amongst whom there is *much* trade in goods and much shipping to many parts, because this sea is a gulf which enters towards the north, and at its inner extremity there is a very great city inhabited by the Moors, which is called Bengala, with a very good harbour . . . . . many foreigners from various parts live in this city, both Arabs and Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, who congregate here on account of the country being *very fertile* and of a temperate climate. They are all *great merchants* and own large ships of the same build as those of Mekkah and others of the Chinese *build* which they call Jungos, which are *very large* and carry a *very considerable cargo*. With these ships they navigate to Cholemander, Malabar, Cambay, Peigu, Tanesari, Samatra, Ceylon, and Malaca; and they trade in all kinds of goods, from many places to others" (Barbosa).

#### INDIAN COMMODITIES IN FOREIGN CENTRES OF COMMERCE.

The impression in favour of a large volume of foreign commerce is confirmed by what the travellers tell us about the trade of the main ports of East Africa, Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Ceylon, Maldiva islands, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Siam, and China. At *Cofula* on the east coast of Africa, Barbosa found "small vessels named Zambucos from the kingdom of Queloa, Mombaca and Melynde bringing many *cotton cloths*, some spotted and other white and blue, also some of *silk*, and many small beads, grey, red, and yellow, *which things come to the said kingdoms from the great kingdom of Cambay in other greater ships*." Many ship from Cambay were noticed by him both at Mombaca and Melinde. The Moors of the latter port dealt in

<sup>1</sup> Varthema pp 195.



“ cloth, gold, ivory and diverse other wares with the Moors and Heathen of the great kingdom of Cambay;” and there was “ great plenty of food in this city ( rice, millet and some wheat which they bring from Cambay” ; and in this traffic the Cambay merchants made “ great profits”.<sup>1</sup> The kings of Manifia, Pemba, and Zinzibar were “ clad in very fine silk and cotton garments ” which they purchased at Mobasa from the Cambay merchants<sup>2</sup>. At Magadoxo ( Makdashau ) “ many ships from Cambay” brought “ great plenty of cloth of many sorts and diverse other wares, also spices” <sup>3</sup>. At Adem ( Aden ), so great was the number of ships of Cambay, “ laden with cloth of many kinds” that it struck Barbosa as an astonishing thing and forced him to remark: “ *it seems an impossible thing* that they should use so much cotton cloth as these ships bring from Cambay”<sup>4</sup>. The list of other commodities brought thither from the Western coast of India included “ great store of spices and drugs ”, “ great store of rice, sugar and cocoa-nuts, gems and seed pearls in abundance”<sup>5</sup>. Many ships came there “ also from Bengala, Camtura and Malaca, bringing not only abundance of spices but also of “ silk, thin Bengala cloth, and sugar ”<sup>6</sup>. A large concourse of Indian ships was found likewise at the Cape of Guardefy ( Ras Asir ), Barbora and Judda; and these included ships from the “ kingdom of Cambaya, and from Chaul, Dabul, Baticala, Malabar and *all* the coast of Bengala”<sup>7</sup>. At Mecca, Varthema found a very large quantity of stuffs of cotton and silk” of Bengal. To Xaer or Esh-Shahir on the south east coast of Arabia, the Moors of Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Baticala and Malabar went with ships laden “ with great plenty of cotton cloth, both coarse and fine of which they made much use,” many perforated garnets and other gems of inferior kinds, rice, sugar, spices of all

1. Barbosa i, 23.

2. Barbosa i, 28.

3. Barbosa i, 31.

4. Barbosa i, 55.

5. Barbosa i. 55-7.

6. Barbosa i, 57.

Barbosa i, 33-4, 44.

sorts and other wares which they sold here to the country dealers, who purchased them at good prices and took them to Adem, and so to the whole of this part of Arabia". With Dofar (ظفار) the Muslim merchants of Cambay traded "in cotton cloths, rice and goods of many other kinds"<sup>1</sup> And among the imports from India into the "fair city of *Ormuz*" Barbosa mentions not only "spices of all sorts to wit pepper, cloves, ginger, cardomans, eagle wood, sandal-wood, brasilwood' myrobalans, tamarind and saffron" but also indigo, *iron, sugar, rice* (great store), cocoanuts, great abundance of precious stones, porcelain benzoin, Cambay, Chaul and Dabul cloth, and many synbafos (Sina-Baftas or China woven) which were "a sort of very thin cotton cloth greatly prized amongst them and highly valued for turbans and shirts, for which they used them."<sup>2</sup> And Abdur Razaak tells us that among the inhabitants of the sea coast near Ormus he found people from Bengal, the countries of Malabar, the ports of Vijayanagar, Kulbergah, Gujrat and Khambait. Fish was exported from Sind to outside India on a fairly large scale<sup>3</sup>. The Isles of Maldiva got their rice from Malabar:<sup>4</sup> while the Island of Ceylon imported rice from Coromandal, great plenty of good honey and sugar from Bengal,<sup>5</sup> and very fine cotton cloths and goods of many other kinds from Cambay<sup>6</sup>. Many Moorish ships visited Pegu every year bringing "abundance of printed Cambay and Pulicut cloths, both cotton and silk which they call *patolas* (Pattuda).....also opium, copper, great store of scarlet-in grain cloth, coral threaded round, and in branches and well set, vermilion, quicksilver, rose-water, and many other Cambay drugs". The kingdom of Ava imported from Cambay copper, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, opium and coloured Meca velvets<sup>7</sup>; and Cambay cloth found a market in the king-

1. Barbosa i, 67.

2. Barbosa, 83.

3. Major pp 6.

4. Barbosa i, 107.

5. Barbosa ii, 104.

6. Barbosa ii. iii.

7. Barbosa ii, 112.

dom of Siam<sup>1</sup>, in the city and realm of Malaca, in Java,<sup>2</sup> in the spice islands of Molacas<sup>3</sup>, in the isles of Bandam,<sup>4</sup> in Ambam(Amboyna)<sup>5</sup>, in Celebe,<sup>6</sup> and in China.<sup>7</sup> Malaca was a great emporium of Indian goods like cloths from Pulicat, Cambay and Bengala, coral, shaped and strung and ready for shaping, vermillion, quicksilver, opium, rose-water, great store of grains for dyeing, raw silk, iron, drugs, porcelain, garlic, onions, tin, lead, axes, swords, great store of beads and diverse other goods from Cambay.<sup>8</sup>

Exports to India from these foreign centres of trade were chiefly gold and ambergris from Cofala<sup>9</sup>, gold, opium and ivory from Barbora; copper, quicksilver, verdegris, saffron rose-water, scarlet cloth, silk and much gold and silver from Juda to Calicut<sup>10</sup>; horses and frankincense from Xaer; pearls from the kingdom of Ormuz; one to two thousand horses every year along with abundance of dates, raisin, salt, sulphur and coarse seed-pearls from the fair city of Ormuz<sup>11</sup>; fine lac from Pegu<sup>12</sup>; musk and rubies from Ava, camphor and aloes-wood from Champa; and mace, cloves and many other goods from China.

#### WATER-TRANSPORT.

How was this huge trade and commerce moved? Evidently our seas were then the highways of commerce in addition to our roads, for our foreign travellers speak not only of "many ships" and "large trade" in the many ports of India mentioned by them but also of "many Cambay, Bengala and Malabar ships" at the foreign ports. The Chinese traveller Mahaun tells us of Bengal that the rich in his days built ships in which they carried on commerce with foreign nations<sup>14</sup>; while the Venetian Nicolo de Conti observes that the Indian ships

1. Barbosa ii, 164. 2. Barbosa ii 202. 3. Barbosa ii, 202—3

4. Barbosa ii, 198, 5. Barbosa ii 199. 6. Barbosa ii, 204.

7. Barbosa ii 215. 8. Barbosa ii.173—5. 9. Barbosa ii, 7—8.

10. Barbosa i, 57. 11. Barbosa i, 95. 12. Barbosa ii, 154.

then were "*larger than ours* (Venetian), capable of containing 2000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts" Their lower part is said to have been constructed with triple planks in order to withstand the force of tempests; but some ships were so built in compartments that "should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage." On the banks of the Ganges he saw fishing boats and skiffs made of very high bamboos, adapted to the navigation of the river; and in the south he found Indian merchants "very rich, so much as that some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at 15,000 gold pieces." Calicut is described by Abdur Razaak as "one of the greatest shipping centres of the world in this period" and men of Calicut as "bold navigators known as the Sons of China", whom the pirates did not dare to attack. Varthema confirms this description, adding the following many interesting details about Calicut ships:—"First they make their vessels they do not put any oakum between one plank and another in any way whatever, but they join the planks so well that they keep out the water most excellently. And then they lay on pinch outside, and put in an immense quantity of iron nails. Do not imagine, however, that they have not any oakum, for it comes there in great abundance from other countries but they are not accustomed to use it for ships. They also possess as good timbers as ourselves and in greater quantity than with us. The sails of these ships of theirs are made of cotton, and at the foot of the said sails they carry another sail, and they spread this when they are sailing in order to catch more wind: so that they carry two sails where we carry only one. They also carry anchors made of marble, that is to say, a piece of marble eight *palmi* long and two *palmi* every other way. The said marble has two large ropes attached to it; and, these are their anchors.....As to the names of their ships

some are called *Samuchi*, and these are flat-bottomed. Some others, which are made like ours, that is in the bottom, they call *Capel*. Some other quick ships are called *Paroo*, and they are boats of ten paces each, and are all of one piece, and go with oars made of cane, and the mast also is made of cane. There is also another kind of vessel which goes with a sail and oars. These are all made of one piece of the length of twelve or thirteen paces each... ..These ships are called *Chaturi* and go either with a sail or oars more swiftly than any *galley*, *fusta*, or *bringatine*." Barbosa tells us that the Moors of Calicut "in the days of their prosperity in trade and navigation (i. e. before the Portuguese menace) built in the city keeled ships of a thousand and a thousand and two hundred *bahares* burden, and that these ships were built without any nails, but the whole of the sheathing was sewn with threads"<sup>1</sup>. In Cochin new ships were built, both galleys and caravels "in as *great perfection as on the Lisbon strand*".<sup>2</sup> The South of India got its ships built also in the Maldio Islands, where many great ships were made of palm-trunks, sewn together with threads, having keels and being of great burden, also smaller boats for rowing like *bargantis* or *fustas*, the *most graceful* in the world, *right well built and extremely light*.<sup>3</sup> Varthema observes that the merchants of Diu had certain vessels called *Thalae*, somewhat less than the Portuguese galleys;<sup>4</sup> while Barbosa speaks enthusiastically of shipping in Gujrat. Of Reynel on the west coast, he says: "its Moorish inhabitants trade in *their own ships* with Malaca, Bengala, Camarasym (Tennassarim), and Pegua, also Martabam and Camatra....those who dwell here have *many great and fair vessels*, which carry on this trade and whosoever would have at his disposal things from Malaca and China, let him go to this place where he will find them in greater perfection than in any other place soever."<sup>1</sup> Not content with their

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1 Barbosa ii. 76 ; 2 Barbosa, ii. 93 ; 3 Barbosa ii, 107-8 ; 4 Varthema pp 92.

*atalvas, fustas* and *Zambucos*, the merchants of Goa met the Portuguese menace by gathering together a great some of money and building in the Goa river "fair *galleys* and *brigantines* after the Portuguese fashion and style" and "made such good speed that in a short time a *great* part of the fleet was ready"<sup>2</sup>, proving thus the existence of special facilities for ship-building on the Western coast. We hear in 1508, 1521, 1527, 1528 and 1546 of great naval engagements between the Gujrat and Portuguese fleets in which victory was more often than not with the Gujrat fleet; and the Portuguese annals mention frequently Bassein and Agashe as great ship-building centres on the west coast. One of the Gujrat ships stopped by Sir. H. Middleton on its voyage to the Red Sea in 1612 was 153 feet long, 42 beam 31 deep and said to be 1500 tons' burden<sup>3</sup>; and Edward Terry tells us that "the ship that usually goes from Surat to Mekha is of *exceeding* great burden. Some of them, I believe, at the least fourteen or sixteen hundred tons..... In these ships are yearly abundance of passengers for instance, in one ship returning thence, that year we left India, came seventeen hundred." *And this in an age in which English ships were 300 or 350 tons at most.* In Bengal, Varthema says: "these people make use of *very* large ships and of various kinds, some of which are made flat-bottomed, because such can enter into places where there is not much water. Another kind are made with prows before and behind, and they carry two helms and two masts, and are uncovered. There is also another kind of large ship which is called "Guinchi," and each of these is of tonnage of one thousand butts, on which they carry some little vessels to a city called Malach." Barbosa adds that the Bengal merchants "own large ships of the some build as those of Mekkah, and others of the Chinese build which they call *Jungos*, which are very large and carry a very considerable cargo," and that "with these

1 Barbosa i, 146-7; 2 Barbosa i, 177; 3 Bombay Gazetteer vol. i, Part ii, 34-6.

ships they navigate to Cholemander, Malabar, Cambay, Peigue, Tarnasari, Samatra, Ceylon and Malaca, and "were accustomed to go freely and without dread to the parts of Malabar and Cambaya" before the Portuguese menace confronted them. In *Inland trade*, the three river systems of the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra were the chief means of communication in Northern India. Every foreign traveller in Hindustan travelled down the Ganges Conti found on the banks of this river "reeds extremely high and of such surprising thickness that one man alone could not encompass them with his arms," and tells us that while fishing boats were made of these reeds, "for which purpose one alone is sufficient," skiffs adapted to the navigation of the river were made "of wood or bark which is the more than a palm's breadth in thickness"<sup>1</sup> Hussein Shah, the ruler of Bengal (1498-1520) is said to have maintained a powerful fleet with which he once invaded Assam<sup>2</sup>. The Ain tells us that in the Subah of Bengal "travelling is by boat specially in the rains; and they make them of different kinds for purposes of war, carriage or swift sailing; for a siege, they are so adapted that when run ashore, they overtop the fort and facilitate its capture". Some of the Emperor's pleasure boats 'contained floating markets and flower-gardens', and one of the duties assigned to every Kotwal was to reserve "separate ferries for men and women." The Historians of Akbar's reign record that in 1574 Akbar moved his enormous camp from the capital to Patna in boats carrying both men and equipment. In Tattah (Sind) too, boats on the Indus were the chief means of locomotion, and in the days of Ain there were "many kinds of these, "large and small to the number of 40000." "In every part of His Majesty's empire" further adds the Ain, "ships are numerous;" but in Bengal, Kashmere and Tatta (Sind) they are the pivot of all commerce." In the South, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Cavery, the Nerbudra and the Tapti

<sup>1</sup> *Major* pp 10 ; <sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B., 1872. Part 1. No. 1.

were navigable though to a much *lesser* degree than the Ganges or the Indus. The accounts of these foreign travellers seem to suggest that compared to coasting voyages and land transport, river traffic played a minor part in the South. In the kingdom of Vijayanagar the boats in common use are described by Paes as round like baskets, with inside made of cane and outside covered with leather, able to carry 15 or 20 persons and even horses and oxen if necessary; and we are further told that "men row them with a short of, paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these".

The European travellers in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir are even more definite in their observations. Ralph Fitch (1593-91) went from Agra to Satagam in Bengal "in the company of *one hundred and four score boats*, laden with salt, opium, hinge, lead, carpets, and diverse other commodities, down the river Jumna"<sup>1</sup>; and found that in Bengal "they have many *great* boats which they call pericose, wherewithal they go from place to place and buy rice and many other things," and that these boats had *24 or 26 oares* to row them and were "*great of burthen*" but had "no coverture"<sup>2</sup>. William Finch [1608-11] observes that "Ravee is a goodly river.....down which go many boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Thatta in Sind, after the fall of the rains, being a journey of some forty days alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur [Bukkur] and Raurie [Rohri]", and that on the Jumna "there are many boats, some of *one hundred Tunnes*"<sup>3</sup>. Peter Mundy (1628-34) found passing on the river Chambal near Dholpoore (Dholpur) "many great boats" with "ends looking upwards like a half moone or as you use to painte ships of auntient tymes, or Noah's Arke."<sup>4</sup> At Agra he noticed "verie great lighters or Gabares,

1 Foster's Early Travels pp 18; 2 Foster pp 26. 3 Foster pp, 161,

4 Peter Mundy ii 63



of 3, 4 or 500 tons each, serving for transporting great men with their howshold and howshold stuff down the river to Ettawa, Allahabad, Putna, Dacca etc., places on the river Ganges, having houses in the middle for the women; at Ettawa also he saw similar lighters [barges], "3 or 400 tons a piece, both ends extraordinary high," their "chiefest lading being salt". Even the great men's pleasure boats at Patna had "20, 25 or 30 Oares of a side"<sup>1</sup>. The rates charged for transport were *extraordinary low*, while the wages of the boatmen were fairly high, giving us an additional proof of the large volume of trade. "If a boat and people are hired" says the Ain, "the rate for every thousand maunds is one rupee per cos. If only the boat is found by the owner, and the hirer pays the boatmen, it is only one rupee for two cos and a half." And yet the "watermen employed in navigating boats in rivers," we are told, "have never less than 100 nor more than 500 dams per mensem" (Ain).

Not only the inland and the coasting trade then provided employment for our countrymen but *also the carrying trade of the East*. The ships of Cambay were found at Mombaca, Melinde and Makadashu on the East Coast of Africa<sup>2</sup>. To Aden came not only Cambaya ships but also many ships from Bengala<sup>3</sup>. At Ras Ashir, Barbora and Judda, Barbosa noticed a large concourse of Indian ships including ships from "the kingdom of Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Baticala, Malabar and all the coast of Bengala";<sup>4</sup> and at Xaer (Esh-Shahr on the south east of Arabia), he found ships of Chaul, Dabul, Baticala and Malabar<sup>5</sup>. Cananor ships sailed to Ormus, Ceylon, and the Isles of Maldeva<sup>5</sup>; Bengal and Coromandel ships likewise to Ceylon; Bengal ships to Camatra, and Cambay and Bengal ships to Pegu<sup>6</sup>. Evidently the Railways and the European shipping in India have not been an unmixed

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1 Mundy ii, 224; 2 Barbosa i, 2-3, 31. 3 Barbosa i, 55-7 4 Barbosa i, 33-4 47  
5 Barbosa ii, 81; 6 Barbosa ii 145;

blessings to our land, and Haji's bill reflects not only the pressing needs of the present but also the deep rooted traditions of our people based upon their solid achievements in the past.

### ECONOMIC SECURITY.

It is sometimes suggested that this evidence is unbelievable for the simple reason that the necessary economic security for this prosperity was wanting. But our travellers are positive in their statement even on this point.

In the land of Malabar, the privileges enjoyed by the "*Biabares*, or Indian merchants," says Barbosa, "are such that the king of the country in which they dwell cannot execute them by legal process. Should the king know of any crime deserving of punishment committed by one of them he tells the others and they gather in Council and themselves slay the culprit with spear and sword, making known to the king the justice that they have done. They are very wealthy and have much property *inherited from of old.*" The *chatix* (chattys), natives of the province of Charamandal but foreigners in Malabar enjoyed a similar home rule. They managed their own affairs, they did justice to one another with which the king was satisfied.<sup>2</sup> The Moors in the town of Calicut had a Moorish Governor of their own who ruled and punished them without interference from the King, save that the Governor had to give an account of certain matters to the King<sup>3</sup>. When any foreign merchant arrived in the city to settle down and trade there, the king assigned him a "*Nayre* to protect and to serve him, and a *chatim* clerk to keep his accounts and look after his affairs, and a broker to arrange for him to obtain such goods as he had need of"<sup>4</sup>. Half a century earlier, *AbdurRazaak* paid even a more glowing tribute to Calicut, when he felt compelled to remark: "Such security and justice reign in this city, that rich merchants

<sup>1</sup> Barbosa ii, 56 ; <sup>2</sup> Barbosa ii, 73 ; <sup>3</sup> Barbosa ii, 76 ; <sup>4</sup> Barbosa ii, 77.

bring to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise, which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one's charge or placing it under a guard. The officers of the Custom-house have it under their protection and night and day keep guard round it. If it is sold, they take a custom duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ , otherwise they offer no kind of interference." And so great was the security in the land of Malabar in general at the time of Barbosa's visit that the Baniyas of far-off Gujrat fixed their home, "some in Cochin, and some in Cananor but the more part in Calcut" and traded in goods of every kind from many lands. So also the Moors who according to Barbosa formed "a fifth part of its people spread over all its kingdoms and provinces"<sup>1</sup>. Strangers from many lands, such as Arabs, Persian, Abexis and Indians found Bengal also a place for flourishing in trade.<sup>2</sup>

Nikitin who visited Bidar in 1470 remarks that "the roads were well-guarded, and travelling secure." Varthema found that justice was extremely well administered in the city of Chaul<sup>3</sup> and tells us that the king of Dabol [Bijapur] was "a very great observer of justice"<sup>4</sup> Of Vijayanagar, Barbosa says, "there is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as amongst those who come thither *from outside*, to whom the King allows such freedom that *every man* may come and go and *live according to his own creed*, without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, *not only by the rulers but by the people one to another*."<sup>5</sup> Varthema confirms this by saying: "In this kingdom you can go everywhere in safety". Paes describes the system by which the responsibility

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1. Barbosa ii, 74; 2 Barbosa ii, 141; 3 Varthema pp, 114; 4 Varthema pp 115; 5 Barbosa i, 201.

of the provincial captain and the chief bailiff of the city for the security of property was enforced, and concludes that as a result of this system there were very few thieves in the land.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the Governor of Diu appointed by the king of Guzerat, Barbosa adds: "He lives in a very orderly manner and shows a powerful mind in all his affairs.....The people of the country are properly punished and dealt justly and according to law."<sup>2</sup> In the city of Cambay the general security was so great "that chariots drawn by oxen or horses continually went about the city, and these they used for carrying things of all sorts." Some of these had "good wooden couches, closed and covered like rooms, with well-wrought joinery work and with windows adorned and decorated with silk-hangings and some with gilded leather, and inside these they had silken mattresses, counterpanes, and cushions, very rich".<sup>3</sup> "As drivers they employ," continues Barbosa, "trustworthy men well known to them; thus they take their women to games or entertainments or to visit their friends, without any one seeing or knowing who is inside, and those within go playing and singing and doing as they please." At Reynel [Rander] women were not shut as elsewhere among the Moors, but "went forth of their houses much in the day time, doing whatsoever business they had in hand, with their faces uncovered, as amongst the Portuguese<sup>4</sup>.

#### GOLD CURRENCY, ABUNDANCE OF SPECIE AND LOW PRICES.

The evidence that I have cited above raises a presumption in favour of a large volume of production in India; what little we know about currency, volume of specie and prices makes that presumption almost irresistible. Economists today are divided in opinion as to the possibility of circulating a gold coin in

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<sup>1</sup> Sewell pp 380-1 ; <sup>2</sup> Barbosa i, 133, <sup>3</sup> Barbosa i, 141, <sup>4</sup> Barbosa i, 148.

India in view of the general poverty of the people; but what we doubt *today* was an *accomplished* fact in India of the Sixteenth Century. Abdur Razzak tells us that in the kingdom of Vijayanagar there were "three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy." We learn from Barbosa that "*all* this merchandise is bought and sold by *pardao*," that the gold coin which they call *pardao*<sup>1</sup> is worth three hundred maravedis, which are made in certain towns of this kingdom," and that "over the *whole of India* they make use of this coin, which is *current* in *all* the kingdoms." The Ain mentions no less than 26 kinds of current coins of gold, the largest being the S'hansah weighing 101 tolas 9 mashas and 7 surkhs in value equal to 100 *la'li Julali-Muhurs*, and adds that "in the beginning of the reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire," and that "now gold coins are struck at four places only viz., at the seat of Government, in Bengal, Ahmedabad, Gujrat and Kabul". "The abundance of gold and silver", says Babur in his memoirs, "is the chief excellence of Hindustan." The public treasury of Ibrahim that fell in his hands was large enough to allow generous distribution among his followers, relatives and friends. "I gave Humayun", he tells us, "seventy lakhs from the treasury, and over and above this treasure, a palace (a private *douceur*) of which no account or inventory had been taken. To some Amirs I gave ten lakhs, to others eight lakhs, seven lakhs and six lakhs. On the Afghans, Hazaras, Arabs, Baluches, and others that were in the army, I bestowed gratuities from the treasury, suited to their rank and circumstances. Every merchant, every man of letters, in a word every person who had come in the army along with me carried off presents and superior luck. Many who were not in the army also received ample presents from these treasures; as for instance, Kamran received seventeen lakhs, Mohammad Zeman Mirza 15 lakhs, Askeri Mirza and Hindul, in a

word, all my relations and friends, great and small, had presents sent them in *silver and gold*, in cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Many presents were also sent to the Beks in our old territories, and their soldiers. I sent presents to my relations and friends to Samarkand, Khorasan, Kashgar, and Iraq. Offerings were sent to the Sheikhs (or holymen) in Khorasan and Samarkand, as likewise to Mecca and Medina. To the country of Kabul, as an incentive to emulation, to every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not, I sent one *Shahrokhi* as a gift.”<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Ain* found Akbar’s treasures too great to admit of his ‘giving a proper description of them with other matters before him’<sup>2</sup>; but De Laet tells us that the treasure left by Akbar in his treasury at Agra alone amounted to Rs. 348,226,386 of which Rs. 198,346,666 was in specie of all descriptions and that the total tribute of Gujrat alone amounted to 150 tons in gold<sup>3</sup>. And Paes sums up his explanation of the gorgeous decorations of horses, elephants, footmen and archers at the review of the Vijayanagar army during the Nine Days’ Festival in the sentence: “There is *so much* money in the land and the Chiefs are so wealthy.” He wishes his readers to know further “that the previous kings of the place (Vijayanagar) for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury which after the death of each is kept locked and sealed, not to be opened except when the Kings have great need,” and that “this king has made his treasury different from those of the present kings, and puts in it every year ten million *paradaos*, without taking from them one *paradao* more than for the expenses of his house:” and asks us to judge from this “how great is the riches of this kingdom and how great the treasure this king has amassed.” We are further told that “there are Captains amongst them (in the King’s army) who have a revenue of a

million and a million and a half of paradaos, others a hundred thousand paradaos." "The King of Narsinga," says Varthema, "is the richest king I have ever heard spoken of. His Brahmins say that he possesses a revenue of 12,000 Pardai *per day*." The plunder of the Vijayanagar camp at the bloody battle of Talikota "was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves;" and after the defeat "five hundred and fifty elephants, laden with treasure in gold, diamonds, and precious stones valued at more than a hundred millions sterling.....left the city"<sup>1</sup>. Abdur Razaak found at Calicut "abundance of precious articles brought thither from Abyssinia, Zirbad, Zanguabar"<sup>2</sup>. Barbosa speaks of the "great revenue" of the King of Gujrat and mentions among the merchandise found therein "also much silver and *coined* gold." According to Varthema, the Sultan of Cambay lived "with vast riches"<sup>3</sup>. The king of Bengal is likewise described as "a great lord and very rich" (Barbosa). The King of Coilam (Quilon) is said to have been "a great Lord over many lands and treasures" while the king of Calicut possessed "two magazines of ingots of gold, and stamped golden money, which many Brahmins said that a hundred mules could not carry"<sup>4</sup>. And the people living on the banks of the Ganges were then "very polished and wealthy, the *more part of them very stingy, spending little*"<sup>5</sup>.

As to low prices there is abundant evidence. Like Ibn Batuta, Varthema found Bengal, "the cheapest place to live in." Barbosa says much the same thing about Gujrat, everything there being "good cheap"<sup>6</sup>. Nikitin makes a similar statement about Calicut, observing that "everything here is cheap, and servants and maids are very good." In the rest of India, he spent daily on his food only one-sixth of an *altyn* (about 2/3rds of a farthing) and yet complains that "living in India is very

1 Sewell pp 205-6 ; 2 Major pp 13 ; 3 Varthema pp. 111 ; 4 Varthema pp 155 ; 5 Barbosa ii, 134 ; 6 Barbosa i, 123.

expensive.” At Calicut, we are told in one of Girdlamo Seringi’s letters on Vasco-de-Gama’s First Voyage, “for 3 reals (less than a penny) which are smaller than ours, bread sufficient for the daily sustenance of a man can be purchased;” and the Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco-de-Gama adds that “a very fine shirt which in Portugal fetches 300 reis, was worth here only two fanaos, which is equivalent to 30 reis, *for 30 reis in this country is a big sum.*” Paes describes Vijayanagar as “the best provided city in the world” and “stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, India corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses, horses’ gram and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people and states that “there is a large store of these and *very cheap.*” He found fowls selling at the rate of three for a vintem<sup>2</sup> inside the city and four for the same coin outside the city. One vintem sufficed for the purchase of six or eight partridges, or 12 to 14 doves;<sup>3</sup> grapes sold at three bunches a fanam and pomegranates ten for a fanam. In the city markets 12 live sheep could be had for a pardao and in the hills 14 or 15 for the same coin<sup>4</sup>. At Baticala an arroba (28 lbs) of sugar, a very expensive article in Europe at this period, sold for 240 reis (5s. 7d) i.e. it sold at the rate of 2:39d. per lb, or 12.5 lbs for a rupee of those days<sup>5</sup>; and Bengal sugar when conveyed to Malabar fetched there 1300 reis for a quintal (112 lbs) i. e. it sold at the rate of 9.3 lbs per rupee<sup>6</sup>. “Black rice which is better and more wholesome than the white” was available at Mangalor and Cimbola (Kumblah) “good and cheap”<sup>7</sup>; at Bacanor and Bracalore each bale of fardo<sup>8</sup> of husked and clean rice was worth 150 to 200 reis. At Cambay where every ‘conceivable article of luxury’ was available, Barbosa found “every thing *good and cheap.*” Even copper which

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1 Nikitin pp 25 ; 2 1.7 d. ; 3 Sewell pp 258 ; 4 Nuniz in Sewell pp 375 ; 5 Barbosa i, 188 ; 6 Barbosa i, 147 ; 7 Barbosa i, 195-7 ; 8 Fardo=3½ maunds (Linschoten i, 343) and 20 maunds=4 quintals (Barbosa i, pp 157).



was exceptionally dear in price as compared to other commodities sold for twenty Cruzados per quintal at Chaul i.e. at the rate of 1s. 9d. or Rs. 7 a pound, and at Calicut at the rate of 50 fanao for 30 lbs or 4 Rupee per lb.<sup>1</sup> (Journal of Vasco-de-gama First Voyage). The "extremely fine and delicate" cotton stuff of Bengal Viz. *Sarvetis, Mamuna, Duguza, Chautar, topan, sanabafos* were all at a low price" in the city of Bengala, though when sent to Malabar and Cambay, a good *Sinabafos*, a piece of muslin and chautar of the *best kind*, each of the length of 23 or 24 Portuguese yards were worth two cruzados, three hundred reis and six hundred reis respectively.<sup>2</sup> At Chaul 20 pieces of calico or muslin were worth ten pardaos, "more or less according to its quality"<sup>3</sup>; in other words the price of calico was less than Re 1½ per price of 23 or 24 yards at the place of its export. In Vijayanagar, a Knight with a horse and a slave girl was expected to live in comfort on a monthly allowance of 4 or 5 Pardaos i.e. Rs. 22.8 to Rs 25 per mensem.<sup>4</sup> In Sind near Umarmkot four goats could be had for one rupee during Himayun's wanderings.<sup>5</sup> In the days of Ain, wheat sold at 12 dams<sup>6</sup> per maund (55½ lbs), rice of different qualities at rates between 20 and 110 dams per maund, juar at 10 dams per maund, cabbages at 1 dam per seer, mutton at 95 dams per maund, Ghi at 105 dams per maund, milk at 25 dams per maund, salt at 16 dams per maund, mango pickles in oil at 2 dams per seer, Qandhar dry grapes at 7 dams, Pistachios at 6 dams per seer, figs at 1 dam per seer, and oranges, sugar canes, jack-fruits and guavas, each at 1 dam for two. A shalwar of 3 yards and 11 girihs of cloth cost between ¼ to ½ rupee; chauter sold at Rs 2 per piece and Malmal at Rs 4 (Ain). Later travellers amply confirm the

<sup>1</sup> Cruzado of Alfonso V (died 1481) was equal to 253 reis; that of Albuquerque at Goa (1510) was equal to 420 reis [Da Cunha: <sup>2</sup>Barbosa ii, 146-47. Taking the cruzado as equal to 420 reis, a *sinabafos* sold at Rs. 32 per yard and chauter at Rs. 24 per yard; <sup>3</sup>Barbosa i, 161; <sup>4</sup>Barbosa i, 219; <sup>5</sup>Himayun Namah pp 157; <sup>6</sup> Re1=40 dams.

fact of prevailing cheapness and abundance of specie in India. Terry (1616-19) tells us that the ships returning from the Red Sea to Surat "is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, *most of it in gold and silver*" and significantly adds: "besides for what quantities of moneys come out of Europe by *other* means into India I cannot answer; this I am sure of, that many *silver streams run thither as all rivers to the sea, and there stay*". And yet even in those days of Mughal rule he "saw a good sheep sold for the value of one shilling, four couple of hennes at the same price, one hare for the value of a penny, three partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest." Fish were purchasable "at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing" and provisions in general were *so plenty that "every one there may eat bread without scarceness."* (Terry)

Can abundance of *specie* and *low prices* exist together without abundance of *production* for any length of time? Can gold currency circulate in a country of very low prices unless the number of buyers purchasing substantial quantities is sufficiently *large*? No customary regime of prices can be proof for *long* against a *continuous* inflow of specie, foreign commerce and intimate commercial intercourse with a large number of foreign merchants and settlers such as we had on the Western coast of India in the fifteenth century or in the early half of the sixteenth. But even the hypothesis of a rigid customary regime is in this case *untenable* in view of what we learn from an interesting passage in *Tarikhi Daudi*, in which the author informs us that during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim in Delhi, "every kind of merchandise was cheaper than they had ever known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan Alauddin Khilji; but *even* that is doubtful..... Ten maus of corn could be purchased for one Bahloli; five seers of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin.....*Gold and silver were*

*only procurable with the greatest difficulty."* We, who know the quantity theory of money do not feel puzzled as the writer of this passage did at the cheapness of things in general existing side by side with the dearness of gold. But if in a regime *scarcity* of specie could produce a *fall* of general prices, it is plain that *abundance* of specie in the same regime cannot co-exist *with low prices*, unless the *total volume of production is very large and increases at a rate corresponding to that of the inflowing specie*. If the Quantity Theory of money applied in the one case, there is no **reason** to suppose that it was not applicable to the other case.

## III

## The Standard of Living

## AMPLE FOOD AND THAT VERY CHEAP.

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Apart from the indications given by the exceptionally low prices of food stuffs and other necessaries of life, we have not only the general impressions of our travellers but also their definite statements on the prevailing standard and cost of living in the country. Mahaun found the streets in the cities of Bengal, well-provided with shops of various kinds, also drinking and eating-houses and bathing establishments.<sup>1</sup> Nicolo de Conti tells us that the staple food of the inhabitants was "a certain kind of meal, rice, flesh, milk and cheese".<sup>2</sup> The priests, however, lived upon rice, herbs, fruits and vegetables.<sup>3</sup> Bengal was "very fertile and of a temperate climate," "abounding in grain of every kind, sugar, ginger, cotton" (Barbosa) and was according to Varthema "the cheapest place in the world to live in". The Muslim inhabitants of Bengal were according to Barbosa "luxurious people, who ate and drank a good deal, and had other bad habits"; while the Ain tells us that the staple food of the common people was "rice and fish; wheat, barley and the like not being esteemed wholesome." In Sind the staple food consisted of fish and *shali* rice, abundant and of good quality (Ain), but there was also

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1. J.R.A.S., 1895 pp. 531. 2. Major pp. 22. 3. Major pp. 18.

“great store of wheat, barley and flesh”<sup>1</sup> and the country imported abundance of spices, rice, sugar, and certain canes which are found in India (Malabar) and are of the thickness of a man’s leg”.<sup>2</sup> Fish was so abundant there that horses were fed on dried fish;<sup>3</sup> and fruits were of various kinds and mangoes specially fine (Ain). Milk-curd of excellent quality were made and could keep there for four months.<sup>4</sup> In Orissa the food of the inhabitants was rice, fish, the egg-plant and vegetables;<sup>5</sup> while in Kashmir it consisted chiefly of rice, wine, fish and various vegetables.<sup>6</sup> In Akbar’s dominion food was so cheap that the daily allowance of fodder allowed to the horses in the Imperial stable included two seers of flour, one and a half seer of sugar and half a seer of Ghee.<sup>7</sup>

Our travellers’ description of Gujrat shows no less that people were generally well-fed. The **Gujrat.** Resbutos (Rajputs) killed and ate “sheep and fish and all other kinds of food”; while the Brahmins never ate “anything subject to death” (Barbosa). The Baneans were great merchants and traders and ate “neither flesh nor fish nor anything subject to death”. Their diet was “milk, butter, sugar and rice and many conserves of diverse sorts and vegetables.” They made “much use of dishes of fruits and vegetables and pot herbs in their food”; and wheresoever they dwelt they had orchards and fruit gardens and many water-tanks wherein they bathed twice a day, both men and women.<sup>8</sup> The Moors of Gujrat ate “good wheaten bread, rice, very good flesh-meat of all kinds except that which is forbidden by their creed”.<sup>9</sup> They were “luxurious, free livers,

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1. Barbosa i, 107. 2. Barbosa i, 107. 3. Barbosa i, 107. 4. Ain ii 328. 5. Ain ii, 126. 6. Ain ii, 350. 7. Ain 51. 8. Barb ai, pp. 109-113. 9. Barbosa i, 121.

and great spenders",<sup>1</sup> and took to opium "as a means of provoking lust".<sup>2</sup> The dwellers in the city of Cambay\* led "a luxurious life, given to pleasure and vice"; and had "many vegetable and fruit gardens and orchards, which they used for their pleasure", and thence they obtained "plenty of fruit and vegetables, which are the principal food of the Heathen."<sup>3</sup> Betel grew in abundance not only in Bengal† but also on the west coast, and the habit of chewing it attracted the attention of almost all foreign travellers including Barbosa who gives us the following interesting description of the *pan*:— "This betel we call "the Indian Leaf"; it is as broad as the leaf of the plantain herb, and like it in shape. It grows on an ivy like tree, and also climbs over other trees which are enveloped on it. These yield no fruit, but only an aromatic leaf, which throughout India is habitually chewed by both men and women *night and day*, in public places *and road by day, and in bed by night*. This leaf is mixed with a small fruit (seed) called *Areca*, and before eating it, they cover it with moistened lime, and having wrapped up these two things with the betel leaf, they chew it, swallowing the juice only. It makes the mouth red and the teeth black. They consider it good for drying and preserving the belly and the brain. It subdues flatulence and takes away thirst, so that they take no drink with it". Four centuries have recorded no improvement in this respect except so far that it has ceased to be "one of the chief sources of revenue to the Indian Kings"<sup>4</sup> or rather the Indian Finance Members.

1. Barbosa i. 121. 2. Barbosa i. 123. 3. Barbosa i. 141-42. 4. Barbosa pp. 197.

\* Mostly Hindus according to De. Laet.

† cf. Mahaun: "Not having any tea, they offer the betel—nut in its place" (J.R.A.S., 1895).

In the land of Malabar, the Moors, who formed "a fifth part of its people," were 'rich and lived well'<sup>1</sup> and "were luxurious in eating, drinking and sleeping".<sup>2</sup> All the folk in Malabar owned palm-trees and by their means were "free from any dearth, even though other food be lacking".<sup>3</sup> Fish was good cheap and was the food most used among fishermen.<sup>4</sup> And the offspiring of even the wretched outcasts were fed "upon cow's milk or goat's milk".<sup>5</sup> Rice was the staple food of the people "used in Malabar more than elsewhere".<sup>6</sup> The Pagans of Calicut ate "always rice and fish, and spices and fruits".<sup>7</sup> The *Bazaar bread* in Calicut (bought evidently by Non-Hindus) was "unleavened, resembling small cakes which are baked daily in the ashes".<sup>8</sup> The cows of the place were small but yielded much milk and butter. Oranges of indifferent colour were plentiful as also lemons, citrons, limes, very good melons, dates, fresh and dried, and great variety of other kinds of fruit.<sup>9</sup> In Cananor bread was not eaten by the natives of the country who lived instead on rice, fish, flesh and nuts of the country.<sup>10</sup>

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar had, as we have already seen, abundant food and cattle supplies, available at low prices. As if this was not sufficient evidence of general well-being, we are expressly told: "of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley, and this country has also *much wheat*, and that good". Rice boiled with chick-peas and other pulse was given to each Knight

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1. Barbosa ii, 74. 2. Barbosa ii, 78. 3. Barbosa ii, 90. 4. Barbosa ii, 65; 5. Varthema, pp. 171; 6. Barbosa i, 194; 7. Varthema pp. 147. 8. Vasco De. Gama's First Voyage pp. 132. 9. Girolamo Seringi's letters on Vasco De. Gama's First Voyage pp. 122. 10. Varthema pp. 124.

in the Vijayanagar army as a part of the ration of his horse or elephant".<sup>1</sup> Food was so cheap that each of the king's elephants was "fed daily on two maunds of *Kitchri*, steeped in butter, with salt thrown on it and fresh sugar sprinkled over it".<sup>2</sup> The King and nobility ate "flesh and fish, saving beef only, which is forbidden by their perverse idolatry".<sup>3</sup> The "Bramens who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship...eat nothing subject to death, neither flesh nor fish nor anything which makes mouth red, for they say it is blood".<sup>4</sup> Some of them, adds Barbosa, are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a six day's journey only to get a good bellyful, their honey and butter, rice, sugar, "stews of pulse and milk".<sup>4</sup> The third class of folk" were very like the Bramens"<sup>5</sup> who ate "no flesh nor fish".<sup>6</sup> A great quantity of *Jagara* (*Gur*) was made in Mergen and Baticala (within Vijyanagar), all of which was consumed in the country.<sup>7</sup> The cost of living in the city of Vijayanagar in particular must have been very low, for Domingos Paes tells us: "This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat grains, India corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, *Moong* Pulses, horse-grain, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and *very cheap*; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors. There is much poultry; they give three fowls for a coin worth a vintem 1, 7/20 d.) ..The sheep they kill every day are countless, one could not number them, for in every street there are men who sell you mutton, so clean

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1. Barbosa i, 211. 2. Abdur Razaaq pp. 27. 3. Barbosa i, 217. 4. Narrative of Paes. 5. Probably the Lingayats. 6. Barbosa i, 217. 7. Barbosa i, 185-7.

\* See also Paes who describes their food to be vegetable, butter and other things which they make of fruit with their rice.



and so fat that it looks like pork; and you also have pigs in some streets of butcher houses so white and clean that you could never see better in any country. Then to see the many loads of lime that come each day such that those of Provos (a place near Lisbon) are of no account and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild bringals and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one. For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold everday, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffalows which goes on in the city, there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a fanam (1, 7/20 d.) and pomegranates ten for a fanam" An interesting feature of the city's life has been revealed by archaeological excavations which have brought to light the remains of a street, by the side of which is a stone channel, and on either side of which are "a large number of square slabs of black stone with a round excavation like a place in the middle, by the side of which are two, three, and sometimes five smaller excavations". "These slabs were used for eating. The middle excavation was meant for rice, and the neighbouring one for condiments. Here, probably were the public eating houses. A traveller who wanted to dine, came and sat down at a slab, and was served with his food; and he probably paid according to the kind of slab he selected, five condiments' dinner probably cost more than one with only two. After eating he washed his hands in the channel and then went away. These eating slabs are probably in exactly the same position now as they were when they were last used, for they are of no value to the thief, and

are too heavy to be moved".<sup>1</sup> Evidently, Babur's complaint that there is no "cooked food in the Bazaars" does not hold good of Vijayanagar city.

Later travellers confirm the general impression of "well-being" produced by contemporary accounts. Linschoten who visited the west coast in 1583 tells us that "fish in India is very good cheap, for that with the valew of a stiver of their money, a man may buy as much fish and rice to it, as will serve five or six men for a good meale", and that most of their fish is eaten with rice, that they seeth in broth which they put upon the rice, and is somewhat sowre, as if it were sodden in goose-berries or unripe grapes, but it tasted well and is called Carrill, which is their daily meate, the rice is in steade of bread".<sup>2</sup> In another passage of his account he adds that "mangas (mangoes), green and conserved and for the most part salted in pots" were "commonly used to be eaten with rice, sodden in pure water, the huske being whole, and so eaten with salt mangas, which is the continuall food for their *slaves* and *common* people or else salt dried fish instead of mangas, without bread, for rice is in diverse places instead of bread".<sup>3</sup> Pietro-della Valle talks of the remarkable low cost of living at Surat, a simple servant "commonly in the best of houses, between wages, victuals and clothing," costing not more than Rs. 3 a month"; and says that "everybody, even of *mean* fortune keeps a great family and is splendidly attended, which is easie enough, considering the very small charge, as I said, and on the other side the *very considerable gains of traffic* wherein most men are employ'd, and the *incomes* of the land, through its incredible fruitfulness, I dare say, *unmeasurable*".<sup>4</sup> Terry (1616-19) gives us even a more glowing account. "The inhabitants",

1. Gribble pp. 72; 2. Purchas X pp. 287; 3. Purchas Vol. X pp. 892.

4. Pietro della valle pp. 42.

he tells us, "make such pure well relished bread that I may speak that of it which one said of the bread in the Bishoprick of Liege; it is *panis pane melior* (super-bread). The common poeple make their bread up in cakes and bake it on small iron-hearths... To their bread, they have great abundance of other good provision, as butter and cheese by reason of their great number of kine, sheep, and goats . To these they have great store of hares; and further to furnish out their feasts, *varieties of fish and fowle*. It were as infinite as needless to relate particulars: to write of their geese, duckes, pigeons, partridges, quailles, peacockes and many other singular good fowle..... To season this good provision, there is great store of salt, and to sweeten all, abundance of sugar .. their fruits are very answerable to the rest. *every where good roots*, as carrets, potatoes<sup>1</sup> and other like them as pleasant. They have onions and garlioks, choyce herbs for *salads*; and in the southermost parts, *ginger* growing almost in every place. And here I cannot choose but take notice of a pleasant clere liquor called *Taddy* ....it is a piercing medicinable drinke, if taken early and moderately".

#### CLOTHING.

Contemporary evidence as to clothing has to be read with great care. India is a vast country, and few travellers travelled through even the *major part* of it in the 15th and the 16th centuries. It is unsafe to generalise about the whole country on the basis of a statement from a traveller who saw only a very limited part of it. Customs and conventional ideas of the people differ even to this day in different parts of India; what may be true of one tribe and one place is not necessarily true of the whole people and the whole country. The evidence of a witness again must be read as a *whole*; it is unfair to pick out a sentence or half a sentence from one part

1. Probably sweet potatoes.

of his account and ignore what he says elsewhere. Due allowance must also be made against the common prejudice, (persisting to this day), among Muslims and Europeans, especially such as are foreigners against the *Dhoti*—the national dress of the Hindus from time immemorial. It is necessary to bear these facts constantly in mind while reading the accounts of contemporary travellers.

The general effect of contemporary evidence on clothing, according to a recent writer, "is rather to lay stress on the nakedness of the people than to enter into details regarding the various garments worn". And he is of opinion that "the tradition of the nakedness of the South is of old standing and extends to the feet", "that nothing is said by contemporary travellers) of coats or upper garments which are now common, though by no means universal", that "the most striking feature of these accounts is the absence of any covering for the upper part of the body", and that though the cost of shoes was small, "the means of the people were insufficient to provide articles which were not strictly necessary for subsistence".<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for us, the evidence of our very first modern travellers upsets this laboriously built ingenious theory of nakedness. Mahaun in his account of the kingdom of Bengal gives us the following description of the people of Bengal:—"They are a dark-skinned race, although you occasionally see among them a light-complexioned person; the men shave their heads, and wear white cloth turbans and long loose robes with a round collar, which they put on over their heads, and which is fastened in at the waist by a broad coloured hand-kerchief; they wear painted leather shoes. The king and his officers all dress like Muhamadans;

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1. Moreland in his 'India on the Death of Akbar' pp. 274-8.

their head dress and clothes are becomingly arranged. ... Their mountebanks wear a long white cotton garment embroidered with black thread, fastened round their waist with a coloured silk hand-kerchief; hanging over their shoulders they have a string of coloured stones and coral beads, and on their wrists bracelets of dark red stones".<sup>1</sup> Nicolo de Conti, who travelled through Gujrat, Vijayanagar and the country on the banks of the Ganges tells us: "The style of dress "is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of *flax and silk*, and of these they make their garments. Almost *all*, both men and women, wear a linnen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending *as low as the knees* and over this a garment of linnen or silk, which with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with *the women, to the ankles*. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the *same reason* they only wear *sandals* with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statutes. In *some* places, the women have *shoes* made of leather, ornamented with gold on their arms and on their hands, also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems. The manner of adorning the head is various; but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair...some cover the head with the leaves of trees painted".<sup>2</sup>

Abdur-Razaak is our next witness in point of time. The extracts bearing on the subject in Abdur Razaak's

1. J.R.A.S., 1895 pp. 590-2. 2. Major pp. 22-3.

account of of Malabar read as follows:—"In short, when I disembarked at Calicut I saw a *tribe* of people, the like of which had never even entered my dreams. The *blacks* of this country go about with nearly naked bodies, wearing only pieces of cloth called *Langots* extending from their *navels to above their knees*. In one hand they bear a Hindi dagger (bright) as a drop of water, and in the other a shield made of cow's hide, large as a portion of a cloud. The king and the beggar, both go about in this way. As to the Mussulmans, they dress themselves in *magnificent apparel* after the manner of the Arabs, and manifest luxury in every particular. After I had had an opportunity of seeing a considerable number of Mussalmans and infidels, I had a comfortable lodging assigned to me, and after a lapse of three days was conducted to an audience with the King. *I saw a man with his body naked like the other Hindus*. The sovereign of the city bears the title of Samuri.....When I had my audience with the Samuri, the assembly consisted of *2000 or 3000 Hindus*, clad in the manner above mentined, and the chief Mussulmans were also there". It is plain that Abdur Razaak is speaking only of Calicut, at the most of Malabar, that he is referring to *one tribe* and not to all classes of poor people, that *all the Muslims* are expressly excluded from the category of naked people, and that the nakedness he saw had nothing to do with poverty since not only the courtiers but also the King was clothed in the manner above mentioned. Our traveller is obviously referring to the Nayers whose national dress as late as the eighties of the last century is thus described in W. Logan's manual of Malabar, published in 1887:—"The women clothe themselves in a single white cloth of fine texture reaching from the *waist to the knees* and occasionally while abroad, they throw over their shoulders and bosom another similar cloth. But by custom the Nayar

women go uncovered from the waist; upper *garments* indicate lower caste or sometimes by a strange reversal of Western notions, immodesty. The men wear a white cloth in like fashion and another cloth is occasionally thrown over the shoulders". Moreover, the description given by Abdur Razaak raises a suspicion that what he really saw was not what we call "*a Langot*", for a langot does not ordinarily extend from the navel to above the knees but a *Lung* or a short Dhoti does. This is confirmed by the following description of Nairs given to us by Varthema:— "The King of this place has 50,000 Nairs, that is gentlemen who fight with swords, shields, lances and bows, and with artillery. And yet they go naked and unshod, with a cloth around them, without anything on their heads, except when they go to war, when they wear a turban of red colour passed twice round the head, and they all have them tied in the same manner".<sup>1</sup> In one of Girdano Sernigi's letters on Vasco de Gama's first voyage, we meet again with the following description of the people of Calicut: "All or most of the people are clothed in cotton clothes from the waist down to the knee, but from the waist upward they go naked. Courtiers and men of condition dress in the same manner but make use of silk-stuffs, reddish or scarlet or of other colours as seems good to them. The wives (ladies) of men of condition are clothed above the girdle in very white and delicate linnen but the wives of lower degree are naked above the waist. The Moors dress according to their custom in Jubbi (long coat), and *Balandrau*" surtout worn by brothers of Mercy in Portugal).

Our next visitor was Nikitin whom Moreland quotes in support of his thesis. He landed in India at Chaul,

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1. Varthema pp. 124.

proceeded to Bidar, went to the temple at Perwattum; and returned to Bidar. He had no personal experience of the rest of India; and although in the course of his account we find brief allusions to Calicut, Ceylon and Pegu, he speaks of these places from hearsay only.<sup>1</sup> He visited Bidar in the reign of one of its worst kings: His account is written "in the uncouth style of an enterprising but *uneducated man*",<sup>2</sup> and shows clearly his tendency to indulge in gross exaggeration. For instance, he maligns the people of Bidar in the following vein:— "All are black and wicked, and the women *all* harlots or witches or thieves and cheats and they destroy their masters with poison<sup>3</sup> ... there is no good about them, and they know not what is shame".<sup>4</sup> But apart from these facts which greatly detract from his credibility as a witness, his account, taken as a *whole*, will create on the mind of an unprejudiced reader an impression, somewhat different from that sought to be created by Moreland. For, while stating in one place<sup>5</sup> that the "Hindus are all naked and barefooted" he tells us in a preceding page<sup>6</sup> of his travels that in the *land of India* "in the winter, *the people* put on the *fata* (a large silk garment worn in some countries of Russia by the women of the lower classes round the head or the upper part of the body) and wear it *round the waist*, on the shoulders, and ~~on~~ the head; but the princes and nobles put trousers on, a shirt and a *Kaftan* (a long coat), wearing a *fata* on the shoulders, another as a belt round the waist, and a third round the head".<sup>7</sup> On page 9 again he tells, us that the servants of the nobility "*attach the fata round the loins*, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword or a scimitar, or knives, or a sabre, or a bow

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1. See his editor's note Introduction pp. cxxvii. 2. Editor pp. lxxxix. 3. Major pp. 12. 4. Major pp. 17. 5. Major page 12. 6. Major pp. 10. 7. Major pp. 12.



and arrows . . . but all *naked* and bare-footed".<sup>1</sup> *A large garment round the loins cannot be a langot*; it is more likely to have been a piece of cloth like a *Dhoti*; it is men clad in such a garment who appeared to our witness to be *all naked*. On page 18 of his travels he again repeats that women were "*also naked, with a fata round the middle*". It is plain that in the eyes of Nikitin a large garment worn round the middle was nothing less than, "nakedness".

Nor does *Varthema* really support Moreland's statement about the clothing of the people of *Gujrat*. The first relevant passage in his account\* reads as follows:—Their dress is this: *some wear a shirt*, and some go naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth *about their middle*, having *nothing on their feet or on their legs*. On the heads they *wear a large red cloth*".<sup>2</sup> The second reads thus: "Let us leave the Sultan, and return to our journey, that is, to the men of the said city (*Cambay*), *the greater part of whom go about in a shirt*".<sup>3</sup> In the face of these passages, is it fair to isolate the clause, "some go naked", and cite it as a proof in support of a theory of nakedness in *Gujrat*?

Duarte Barbosa is another writer who is alleged to support this strange theory of nakedness in a land where he notes "*infinity of cotton*". Fortunately for us, Barbosa has given us his impressions of clothing in different parts of India *in separate notes on each*. His observations on the ruling tribe in Malabar support the interpretation I have put on Abdur Razaak's description, for he says: "They go naked save that *from the waist downward they are clad in white cotton or silk*. Sometimes they wear

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1. Major's India in the 15th century pp. 22. 2. *Varthema* pp. 109. 3. pp. 111.

\*The chapter bears the heading: The Chapter concerning the estate of the Sultan of the Sultan of the very noble city of Combeia.

coats open in front coming down to the middle of the thigh, of cotton or silk, or very fine scarlet cloth or brocade .....and sometimes they wear small hoods like Gallego caps..... their ears are bored, and in them they wear very rich jewels of precious stones filled with great pearls and *over their garments they are girt with belts of precious stones, well-worked and rich, three-fingers broad*".<sup>1</sup> These very same "naked" people he saw leaning on "some long and round cotton pillows and other rich clothes," sitting on "very fine carpets", and often reclining "on couches with silk rugs and very thin white clothes".<sup>2</sup> The thousand women of the king of Calicut wore, according to Barbosa, from the waist down *garments of rich silk*, though above the waist they were naked annointed with sandal-wood oil, and other scents, and many flowers in their hair".<sup>3</sup> Of Nayars, we are told that those of them who had no clothes of their own to wear took share with the washermen (*Maintos*) and gave "them so much every month to furnish them *daily with well-washed garments*".<sup>4</sup> The women of Mogeres, a castes, eleventh in order of social status among the seventeen castes of Malabar and comprising only sailors, fishers and slaves of Nayars<sup>5</sup> went "*very well clad with many gold ornaments*".<sup>6</sup> But the *Chettys* who were "great merchants, rich and respected," "living in spacious houses" are "said to go naked from the waist up, and below gather round them *long garments, many yards in length, little turbans on their heads and long hair gathered under the turban*".<sup>7</sup> The Pardesis, who had gathered in the land of Malabar in great numbers with their wives and sons, were in Barbosa's time, "*well clad and decked in garments of*

1. Barbosa ii, pp. 7-8.    2. Barbosa ii, pp. 9.    3. Vol. ii, pp. 20.  
4. Barbosa ii, pp. 58.    5. Barbosa ii, pp. 65.    6. Barbosa ii, pp. 64.  
7. Barbosa ii, pp. 72.

silk, scarlet-in-grain, camlets, cotton, and turbans twisted round their heads".<sup>1</sup>

In a chapter bearing the heading, "Customs of the Kingdom of Narsinga and of the inhabitants of the country", Barbosa remarks; Vijayanagar and the Deccan.

"The natives of this land are Heathen like himself (the King). The men are of good height and with physiognomies like our own: the women go *very trimly clad*; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, *wound very tightly in many folds*, and short white *shirts* of cotton or silk, or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the things but open in front; on their heads they carry small *turbans*, and some wear *silk or brocade caps*, they wear their *rough shoes* on their feet without stockings. They wear also other large *garments thrown over their shoulders like caps*. *The women wear white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colour, five yards long*, one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw *over one shoulder* and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulders remains uncovered as with a scarf. They wear *leather shoes well embroidered in silk*: their heads are uncovered, and their hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers".<sup>2</sup> On his entry into the 'kingdom of Daquem' he notices that "the natives of the country use much of the calico and *are clad* therein, wearing it unbleached. After it has been worn, they bleach it by making it very white and starching it, and in this state they sell it in many regions; on this account it is often torn. Also, after it has been worn, *they make cloaks* of it, joining two pieces together and dyeing them with good dyes, and thus *they wear them thrown over their shoulders like capes as is their fashion, with a piece of muslin on their*

heads".<sup>1</sup> Continuing the description of the Dequem kingdom at the end of his note on Goa, he adds that "they have many horsemen and are good archers, with Turkish bows. They are fair men and tall, and are attired *in fine cotton garments, with turbans on their heads*. They come from diverse countries and he pays them right well. The Moorish noblemen in general take with them tents when they travel or when they take the field to attack any town. They ride on high pommelled saddles. They wear short *coats padded* with cotton, and many of them *kilts of mail*. The Heathen of this Dequem kingdom are black and well-built. The foot-soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers. They go *bare from the waist*, but are *clad below*, they wear *small turbans* on their heads".

In his account of the kingdom of Guzerrate, Barbosa divides the people into three classes viz. (1) **Gugrat.** the *Resbutos* (Rajputs), the former rulers of Guzerat who had fled to the mountains where "there are yet many of them", 2. the Braemens who "go bare from the waist up, and below they clothe themselves with cotton clothes",<sup>2</sup> and (3) the Baneans whose clothing he describes as follows:—"These Heathen are tawny men, tall and well-looking, gaily attired, delicate and moderate in their food. They are clad in long *cotton and silken shirts and are shod with painted shoes or richly wrought corduain*; some of them wear short *coats of silk and brocade*. The women of these Heathen are beautiful and slender with well-shaped figures; they are both fair and dark. *Their dress is as long as that of their husbands, they wear silken bodices* with tight sleeve, cut low at the back, and other long garments called chauders (chadars), which they throw over themselves like cloaks when they go out. On the heads they wear nought but their

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1. Barbosa i, 161. 2. Barbosa i, 116.

hair well dressed on the top of it. They always go barefoot . . . . They seldom leave their houses, and when they go forth they are wrapt up in *long garments covering their heads*, much as the women with us cover themselves with their mantles".<sup>1</sup> The Moors of the kingdom, we are told later on, "*go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton, and camlets*. They all wear turbans on their heads; these turbans are *long*, like moorish shirts; *drawers with boots up to the knee of very thick cordovan leather worked in very dainty devices within and without the tip of the shoe*..... They have very beautiful white women, *very well clad*, and they may marry as many as they can maintain in accordance with the law of Mafamede".<sup>2</sup>

The inhabitants of the city of the Cambay\* in particular are further on said to be "a people of great culture, accustomed to good clothing, leading a luxurious life, given to pleasure and vice".<sup>3</sup> Similarly the Moors of Reynel (Rander) are specially mentioned as people who "go well-attired".<sup>4</sup>

In a chapter on the kingdom of Bengala we are told that "the respectable Moors walk about, **Bengal.** clad in white" cotton smocks, very thin, *which come down to their ankles*, and beneath these they have girdles of cloth, and over them *silk scarves*, they carry in their girdles daggers garnished with silver and gold, according to the rank of the person who carries them; on their fingers many rings set with rich jewels, and cotton turbans on their heads..... They keep (their wives) carefully shut up and treat them very well, giving them great store of gold, *silver and apparel of fine silk*". In the city of Bengala were 'woven many kind of very

1. pp. 112-4. 2. pp. 120. 3. pp. 141. 4. 147.

\*cf. "The inhabitants are for the most part Baneans" De Laet pp. 19.

fine and coloured clothes *for their own attire*<sup>1</sup>;” even the “*lower castes*” of this city wore “*short white shirts, which came half way down their thighs, and on their heads little twisted turbans of three or four folds ; they were all well shod. Some wore shoes and some sandals, well wrought and gilded*”<sup>2</sup>.

Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* is sometimes quoted as evidence on the other side ; for in the account of Bengal given therein it is stated that “men and women for the most part go naked wearing only a cloth about the loin.” But the truth is that Jarret's translation conveys to the English reader a misleading impression of the original Persian text *بسیاری مرد و زن برهنه باشند و جز لنگ نپوشند*. Literally translated this means : “many men and women go naked and wear nothing but *Lung*.” An English reader, unaware of the distinction between a *Langot* and a *Lung* is apt to confound the two. Jarret himself points out in a note on page 273 of Vol. III of his translation that the *Lung* differs from the *Langoti* in *reaching* to the knees ; while Sir Syed Ahmed, the editor of the Delhi edition explains that a *lung* is a piece of cloth 3½ yards in length and 1½ yards in breadth while a ‘*langot*’ is a small “lung” worn by *Dervishes*. Moreover, the very fact that Abul Fazl says nothing about even this kind of nakedness in his account of the other Subahs raises a strong presumption that people were clothed better in the other Subahs. This is confirmed by several passages in Vol. III of the *Ain*. The general dress of the Hindus is described in Vol. III of the *Ain* under notices of different castes and ashrams. A Brahman, we are told, may not wear in his period of *Brahmacharya* more than four coverings for his person, viz. “(1) a *langoti* or waist-cloth which is worn to cover only two parts of his body ; (2) a small *lung* worn *above* the other ; (3) a *Chadar* over his shoulder ; and (4) a cap for his head.”

1 Barbosa Vol. ii, pp. 145 ; 2 Barbosa Vol. ii, pp. 148.

In his second period of Garhsthya, the Ain adds, he wears a turban, and a sheet, eight cubits in length and two in breadth, is put on in the fashion of a loin cloth, one end being passed between his legs and fastened behind to a waist-piece, and the other end brought forward and tied similarly in front. Another sheet, five cubits long and two broad, is worn over the shoulders and this may have a suture". A householder of other castes is said to have worn "different garments"<sup>1</sup>. The dress of even the ascetics among the Jains, who had no "worldly goods but only necessary raiment," consisted of three robes. One of these was used as a loin cloth, a second thrown over the shoulders like a belt and the third worn over the uncovered head. And in winter a special woollen garment was added<sup>2</sup>. In the chapter on Sringara or ornaments of dress we are given the following details of the various kinds of women's dress :— "The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows. A jacket without a skirt called *angiya* (Sansk. *angika*) was chiefly worn and instead of drawers, a *lahanga* which is a waist cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening. It is also made in other forms. Others wear the *dandiya* which is a large sheet worn over the *lahanga*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. *These three garments are of necessity*. The wealthy wear other garments over this. Some wear the veil and the *pyjamas*"<sup>3</sup>.

As for later European travellers\* it is necessary to remember that judged by the standard of foreign nations, Europeans or Muslim, a respectable Hindu with a dhoti on and with his shirt and turban laid aside on a warm summer day, will appear even today 'naked'. In reading the account of foreigners, we have to keep in mind their standard of judgment and their prejudice in

<sup>1</sup> Ain Vol. III, pp 275 ; <sup>2</sup> Ain Vol. III, pp 208. <sup>3</sup> Ain Vol. iii, pp 312.

\* I have discussed the evidence of the very same travellers as have been quoted by Moreland.

favour of their own conventional ideas. It is significant to note that none of the earlier or later European travellers describes any of the Muslims or Christians of India as naked. The Muslims not only in the coastal towns but also in the inland cities like Bijapur appeared to them well dressed. Even the Christians of Bengalla are described as having been clothed in jerkins made with folds and having sleeves quilted in cotton. This in itself suggests that poverty had nothing to do with the so-called nakedness of the Hindus. Caesar Frederick who saw Vijayanagar in the days of its decline (1567) does not support Moreland's theory of nakedness. He tells us that "the apparell that they use in Bezenger is velvet, satten Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long hats on their heads called colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves instead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they wear on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of gold"<sup>1</sup>. Ralph Fitch whom Moreland quotes in support of his conclusion does not connect people's "nakedness" with their poverty; *abundance of cotton cloth, riches and nakedness* are all mentioned side by side, raising a presumption that the wearing of only a dhoti was "nakedness" in the eyes of the observer. While describing the people of the region between Agra and Allahabad as "all naked save a little cloth bound *about their middle*", he mentions that "their women have their necks, arms and ears decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopess made of ivorie, adorned with amber stones and with many agats" and is careful to add that "in their winter, which is our May, the men wear *quilted gowns of cotton* like to our mattraces, and quilted caps like to our great grocer's morters, with a slit

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<sup>1</sup> Purchas X, 99.



to look out at, and so tied down beneath their ears”<sup>1</sup>. Between Benares and Patna, he tells us that the “women be so decked with silver and copper that it is strange to see; they use no shoes *by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they wear on their toes*”. Of Tanda, he says, “great trade and traffique is here of cotton and of cloth. The people go naked and a little cloth bound about *their waist*.” ‘In Eastern Bengal’, he says, “*many of the people are very rich. They go with a little cloth before them and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of cotton cloth goeth from hence*”. It is difficult to reconcile these statements except on the interpretation I have suggested. Pietro Della Valle is Moreland’s next authority; but it is amusing to see him quoting Della Valle on the clothing of the native inhabitants of Goa, the majority of whom were admittedly slaves of the inhuman Portuguese, and passing over entirely Valle’s fuller description of the people’s clothing elsewhere. According to this traveller the clothing of even the *slaves* of Surat was “only white linnen which *though fine* is bought very cheap”<sup>2</sup> His description of people’s clothing in general reads as follows:—“Upon this occasion I must not forget that amongst the Indian men, both Mohamedans and Pagans, agreeably to what Strabo testifies, they did of old wear only white linnen, more or less fine according to the quality of the person and the convenience they have of spending; which linnen is altogether *of Bumbast* or cotton (there being no flax in India) *and for the most part* very fine in comparison to those of our countries. The garment which they wear next to the skin serves both for coat and shirt, from the girdle upwards being adorned upon the breast, and hanging down in many folds to the middle of the leg. Upon this *cassack*, from the girdle downward they wear a pair of long drawers of the same cloth, which cover *not only their thighs, but legs also to the feet*; and it is a piece

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1 Foster’s Early Travels pp 22. 2 Valle i, 42.

of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the legs. The naked feet are no otherwise confined but to a *slipper* and that easier to be pulled off without the help of the hand, this mode being convenient in regard to the heat of the country and the frequent use of standing and walking upon Tapistry in their chambers. Lastly, the head with all the hair, which the Gentiles keep long, contrary to the Mohamedans who shave it, is bound up in a small and very neat Turban, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long, and flat on the top.....I was so taken up with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanliness and easiness.....that I caused one to be made for myself, complete in every point and to carry with me to show it in Italy. The Mohamedan women go clad likewise all in white either plain or wrought with gold flowers..... Their upper garment is short, more beseeming a man than a woman.....sometimes they wear a Turban too upon their heads.....their clothes are often times red of the same rich and fine linnen, and their drawers are also either white or red, and often times of sundry sorts of silk-stuff strip'd with all sorts of colours.....The Indian Gentile women commonly use no other colour but red... ..And for the most part they use no garment, but wear only a *close waistcoat*, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the arms, the rest whereof to the hand is covered with bracelets of gold or silver or ivory... From the waist downwards they wear a *long coat down to the foot*; when they go abroad they cover themselves with a cloak of ordinary shape, like a sheet which is also used by the Mohamedans."

Much the same misleading impression is produced on the mind by a sentence quoted by Moreland from Linschoten's voyage to Goa. The full text of his account makes it quite clear that the sentence: "they go naked, their privy members only covered with a cloth", refers only to the male members of a class of people, the majority

of whom according to Pietro-Della Valla were slaves of the Portuguese, and that it does not apply even to the women of this class, who are described as wearing "a cloth bound about their middle beneath their navels and hanging down to the middle of their thighs, the other end thereof they cast over their shoulders whereby half their breasts were covered". Moreland *suppresses altogether* what this traveller says about the clothing of Gujratis and the Baniyas, many of whom dwelt in Goa, Diu, Cochin and other parts of India and about the dress of the Kanarese and Deccanese, many of whom are said to have resided also in Goa. The apparel of the Gujratis is described as "a thin white gown upon their naked bodies from the head to the feet and made fast on the side under their arms, their shoes of red leather, sharp at the toes and turning up like hooles, their beards shaven like the Turks saving only their moustaches", and on their heads "a white cloth 3 or 4 times wrapped about like the Brahmans." The apparel of the *Kanarese* and *Deccanies* was "like the Gujratis and the Baniyas, except their shoes which they wore like the antiques with cut toes, and fastened above their naked feet, which they call Alparcas"<sup>1</sup>. Even Terry, generally a favourite with Moreland, goes definitely against his theory as the following extract from his account will show:—The habits both of the men and women are little different, made *for the most part of white cotton cloth*. For the fashion, they are close, straight to the middle, hanging loose downward beneath the knee. They wear long *breaches* underneath, made close to their bodies, that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boats on the small of their legs. Their feet *are bare in their shoes*, which most commonly *they wear like slippers*, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses. *The men's heads are covered* with a long

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1. Purchas X, 262. 2 Purchas X, 258-60

thin wreath of cloth, white, or coloured, which goes many times about them; they call it a sash." The real explanation of light clothing in summer is given firstly by Conti, and reiterated by Terry in the following words:—"Georgeous apparell is prohibited by the sunnes' heat; the king himself being commonly vested with a garment of pure white calico lawne"<sup>1</sup>.

### HOUSING.

Our information regarding housing from contemporary sources is rather meagre; but such as is available is quite in keeping with the impression of general prosperity in other respects. In India excluding the portion between the Indus and the Ganges, the inhabitants had, according to Conti, "most sumptuous buildings, elegant habitations and handsome furniture;" and they led a "refined life, removed from all barbarity and coarseness"<sup>2</sup>. In the city of Calicut, says Giralmo Seringi in his letters on Vasco-De-Gama's First Voyage, "the houses are of stone and mortar in the Moorish style." The Chettys of Malabar lived in "spacious houses in their own appointed streets"<sup>3</sup>; the Guzarates in the three kingdoms of Cananor, Cochin, and Calicut had likewise "great houses and streets of their own"<sup>4</sup>. The "Pardesis of Calicut, natives of diverse lands, Arabs, Persians, Gazarates, Khorassanis and Daquanis" had "very fine houses and many servants" and were "luxurious in eating, drinking and sleeping"<sup>5</sup>. In the kingdom of Cochin the houses were built of the wood of the cocoa-nut tree and were thatched with its leaves which rendered them perfectly water-tight<sup>6</sup>. According to Abdur Razaak, in Belour (Bednore in the Vijayanagar kingdom) the houses were "like palaces and its beauties like Houris." Barbosa tells us, that the "King of Narsyngua, who is a heathen and is called Rayen.....has

<sup>1</sup> Foster pp 327; <sup>2</sup> Major pp 21; <sup>3</sup> Barbosa ii, 72; <sup>4</sup> Barbosa ii, 73; <sup>5</sup> Barbosa ii, 73; <sup>6</sup> Mahaun in J. R. A. S., 1896, pp 342.

great and fair palaces, in which he always lodges, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well-built, and within them are wide open spaces, with water tanks in great numbers, in which is reared abundance of fish. He also has gardens full of trees and sweet-scented herbs. In the city as well there are *palaces after the same fashion* wherein dwell the great Lords and Governors thereof. *The other houses of the people are thatched*, but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open spaces"<sup>1</sup>. These streets and rows of houses were, according to Paes, "very beautiful" and had many figures and decoration pleasing to look at<sup>2</sup>. In the temple outside the city walls there was "a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades," in which were sheltered the pilgrims that came to it<sup>3</sup>. The houses in Krishna Dey Rai's new city of Nagalapura were of only one floor, with flat roofs, towers and pillars, and were also open, with verandahs inside and out, where they could easily put people if they desired, so that they seemed like houses belonging to a king. In Bijapur of Varthema's days, the houses were "very beautiful"<sup>4</sup>. Golconda was at the time of Ralph Fitch's visit "a very faire town, pleasant, with faire houses and brick and timber;" The great cities of Champaner and Ahmedabad in Gujrat were according to Barbosa "both girt with strong walls", and had "fine stone and mortar houses roofed in our fashion"<sup>5</sup>. They had large courts in which were tanks and wells of sweet water. They are said to have been "equal in magnificence to any in Asia or Africa"<sup>6</sup>. Twelve Kos from Ahmedabad was the city of Mahmudabad in which beautiful buildings extended to an area of 4 kos square<sup>7</sup>. In the "fair city of Cambay," continues Barbosa, "are many fair houses, very lofty with

1 Barbosa i, 202 ; 2 Sewell pp 254 ; 3 Sewell pp 260 ; 4 Varthema pp 117 ;  
5 Barbosa i, 125 ; 6 De Laet pp 19 ; 7 Ain ii, 241.

windows and roofed with tiles in our manner, well laid out with streets and fine open places, and great buildings of stone and mortar"<sup>1</sup>. In the Moorish town of Reynel (Rander above Surat) were "very fair houses and open places," and the Moors who dwelt there lived in "good houses well kept and furnished", and had "in the front room of their houses, many shelves all round, the whole room being surrounded by them as in a shop, all filled with fair and rich porcelain of new styles"<sup>2</sup>. In the days of the Ain, the houses in the Subah of Gujrat had roofs usually of tiles and walls of burnt brick and lime<sup>3</sup>. Goa, then within the Daquem kingdom, was a "very great" city, "with *good houses*, well girt about with strong walls<sup>4</sup>, with towers and bastions". Referring to the city of Kashmir (Srinagar), Mirza Haider tells us, "In the town are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are *at least five stories* high and each story contains *apartments, halls, galleries and towers*. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to the exteriors." The Ain confirms this by adding that the houses were all of wood and of four stories, and some of more than four. Cattle and sundry stores were kept in the lower story, the second contained the family apartments and in the third and the fourth were the household chattels. In the city of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, De-Barros tells us, "a great part of the houses of the city are stately and well wrought buildings." According to the Ain, the houses in Bengal were made of bamboos, some of which were so constructed that the cost of a single one was five thousand rupees or more, and they lasted a long time; while in Bihar the houses for the most part were roofed with tiles. The disordant note comes again from Babur. While testifying

1 Barbosa i, 140-1 ; 2 Barbosa i, 147-8 ; 3 Ain ii, 239 ; 4 Barbosa i, 175.

to the fact that people had 'abundance of grass and plenty of timber of which they run up hovels', he complains, "they have.....no skill or knowledge in design or architecture.....In their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity."<sup>1</sup> And no wonder; for what else can you expect in a part of the country in which "the populousness and decay of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous" and "large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if on an alarm the inhabitants take to flight) in a single day or a day and a half are so completely abandoned that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population" (Memoirs). But Babur's complaint is true only of the area surrounding Delhi and Agra, for only 90 *cos* from Agra in Chanderi, he himself tells us, "the houses of *all* the inhabitants are of stone, and are beautiful and capacious. The houses of men of consequence are of hewn stone, wrought with great skill and labour. The houses of the *lower ranks are wholly of stone*, generally not hewn. Instead of tiles, the houses are covered with flagstone." At any rate, the recovery seems to have been phenomenally rapid, for at the time of Father Monserrate's visit, the Indian towns appeared "very pleasant from afar," being "adorned with many towers and high buildings in a very beautiful manner," and though the houses were purposely built without windows on account of the filth of the street, "none the less, the rich adorned the roofs and arched ceilings of their houses with carvings and paintings; planted ornamental gardens in their courtyards, made tanks and fish-ponds, which were lined with tiles of various colours; constructed artificial springs and fountains, which flung showers of water far in the air; and laid down promenades paved with brickwork of marble; yet such houses showed nothing in their facades or entrances by which the eye of the passer-by might be attracted, and nothing by which it might be

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1 Memoirs pp 241.

known that inside was anything out of the ordinary." The Brahmins had another style of architecture ; but they also beautified their houses with cleverly executed statues and sculptures of fabulous heroes and monsters either in wood or stone"<sup>1</sup>. According to the Ain, lofty buildings of stone and brick in the Subah of Delhi delighted the eye and gladdened the heart". In the city of Lahore, which had been the seat of government on several occasion, " many splendid buildings had been erected and delightful gardens had lent it additional beauty;"<sup>3</sup> but owing to frequent changes in the course of the river Indus, the village houses on its banks were constructed of wood and grass<sup>4</sup>. Even workmen, peons or servants whose status appeared to Francisco Pelsart to differ very little from voluntary slavery, lived in Jehangir's days in houses built of mud with thatched roof" with two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife ; for here, explains our traveller, "man and wife do not sleep together." The extraordinary low prices of building materials recorded in the Ain prove, as nothing else can, how comfortable the people must have been in the matter of house accommodation in those days, for it was so easy to build one. A heap of red sandstone, containing 172 *mans* had a value of only 250 dams; first class bricks weighing in the average three *sers* cost only 30 dams per mille, the second class 25 dams and the third class only 10 dams; K'haprel or tiles, one hand long and ten fingers broad were sold at the rate of 86 dams per mille (Ain 86). Bricklayers were paid wages ranging between 3 and 3½ dams per day, carpenters received between two and 7 dams per day, and water carriers between 2 to 3 dams per diem

### LUXURIES.

So much for the necessaries of life. As for luxuries, we have already noticed the *pan* and the gorgeous

1 Monserrate pp 219 ; 2 Ain ii, 278 ; 3 Ain ii, 312 ; 4 Ain ii, 328.



coaches of Cambay, <sup>1</sup> the rich porcelain at Rander and the luxurious living in the cities of Cambay and Bengala. Vijayanagar, in Varthema's time, was endowed with "all possible kind of delicacies" and appeared to him to be a "*second paradise*."<sup>2</sup> Carpets were in common use among the richer folk not only in the kingdoms of Gujrat and Malabar for which we have the evidence of Barbosa, <sup>3</sup> but also in Akbar's empire in the days of Ain, for then "the carpets weavers everywhere drove a flourishing trade" (Ain). Babur complains in his Memoirs that Hindustan "has no candles, torches or candle-sticks;" but we are told by the author of Vasco-de-gama's First Voyage that in the house of the Moor in which he and his companions had been lodged "many carpets had been spread and there were two large candlesticks like those at the Royal Palace. At the top of each of these were great iron lamps, fed with oil or butter, and each lamp had four wicks which gave much light. These lamps they use instead of torches." In his description of the Nine days' Festival in Vijayanagar, Paes adds: "As soon as the sun is down, many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that *the whole is as light as day*, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements are lighted lamps, and the place where the King sits is all full of torches." Fernao Nuniz testifies to the fact that "the captains and principal people of this city used at night torches of oil. from 4 to 12 torches (according to rank), those of the highest class having twelve at most". <sup>4</sup> Even in respect of the North, Babur's remarks do not hold good for the reign of Akbar; for Ain No. 18 tells us that "it is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candle-sticks and shades . . . some of the candle-sticks weigh ten mans and upwards,

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1. Peter Mundy (Vol II pp. 191) gives a detailed description with illustrations of "11 several ways how womenkind are transported in India" 2. Varthema pp 126. 3. Barbosa ii v. 4. Sewell pp. 390.

and are adorned with various designs, some single, others of two branches and more . . . His Majesty invented a candle-stick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White *Wax* candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides, there are everywhere flambeaux both inside and outside which increase the light very much." Another luxury which Babur missed in Hindustan was "ice or cold-water ;" but in the days of the *Ain* the deficiency had been fully made up, for Abul Fazl tells us that "all ranks use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the whole year", though it was brought "by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the districts of Panhan in the northern mountains, about forty five cos from Lahore" and was sold at the rate of two or three sers per rupee (*Ain* 22). In Gujrat, the people (*Baneans*) used to put flowers and other sweet-scented things in their hair and to annoint themselves with white sandal wood mixed with saffron and other scents. <sup>1</sup> The women wore on their legs very thick anklets of gold and silver with great plenty of rings on their fingers and toes, and they had holes bored in their ears wide enough for an egg to pass through, in which they wore thick gold and silver ear-rings. It was a custom with the residents of Cambay "always to wash and annoint themselves with sweet smelling unguents;" and they always, men and women alike, wore in their hair jasmine flowers or others which grew there" <sup>2</sup>. The respectable women of Bengala wore many jewelled rings on their heads; the people "kept their women very much shut up and very richly dressed and adorned with silks and jewels set in gold (*Barbosa*)". Various kind of wine were made in Bengal, chiefly of sugar and palm trees, and also of many other things; and the Muslim women were very fond of these wine and were much

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1. *Barbosa* i, 113. 2. *Barbosa* i, 141.

accustomed to them " <sup>1</sup>. The Tamburans in the land of Malabar leaned on "long and round cotton pillows and other rich cloths," sat on "very fine carpets" and often reclined "on couches with silk rugs and very thin white cloths." Precious metals circulated in the city of Vijayanagar more freely than elsewhere "because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason they collect here in great quantities)". Here also was used "great store of brocade of poorer quality brought for sale from China and Alexandria, and much cloth dyed in scarlet-in-grain and other colours, and coral worked into paternosters and in branches, also metals both wrought and unwrought, copper in abundance, quick-silver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, great store of opium, sanders wood, aloes wood, camphor, musk of which a great quantity is consumed yearly as they used to annoint themselves therewith, and scented materials. Likewise, much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom". <sup>2</sup> The nobility of Vijayanagar had umbrellas, made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones," "so made as to open and shut", costing "three or four hundred cruzadors" The poorer sort of people "on the route from Agra to Patna carried in the rainy season "umbrellas but coarse ones, being made of leaves all in general". Love of music and dancing was general in Vijayanagar, Gujrat and Bengal; and with the exception of organs, all the other instruments in use for singing and playing were similiar to those of Venice. <sup>3</sup> In the city of Vijayanagar, the dancing girls were fabulously rich; they wore on their persons at the Nine days' Festival witnessed by Paes "collars of gold with many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper legs, girdles

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1. Barbosa ii, 201; 2. Barbosa i, 203; 3. Barbosa i, 207;

4. Peter Mundy ii, 126; 5. Major pp. 29.

below, and of necessity anklets on their feet." Abur Razaak tells us: " All the inhabitants of this country, both those of exalted rank and of an *inferior class, down to the artisans* of the Bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, round their necks, on their arms, on the upperpart of the hand, and on the fingers." And the interesting description of the decorations of the different sections of the Vijayanagar army at its review during the Nine Days' Festival given in Paes' narrative shows that members of the cavalry, footmen and archers—all had the means to indulge in luxury. It is worth while recalling this graphic description of the annual review of Vijayanagar forces:—

" The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned, and on their foreheads plates, some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours, and reins of the same; others had trappings of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones, and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads, heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics, also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics were made of layers of very strong raw leather, and furnished with other iron ( plates) that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck, and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck

gorgets (*cafes*) all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle-axes, and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of state made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They wave many (standards with) white and coloured tails, and hold them in much esteem—which tails are horses' tails. The elephants in the same way are covered with carparison of velvet and gold with fringes, and rich cloths of many colours and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts. On the back of each one of them are three or four men, dressed in their quilted tunics, and armed with shields and javelins, and they are arrayed as if for a foray. Then, turning to the troops on foot, there are so many that they surround all the valleys and hills in a way with which nothing in the world can compare. You will see amongst them dresses of such rich cloths that I do not know where they came from, nor could any one tell how many colours they have; shield-men with their shields with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of tigers and other great beasts, others with silver leaf-work beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black and (so polished that) you can see into them as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so. Of the archers, I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have them polished, and their arrows very neat, and so feathered that they could not be better; daggers at their waists and battle-axes, with the shafts and ends of gold and silver; then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and and their thick tunics, all in their order, with their *Lioes* in all their bravery; it was indeed a thing to see. Then

the Moors—one must not forget them—for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins, and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons.”

“ The king leaves his palace riding on the horse of which I have already told you, clothed in many rich white clothes I have mentioned, with two umbrellas of state, all gilded and covered with crimson velvet, and with the jewels and adornments which they keep for the purpose of wearing at such times; he who ever wears such jewels can understand the sort of things so great a Lord would wear. Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, *I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so*; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have *no words to express what I saw*, and some hid from me the sight of others; and *to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless*, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was *almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost*. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at, as there is so much money in the land, and the chiefs are so wealthy.” Let us draw a veil here, lest the story may read too much like a fairy tale.





## CORRECTION SLIP.

Page	1.	Line	27	Read illuminating for 'illumfnating.'
"	3.	"	17	" Bengal for 'Bangal.'
"	8.	"	29	" Domingos Paes for 'Domingos Pass.'
"	12.	"	34	" before for 'bofore.'
"	14.	"	20	" archaeological tor 'archaeological.'
"	15.	"	6	" possession for "possessions.'
"		"	17	" Varthema's for 'Varthema.'
"	17.	"	1	Of the foot note. Read commentary for 'commentry.'
"	19.	"	17	Read eloquent for 'elequent.'
"		"	21	" were for 'where'.
"	21.	"	4.	" 'as many as' for 'as many.'
"	27.	"	4.	" upper for 'uper.'
"	28.	"	12.	The words 'and Berar' should be in continuation of the word 'Khandesh' in the previous line.
"	32.	"	9.	Read Vijayanagar for 'Vijanagar.'
"	33.	"	17.	" grew for 'grow.'
"	34.	"	35.	" 1896 for '1886.'
"	35.	"	14.	" cows for 'cow.'
"	41.	"	28.	" 'on' for 'of'.
"	43.	"	19.	" 'of' for 'ef.'
"	55.	"	27.	" Apart for 'A part.'
"	56.	"	3.	" natives for 'native.'
"		"	27.	" countries for 'contries.'
"	58.	"	28.	" Moors for Morrs.
"	60.	"	32.	" Perforated for Preforated.
"	63.	"	11.	" 'so much so' for 'so much as.'
"	65.	"	36.	" same for 'some.'
"	76.	"	15.	" piece for 'price.'
"	82.	"	8.	" offspring for 'offspiring.'
"	83.	"	11.	" eaters for "eators.'
"	85.	"	23.	" remarkably for remarkable.'
"	86.	"	15.	" carrots for 'carrets.'
"	87.	"	29.	" their for 'there.'
"	92.	"	35.	Delete the words 'of the Sultan,' repeated twice.
"	93.	"	21	Read caste for 'castes.'
"	95.	Margin	para 2--	Read Gujrat for 'Gugrat.'
"	111.	Line	6	Read upper part for 'upperpart'





# CHRISTIAN PRACTICE

BEING THE SECOND PART OF  
CHRISTIAN DISCIPLINE OF  
THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF  
FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN

*Approved and adopted by the Yearly Meeting, 1925*

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## PREFACE

FROM the year 1672 down to 1781, Minutes of the Yearly Meeting were preserved and circulated in manuscript, each Monthly or Quarterly Meeting being expected to make provision for the supply of copies for the use of its own members. In the year 1781, a digest was prepared of the regulations and advices issued to that date. This was carefully revised and "compared with the original records," by a large committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings in the service; and having been submitted to the Yearly Meeting of 1782 and approved by it, was published in 1783, under the title *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, from its first Institution.*

This volume had been in circulation about eighteen years, when the Yearly Meeting decided to revise the whole, and issue a new edition. Considerable changes were made by way of abridgment and addition, with some general re-arrangement of the contents. The volume, thus revised, was adopted by the Yearly Meeting of 1801, and published in 1802.

A third and enlarged edition was issued by the Yearly Meeting in the year 1834, under the title *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends, with Advices, being Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of their Yearly Meeting held in London, from its first Institution.* This edition was the first that contained the extract from the epistle addressed by George Fox in 1671 to the Governor of Barbadoes, and other paragraphs in reference to some of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. A Supplement to this volume appeared in 1849.

A fourth edition was passed by the Yearly Meeting of 1861. This edition was the first to be divided into three parts: I, *Christian Doctrine*; II, *Christian Practice*; and III, *Christian Discipline*.

Twenty-two years later the fifth edition was issued by the Yearly Meeting of 1883, in which the division of the book adopted in 1861 was maintained.

As Part III relating to Christian Discipline is frequently undergoing change by the adoption of new rules or modifications of old ones, the Yearly Meeting revised this part, and issued it separately in 1906, as Volume II of *Christian Discipline*, under the title *Church Government*. The parts on Doctrine and Practice, as issued in 1883, and supplied with a fresh index, were re-issued as Volume I. In 1917 a further revision of Part III, *Church Government*, was made and approved by the Yearly Meeting.

In 1907 the Yearly Meeting directed that Part II, *Christian Practice*, should be revised, and during the four years preceding the Yearly Meeting of 1911, the revision occupied many sittings of the Committee appointed for the purpose. Extracts from Minutes and Proceedings of twenty-eight years were utilised; some entirely new matter was introduced, and some old matter withdrawn. The new edition was sanctioned by the Yearly Meeting itself at an adjournment held in Eleventh month, 1911, and was published in a volume by itself.

Part I, *Christian Doctrine*, also issued in separate form since 1883, was revised during the years 1919-21, approved by the Yearly Meeting in the latter year, and published under the title of *Christian Life, Faith and Thought in the Society of Friends*.

In 1923, Part II, *Christian Practice*, being out of print, the Yearly Meeting again directed its revision. This occupied nearly two years, and the present edition was approved by an adjourned Yearly Meeting held from the

*PREFACE*

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16th to the 19th of Third Month, 1925. The experiences through which the Society has passed during the last fourteen years have led to the issue of many documents; much new matter has therefore been introduced, some of it specially written, and some old matter has been withdrawn or abbreviated.

The documents included in the book are of various dates, and the figures appended to the extracts indicate the years when they were written or sanctioned. Where any material change has been made in any paragraph, or where paragraphs have been combined, two or more dates are given, the date of the original and that of the emendation. The original documents are to be found among the records preserved in the Library of the Society of Friends.



## INTRODUCTION

THE volumes of *Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends* are essentially a single whole, though divided for convenience into three parts, of which the present volume, entitled *Christian Practice*, is the second. The religious practice and the method of Church government, described in the second and third parts, arise organically out of the faith of the first part. The way of life is inseparable from its inspiration.

Wherever men and women have been enabled to hear the divine voice within, their words and works have given some outward expression of this intimate experience. Part I of the Book of Discipline, revised and adopted in 1921 under the title *Christian Life, Faith and Thought in the Religious Society of Friends*, is evidence of Friends' appreciation of the wealth of their religious inheritance. This experience has habitually expressed itself not so much in a theology as in a personal character, a religious fellowship and a social service. It is with these practical things that the present volume is particularly concerned. The aim is to speak of them in relation to the fundamental experience, and to adduce illustrations of the way in which, in various directions, inward and spiritual religion must by its nature seek practical and ever more complete expression in the outward life.

The practices of the early Friends were based upon no code of laws, no rule of life, imposed from without. All that was of value in them flowed from the spiritual experience, individual and corporate, of immediate human converse with God, of contact through faith with the divine resources of love and power, of filial co-operation in the divine purposes. Friends are convinced that the same inspiration which has been known in the past, will continue

to solve all perplexities of conduct, and issue in clearer understanding and expression of the divine idea for human life.

The central fact of Quaker experience has been called the Inward Light. Because the Light lightens every man, Friends, if faithful thereto, are of necessity drawn to recognise the divine in the human, the respect due to personality, the reality of our membership one in another, the meaning of human fraternity. Worship and ministry, sacrament and service assume for them a new significance. The life of the Church finds a new freedom and a richer content; all life becomes its concern. Thus in the past, the Society of Friends has concerned itself with problem after problem—worship, government, business, slavery, education, war, the social order—in the light of guidance obtained in quiet waiting.

No attempt to divide experience under separate headings can be wholly satisfactory.

Religion cannot be separated from life, the source of power is to be found within; the attention must be turned inwards in stillness, and we must make the conscious effort to come into touch with the Father of our Spirits, if our souls are to be enlightened, our love kindled, and our wills braced to fulfil the purposes of God. The chapter on the Devotional Life is therefore placed first. Quaker devotional practice is more than a protest against priestcraft and ritualism. In regard to public worship, ministry and quiet waiting, the exercise of individual concern and reliance on corporate guidance, Friends have a positive and distinctive contribution to offer to the religious life of the world.

Next follows a chapter on The Quest for Truth, designed for the help of those whose faith may be hampered by intellectual difficulties.

It is in the intimacy of the home that children may first come to know the hallowing presence of the divine Father,

and the influence of the home lasts throughout life. Family life also offers the nearest and most universal field for service.

Friends from the earliest days have felt a concern for education, recognising the wide range of possibilities which is open to every human being. The deepest aim of this education should be to cultivate an attentive ear and a habit of quick response to the divine leading. Friends desire further that throughout life the minds of their fellows may be alert, and their souls open to all the divine influences, which reach men through nature and art, to the enrichment of the spirit, and a more abundant life.

There follow two chapters on Christian Service, the one dealing with the spreading of the message, the other that service of the life devoted to very varied causes, which help forward the divine ideal of human society, the City of God. This division is for convenience only : it is recognised that all Christian service is one.

A final chapter expresses the thought that the life of service and of the Cross, is the way to freedom.





## THE DEVOTIONAL LIFE

In common with our fellow Christians we realise the need for a deep individual devotion finding expression in life and action. We believe that the power for its exercise is most fully given through the faithful practice of a corporate devotional life under the immediate guidance of the Spirit. In the four sections that follow, therefore, the "Meeting for Worship" and its ministry are treated of first, then the "Life of the Church," followed by "Family Worship" and "Retirement and Prayer."

In a meeting for worship Friends gather in silence as a congregation of seeking souls, and as they unite together in worship there comes a spiritual harmony "the still life, in which the fellowship is attained to in the spirit of God, when there are no words spoken."\* But often, out of that silence, is born the message of that meeting, expressed it may be by several speakers and yet with a central thought common to each which frequently meets many individual needs.

True worship may be experienced at any time; in any place—alone on the hills or in the busy daily life—we may turn to God, and find Him, for in Him we live and move and have our being. But this individual experience is not sufficient, and in a meeting held under the influence of the Spirit, there is a giving and receiving between its members, one helping another with or without words. So there may come a wider vision and a deeper experience, as through this joint worship there is built up a sanctuary of loving faithful hearts "where His honour dwelleth"—"So, the life of God comes to guide."\* (1925.)

\* George Fox, 1657.

## THE MEETING FOR WORSHIP

### I. THE CENTRAL PRINCIPLE OF WORSHIP

In our life as a religious Society we have found it true that the spirit of man can come into direct contact with the Spirit of God and can thereby learn of God. A man who has experienced the sense of contact with the Spirit, will not only wish to listen for himself to what God may say, and in the secret of his own soul speak with God, but he will become conscious that fellowship with other human beings, especially if they be seekers like himself, will strengthen and deepen the sense of communion. The way of worship through silent communion, in which there is freedom for spoken prayer or ministry, springs from the fundamental experience of the Society of Friends, and is a constant expression and working out of its central principle. (*A Message to Seekers, prepared by Berks and Oxon Quarterly Meeting, 1919; 1925.*)

### 2. PURE WORSHIP

Pure worship under the Gospel stands neither in forms nor in the formal disuse of forms; it may be without words as well as with them, but it must be in spirit and in truth. It is not the mere outward gathering together, but the inward gathering of our hearts unto the Lord that makes a true Meeting for Worship. This worship depends not upon numbers. Where two or three are gathered in the name of Christ, there is a church, and Christ the living Head in the midst of them. In His name, therefore, to use the language of George Fox, may you seek to keep all your Meetings, "that you may feel Him in the midst of you exercising His offices. As He is a Prophet whom God has raised up to open His mysteries to you, and as He is a Shepherd who has laid

down His life for you to feed you, so hear His voice ; and as He is a Counsellor and a Commander, follow Him and His counsel ; and as He is a Bishop to oversee you with His Heavenly power and Spirit ; and as He is a Priest who offered Himself for you, who is made higher than the heavens, who sanctifies His people, His church, and presents them to God without blemish, spot or wrinkle, so know Him in all His offices, exercising them amongst you and in you." (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1855.*)

Our manner of worship springs from our experience of God and gives expression to it. Friends do not use the altar and the symbols of sacrifice in order to reach God, because it is an outstanding fact of our knowledge of Him that He is at hand, waiting to enter the heart that is opened to him. God desires to come directly into touch with His children, and the heart that realises even for a moment the gracious loving kindness of God, surrenders itself spontaneously and instinctively to Him. Worship implies the contemplation of the wonder, the beauty and the love of God on the part of those who, not from doctrine or art, but from their own inward knowledge realise something of what God is. In its quiet intimacy and simplicity and confidence and joy their experience of God is deepened. As they share it, it is multiplied. It finds its natural expression not in ritual acts but in the service of all God's children.

In holding that outward rites are unnecessary and contrary to their understanding of the nature of God, Friends only insist the more strongly that the whole of life is sacramental. We live continually in the presence of God. Our every act tends either to His glory or to His dishonour. As we follow His will we are brought closer to Him and receive more fully of His grace. As we turn away we close our hearts to Him. The life of saintliness, the life which based on prayer is a continual offering to God, is itself the true sacrament.

The privileges of the Meeting for Worship are not of our own making. The practice of the quiet gathering of souls together to share fellowship with God is an inheritance from generations of men and women, many of whom had intense experience of the devotional life. Pure in heart, honest in business and sincere in their relations one with another, they walked humbly with God. Regularly from week to week they met with one another in the communion of silence, and ministered to one another the things that they felt they were receiving from God Himself. The basis of their life was worship. It is for us to cherish this tradition, not to be confined by it, but to develop it and to hand it on to those who, like ourselves, will desire in the company of others of like mind to meet with God. (1925.)

The broken and the contrite heart, the confession of the soul prostrate before God, the prayer of the afflicted when he is overwhelmed, the earnest wrestling of the spirit, the outpouring of humble thanksgiving, the spiritual song and melody of the heart, the simple exercise of faith, the self-denying service of love—these are among the sacrifices which He, our merciful and faithful High Priest, is Himself pleased to prepare by His Spirit in the hearts of them that receive Him, and to present with acceptance unto God. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1857.)

### 3. THE END FOR WHICH OUR MEETINGS EXIST

The living power of a Meeting for Worship depends not only on the sincere dedication of heart and thought on the part of each individual member, but also on united communion in the presence of God wherein each one overpasses the bounds of his individual self and knows a union of spirit with spirit, bringing him into a larger life than that which is known in spiritual separateness. There is no relation to God which is not in practice a relation to man,

and therefore we cannot come to a true understanding of life's purpose apart from knowledge of one another in the deepest place of our being. This was the thought of George Fox as he gave counsel, "Friends, meet together and know one another in that which is eternal, which was before the world was." Out of such fellowship there will arise a sense of a common purpose in life, and the united worship will be deepened and enriched by the consciousness that in varied fashion all are ministering in the service of God. There is a deeper spiritual life in the Meeting if the members are full of friendly interest in one another's activities, and know one another as fellow workers in the things that endure. Those Meetings which are still more closely bound together in some common task for which the meeting itself is responsible have often found that comradeship in active work has brought a new life and unity into the times of gathered worship. (1925.)

#### 4. DEPENDENCE ON CHRIST ALONE

Although the labours of such as are called forth by the Spirit of Christ are highly serviceable in the Church, yet the aim of every true Gospel minister is to direct the minds of all to the Divine teachings of the Holy Spirit. And as the religious strength both of preachers and hearers consists in their united dependence on Christ their Guide and Leader, so where any part of that dependence is broken off from Him, the holy Head, and placed on any instrument or member of that body, it hath sometimes been experienced to become a burden on such instrument and a real impediment to its present service.

Let the hearers be watchful over their own spirits; for if they be not very diligent in attending upon the Lord in Meetings, they are liable to mistake in the judgment they may pass on the ministry. Now this being a matter of great moment for the preservation of love and concord in the

churches, and knowing the danger and ill consequences which attend a hasty and censorious judging of the ministry, we think it necessary to caution Friends, not to let their own spirits sway them, but to let the Spirit of God rule in their hearts, for this will preserve all in sweetness and tenderness one towards another. (1731; *Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1753.)

### 5. THE RIGHT ATTITUDE OF SOUL IN MEETING

The Meeting affects the ministry quite as truly as the ministry affects the Meeting. If those who come together do so in expectant faith, and in genuine love and sympathy with one another, striving to put far from them thoughts of criticism and fault-finding, and praying earnestly that the right persons may be led to speak and the right messages be given, they will not go away unhelped. It is in such an atmosphere that the Holy Spirit can work effectively to bring forth the utterances that are needed, and to check those that are not required. On the other hand, the spirit of indifference or of cold and unfriendly criticism injures the whole life of the Meeting, and we need not wonder if in such an atmosphere speakers mistake their guidance. (1911.)

### 6. PREPARATION OF HEART AND WILL

They who are obedient to the universal injunction of our Saviour, "Watch," are prepared for the due fulfilling of every duty; and eminently so for that most essential one of worship. How many feel themselves languid when assembled for this solemn purpose, for want of a previous preparation of heart! The mind crowded with thoughts on outward things in approaching the place for public worship, and resuming them with avidity on its return, is not likely to fill up the interval to profit; and to such their meeting together may prove a form as empty as any of those out of which we believe Truth called our forefathers and still calls us. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1800.)

### 7. WATCHFULNESS OF SPIRIT

Let every one be watchful against an earthly spirit ; for that will choke the good seed, and bring forth a slighting or neglecting of your testimony in your First-day and Week-day Meetings, and bring a decay of your strength and zeal for God and His truth, by reason whereof you will not be able to stand in the hour of temptation. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1689.*)

### 8. AIDS TO THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP

We earnestly advise all who attend our Meetings to lift their hearts to God immediately on taking their seats. The avoidance of distracting conversation beforehand is a great help to this end, and the walk to Meeting may often prove a true preparation for Divine Worship. (1911.)

The first that enters into the place of your Meeting, turn in thy mind and wait upon God singly, as if none were present but the Lord ; and here thou art strong. Then the next that comes in, let them in simplicity of heart sit down and turn in to the same light, and wait in the spirit ; and so all the rest coming in, in the fear of the Lord, sit down in pure stillness and silence of all flesh, and wait in the light. Those who are brought to a pure, still waiting upon God in the spirit, are come nearer to the Lord than words are : for God is a spirit, and in the spirit is He worshipped. In such a meeting there will be an unwillingness to part asunder, being ready to say in yourselves, it is good to be here ; this is the end of all words and writings—to bring people to the eternal living word. (*A Letter of Alexander Parker, 1660.*)

### 9. THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER

Those who meet together for public worship should come in the spirit of prayer. As this is the case, we believe that the vocal utterance of thanksgiving and prayer will more



often find a place early in our Meetings. Let all yield to the gentle promptings of the Holy Spirit as He constrains them, it may be very simply, to acknowledge in the midst of their brethren the mercy and faithfulness of the Lord, and to seek His renewed blessing. Such offerings of prayer and praise often open the way for others to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, and the wisdom and love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. Those who may be yet bearing the burden of sin, and more or less consciously seeking the way of salvation, will thus be made aware that their fellow-worshippers long for their deliverance, and would gladly help them to find the Saviour whom they need. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1898.*)

#### 10. ACTIVITY OF TRUE WORSHIP

True worship is intensely active. In it we offer ourselves to God, body, mind and soul, for the doing of His will. We have a gift to bring to Him and not only a grace to receive. May we come into the presence of Christ as disciples, in earnest devotedness and lowly teachableness, and into the presence of one another as brethren, in a living fellowship of love and sympathy. "One is your Teacher, and all ye are brethren." (*Worship and Ministry, 1900.*)

#### 11. DILIGENT WAITING

In your religious meetings for the worship of God, be diligent to wait on Him, for surely many of us have cause thankfully to remember His early visitations in the assemblies of His people, where He broke in upon our hearts with His power and love, and did in the needful time administer help, comfort and counsel; whereby in the renewings thereof, we have been upheld in a faithful testimony and in the discharge of our duty to Him. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1725.*)

12. THE RIGHT USE OF SILENCE

We highly prize silent waiting upon the Lord in humble dependence upon Him. We esteem it to be a precious part of spiritual worship, and trust that no vocal offerings will ever exclude it from its true place. Let not the silence then be spent in indolence or vacant musing, but in an eager reaching out after God, in an obedient spirit, sensitive to the slightest Divine manifestation. Silence is not an end in itself, but a means to a higher experience. It is the opportunity not only for prayerful meditation, for the unfolding of truth and the apprehension of duty, but for the realisation of the Divine forgiveness, the renewal of our wills and the upbuilding of our inward being in communion with the Divine Love. (*Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1884, 1886; 1925.)

“When the souls of many sitting in silence are being oriented together, the effect of the communion may be felt. The souls are in chorus if the voices are not. Each spirit collects itself, polarises the scattered activities of the week, gathering the disturbed consciousness to one point inwards, to the trysting place with the Eternal. Revaluation takes place. Trifles are seen to be trifles, though they may have excited us at the time. We take stock spiritually—throw away rubbish, check our estimates, and gain peace at the end, it may be after stiff conflict with the natural man. Grudges and hatreds come up for judgment and prayers for patience are put up. Often humility and penitence cover the whole man. We make contact each for himself with the Real and the Eternal, and thereby gain strength over temptation and sin. . . . This is what Friends call a living silence.” (J. W. Graham : *The Faith of a Quaker*, 1920.)

13. VOCAL PRAYER

Prayer offered in the right spirit, especially when offered early in the Meeting, is a great power and has a

wonderfully unifying and quickening effect. The times of silent waiting in our Meetings for Worship are not intended only for the refreshment of the individual worshipper. If the silence be a living one, in which the worshippers seek to enter into each others' needs and to bear in their hearts the sufferings of the world without and the call to dedication in the service of the Kingdom of God, silent prayer may naturally lead also to vocal prayer. The expression of prayer will not be of the nature of an address to the congregation, neither exhortation nor exposition of doctrine. If it is offered simply and humbly in fellowship with others and as a heart-felt cry of man's spirit to his Heavenly Helper, it is of the utmost value in building up our common religious life. If we meet as members of one family in the presence of our Father, we should not shrink unduly from this offering of love. Sometimes broken words and thoughts may be made sacramental to ourselves and others and lead on to a deeper experience of worship, or open the way to some helpful and inspiring communication from a fellow-worshipper, which might not otherwise have found utterance. It was to encourage such simple ministry that William Dewsbury from his prison in "York Tower" in 1660 wrote the words, "And thou, faithful babe, though thou stutter and stammer forth a few words in the dread of the Lord, they are accepted."\* (1925.)

#### 14. VARIED TYPES OF MEETINGS

A living Meeting is moulded not according to prescribed pattern, but by the Master's own hand. The right holding of our Meetings is not to be judged by their adherence to routine, but by the exercise in them "unto edifying," and under the control of the Holy Spirit, of spiritual gifts. Varied gifts thus exercised will be kept in their true harmony and proportion, and the variety will enrich without

\* William Dewsbury: *Works*, 1689, p. 185.

enfeebling the life of the congregation. There is especially a place to-day for the gift of religious teaching, which may greatly promote that comprehensive grasp of truth and that enlightened knowledge of the Holy Scriptures which the Church is responsible to God for giving to its members. In all our worship, whether in the public assembly, in the family circle, or when we are alone with God, let us give free scope to those words of praise which are the natural outcome of a loving and grateful heart. In Meetings held under the care of Friends, in which provision is made for singing, reading the Bible, or prepared addresses, these arrangements should not be fixed into a routine, and there should be periods of silence and full opportunity for spontaneous offerings in prayer or ministry. The mechanical or haphazard selection of hymns is a serious hindrance to worship. It is essential that any arrangements introduced should promote and not hinder that fellowship in real and spiritual worship under the headship of Christ which every Friends' Meeting should exhibit. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1897; *Worship and Ministry*, 1900; 1911; 1925.)

#### 15. LOYALTY TO FRIENDS' MEETINGS

Let your attendance be regular at your own Meeting, and your service loyal, thus avoiding the weakness which is apt to result from attending sometimes one place of worship and sometimes another; but ever cherish love towards other religious communities, and give full recognition to their place and work.

Such a spirit of fellowship is to be cherished, and in it we may seek to join with others from time to time in public or private worship. But we have a special duty of fellowship with those who are striving to maintain a method of worship, based upon the effective priesthood of all believers, which gives freedom to the vocal ministry. With this in view we should take an interest not merely

in our own particular Meetings, but also in other adjacent Meetings, especially if they are few in numbers or otherwise in need. The visitation of another Meeting in the spirit of Christian fellowship is an act of service, even if unaccompanied by any words of spoken ministry. When carried out under right concern it may bring encouragement and refreshment both to those who visit and those who are visited. (1925.)

#### 16. DO NOT FORSAKE MEETINGS BECAUSE OF PERSECUTION

As it hath been our care and practice from the beginning that an open testimony for the Lord should be borne, and a public standard for truth and righteousness upheld in the power and Spirit of God by our open and known Meetings, so it is our advice and judgment that all Friends gathered in the name of Jesus keep up these public testimonies in their respective places, and do not decline, forsake or remove their public assemblies, because of times of suffering, as worldly, fearful and politic professors have done because of informers and the like persecutors; for such practices are not consistent with the nobility of the truth, and therefore not to be owned in the Church of Christ. (*The Epistle of the Women's Yearly Meeting, 1675; issued during a time of great persecution.*)

#### 17. DILIGENCE IN ATTENDANCE

“Where two or three,” saith the Lord, “are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” In these words He invites us to meet not only one with another, but, in so doing, with Himself also. Shall the poor perishing gratifications of sense and self-love, or any inconveniences of a trivial nature, be suffered to prevent our dutiful attendance upon Him, in whom stands our everlasting interest? Shall a cloudy sky, a little wet, a little cold, a little ease to the flesh, a view to a little earthly gain,

or any common incident, furnish an excuse for declining this duty, and thereby depriving ourselves of the blessed advantage often vouchsafed to the faithful, of enjoying heavenly communion together in spirit with the Lord of life and glory? (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1765.*)

#### 18. PUNCTUALITY

A punctual attendance at the hour appointed for public worship is a matter of no small importance. If we hurry away from our outward occupations to the Meeting-house, thinking that by the delay of a few minutes we shall not be long behind our brethren, we are in great danger of having our thoughts employed on that in which we have been engaged, and of interrupting that holy silence which would often prevail, if all the members of a Meeting were assembled not only in one place, but at one time, with one and the same great object in view. (1821.)

#### 19. MID-WEEK AND OTHER MEETINGS

The need for finding other opportunities for united devotion beyond those held on First-day should be kept before us. Experience shows that there is an individual and a corporate gain. Some who are burdened with work and pressing engagements can speak with thankfulness of the rest and refreshment they have found in the attendance of mid-week Meetings. We should realise the importance of finding occasion for worship during the week, whether in our meeting houses, in other public halls or in private houses. In our schools and settlements, and wherever a group of Friends are living or working together, there are special opportunities for daily periods of corporate communion which may be of great assistance both to the individual and to the life of the whole group. By such means we may help to break down the undesirable separation of

the sacred and the secular, of the meeting-house and the home. (1883 ; 1925.)

#### 20. WORSHIP ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS

In Meetings held for the solemnization of marriage a true spirit of worship is required, so that the sacramental character of the marriage tie may be realised when thus entered upon in the fear of the Lord. A Meeting held in life and power may be rich in blessing to those for whose union it is called.

A peculiar opportunity for worship is afforded in the simplicity of Friends' funerals. A feeling of hesitation as to speaking at funerals is most natural, for great wisdom and tenderness are required. On the other hand, those gatherings give opportunities of a very special character, and we urge all on whom the gift of the vocal ministry has been bestowed to consider whether it may not be their duty and privilege to use it on those occasions, even if in some degree contrary to their convenience and inclination. There is also need for the presence of other Friends, and their attendance in a loving and sympathetic spirit is a very real service. (1912 ; 1925.)

#### 21. FRIENDS WHO RESIDE WHERE THERE IS NO MEETING

The importance, both for ourselves and for our children, of active association with our fellow-members in work and worship, has led our Society in the past strongly to encourage Friends to live near Meetings. We ask that Friends in fixing their places of residence will endeavour to bear this in mind. But we are aware that there are many whose duties oblige them to reside where there is no Meeting. We do not desire in any way to discourage these from associating in worship with members of other religious denominations. It is, however, our concern that Friends thus situated should realize that the Gospel of a living

## THE MEETING FOR WORSHIP

Saviour, able Himself to meet the needs of all who will earnestly seek Him in spirit and truth, may often rightly lead them to hold Meetings of a simple spiritual character with their neighbours, either on First-day, or during the week. The world needs this message, and it is one for which many souls are hungering. Where a Meeting on the First-day may not seem a wise arrangement, a quiet hour of worship with neighbours of other religious denominations, on a week-day, may be found mutually helpful, and may serve to draw away from too great a dependence on the outward in religion.

Sometimes opportunities may be found in simple informal gatherings in private houses for brief times of quiet worship and communion, springing up after the consideration of some subject of vital interest, and in such reunions neighbours and friends may take part who would be unlikely to go with us to one of our regular places of worship. There should be no cause for discouragement if such meetings be very small. Let us seek and find opportunities of true fellowship in worship with others, which may be of help to those who are standing for a free spiritual worship, or those who are out of touch with any form of organised Christianity. (1905; 1911; 1925.)

### 22. FRIENDS AWAY FROM HOME

We urge Friends, when staying from home during a holiday or on business, to attend a Meeting for Worship if there is one within reach. Such attendance may well have the effect of strengthening the Meeting, and of bringing Friends, who were hitherto strangers, into fellowship with one another. When there is no neighbouring meeting even a few Friends may find help by uniting in an informal devotional gathering, or may render a greater service by holding open-air meetings, to which some may come who would not enter a place of worship. (1925.)



### 23. SICK AND AGED

Those of you who are kept by age or sickness from more active work, who are living retired lives, may in your very separation, have the opportunity of liberating power for others. Your prayers and thoughts go out further than you think, and as you wait in patience and in communion with God, you may be made ministers of peace and healing and be kept young in soul. The thought of those who are kept by age and sickness from being present should be with those who meet in worship, that they all may be bound together by the links of prayer in a common fellowship. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1923 ; 1925.*)

### 24. IMPORTANCE OF MEETINGS FOR WORSHIP

Our ideal of worship is a lofty one, and, if we are to make it successful in practice, it will demand the resolute concentration and putting forth of our spiritual faculties, that we may reach out after our unseen Helper. In these days of multiplied activities, there is danger lest some who may be doing much hard and useful work, both in daily business and in efforts for social amelioration, should allow the service of our Meetings to fall into the second place, or lapse altogether. Inevitably this means loss to themselves and loss to others. None of us can afford to miss opportunities of gaining power and inspiration for daily life, that we may "take the common things of life and walk truly among them."\*

Earnest labour for the good of others, however necessary and beneficent, is no substitute for the times of refreshing when we may gain the vision, the faith, the insight and the love, without which our efforts to raise and help the lives of men will be largely vain. If the more active and thoughtful members of a Meeting allow themselves to be drawn away from its service, they leave the main responsibility for vocal

\* Olive Schreiner.

ministry to be borne by others who may be less in touch with the needs of the time, and the Meetings in consequence will, almost certainly, fail in power and grip. (1911.)

It is important to recognise the difference between private and public worship. Personal communion with God may be realised anywhere, and it brings its own rich blessing ; but public worship implies fellowship in devotion and a longing that others may share in the blessing which we seek for ourselves. (1911.)

All our experience of fellowship in the common fatherhood of God, all our longing to bring our children and our friends and neighbours to a place where they can feel themselves already within the gracious atmosphere of God's family circle, lead us to look for and to value the opportunities of the Meeting for Worship. It is in fellowship that we can most fully rejoice in God's love and seek His righteousness and offer ourselves again to His service.

Friends ought to put the Meeting for Worship and its service in the forefront of their lives, for it stands as a public testimony to the two great essentials of their experience—the assurance that all men who seek God in their hearts can find Him, and the knowledge that both as individuals and as groups those who ask and accept His guidance are led of Him. The Meeting for Worship is the centre of the corporate life of the Society, and its health is a condition of our usefulness. It is also a possible channel of much blessing to many outside our membership. (1925.)

Our Meetings for Worship are the very centre of our life. We need to banish from them the spirit of criticism, the lazy indifference and self-centred thinking, which too often mar their harmony and power. Do we come to our Meetings as prepared men and women? Do we give of our best, of that which costs us something? Whether

in speech or in silence, are we helpers one of another? It is here that we should find strength for the discharge of our individual and our corporate duty to the world. The stillness in which every soul is turned to God may bring us together into new regions of experience, such as we could not hope to explore as isolated units. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1912.*)

## VOCAL MINISTRY

### 1. THE CALL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

All true ministry of the Gospel is from the appointment of the Lord Jesus Christ; and it is He who, by His Spirit, prepares and qualifies for the work. The gift must be exercised in continued dependence upon Him; and blessed is that ministry in which man is humbled, and Christ and His grace exalted.

This ministry is not limited to any specially ordained class, but the divine call may be to man or woman, learned or unlearned, old or young. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1871; 1925.*)

### 2. THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS

The development of sacerdotal pretensions in the Church was, in the first instance, closely connected with an unfaithful discharge of their priestly duties by the great body of Christians. The truest safeguard against these assumptions and against the consequences which often result from the prevalence of a ceremonial religion, is to be found in the power of humble consecrated lives, spent in the diligent prosecution of appointed service, or the patient endurance of permitted suffering. To one assured of the real presence of the Master, visible symbols may be hindrances, rather than helps, to the transmission of spiritual grace. We desire

therefore to hold fast our confession of the Lord Jesus Christ as the one great High Priest, and we appeal to Friends of every age and class to be faithful in a practical recognition of the priesthood of all believers.

The rejection of the idea of a priestly caste, interposed between man and his Maker, so far from weakening, will serve rather to strengthen our recognition of the true place of the Christian ministry. The Head of the Church still confers diversified spiritual gifts upon His people, to be used for the varied wants of His household, and the extension of His Kingdom. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1899; 1911.)

#### 4. THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN

Believing that the Divine Light works in the hearts of all and that every Christian disciple has a part in carrying on the Master's work, the Society of Friends has been led to a full recognition of the equality of the sexes in the family of the Church. Women, equally with men, share in the Christian ministry, and have their special contribution to make. Many of us have been accustomed from childhood to hear the Gospel message from the lips of women, whose words have often been so evidently spoken "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," that it was impossible to question the Divine origin of their call to service. (1911; 1925.)

#### 5. OBEDIENCE TO THE CALL

When the call comes, there should be no quenching of the Spirit, no contempt for prophesyings, on the ground that the offering is small, but, instead, a willing-hearted, humble-minded obedience. Faithful use of a gift brings increase; unfaithfulness leads to the withdrawal of talents, entrusted to us not for neglect but for service. More important than the actual words used is the atmosphere the speaker brings

with him, the evidence, which his hearers instinctively discern, that he is speaking of what he knows. The very fact that a member has seldom or never taken vocal part hitherto may give a special influence to his words. We sympathise with those who are craving for a ministry that feeds their minds and souls, and who do not find it in their own Meeting. While encouraging older and more experienced Friends to face their responsibilities in the matter, we believe that much of the want might be supplied by our younger members themselves, if, instead of deserting a Meeting, they would throw in their spiritual energy to its help. The Church wants the vigour and freshness of youth—its sympathy with those of like age, its lofty aspirations and its grasp of the needs and thoughts of the time—as well as the natural strength of manhood and womanhood and the ripe spiritual experience of old age. (*Worship and Ministry*, 1900 ; 1925.)

## 6. DEDICATION AND EQUIPMENT

A free ministry, contributed out of the varied experience of those whose life is spent in many different forms of daily activity and interest, has special power. Those who are themselves in the heart of the struggle can speak to the condition of their fellows, on whom the pressure of daily work and anxiety is often overwhelming. The worker in office or workshop, the teacher, the doctor, the mother in the home—each brings a special experience of men and things, and of the leadings of God in the daily life, which comes home with peculiar power to the hearts and minds of fellow worshippers.

But while all are called to be priests, the Society has urgent need for the fuller dedication to its service of the larger gifts of heart and brain, with which some have been endowed. There are those, we believe, whose duty it is to make the ministry in our Meetings for Worship their first and chief

concern. In a world in which everything is questioned, men and women, our own members and others, need all the help that can be given by those who have thought deeply and felt deeply of the things of God. This need not mean that such Friends will speak so often or so regularly as to lessen the sense of responsibility in others. Rather should they enter so far into sympathy with others as to arouse in them the spirit of faithfulness to the divine call and develop their capacity for service.

Ministers therefore, should be diligent in the use of those means which may foster their gift; private retirement, meditation upon and enlightened study of the Bible, thoughtful general reading, intercourse with their fellow men and prayer for insight into the spiritual needs of those about them.

In these ways they should seek for power to discern the signs of the times and to apply the gospel of Jesus Christ to the problems of the day.

This work demands a personal religious experience constantly renewed; it calls for sacrifice and heroism of the heart, and a love which despairs of no man; but it brings with it the highest joy of life, personal communion with the One from whom comes the strength for all the needs of our discipleship. (1925.)

## 7. VOCAL PRAYER

The object of a Meeting for Worship is the spiritual edification of its members, seeking as a united company to know the purpose of the Father and to do His will. It is to this end that ministry should be directed, a service not to be undertaken lightly. More particularly would we call attention in this connection to the service of vocal prayer. Such prayer will not be of the nature of an address to the congregation, neither exhortation nor the exposition of

doctrine, but it will be an expression of the spiritual aspiration and longing of those who would know the mind of Christ Jesus, binding them together in spiritual insight and in unity, that through them He may work His purposes of love. (1911 ; 1925.)

## 8. DIVINE GUIDANCE IN MINISTRY

What it is that constitutes guidance in ministry, and the means by which it is to be sought and found, is a difficulty with many. Some are afraid to speak in a Meeting for Worship, because, though they know something of the love of Christ, they do not seem to have any experience of a call that is undeniably supernatural. Others may be too readily taking their own thoughts and feelings as a warrant for obtruding them on others. Our natures differ greatly, and it is not possible to lay down any precise rules that all can follow. To some it seems that God speaks, as it were, by the earthquake and the whirlwind ; to others it is in a very still small voice. There are strong impulses which make the heart beat and body tremble ; there are, on the other hand, faint whispers which we need to be on the alert to hear. Both may be equally the voice of the true Shepherd, calling us to follow His leading. What we can safely say is that His guiding hand and voice are not confined to Meetings for Worship, and that we need to recognise it along the common ways of life, and to find it through the right use of our natural faculties. If we are going our own way six days in the week, it is presumptuous to expect that he will guide us miraculously on the seventh. " My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow me."

But while guidance must be sought and followed in all the affairs of life, not by the displacement or disuse of our natural faculties, but by their consecration to God's service, there is, we are convinced, a yet more intimate guidance to be known in our Meetings for Worship. True ministry is

not simply the expression of views of truth or ideals of conduct. It arises out of personal communion with God in the atmosphere of fellowship with others, whether before or at the time of meeting with them. It should have in it a direct message adapted to their present spiritual needs. To find the right words for a gathered company, whether of vocal prayer or testimony, we need to wait for that sense of call that comes to us from God through the fellowship of hearts that are bound into harmony by the flowing through them of the tides of His living presence. Hence, whatever may have been on our minds beforehand—whatever thoughts we may have worked out under the sense of help from God—must be held loosely, with perfect willingness to refrain from uttering them if the right time has not come. In a large company, where there may be many speakers, it is of special importance that we should thus quietly wait for clear guidance. (1911.)\*

\* A Friend has described his personal experience in the following words : "When I sit down in meeting I recall whatever may have struck me freshly during the past week. This is in part, initially at least, a voluntary and outward act. It means simply that the outward man is ready to run if he is sent. It means that the will is given up to service ; and it is quite possible to stop everything by taking an opposite attitude. So thoughts suggest themselves—a text that has smitten one during the week—new light on a phrase—a verse of poetry—some incident, private or public. These pass before the door whence shines the heavenly light. Are they transfigured ? Sometimes, yes ; sometimes, no. If nothing flames, silence is my portion. I turn from ideas of ministry to my own private needs. From these sometimes the live coal from off the altar is brought, suddenly and unexpectedly, and speech follows. Sometimes it does not. Again there are times when the initial thought strikes in of itself from the Inner Man beyond the will. These are times to be thankful for. Often two or three of the thoughts that have struck home during the week are woven together in unexpected ways. When the fire is kindled the blaze is not long. In five minutes from its inception, the sermon is there, the heart beats strongly, and up the man must get. How trying is any outward interruption during those few rapt and fruitful minutes, when the whole scheme is unfolding itself, and flashing itself upon the brain. There are the five or six main points, the leading sequences of thought are there, the introductory expository teaching, the generalisation, the illustrations, the final lesson and appeal, they fall into place. The sermon is made, but I, the slow compiler, did not make it." (J. W. Graham : *The Faith of a Quaker*, 1920.)



### 9. THE MINISTRY OF THE GATHERED CHURCH

Many of the considerations affecting ministry apply to the whole congregation. Preparation of heart and the active worship of dedicated lives are the duties of all. It is these that make up the spiritual atmosphere of a Meeting. We all have a ministry; for we are all members one of another, bound to rise or to fall together; and stronger even than the unity of the human race is the unity of the gathered Church. We need to say: "I dare not be weak, for my weakness is a spreading infirmity. I must be strong, for my strength is a spreading force. I cannot sit in self-contained isolation for my brethren need the energy of my love." (*Worship and Ministry*, 1900.)

### 10. THE PROPHETIC MESSAGE

We covet for our Church, not only a ministry which springs up out of the life of the Meeting itself, but also the utterance of a message in prophetic and apostolic power, which shall triumph over spiritual deadness and opposition in the congregation, and bring the gospel of repentance unto life to the indifferent and sinful. "The word of God is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart."

Face to face with the sin of the world and the new hopes of the kingdom of God which are kindling in men's hearts to-day, we need a fresh sense of the urgency and power of the Gospel message. As George Fox wrote to Friends in the ministry in 1669, "Sound ye all abroad in the world to the awakening and raising of the dead, that they may be awakened and raised up out of the grave to hear the voice that is living. Therefore, sound, ye servants, prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that you may awaken the

dead, and them that are asleep in their graves of sin.”  
(1911.)

## 11. ENCOURAGEMENT TO VISIT

This Meeting desires and hopes that you whom the Lord hath gifted with a public testimony for His name and truth will, in this day of liberty, be diligent to visit the heritage of God in their Meetings, and more especially those least frequented. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1695.)

## 12. CAUTION TO MINISTERS

Ministers, even those of large experience and gifts, may profitably be led into a review of their ministry in its varied relations. They should at all times be very humble and willing to consider and profit by advice from their friends. The manifestation of annoyance or resentment at such advice, even if this appears to be mistaken, is clear evidence of a wrong state of mind. May all be preserved in the exercise of the ministry in the life and power of the Spirit, dividing the word aright, not falling short of the measure of the gift, and yet not exceeding it. Public prayer, thanksgiving and praise ought ever to spring from a living sense of the wants and condition of the congregation. In this solemn service may all be impressed with the importance of their words being few and full. (1868 ; 1911.)

## 13. TO AVOID CENSORIOUS JUDGMENTS AND DEBATE

Dear brethren and sisters, all of you have a godly care of judging or contradicting one another in public Meetings, or showing marks or signs of division therein amongst ministers or others, and be not hasty or censorious in passing judgments respecting the state of those who hear you, but in all things behave yourselves as those that are led by the love of God.

Be all of you on your guard against a censorious spirit, and that uncharitable criticism which passes adverse judgment in a clever phrase ministering to the self-esteem of him who utters it and the detriment of those who hear. A loving spirit should be the mark of the Friend at all times. Outspoken comment within the family circle it would be unreasonable to check, but it must be remembered that bitter criticism is more hurtful to those who indulge in it than to those of whom it is uttered, though the latter may suffer indirectly through the creation of a hostile atmosphere; also that remarks uttered half in jest may have more effect than is imagined on the younger members of the circle. Seek ever to speak the truth in love. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1716; 1745; 1911; 1925.*)

“A Friends’ Meeting for Worship finds no room for debate or for answering (still less for contradicting) one another; if this is desirable it will be left for another occasion. And if anything should seem to be spoken amiss, the spiritually minded worshipper will have the wit to get at the heart of the message, overlooking crudity and lack of skill in its presentation, and so far from giving way to irritation at what seems unprofitable, he will be deeply concerned for his own share in creating the right spiritual atmosphere in which the harm fades out and the good grows. Many a Meeting has known this power, transforming what might have been hurtful into a means of grace. . . . The minister who, it is to be assumed, has wished to speak for the help of the congregation and not for the advertisement of himself, will be willing at least to consider the suggestions of those whose concern for the Meeting’s welfare is as deep as his own. The hard assertiveness, which is determined to have its own word, resenting kindly counsel, even if such seems to be mistaken, is wholly out of place in a Friends’ Meeting, being alien to the spirit in which alone right ministry can

be exercised. The true message, however plain spoken it be, will win its way, not by truculence and discourtesy, but by persuasiveness and love." (A. Neave Brayshaw: *The Quakers, Their Story and Message*, 1921.)

#### 14. TO HAVE OUTWARD AFFAIRS DULY ARRANGED

This Meeting recommends to ministers on all occasions, and more especially when about to leave home in the service of the Gospel, to take care that their outward affairs are so conducted and arranged as to prevent any dishonour being brought on our religious profession, through any neglect on the one hand, or, on the other, through their being immersed in the cares of the present life. (1833.)

#### 15. SYMPATHY WITH MINISTERS

How large the wisdom, how tender the sympathy, that should be exercised towards those who are called to the ministry, especially in the earlier stages of their service! On the other hand, they ought to be open to the counsel of their more experienced brethren, and whilst seeking to minister for their Lord, in the ability which He giveth, they should be ever subject one to another in love. (1868.)

"All my dear friends in the noble seed of God who have known His power, life and presence among you let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any." (George Fox: *Journal*.)

It should be the care of elders to foster the spiritual life of all members and to give caution and advice to Friends who share in the vocal ministry. They should look out for Friends who may be likely to help the ministry and lead them to make their right contribution to the life of their Meeting, and to encourage our members to think deeply on the great issues and problems of life and the fundamentals of our faith.

This, however, is not the duty of elders alone ; as any Friends may hinder the work of the ministry by a critical or unloving spirit, so their sympathy and prayers for those who may speak will help to create an atmosphere in which an inspired and inspiring ministry may grow. A friendly word of thanks from one who has been helped is often a great source of encouragement to the minister, the more so perhaps if it is unofficial. (1925.)

## THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH\*

### 1. THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

The Church is the body of which Christ is the Head. In union with Him the various members are brought into fellowship with each other. Collectively they are one body ; individually they are members one of another in Him. They that are truly His are in the Spirit of the Lamb. He gives them of His patience, His meekness and gentleness. He teaches them how to bear and forbear ; how to be subject one to another ; and when and how, in faithfulness to Him, their lowly and long-suffering Lord, they must make concessions to one another, and give up, if need be, something of their own individual freedom for the general good. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1878.)

### 2. PRACTICAL INTEREST IN ONE ANOTHER

The spiritual welfare of a meeting is greatly helped if its social life is vigorous, and its members take a warm

\* "But the Church is not simply, in the Quaker conception, a fellowship of disciples at work for the Kingdom of God ; it is such a fellowship, plus Jesus Christ Himself, in whose Spirit, the Spirit which unites them one to another and to Him, they become together 'one flock, one Shepherd.'"—W. C. Braithwaite: *Message and Mission of Quakerism*, 1912 ; p. 21.

personal interest in one another's welfare. The pastoral work of the Society is specially committed to the overseers, but our members generally should not allow themselves to feel that they are relieved from responsibility. In the greater events of life, such as marriage, the birth of a child, illness or death, it is our duty and privilege to share in one another's joys and sorrows; and sympathy thus shown is a potent means of binding us in closer fellowship.

Those who hold public offices, or are engaged in various forms of social service, should be made to realise that they have the sympathetic support and prayers of their friends in their work. Opportunities might well be found for such Friends to tell of their activities, and receive encouragement and counsel; the other members of the Meeting would thus acquire a deeper sense that they are called to a real share in the service. (1925.)

### 3. CARE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

We are anxious that, when young people enter upon business life, both their employers and other Friends in the Meetings near to which they reside may watch over them for good, and be willing in various ways to show an affectionate interest in their comfort and welfare. (1828; 1911.)

### 4. THE SPIRIT WHICH MAKES FOR UNITY

Dear Friends, the prosperity of truth, the increase of love, unity and peace amongst all Friends, in their respective Meetings and in general, is greatly desired by us; and that every one watch against and shut out all occasions of offences, contentions and divisions, and stop all whisperings, tale-bearing, back-biting and evil-speaking tending thereunto. Be kind and tender-hearted one to another, and earnestly labour for universal love, union and peace in all the Churches of Christ. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1689.)

### 5. PRIVATE CONFERENCE

Where any hath received offence from another, let him first speak privately to the party concerned, and endeavour reconciliation between themselves; and not to whisper or aggravate matters against others behind their backs, to the making of parties, and to the widening of the breach. Even though efforts for agreement by private conference should fail, Friends should avoid engaging one another in legal disputes. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1692; 1925.)

### 6. CHARITY TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER

Maintain that charity which suffereth long and is kind. Put the best construction upon the conduct and opinions one of another which circumstances will warrant. Take heed that the enemy produce no dissensions among you; that nothing like a party spirit be ever suffered to prevail. Let each be tender of the reputation of his brother, and be earnest to possess the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Watch over one another for good, but not for evil; and whilst not blind to the faults or false views of others, be especially careful not to make them a topic of common conversation. And in those cases in which it may be necessary to disclose the failings of others, be well satisfied as to the purity of your own motives, before making them the subject of even confidential communication, whether verbally or by letter. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1834.)

### 7. FORGIVENESS: THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST

Christ died for us even when we were enemies, He has followed us by His Spirit in our many wanderings, He has borne with us in long-suffering pity; and if we hope to be forgiven, we must also forgive one another. He who yields to a suspicious and unforgiving spirit is led on to imagine things against his brother that are exaggerated, or even false.

How can he, whose only hope is in the Lord's mercy, indulge in hard and unforgiving thoughts towards a brother or a sister? It may be that thou hast just ground for offence. Is thy brother's trespass against thee any warrant for thy own disobedience? Consider how exceeding broad is the new commandment of thy Lord: "Love one another, as I have loved you." Wait not until thy brother be reconciled unto thee, or until he shall make the first overture. Be thyself the first to seek reconciliation, and to prove that thou art honestly desirous to submit thyself to the government of the Prince of Peace. (*Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1870, 1872.)

#### 8. VARIETY OF GIFTS AND OF SERVICE

We rejoice that many of our members are giving themselves earnestly to the service of their Lord; some in lowly ministries little marked by their fellow-men; some in patient labour for the alleviation of distress or for the improvement of social conditions; some in educational work; some in moral movements; and a large number, both at home and abroad, in direct efforts for the winning of souls. To all these we would offer a word of cheer and encouragement. No work done for our Master's honour and in the power of His Spirit can be fruitless. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1900.)

The Christian is called to be an ambassador for his King, to witness for Him, often by his words and always by his life, and to share the yearning love of his Lord over those who are still away from Him, whatever the cause of their estrangement. "To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit," not for the glorification of the individual, but for the effective performance of the service entrusted to him. There is endless variety in the gifts conferred and in the corresponding service required, but each is summoned to faithful service inspired by gratitude and love. (1925.)



### 9. MEETINGS FOR CHURCH AFFAIRS

The organisation of the Society of Friends has grown up around our Meetings for Worship and as an expression in other relationships of the spirit experienced in those Meetings; it embodies our collective realisation of free service in which all have a share, and of dependence upon the guidance of the spirit of God as our ever-present helper. Our Meetings for Worship are not to be isolated from the rest of our life, but intimately linked with the experience of our work and leisure. When we meet together to transact the business of the Society the fellowship realised in our times of worship should be the atmosphere also of our Meetings for Discipline.

The practice of beginning and concluding meetings for church affairs and committees or conferences with a time of worship is of great value and significance, and we would plead for the maintenance and extension of these opportunities for communion and spiritual refreshment, in which the business and interests of daily life may be kept in conscious relationship with the eternal source of our strength, and in which too we may be brought into the quietness and collectedness of spirit so essential to the right discharge of business. (1925.)

### 10. THE JUDGMENT OF THE MEETING

As it is our hope that in our Meetings for Discipline the will of God shall prevail rather than the desires of men, we do not set great store by rhetoric or clever argument. The mere gaining of debating points is found to be unhelpful and alien to the spirit of worship which should govern the rightly ordered Meeting. Instead of rising hastily to reply to another, it is better to give time for what has been said to make its own appeal, and to take its right place in the mind of the Meeting.

We ought ever to be ready to give unhurried, weighty and truly sympathetic consideration to proposals brought forward from whatever part of the Meeting, believing that what is said rises from the depths of a Friend's experience, and is sincerely offered for the guidance of the Meeting, and the forwarding of the work of the Church. We should neither be hindered from making experiments by fear or undue caution, nor prompted by novel suggestions to ill-considered courses.

Neither a majority nor a minority should allow itself in any way to overbear or to obstruct a meeting for church affairs in its course towards a decision. We are unlikely to reach either truth or wisdom if one section imposes its will on another. We deprecate division in our Meetings and desire unanimity. It is in the unity of common fellowship, we believe, that we shall most surely learn the will of God. We cherish, therefore, the tradition which excludes voting from our meetings, and trust that clerks and Friends generally will observe the spirit of it, not permitting themselves to be influenced in their judgment either by mere numbers or by persistence. The clerks should be content to wait upon God with the Meeting, as long as may be necessary for the emergence of a decision which clearly commends itself to the heart and mind of the Meeting as the right one.

Let us remember continually in prayer the clerks at the table, whose duty it is to gather up the sense of the Meeting and, with the guidance of God, to find the words in which to record a right decision. It is the privilege of all present to continue in an attitude of worship towards God, and of sympathetic fellowship with each other, until the business has been rightly dealt with. And those who are inevitably prevented from attending, may well turn in thought and prayer to the matters before the Meeting, remembering that they too share responsibility for the promotion of the work of the Church. (1925.)

## 11. THE SERVICE OF THE MEETING

If a real religious fellowship grows out of our Meetings for Worship, it will naturally be carried over into our business meetings and into our social life, so that the whole congregation will be interested in all its members, and be knit together as a body of workers for the cause of Christ.

The right conduct of our business meetings even in matters of routine is important to the spiritual life of our Society, and in so far as Friends are concerned in promoting the Kingdom of God, we may rightly feel that its business is a service for Him. We desire therefore that all our members should take their right share in the attendance and work of these meetings. When appointments are made either to permanent offices or to temporary committees, we ought not to allow either undue modesty or love of ease to lead us to refuse service, and the faithful discharge of duties undertaken is called for by our loyalty both to the Church and to Christ. (1925.)

## 12. THE SHARING OF CONCERNS

We are thankful that so often in our common worship, and in our experience of joint responsibility for the service of God's Kingdom, as well as in times of private retirement, new impulses are felt towards wider service. It is our earnest hope that Friends will always cherish these impulses, and be willing to share their concerns with others in our meetings, seeking united guidance as to the manner in which the tasks that are laid upon them may be accomplished. It is the privilege of the fellowship to foster the growth of right concerns, and to encourage and provide for the development of the service in question. A real concern is a gift from God. We believe that more and more work will be entrusted to us, as we turn to Him, and surrender our hearts more completely, becoming sensitive to His every leading. For the humble as well as the more conspicuous

tasks, we confidently believe that strength will be given to each one of us, in proportion as we place ourselves at the disposal of God and respond to the promptings of His spirit. Such work is not to be entered upon lightly. It is our experience that the work of God is most surely accomplished, as we share our thoughts upon it one with another; and as we are gathered to wait upon God, His will is most clearly made known to us. (1925.)

### 13. CORPORATE GUIDANCE

We are constantly reminded as individuals of the need for obedience to the Divine Light—"that of God in every man"—which is the medium of our response to the Divine Will. For the corporate fellowship, the exercise of this power of response is of no less importance. Our united discovery of the Divine Will is the basis alike of our church discipline in everyday affairs, and of the high and significant adventures to which we are corporately called. It is by this power alone that we dare to set forth to men our view of the Will of God in matters of great moment. With this authority we need no tradition, order or outward succession to empower us to interpret God to the world.

Let us beware lest by any preconceived notions of our own we delimit the application of this authority. The Society of Friends has been called into unexpected paths. It has seen widespread results from humble beginnings. Let us not think too narrowly of religious service. Let us not determine any field as beyond the range of the Divine Concern. (1925.)

### 14. CAUTION AGAINST RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

Whilst it is at all times the duty of members of the Church faithfully to maintain the Truth, and whilst some of them may rightly feel themselves called upon openly to oppose error, we believe that there is hardly anything more

inimical to the growth of vital religion than indulgence in the spirit of religious controversy. Satan triumphs when he can make the name of Jesus a word of strife and debate among the professed followers of the Lord. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1846.*)

#### 15. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

That conscience should be free, and that in matters of religious doctrine and worship man is accountable only to God, are truths which are plainly declared in the New Testament, and confirmed by the whole scope of the Gospel, and by the example of our Lord and His disciples. The command, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," points to the true limits of the civil power. It is our conviction—a conviction which is, we submit, abundantly confirmed by the past history and present condition of Great Britain and of the other nations of Europe—that the thorough maintenance of the principles of true liberty of conscience greatly contributes to the welfare of nations. It promotes the increase among them of the number of upright and faithful subjects and citizens,—men fearing God and discharging their various duties to His glory and to the benefit of their country. These are the men who are the real strength of the Government under which they live, and who afford a security to the State which nothing else can equally confer. (1856 ; 1878.)

#### 16. THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

It is a hindrance to the cause of religion that any religious community should be placed by law in a position of special privilege. From the days of Constantine onwards the Christian Church has suffered loss through the attempt to secure a State establishment of religion. Our highest allegiance as Christians is not to the State but to the Kingdom of God. But this does not mean that we have not

duties, as Christians, towards the State and the nation to which we belong, or that our attitude toward the State should be a negative one, or one of indifference. Whole-heartedly should we rejoice when rulers and magistrates show by word and deed that they draw their inspiration from our Master, and from loyalty to His church we must work and pray for the welfare of our nation, as well as for the wider commonwealth of humanity. (1925.)

### 17. MEMBERSHIP IN THE BODY OF CHRIST

We are concerned for a far deeper understanding of Christian unity. It is a greater thing than any mere conformity of expression or usage. For Jesus it was typified in the unity existing between the Father and Himself, and through this deep communion the world was to be drawn to Him.

We find the true bond of Christian unity, not in any statement of our common faith, however carefully expressed, or however vital may be the doctrines set forth; not in any uniform system of church organisation, nor in any rite of which all partake. We find it rather in the participation in a common inner life springing out of communion between the human soul and God, and expressing itself in the daily life of those who experience it. We find ourselves in union with all who loyally follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and who devote their lives to the extension of His kingdom of righteousness and truth, in whatever way they may be led of the Spirit.

We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is primarily spiritual in its essence, and that every follower of His ought to have, and can have, direct personal intercourse with God through the operation of His Holy Spirit in the human heart. Consequently our method of worship, our attitude toward outward rites, our conduct of Church Meetings, and our whole religious system, are so framed as to keep this aspect

religion ever to the front, and to lead men and women into the full exercise of their privileges as the children of God.

The presence in the Church of some who are living the Christian life and experiencing communion with Christ, independently of any outward rite, is in itself a constant reminder of these fundamental truths. We desire for all the fullest liberty in these matters. We may not expect, indeed, to see Christians generally dispensing with such rites. What we desire is a Church which recognises to the full that membership in the Body of Christ and communion with Him are essentially spiritual in their nature, and not dependent upon conformity to any outward practice. (*Friends' Foreign Mission Association: Principles of Action*, 1914; 1925.)

## FAMILY WORSHIP

1. In a well-ordered family short opportunities of religious retirement frequently occur, in which the mind may be turned in secret aspiration to the Author of all our blessings; and these may prove times of more than transient benefit. It is our present concern that no exception to this practice may be found amongst us; whether it takes place on the reading of a portion of the sacred volume, or when we are assembled to partake of the provisions with which we are supplied for the sustenance of the body. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1817.)

2. Christian fathers and mothers, honour the Lord in your families. Let your lives be a daily confession of Christ in your households. In connection with the family reading of the Scriptures, and the accompanying devotional silence, which we trust will ever be felt to be precious, quench not the gentle drawings of Divine love, prompting the word of exhortation or instruction, or the outpouring of the heart in prayer. Let not the period of silent waiting, on these

occasions, be so short as to exclude or interrupt inward retirement and prayer. Pray with, as well as for, your children, watching for opportunities of uniting with them individually in the exercise of this blessed privilege. Seek for ability on these occasions to bring the special needs of each before our loving Father in Heaven. Let none think that their religious concern for their children will be in vain. How often have hearts been lifted up in gratitude and praise in the remembrance of the Christian walk, the prayerful spirit, the faithful counsel, the loving sympathy, of the father or the mother now at rest in Jesus. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1866; 1883.)

3. Great care should be used in the choice of passages of Scripture for family reading. On such occasions it may often be found of service to make use of other helpful literature in addition to, or as an occasional alternative to the reading of the Scriptures. The selection of passages to be read should not be haphazard, and where there are young children present, effort should be made to choose material which is likely to be apprehended by their growing minds. Family worship may not be confined to set times and periods; other opportunities may occur for quiet times together, either in the more intimate inner circle or when guests are present. These times have a special value in bringing little children into the experience of united worship, and so preparing them for the larger meeting, as they learn in the silence to "bow to the power of God."\* (1925.)

4. In many of our homes, in some cases under the stress of modern business conditions, the daily family reading of the Bible has been crowded out or allowed to lapse.

We believe that this involves a loss to the life of the family which Friends ought to make an earnest effort to

\* George Fox: *Epistles*, ccxxii, 1662.



avoid. Even if in some cases it is not possible for all members of the household to join in the family reading, it should not on this account be given up, and where hours of labour during the week stand in the way of its daily observance, the week-end offers an opportunity for a regular time of communion in which all may share together the same spiritual food. We encourage Friends to plan their engagements in such a way as to allow of the enjoyment, at periodic intervals, of these times of communion with God and with one another, through which all are linked together and united by a common purpose. (1925).

5. We ask Friends to remember the opportunity for prayer and communion afforded in daily life by a silent pause at the commencement of each family meal. A formal spoken grace may become mechanical or insincere. Silence may check our thought amid the rush of outward life, and call us to an inward act of devotion, by which the meal may be made a sacrament; and we cannot afford to let the practice lapse or acquire anything of the habitual or formal. (1925.)

## RETIREMENT AND PRAYER

### I. CHRIST THE SANCTUARY

May all keep and walk in Christ Jesus, the Sanctuary; for in Him are peace and safety, who destroys the destroyer, the enmity and adversary. For Christ is your Sanctuary in this day of storm and tempest, in whom you have rest and peace. And, therefore, whatever storms and tempests may arise within or without, Christ your Sanctuary is over them all, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto Him; and none is able to pluck His lambs and sheep out of His Father's or His hand, who is the true Shepherd;

neither are any able to hurt the hair of your head, except it be permitted for your trial. And, therefore, rejoice in His power, the Lamb of God who hath the victory over all, both within and without ; He by whom all things were made, and who is over all ; the first and the last ; the Amen. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1683.*)

## 2. PRAYER THE DUTY OF ALL

Prayer being essential to our spiritual health, we would earnestly press upon all to seek for opportunities, in the course of each day, for private retirement and waiting upon the Lord ; and tenderly to cherish those precious but often gentle and easily-resisted motions of the Lord's Spirit, which would contrite and humble our hearts, and draw them forth in fervent petitions for that spiritual food which alone can supply our daily, our continual need. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1854.*)

## 3. THE NEED FOR PRAYER

The true warrant for prayer is the sense of need. The blessing is still for the poor, for the mourners, for them that hunger and thirst after righteousness. Let none allow the rush of engagements or the hurry of business to crowd their opportunities for private retirement and waiting upon God. The more our engagements multiply, the greater is the call to watch unto prayer. He who is a stranger to prayer enters upon them in his own strength, and finds, to his unspeakable loss, that a life without prayer is a life practically without God.

It is part of the demand of our age upon us that we keep a quiet place in our own souls, where day by day we can listen to the voice of Christ. It is here, too, that we shall be able to pick up, as it were, the calls for help that come to us across the ocean of life. The heart that is attuned to the Spirit of Christ, is attuned also to the need of the world,

and as it hears the call it can respond and help. In the holiest place we answer in the words of our Master, "For their sakes I consecrate myself." (*Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1888, 1912.)

#### 4. YIELDING TO THE SPIRIT OF PRAYER

We, who know not how to pray as we ought, need often to ask that the spirit of grace and of supplication may be poured out upon us, and to take care that, when the Holy Spirit prompts us to pray, we allow nothing to hinder us from doing so. He who answers prayer is its true inspirer; and the very act of yielding to the spirit of prayer prepares us to receive that which His love is about to bestow. Yet we need to be very simple in the exercise of this blessed privilege, coming as little children to our Father in Heaven, sure that He careth for us, and that He is pleased when, with trustful and thankful hearts, we make known our requests unto Him. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1897.)

#### 5. THE POWER OF PRAYER

We believe in prayer as a power in the Christian life. Prayer has been called "the habitual reference of everything to the will of God," and as such it leads us into the unselfish life. Prayer will lead us into that "universal spirit," in which we see, as one great whole, the work of God in all lands, as carried on by all His servants, and learn to care more for another's success than for our own. In prayer, those who bear the heat and burden of the day are one with those who lie on beds of sickness, and those who are sent to the forefront of the battle with those whose lot is in some lonely place, where there is no eye to see but God's. For in this ministry of intercession all are called to take a part; and in the exercise of it, that love which envieth not, seeketh not its own, taketh not account of evil, and which never faileth, reigns supreme.

We believe in prayer as a power in the world. We would call you, our brethren, to prayer on behalf of our Society, that new life may spring forth ; that our Meetings may be centres of blessing and may be the means of bringing many to the knowledge of Jesus Christ ; that our members may be baptised with the Holy Spirit and used in His joyful service. We need to pray in expectation of definite results. Let us not be afraid to ask of God ; let us "ask in faith, nothing doubting." There is no fear of our asking too much, or expecting too much, in the service of the King of Kings. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1904.*)

## 6. THE PRAYER OF FAITH

To many there are difficulties in prayer ; how can we influence God ? Ought we to try to do so ? How can we pray aright ? What are we to think when our prayers go apparently unanswered ? No solution of these problems can here be attempted. We would only say that the testimony of multitudes who have persisted in prayer is that it is the most real fact of experience and that whether or no it receives its answer in the sense of gaining the immediately desired object, it always ultimately attains the far fuller end of knowledge of God and increase of His power in life. To those therefore who feel these difficulties we would say, do not wait till you have solved them but pray.

No living creature can create energy ; the physical energy which we derive from our food comes from the sun's light and heat. So also we cannot create Spiritual power ; we can only draw on the springs which flow from God.

Prayer is the attitude of mind in which we may get into contact with God and renew our strength. In it our desires are brought before God with an open mind to try to understand His will. This attitude involves a complete surrender on our part.

We would encourage Friends, therefore, reverently yet daringly to make fuller experiment of the life of trust and consecration through prayer, that they may know relief from the burden of anxiety and perplexity and realise the joy of health and victory, whereby they may become centres of radiant energy for the help and healing of others. (1925.)

## THE READING AND STUDY OF THE BIBLE

### I. REVERENCE FOR AND READING OF THE BIBLE

Let the Holy Scriptures be diligently searched, and seriously read by Friends, with due regard to the Holy Spirit from whence they came, and by which they are truly opened. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1720.*)

Let all, especially elders in the Church and masters of families, both by example and advice, impress on the minds of the younger a reverent esteem of those sacred writings, and advise them to a frequent reading and meditating therein. And, Friends, you may, at proper times and seasons, give the youth to understand that the same good experience of the work of sanctification through the operations of the Spirit of God, to which the Holy Scriptures plentifully bear testimony, is to be witnessed by believers in all generations, as well as by those in the first ages of Christianity; in doing which some account of your own experience will be helpful to them. This we recommend as the most effectual means for begetting and establishing in their minds a firm belief of the Christian doctrine in general, as well as of the necessity of the aid and help of the operations of the Holy Spirit of God in the heart of men in particular, contained in that most excellent book the Bible. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1728.*)

## 2. THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE

The Book and its story must ever be a profoundly interesting theme, even in respect of the literary form and historical development of that divinely inspired library which we call the Bible. We accept with reverent thankfulness every fresh light thrown by modern investigation and discovery upon the sacred pages, which record how "men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." We lovingly remind all who have entered upon this research, that, valuable as is the intellectual study of Scripture, the truths which it contains will only be fruitful, as regards the heart and life of the student, in so far as he yields himself to the guidance and control of the Holy Spirit. "For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God." In His light we shall see light; without it, no searching of Scripture, of history, of philosophy, or of science, will ever enable us to find out God. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1898.)

## 3. PROGRESSIVE REVELATION IN THE BIBLE

The Old Testament contains the biography of a people whose spiritual horizons continually enlarged, until inspired prophets could foresee a day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," and could understand that the world's redemption would be wrought by the suffering Servant of the Most High. The Sermon on the Mount shows that our Lord Himself regarded the moral laws of the Old Testament as rudimentary, to be extended in scope and deepened in character by His own fuller teaching. Men of faith, living in the dawn of revelation, reached out after God, even amid the institutions of polygamy, slavery and blood-revenge. We, in like manner, are to be faithful to the

guidance of the noontide light, shed on us in the face of Jesus Christ. (1900.)

#### 4. LEARNING PASSAGES BY HEART

Children should be familiarised in early years with the Scriptures, and should be taught to learn by heart selected passages. It is important not to make the Bible distasteful by attempting to teach children what is beyond their capacity to understand, and passages before being learned should be carefully explained. Too great familiarity with phrases to which little or no meaning is attached often tends to unreality in religion; at the same time the beautiful words of Scripture, if wisely chosen, may be a powerful means of moral and religious training, and their meaning will grow clearer as experience deepens. If parents value the Bible highly, that will be the best guarantee of their children's interest in it. (1911; 1925.)

#### 5. GROUP STUDY

We are deeply impressed with the importance of the religious instruction of our younger members, during school years and after. Provision is needed whereby young people, especially those in situations away from home, may be drawn together for the serious and systematic study of the Bible and of religious history. Study circles have often been found to be of great benefit, and courses of lectures in week-end or other conferences have been a stimulus to further study. Any teaching, to be effectively conducted, requires wise and spiritually-minded leaders; and it should be our serious concern that advantage be taken by our members of opportunities for acquiring the necessary knowledge and training. Efficient teaching of this kind will promote the building up of our younger members in a well-grounded faith in Christ, in sound principles of conduct, and in an understanding of our Christian testimonies. (1911; 1925.)

## THE QUEST FOR TRUTH

### 1. PERPLEXITY AND FAITH

Doubt and perplexity will often be the lot of travellers on this life's journey. Beyond the questions arising in our daily thought and conduct are those greater difficulties which seem to stop our progress and to render existence an insoluble riddle. Doubt has many sources. It may be true that some could find the origin of their doubts in an unwillingness to face their moral condition and obey the demands of duty. But at the present day, doubt frequently arises from a sense that received dogmas do not correspond with the facts of life or with the moral values which our truest insight reveals. In other cases there may be not so much perplexity and doubt as an exhilarating spirit of inquiry and exploration driving a man forward on the quest for truth for himself and all men. We strongly deprecate the attitude of mind still too often current, which brands as unbelief that criticism of accepted ideas without which progress is impossible. We may often attain to a fuller understanding of the truth that God intends for us through doubts of the orthodoxy of the past. For true faith is not a passive acceptance of authority, but is an inner assurance of truth, asking, seeking, knocking until the door is opened. The enjoyment of idle questionings may indeed become an excuse for living a poor and careless life, but the genuine seeker is obeying the very call of God within him. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1897 ; 1925.)

### 2. LET KNOWLEDGE GROW

Complete knowledge is always beyond us, and a recognition of this fact carries with it a demand that we "prove all



things ; hold fast that which is good." It is by this method that Christian thinkers in the past have advanced towards a more perfect understanding of the ways of God. This suggests on the one hand that even those ideas which we now see to be incomplete or erroneous often contained for those who first held them a vital expression of truth, and were in their time only gained as the result of painful strivings of heart and mind, and, on the other hand, that the ideas of God and man which have been held in the past must be re-expressed in the light of our own experience and further knowledge. (1925.)

### 3. LIGHT WILL ARISE

Let the traveller go forward, not only with humility and reverence, but with courage and entire sincerity. His difficulties are neither foolish nor sinful, but stepping-stones to fuller truth. From these very perplexities may come the impulse that shall drive him forward into a fuller light and truer knowledge of God. He may even be the pioneer whose labours open out new avenues of truth for others.

All through the struggle Christ, our companion and leader, stands by us. In His earthly life, He knew perplexity, uncertainty and darkness, and in profound trust in His Father came through into that light into which He will lead us if we submit to His guidance. He is stirring within us. If there are dark shadows God is behind them. His love is certain. His power to help the seeking soul is assured by the testimony of thousands of seekers in every age, and may be tested and proved by us if we are willing to make His truth the first and constant object of our search. (1925.)

### 4. FOLLOWING CHRIST

It is not necessary that we should know all mysteries before we begin to follow Christ. To some of us much that

is taught of His person and His work may not yet be clear, but so it was with the early disciples. They did not understand at first the mystic union with their Master to which they were called, but they followed Him, and as they followed, there was gradually unfolded to them the fulness of His love and life. If we begin where they began, and follow as they followed, we shall end where they ended, in adoring love. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1909.*)

#### 5. PATIENCE AND PERSEVERANCE

Seek on in patience and in hope. Be earnest in prayer. Do not fall back into selfish indifference, but do whatever thou canst truthfully do, for the help, socially and spiritually, of those around thee. Take comfort from the thought that others have passed through as great a strift, and have come forth into peace and happy trustfulness. If thy soul be walking but in twilight, look towards that quarter of the sky from which light seems to be dawning. And if our experience and the experience of others who have gone before us be not all a delusion, thou wilt find the light grow gradually brighter and brighter, and wilt realise sooner or later that thou art in the presence of a gracious and kingly One, who passed through sorrow, and even through the sense of spiritual desertion, into eternal joy. Thou wilt yet hear His words as a personal message to thy soul, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1893; 1911.*)

The reader's attention is directed to *Christian Life, Faith and Thought in the Society of Friends, 1922; pp. 127-133.*

# THE FAMILY

## COUNSEL AS TO MARRIAGE

1. Marriages in the truth with which Friends have satisfaction and unity are not bought and sold, made and broken for money, but stand in an everlasting covenant of life and righteousness. (*Minute of Bristol Men's Meeting, 1675.*)

2. Marriage is an ordinance of God, appointed for the help and blessing of both man and woman, and for the right upbringing of the next generation. Our Lord, in His teaching, drew very close the bonds of marriage; and the well-being of any people depends, in large measure, on the purity, strength and love that mark its family life.

The union of husband and wife is, therefore, fraught with momentous issues, and is not to be thought of lightly. Happiness and blessing in marriage depend first on the presence of devoted love, a love which is not the outcome of a merely passing attraction, but which includes a real respect by each for the personality of the other. Every such union should be undertaken in the fear of the Lord, and with a reverent attention to His counsel and guidance. It will be owned and blessed by Him if the healthy love that draws two human souls together is sanctified by the larger love of Christ and of His brethren; it will yield its fairest fruit as it is chastened by the discipline of care and trial bravely borne, and ripened into self-forgetting devotion by the mutual influence of parents and children. The family is the standing witness that man is not intended to live alone: that he becomes what he is meant to be as his character is trained in unselfishness by responsibility for others, and by the claims and duties of a common life. (1911; 1925.)

*MARRIAGE*

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3. Our belief that there is in every man and woman something of the divine should solve many of the difficulties in the relationship of men and women. If the body is the temple of God it must be kept pure and our thoughts of it must be pure. To this end it is important that knowledge of what marriage involves should be given in adolescence. Marriage will then be looked forward to as a serious step, and one not to be lightly undertaken. Those marriages in which God, who is love, has joined husband and wife together, are the most likely to endure and to grow more beautiful with the passage of years. The enduring tie is essential, in order to secure to the children their right to a settled home, and to the care and distinctive influence of both father and mother; it is also necessary to the well-being of society as a whole. (1925.)

4. We believe that unthinking fear of the sex instinct is a cause of much harm, and that the moral difficulties connected with sex often arise from ignorance or from one-sided knowledge communicated through impure channels.

We cannot think that God has implanted in us this powerful and deep rooted instinct, without intending it to be used for our help in our upward climb. If our conception of it can be enlarged and ennobled we ought to be able to transmute its power into the realisation and achievement of a full and useful life; and in so doing it may be given to us to help others who are in some danger or difficulty.

To this end some must read and study reverently and fully, in order to be able to communicate accurate knowledge and to promote the right attitude towards sex questions. (1925.)

5. The solemnisation of marriage should be devoutly conducted. Assembled as a waiting company of worshippers, those who gather on such an occasion are witnesses of a solemn covenant made in the presence of the Lord. A

Meeting held in life and power may be rich in blessing to those for whose union it is called. The commencement of their united life in the company of loving and prayerful friends, who thus join with them in this solemn act of worship, may be the prelude to a united life of continued dependence upon Him before whom their marriage vow has been taken. At such a time, let there not be, either in the attire of the contracting parties or in that of their relatives and friends, any display unbecoming an assembly of worshippers; and let the general proceedings of the marriage day, whilst characterised by cheerful enjoyment, never pass the bounds of Christian moderation. (1857; 1911.)

6. Among Friends, Marriage is a religious act, not simply a civil contract.

We believe there is great value in our method of solemnizing it in a Meeting for Worship, with the equal promise made therein and without the mediation of priest or minister; and we desire that Friends may make use of this privilege. Marriages before the Superintendent Registrar do not fully maintain our testimony to the true nature of the marriage ordinance. In cases where our members are so married, whether in this country or abroad, we would lovingly urge that, in addition to the civil ceremony, there should be arranged a Meeting for Worship for the public solemnization of the marriage, as an agreement made in the sight of God and in community of worship. (1925.)

7. We earnestly advise and exhort Friends that, in the first place, all seriously wait upon the Lord for counsel and clearness before making any procedure with any, in order to marriage; that they may not be led by any forward or uncertain affections in this weighty concern, to their own hurt, the grief of their friends, and the dishonour of Truth. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1690.)

8. May no right union be unduly delayed by overmuch carefulness as to a provision for the future. It would be far indeed from our desire to encourage a hasty and ill-advised procedure in this important matter; but we fear that, in the present day of increasing luxury and ease, there may have been a tendency, from considerations of mere worldly prudence, too long to defer unions which, with moderate views, and simpler faith, might have been productive of mutual help and joy, spiritual as well as temporal. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1869.)

9. In setting out in life, let there be a prudent and Christian care to avoid a scale of living which may minister to luxury or pride, or tend to an increase of worldly care, and thus diminish the power to devote time and money to the service of others for the Lord's sake. (1872.)

#### COUNSEL TO PARENTS AND HEADS OF FAMILIES

1. We entreat and desire all you that are parents and governors of families, that ye diligently lay to heart your work and calling in your generation for the Lord, and the charge committed to you; not only in being good examples to the younger sort, but also to use your power in your own families in educating your children and servants in modesty, sobriety, and in the fear of God. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1688.)

2. A high ideal of family life, maintained in practice as well as in theory, is an important part of the inheritance which parents are in duty bound to leave to their children; and, so far as they fail to do this, they are depriving them of their just rights, and inflicting on them what may prove an irreparable injury. This ideal is inevitably lowered when love and sympathy and mutual confidence are absent. Where husband and wife share each other's aims and help each other in achieving them, they exercise an influence

which is felt by all who come under their roof. The children of such a home accept, almost without knowing it, a standard of married life which will serve them in good stead in years to come. (1911.)

3. Let parents diligently cultivate uninterrupted freedom between themselves and their children; thus keeping the way open for natural and easy intercourse, not only on matters of ordinary life, but on those also which relate to the highest interests, not necessarily in all cases looking for responsive expression. There is a work for each parent to do, and neither can wholly take the place of the other. Fathers should be careful not to allow the pressure of business and other engagements to prevent their maintaining frequent correspondence with their children, if absent, or close association with them, if at home. Much sympathy is due to those families so situated that the father cannot take his full share in the care and training of his children, for the father should be so truly the friend and companion of his children that their intimacy will but ripen with years. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1895; 1925.)

4. So the women in the time of the gospel light and grace are to look unto their own selves and families, and to look to the training up of their children; for they are oft times more among them than the men, and may prevent many things that may fall out, and many times they may make or mar their children in their education. (George Fox: *Epistles*, cccxx., 1676.)

5. Upon the mother very largely devolves the duty and privilege of training her children in those early years when the deepest and strongest impressions are made. In many families, especially where there is no other domestic help, a great burden rests upon the mother. We urge Friends to realise the beauty and freedom of a plain way of life, a simple hospitality, and a sharing among the family of the

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weight of the household tasks, so that the mother may still have some time to give to wider interests, whether within our Society, or outside. (1911 ; 1925.)

6. We encourage parents to train their children even from infancy in habits of ready obedience. The lesson of obedience should begin from the cradle ; it will be at first implicit and unreasoned, but steadily we have to lead them to the authority of the Inward Guide. Where this duty is neglected, a spirit of wilfulness and a want of consideration for the feelings of others are often developed, to the great detriment of the child's future happiness and usefulness. Children who are trained to take their right place in the earthly family are, in measure, prepared to enter into the right relationship with their Heavenly Father, and to accept His will with reverence and joy. (1911 ; 1925.)

7. We believe that parents will do well to look around them and consider whether there be anything in their habits of life, in the indulgences which they allow themselves, in the character of their conversation, in the persons with whom they associate, or in the books and other publications which are permitted to enter their houses, opposed to the training of their families in a religious life and conversation. Let us not esteem any of these things as insignificant. (1842.)

8. Let parents, teachers and others encourage in those under their care a taste for good reading by the early development of their critical faculties. Those who are provided with this touchstone will instinctively reject most of what is trivial, unworthy or base in the mass of books and magazines that come before them, and on the soundest grounds. Even when a book is not positively mischievous in its teaching, it may harmfully occupy the mind with subjects which tend to weaken the character instead of bracing it. (1911 ; 1925.)



9. It is our earnest conviction that it is the duty, as it is also the privilege, of parents to teach their children the main facts concerning the formation and functions of their own bodies, and concerning the manner in which they have come into the world. This can be done gradually in a simple and natural way according to the growth of the child towards maturity. By answering the child's questionings, and by making use of illustrations from nature, it should be possible to prevent any morbid thoughts and to impress upon the child's mind the beauty, purity and holiness of life. There should be the fullest confidence between parents and children in this matter. Otherwise, the information, which is naturally sought for by the enquiring child, will often be received from others in a manner likely to soil the mind and to work immeasurable harm in the future. The responsibility for the wise handling of this vital subject should be shared by both parents. (1911; 1925.)

10. We encourage parents as opportunity offers, to explain to their children the principles of Christian truth as held by our Society. The habit of regular attendance at our Meetings for Worship forms an important starting-point and factor in the religious education of our children, and should be zealously cherished. Parents may bring even young children to Meeting in the confident belief that their presence is helpful to the Meeting itself, and that the habit of quiet waiting tends to strengthen and develop their religious character. (1911; 1925.)

11. We earnestly encourage parents not to shirk the responsible duty of actively helping their children to acquire right thoughts of God, and to grow up into a living experience of His power and love. We recognise the difficulty of the task, and understand the hesitation of some who feel acutely their own want of religious experience, and the

danger of suggesting crude ideas which will afterwards have to be unlearned. But, in the absence of sound teaching at home, wrong or imperfect ideas will almost certainly be suggested to children by others ; and in future years they are not likely to thank their parents for neglecting to share with them the best they know. The Scriptural figures of the Father and the Shepherd, especially as these are filled with new life and meaning in Jesus Christ, will not need to be outgrown, and the utmost care should be taken not to suggest ideas about God and His dealing with sin which are inconsistent with His perfect love.

It is a solemn thought that children's conceptions of God are inevitably formed, to a large extent, from what they see in the character and conduct of their parents. Even more important than much verbal teaching is a religious atmosphere in the home, and the sense that, in the minds of the parents, God counts as the vital factor : that acquaintance with Him, and the doing of His will, is the supreme end of life. Children should be taught early to pray, and as soon as possible be encouraged to speak to God in their own way and words ; and the natural difficulties that occur to them when prayer seems to bring no result should be dealt with in a spirit of understanding sympathy. " If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God and it shall be given him." (1925.)

### OPPORTUNITIES OF YOUTH

1. Youth is the period at which service for the Society should be taken up. All God's biddings are enablings, and, as His call is obeyed, the faithful servant finds his spirit strengthened, his experience deepened, his outlook enlarged, his faith increased and his fears banished by joy.

Each generation has problems to face, both in the spiritual world and in the social life of its day ; and the temptation comes to think that older Friends know nothing

of these difficulties and cannot understand them. Let us remember that many of our problems, especially in spiritual things, have been faced by those who were young before us, though the form in which they were presented might differ, and the language in which they were expressed be of an older day. Some of these older Friends may have passed through experiences which will enable them to give just the help that is needed. (1911 ; 1925.)

2. The presence of young people in our Meetings is a source of encouragement to older Friends and of hope for the future. Each generation has a distinct contribution to make both to the worship and the service of the Society of Friends. Acquaintance with the work of the Society and its methods of conducting business is only acquired through experience, and our young people are encouraged to train themselves by attendance at business meetings, so that the Society will be able to find those who can take official responsibility and bring wisdom to its counsels. (1925.)

3. Our sympathy goes out to our younger Friends, as they face the unrest and questions which trouble many thoughtful minds. We ask them in the first instance to examine the facts of their own experience. We are all conscious, for example, that there is continually open before us a higher and a lower course of thought or action, and that, of our own free choice, we often take the lower. Nevertheless, moments are given to us when we feel a special attraction toward that which is good, and know some measure of power to follow it. It is one of the prerogatives of man that he is conscious of an upward call which is contrary to his immediate convenience, his material interests, and his natural inclination. We see in this call evidence of a spiritual order, and we are led up into the presence of God, the heart and source of good, the creator and sustainer of all that is. At no period has God left Himself without witness ;

but in a special manner has He shown Himself to men in the Person of Jesus Christ, in whom we see the Divine life humanly lived, and the human life Divinely lived. As we come into His company, He opens out to us the meaning of life, showing us the possibilities which He puts within our reach, and the darkness of our sin in refusing His aid. Let us be loyal to Christ as far as we yet know Him, and, as we are faithful, He will ever show us deeper things about Himself and ourselves. As we honestly take Christ for our guide, we shall discover that in following Him we shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. (1911.)

4. All of us are the recipients of benefits for which we never laboured, but which have been handed down to us by men and women of former days; and it is reasonable that we should render, both to the nation of which we are members and to the religious Society which has helped us, such service as lies within our power. By means of increasing knowledge, and of deeper loyalty to her Lord, the Church enters into a richer and fuller life, as each new generation comes forward to do its appropriate work. (1911; 1925.) (See also CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES, p. 120.)

5. Where much is given, much will be required. May all your talents be freely offered unto the Lord, and consecrated to His blessed service. The unfaithfulness of others, whatever be their age or station, will furnish no excuse for you. Their mistakes or inconsistencies will not relieve you, as you grow in Christian experience and attainment, from the faithful exercise of all those gifts which it may please the Lord to bestow upon you, to the help of the Church and to the praise of His great and worthy name. The goal is before you. It is to be reached through conflict, through heartfelt repentance, through the forsaking of sin, through the way of the Cross, through the life of faith, looking unto Jesus. (1851; 1925.)

### THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH

1. It is our privilege as Christians to come to know that the life of God is over all, and over death itself. When Edward Burrough died in Newgate Gaol in 1662, George Fox wrote to comfort the Friends who were feeling intensely that great loss, to remind them that they might still "enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible." "Death cannot separate us," wrote John Camm, "for in the never failing love of God we are alive for evermore." As our dear ones pass through the valley of the shadow let us turn to the Divine Helper who is ever present, to enable us to realise that His love is stronger than death, and is able to link us, on this side of the veil, with those who have passed beyond it. From generation to generation Christ has brought life and immortality to light to those who turn to him in this hour of need. (1925.)

2. The faith of Christ is one that teaches more than a courage in face of death. The very character of death is transformed, replacing a gloomy prospect of loss and dissolution by a sense of liberated life. As we come to a more intimate experience of the reality of God we may enter into the overcoming power and strength of the great words of Christ, "I am the Resurrection and the Life." Death is swallowed up in victory, and, for those we love, is no longer a dark place of shadows, but an entrance into the fuller light of God.

Whilst it is natural that we should grieve at the withdrawal of loved friends from our physical sight, we may also rejoice in their new freedom and larger vision. We need to get away from the thought of the dead as lost to us and buried, and to realise them as having ever vital part with us in the service of the Eternal. (1925.)

3. The truest end of Life, is to know that Life *never ends*.

He that makes this his *Care*, will find it his *Crown* at last.

And he that lives to live ever, never fears dying.

Nor can the means be *terrible* to him that heartily believes the end.

For though *Death* be a *Dark* passage, it leads to *Immortality*, and that's *Recompence* enough for *Suffering* of it.

And yet *Faith Lights* us even *through the Grave*, being *Evidence* of *Things* not seen.

And this is the *Comfort* of the *Good*, that the *Grave* cannot *hold* them, and that they live as soon as they die.

For *Death* is no more than a turning of us over from time to *Eternity*.

*Death* then, being the *Way* and *Condition* of *Life*, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

(William Penn : *Some Fruits of Solitude*.)

4. They that love *beyond* the *World*, cannot be separated by it.

*Death* cannot kill, what *never* dies.

Nor can *Spirits* ever be divided that love and live in the *same* *Divine Principle* ; the *Root* and *Record* of their *Friendship*.

If *Absence* be not *Death*, neither is theirs.

*Death* is but *Crossing* the *World*, as *Friends* do the *Seas* ;

They live in one another still.

For they must needs be present, that love and live in that which is *Omnipresent*.

In this Divine Glass, they see Face to Face; and their Converse is *Free*, as well as *Pure*.

This is the Comfort of Friends, that though they may be said to *Die*, yet their Friendship and Society are, in the best Sense, ever present, because *Immortal*.

(William Penn : *Some Fruits of Solitude*.)

5. Every man knows in his heart that there is no greater thing in the world than pure unselfish love. Death cannot conquer, nay he teaches ever that love is supreme. Good men do not die. Their lives are as the tearing of the veil, they show us something of that which is eternal, for if here love is greatest in the heart of man, must it not be greatest in God Himself? And if greatest in Himself, then let the mystery of His will be never so dark, we may gird ourselves each to his life's work with something more than courage. Love bridges death. We are comrades of those who are gone; though death separate us, their work, their fortitude, their love shall be ours. (John Wilhelm Rowntree, 1905.)

## BURIALS AND MOURNING

1. Thinking in this way of death, we feel that therefrom arises a practice of reverent simplicity in respect to the outward facts attending death, which simplicity we earnestly commend to Friends everywhere.

The funerals of Friends should be held in a spirit of quiet peace and trust. Natural sorrow there will be, especially for friends taken away in youth and in the strength of their days, but often our thought may be one of great thankfulness for lives which have borne witness to the upholding power of Christ. (1925.)

2. Advised against imitating the vain custom of wearing or giving mourning, and all extravagant expenses about the interment of the dead. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1724.)

Friends are encouraged to avoid display and needless expenditure at funerals as inconsistent with Christian simplicity. By yielding to worldly custom in these matters, many have involved themselves in pecuniary difficulty and brought a heavy burden upon their families. (1911 ; 1925.)

3. Our religious society has a sound Christian testimony to bear against the erection of monuments, as well as against all inscriptions of a eulogistic character, over the graves of Friends. It is no violation of such testimony to place over or beside the grave a plain stone, the inscription on which is confined to a simple record of the name, age and date of the decease of the individual interred. In each particular burial ground, such a uniformity should be preserved as may effectually guard against any distinction being made in that place between the rich and the poor. (1850 ; 1861.)



# EDUCATION

## 1. PAST INTEREST IN EDUCATION

The general as well as the specially religious education of its children has from the first days of the Society been a subject of deep solicitude among Friends. As early as 1667 George Fox, in a time of persecution and imprisonment, urged the foundation of schools not only for boys but also for "young lasses and maidens" that they might be instructed "in all things civil and useful in the creation." (1911; 1925.)

This meeting do desire that, where Friends can, they would get such schools and schoolmasters for their children, as may bring them up in the fear of the Lord and love of his truth, that so they may not only learn to be scholars, but Christians also; and that all parents will take the same care at home that such reproof, instruction, counsel and example may be constantly continued in their respective families, that so from the oldest to the youngest truth may flow itself in its beauty and comeliness to God's glory and all his people's comfort. (*Epistle from Bristol "Yearly Meeting,"* 1695.)

We urge upon parents as their religious duty to make the best possible provision for the education of their children, not only that they may be trained and fitted to follow useful and honourable callings in life, but that their powers of heart and mind may be cultivated for any service, to which the Lord may call them. (1911.)

## 2. EDUCATION A VITAL PART OF THE CHRISTIAN PURPOSE

The aim of Education is the full and harmonious development of the resources of the human spirit. Human nature

has within it the promise of a divine growth : upon this we base our faith as a religious community. There can, therefore, be no task nearer our hearts than to help all our members towards the fulfilment of this promise. Such fulfilment means that body and mind alike bring all their gifts to fruition in the unity of the spirit. Here is a clear call to educative effort as part of the very purpose of the Christian religion. We desire to testify in word and deed to the truth that religion gathers the whole of life into its domain. We believe that there are God-like possibilities in every man. We must proclaim a Christian gospel of education which in breadth and depth shall be worthy of this faith. (1925.)

### 3. EDUCATION A LIFE-LONG PROCESS AND A UNIVERSAL NEED OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR FRIENDS

We desire that Friends should think of Education not only as beginning in babyhood, but as lasting to old age, seeking the fulness of life appropriate to each stage and the dedication of life to the cause of God. We must never let go this thought : the cause of God demands keen, devoted and well-equipped minds that can meet new experiences, new problems and new duties with wisdom and courage. It demands that the young have every opportunity of growth in breadth of mind, strength of purpose and tenderness of heart, and that as years go on there shall come no stagnation or sterility, but rather fresh vision and fresh power.

Our Society has a particular ground for urging this. We have no special training for the vocal ministry. We are dependent on our rank and file. The standard therefore must be high throughout our whole membership. We must see to it that all have that training which ministers to large views, just judgments and wide sympathies. Individually we should seek throughout life to educate ourselves for a living and expanding service. (1911 ; 1925.)

#### 4. THE SPIRITUAL PURPOSE: PERSONALITY AND THE COMMUNITY

The spiritual purpose of education is not concerned with one separate capacity among many ; it concerns all capacities, developed and drawn together in a harmonious effort.

How can parents and teachers help the children to grow up to be well-equipped and devoted servants of God ? We must be careful not to mistake the results of external pressure for vital growth. We believe that each individual soul must make its own approach to God, and that to realise this communion the soul like the young shoot must remain tender and adventurous ; and this is true of all sides of intellectual and spiritual life, they need to be invigorated by spontaneous and creative activity.

Discipline is necessary both for learning and for conduct, but it should be a discipline that fosters interest, judgment, self-effort and self-direction. It should find its effective power in mutual relations of respect and love between older and younger. The outward authority must more and more give place to the inward. The personality will grow, not in a state of freedom that amounts to licence and neglect, nor by unregulated impulse or thoughtless self-indulgence, but by mastery of self, by conquest of difficulties, by entrance into the wider life of communion with our fellows in knowledge, understanding and service. Let all the varied subjects and methods of instruction be inspired by a sense of the Divine meaning of life ; let them all work together for spiritual enlightenment and a strong unity of purpose. Teachers with a clear vision of good and a pure integrity of character wield a power that makes for moral thoughtfulness and high ideals. The corporate life of family and school and meeting is a splendid field for a spiritual harvest. Here will grow that human and sociable temper which sweetens and invigorates the mind, that sense of comradeship which binds and steadies and uplifts, those

responsibilities of citizenship which will be fruitful in after years, those possibilities of leadership which rouse capacity to its fullest exercise. (1925.)

### 5. BODY AND SPIRIT INTER-DEPENDENT

Education includes the right training and development of the body as well as of the mind. The training of the senses in fine discrimination, and of the muscles in sureness of response, and the exercise of the limbs in healthy and vigorous movement, can help greatly towards the development of higher forms of activity. For body and spirit are closely interdependent in human life, and even though "the body at its best" cannot ensure the tenancy of a fine spirit, it is no less true that fineness of spirit may be helped or hindered by the care or neglect of the body. We are wise then to follow the educational ideal of Plato that body and soul shall be trained together in responsiveness to true rhythms and harmonies. So doing we shall avoid both a one-sided athleticism, in which bodily prowess is cultivated at the expense of intellectual and spiritual attainment, and also a one-sided asceticism, in which the body is sacrificed or mutilated in a vain endeavour to exalt the spirit.

The ideal, to which we give our support, is the disciplined exercise of every bodily function and the devotion of the whole man, body, mind and spirit, to the service of God and humanity. "That ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God" is the demand of a "reasonable religion."

We shall desire to hold up before the young the thought that a due reverence for the body as "the temple of the Holy Spirit" will prevent us from any action that injures or destroys the bodies of our fellows, and will rather enjoin upon us the obligation to promote the highest standards of physical health and well-being throughout the community in which we live. (1925.)

## 6. THE VALUE OF INTELLECTUAL TRAINING

Early Friends were often led, by their suspicion of what they called "notional" religion, to emphasise the limitations of the intellect. "The Lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ, and I stranged at it because it was the common belief of people." (George Fox : *Journal*.) "We do distinguish betwixt the certain knowledge of God, and the uncertain ; betwixt the spiritual knowledge and the literal ; the saving heart knowledge, and the soaring, airy head knowledge." (Robert Barclay : *Apology*.)

This, however, should not lead us to minimise the value of the intellect. When it is united with an unselfish and humble heart, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is a noble activity of the human spirit, and the intellectual power which it brings is a real spiritual gift.

For some gifted men and women this pursuit is rightly the principal occupation of life, and we should so train our children that no such gifts are wasted among us for lack either of encouragement or of right schooling. For all of us the pursuit of knowledge is the means of entry into the great common heritage of mankind ; by it we learn to appreciate all that man has already expressed of what is beautiful, or true, or good ; and by it we become better able to grasp the new contributions to enlightenment that are being made by the people of our own day, and to interpret them to others in language they will understand.

The barriers of prejudice often make us ready to reject unfamiliar forms of truth both new and old, and to separate ourselves in some degree from those who have embraced them ; to remove such impediments a keen intellect is a potent instrument.

Further, it is our duty as fellow-servants with Jesus to equip ourselves as fully as we may for the service of mankind.

There is always a need for clear thinking as well as for kindly feeling.

The intellect is an integral part of man's spiritual equipment ; and its development brings with it a growth in personality and an increased power of facing difficult moral issues. The man whose mind is many-sided has a special contribution to make to the solution of the complex personal and social problems of modern life.

But for any of these benefits to be obtained from intellectual power, and to be obtained without the danger of intellectual pride, the pursuit of knowledge must be conducted disinterestedly, that is to say, with the sole aim of learning the truth. If that is its object, its value on every side of life is very great indeed. Dead facts of knowledge will not make a man religious, but the true educator does not impart dead knowledge—he makes it live and move. Intellectual ability will redeem no one, but it is a saving and clarifying instrument in the hands of a great possessing purpose. To take any other view is to become a champion of unreason and ignorance, to disparage the power of discrimination and to put a premium on mental stagnation. Simple and unlettered devotion is a splendid thing ; sincerity and a tender spirit are of the very best ; but no gifts of mind can be neglected with impunity. "We shall never thrive upon ignorance."\* (*Report on Religious Education, 1923 ; 1925.*)

#### 7. EDUCATION, THE CREATIVE IMPULSE AND THE SENSE OF BEAUTY

Education should not only minister to the search for intellectual truth, but develop all our powers of activity and appreciation. He whom we desire to serve is the God of Truth, but He is also the God of Creation and of Beauty ; and if we are seeking to grow like Him and to become fit instruments in His service, our preparation will be such as to

\* Joseph John Gurney.

set free and perfect all those human endowments, which enable us to love beauty and to make beautiful things. Sensitiveness to beauty, whether in nature or art, is a spiritual quality which cannot be left undeveloped without an impoverishment of life. The creative impulse springs from the deepest levels of the soul, and is not only a gift to be used, but itself sends a pulse of vigour through all the channels of our being. We believe that the development of the Art of Seeing is an essential part of true education which should receive greater attention than has been given to it in the past ; and that the right exercise of the aesthetic sense through literature, music or the plastic arts is an ennobling pursuit leading to larger and fuller life. We should seek to remember these things in the upbringing of our young people, so that the surroundings amongst which they are placed may have a purifying influence over their taste and judgment, and that opportunities may be afforded for growth in the understanding love of beauty, and in the power to create according to the inward vision. (1925.)

## 8. THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE

The mysteries of the universe have always been a great stimulus to man's spirit of enquiry, and have aroused his sense of wonder and reverence. Modern research has revolutionised our conception of the universe and has revealed an age-long process of development, which has greatly enlarged our thought of God. A just apprehension of the laws of nature and of man's place in the world is a necessary factor in any adequate philosophy of life. It is important therefore that the imagination of children should be directed to the wonder and beauty of God's world, and as they grow older we must seek to cultivate the scientific attitude of mind, and to introduce them to that body of scientific knowledge which has been accumulated by the discoveries of the past. (1925.)

## 9. THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Friends should so bring up their children that they may enter into the heritage of the past, and may turn the bygone achievements of mankind into a part of their own equipment for present living. The two main ways by which this can be done are the study of history and the appreciation of literature. In history, the discoveries of archæologists and some recent attempts to see the history of mankind as a single whole have made it possible for ordinary people to understand, as never before, the main facts of human progress, and to see the events of yesterday and to-day in a truer perspective. There is here a revelation of the actual working of the divine spirit in the past affairs of men, which should help to shape our philosophy of life.

Life and richness can be given to the picture of human progress by reaching that close sympathy with the minds of the great men of old, which is obtained by an understanding and appreciation of their works. Here are included painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, but, above all, the written word. "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit."\* Poem, drama and story, essay, history, and biography, may all help towards a broad human understanding. By wide reading our children may gain an increase both of wisdom and of sympathetic imagination. It is often not realised how much parents, by wise encouragement along these lines, can help their children to gain a liberal education. (1925.)

## 10. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION : THE BIBLE

We should look upon our specifically "religious" instruction as a part of this attempt to bring our children to an understanding of the way in which God has hitherto worked among men. They must be helped particularly to

\* John Milton.



see the history and literature of the Hebrew people, as these were understood by the authors of the Old Testament. The closer and the more sympathetic their study of Hebrew literature, the more clearly will they see in Hebrew history the struggle of a primitive people towards a lofty conception of the divine nature and a noble understanding of the worth of man. The great succession of the Hebrew prophets, the men who spoke on behalf of God to mankind, marks a wonderful period of religious discovery. These men and those who learnt from them came to understand that the nature of God is righteous and loving, and that true worship is inseparable from a simple heart and from an honest and kindly life. The moral message of Jesus is anticipated at the highest point reached by these brave pioneers. To this day the conception of a nation as the servant of God bringing help to the other peoples of the world, and the recognition of a man's duty even towards those who oppose or hate him, are among the foremost achievements of the human spirit, in response to the divine leading.

This literature must be studied in such a way that something of the freshness of the Hebrew discoveries is understood by the children, something of the barely illumined paganism out of which these bold and inspired thinkers tried to lead their people. The great truths of religion cannot be handed down like a material legacy from one generation to another ; they have to be experienced anew by each who receives them ; and for this purpose great help can be obtained from a truly sympathetic understanding of the difficulties and achievements of their first discoverers.

If the Old Testament is studied in this spirit, the history and literature of the Hebrews will make it easier for the child to approach with understanding the New Testament story of the life and teachings of Jesus, and also to follow the doings of his followers, and the subsequent growth and development of the Christian Church.

The central fact in the religious history of mankind is the life and personality of Jesus Christ. Earlier conceptions of God and of human duty are found inadequate or misleading in the light of his revelation of the universality of divine love, and the subsequent progress of civilisation is bound up with the realisation of his aims and ideas in the world. Our teaching, to be fruitful, must give Jesus this central place. (1925.)

## 11. EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

We have been reminded that all education is religious education, and that religion is rooted in experience, in direct individual experience of God revealed to us by the personality of Jesus Christ, and that the secret of Jesus is the practice of His presence. Such experience we must reverently believe can come only by the operation of the Holy Spirit, but this operation may be helped or hindered, and our aim must be definitely to provide an education that will help to prepare the way for it.

In the absence of a trained ministry we, more than others, need that large numbers of our members should be seriously studying the whole background of our religion and of the Bible. Part of our failure to attract other people to the important truths which we hold is due to a lack of power in expressing these truths.

Many of the difficulties that hinder us in the religious life are intellectual difficulties and can be met by intellectual means. (*Yearly Meeting Minute*, 1923.)

## 12. THE DUTY OF MONTHLY AND PREPARATIVE MEETINGS

We encourage Monthly and Preparative Meetings to give frequent attention to the education of the children of all their members and associates, whether such children be

in membership or not, endeavouring to make such provision or offering such counsel as may be most helpful in the wide variety of circumstances affecting the homes of Friends.

There is a definite responsibility resting upon local Meetings, whether exercised through overseers, Education or Extension Committees, or in other ways; this should relate both to the general and to the specifically religious education of our children and young people.

The religious teaching both of younger children and of boys and girls attending day schools must not be overlooked. The number of such children in the Society is increasing, and our duty in this respect is becoming more urgent. Nor should this duty be regarded as applying only to our own members. There may be—as there has often been where Sunday School work has flourished—an opening for a wide religious service of this kind among children. The moment when young people leave school is a critical one in their experience. They require a living fellowship which takes account of all sides of their nature; they need further teaching and help in facing religious problems which perplex them; they should be offered opportunity for some form of Christian service suitable to their age and experience. For our young people generally, we should encourage the organisation of study circles, week-end lecture schools and similar agencies, and we trust that the opportunities offered by educational settlements may be widely used by Friends. (1900; 1911; 1925.)

### 13. OUR BOARDING SCHOOLS

The efficient maintenance of our Boarding Schools has for many years been one of the chief objects of the liberality of Friends; and funds have been freely given and used to enable our children to enjoy the advantages thus offered. We thankfully recognise the abundant blessing which has come to the Society through the agency of these schools.

## EDUCATION

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We encourage our members everywhere, according to their means, to continue their efforts in support of our educational institutions. We recognise also the great value of personal help given for individual children, and the need for abundant bursaries and scholarships. The great increase in the cost of education has made this form of service of special importance at the present time.

It is important that the schools should seek such a simple standard of life that all may share in it without difficulty. All our educational provision should make, not for narrowness and separation, but for breadth, freedom and unity.

We must cherish our schools, not to promote the narrow spirit of sectarianism, but because we desire to see our children develop into strong men and women of rich culture, possessed with that practical and spiritual conception of Christian responsibility which we call Quakerism. The fact that many who are not Friends come under our influence lays upon us an added responsibility.

We desire that all our educational institutions may be more and more permeated with the sense of the divine life and power, and that they may with ever-increasing clearness express the ideals of education and of Christian character for which we stand. (1911 ; 1925.)

### 14. THE CALLING OF THE TEACHER

We have deep sympathy with those of our members who feel themselves called to the difficult office of teacher. We recognise its vital importance to us as a church, and we desire that a large number of our young and gifted members may make choice of this worthy profession.

The teacher's calling is a high one, bringing with it many privileges and unique opportunities of influence, but also entailing serious responsibility. Even the wisest preparation

or the greatest natural gifts will not by themselves suffice for the right discharge of the trust involved in such a position. We encourage all teachers to seek divine wisdom, that the intellectual training which they give may be adapted to the end in view, and that they may be taught how to help those under their care to a healthy development of true Christian character, an understanding of the Christian gospel, and a recognition of the claims of the Kingdom of God. In this endeavour they should be supported by the love and prayers of their friends. (1905; 1911; 1925.)

### 15. ADULT EDUCATION

We rejoice in the labours of many Friends during the past century in Adult Schools which have brought intellectual growth and spiritual awakening to numbers of men and women throughout the country, and we are thankful for the renewed life and the enlarged vision which have come to our Society as a result of their work. During recent years the movement for Adult education has spread widely and extended its scope and conceptions. It is the duty of the Christian Church to help to meet this demand for larger educational advantages. The Adult Schools, the Educational Settlements, the Workers' Educational Association and other organisations exist for the purpose, and we encourage Friends to seize these opportunities for equipment and service. (1925.)

### 16. OUR DUTY TO NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Yearly Meeting has approved of the principles that every child should have full-time schooling up to sixteen years at least, and that there should be no segregation of social classes, nor any arrangements which tend to emphasise differences of class or means. The more Friends accept these ideals, and the more they work towards them for their own

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members, the more ardently they are bound also to strive for their realisation in the national provision of education. We encourage Friends, whether as members of Councils, Education Committees or Boards of Management, or as citizens and voters, to do their utmost to make the education of all our fellow citizens, and of all those for whom we have any responsibility, broad, ample, efficient and calculated to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God. (1925.)

# THE ABUNDANT LIFE

## SIMPLICITY

1. It is much upon us to put Friends in remembrance to keep to the ancient testimony Truth begat in our hearts in the beginning, against the spirit of this world ; for which many have suffered cruel mockings, beating, stoning, etc. ; particularly as to the corrupt fashions, dealings and language of the world, their over-reaching, and vain jesting ; that the Cross of Christ in all things may be kept to, which preserves Friends blameless, and honours the Lord's name and truth in the earth. (1675.)

2. It is our tender and Christian advice that Friends take care to keep to truth and plainness, in language, habit, deportment and behaviour ; that the simplicity of truth in these things may not wear out or be lost in our days, nor in those of our posterity ; and to avoid pride and immodesty in apparel, and all vain and superfluous fashions of the world. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1691.)

3. Simplicity does not mean ugliness or dullness. In such things as dress and furniture, no less than in word and deed, simplicity is of the very essence of both truth and beauty. A beautiful spirit creates beautiful surroundings ; and a veritable peace and dignity of mind should take possession of those who live with what is beautiful. Nor do such blessings end with ourselves ; they are felt in some measure by all who share in the hospitality of a home in which beauty and simplicity are wedded. (1925.)

4. The essence of worldliness is to judge of things by an outward and temporary, and not an inward and eternal

standard, to care more about appearances than about reality, to let the senses prevail over the reason and the affections. It is to live for the present, regardless of the fleeting and worthless character of the things we aim at. We cannot draw a ring fence around our Christian activities and declare that all outside it are of the world. Worldliness is not so much a quality of things as a quality of persons. It is the *man* who is worldly or Christian, and this in whatever sphere of action he may be engaged. (1911.)

### THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK

1. We earnestly exhort our members to use faithfully the privilege of spending the first day of the week in such a spirit and with such occupations as befit the friends and servants of the Master whose name we bear.

It is not difficult to make the day a very happy one for children, whilst carefully guarding its special character. By reserving some occupations as special privileges to be used on this day only, by adapting the methods employed to the age and character of each child, and, most of all, by loving companionship and by our own example, we may lead them to value the day of rest as those can never do who spend it under severe restraint on the one hand, or waste it in self-pleasing on the other. (1911 ; 1925.)

2. We offer a word of loving entreaty to those who, through their desire to spend week-ends away from home, are unwilling to avail themselves of the large opportunities for Christian service afforded by our Meetings for Worship, Schools and similar agencies. In many centres our work is hampered on account of the difficulty of finding Friends willing to promise regular attendance and help, because they desire to hold themselves free for week-end absences. In most kinds of Christian effort, however, it is only by the



sacrifice of freedom involved in regular attendance, that the intimate knowledge of persons and circumstances, which gives to such work its chief value, can be gained. We have no desire to judge others, and there are doubtless some to whom a week-end in the country may be not merely pleasant and refreshing, but necessary ; yet we ask all to consider whether what is gained through such relaxation may not be outweighed by the loss—on the one day of leisure possible to many—of opportunity for fellowship and joy of service. (1911.)

## ART

The practice and study of the arts brings a great enrichment of life, and in their cultivation we are seeking to share in some of the loftiest experiences that life can offer. A training in the power to appreciate and to create should be within the reach of all.

The artist at his best is not merely an imitator or reproducer but a creator. His work is the realisation of a vision which he feels forced to express, regardless whether it will be appreciated or even noticed by others. If he succeeds, the looker on, or the listener, will be drawn into the power of this vision and will feel it as the perfect expression of a thought. He shares the creative power of the Divine Creator. He reveals new truth, and opens our eyes to wonders we have never dreamt of. He may be inspired to such activity by the contemplation of existing beauty in nature or in human life, but the result of that impact upon him is something individual, and something new.

We feel that the creative artist is directly inspired, and that every great work of art is one way in which the Divine Mind is revealed through men ; so let us not deny this gift, but follow, even if only afar off. The mere effort to

enter into the experience of the poet, painter, sculptor or musician, and to see things with their eyes, enlarges our own vision, deepens our thoughts and feelings, and broadens our conception of the Divine. (1925.)

### 1. PAINTING, SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Art is the expression in beautiful or significant form of the vision of life that the artist has experienced. The painter, by landscape, portrait, or design in which colour and line unite to convey beauty and meaning, and the sculptor, by the massing and chiselling of marble or the moulding of plastic clay, recreate for us the images of all lovely and characteristic forms of life. The architect, together with his fellow-craftsmen—the builder, the carpenter, and the potter—fulfils the further function of making things that are not only beautiful but useful for the needs of man. Whatever the medium in which he works, the artist performs a service of social and spiritual value. For he helps us to see with him the beauty of the world and to share his emotions, sometimes by reminding us of things we have already felt, sometimes by bringing home to us for the first time their beauty and significance.

“ Art was given for that ;  
 God uses us to help each other so,  
 Lending our minds out. . . .”\* (1925.)

### 2. MUSIC

Music was one of the earliest forms in which men gave beautiful expression to their feelings, and song is still among the first joys of childhood. Delight in melody and rhythm is deeply rooted in human nature, and without it man's personality suffers loss.

If rightly guided, this capacity will grow simply and naturally into an appreciation of good music. It is of

\* R. Browning: *Fra Lippo Lippi*.

spiritual importance, here as elsewhere, to be able to distinguish between the good and the bad, the beautiful and the ugly, the noble and the trivial. This is especially true at the present time, when mechanical devices are bringing the best and the worst music alike within ever easier reach.

The earliest years of a child's life are of great importance in the growth of this power to appreciate good quality in music. The musical taste of the young generation is formed by the songs the mother sings to her baby, by the tunes the child hears in his early years, by the music which he finds that his parents and teachers themselves enjoy. If these are good, the child will be able later to enter more and more into his heritage of beauty, and thus to bring a richer, purer contribution to the common life.

These natural gifts, whether they be for performance and creation or for general appreciation, deserve the chance of full development, and may demand special and ample training. The technical mastery of an instrument will be of value to those who show a real aptitude, but all may learn in measure to feel the beauty of pure and lovely melodies, and to enter into the glory of the works of the great composers. To many, music is a means of expressing the deepest things in their experience, and of bringing them in touch with God. (1925.)

### 3. LITERATURE

Literature, like other arts, is a means of revelation ; all good books are in their measure sources of insight and inspiration. By literature gates are thrown open, we are enabled to breathe an atmosphere and to join a company, to which we have perhaps no other access. By this contact, whether in poetry or prose, we are helped to escape from self-centredness of purpose, and from superficiality of outlook. Our sympathies are broadened, our despondency cheered, and our pride humbled by thus sharing in the life

experience of our fellows, who have left us the record of what they endeavoured and endured, of their failures and dreams and achievements. Moreover, we can turn to the good book and the truth it has treasured, as a touchstone to expose either the triviality or insincerity of thought and feeling in the written or the spoken word. The study of the literature and thought of the past should help us to discern and welcome new truth and beauty in the writings of our own day, to appraise more justly contemporary thoughts and action, to judge our fellow men without prejudice, and to see ourselves without illusion. (1925.)

#### 4. DRAMA

The dramatic faculty, which is latent in every child and is strongly marked in gifted persons, is one which, with due discrimination and under appropriate conditions, may rightly be developed, and the dramatic art is one by which performers and spectators alike may gain a truer insight into human life, a deeper appreciation of its meaning, and wider sympathy with mankind. Friends have refrained in previous generations from supporting the theatre, and even from encouraging the amateur performance of plays, having been led to take this attitude because of the undesirable associations of the stage, the doubtful characters of many plays, and the dangers connected with the actors' profession. The position has however been considerably altered by the endeavours of the profession itself, and many of its supporters, to make the drama a more healthy and valuable factor in social life. In some respects the old objections still hold good. Undesirable plays are numerous. Yet the drama is also being used for the representation of aspects of life, gay and serious, in such a way as to make it a healthful means both of entertainment and of education. Friends who go to see plays should feel it laid upon them to make a careful choice and to support the good.

We need to remember the possibilities of injury to the actor's personality, which may arise from constantly representing the characters of other persons, unless his work has such a background as to make attainable a true balance of life; and on the other hand we must keep in mind the danger of the habitual frequenter of the theatre or of the cinematograph, of expending his interest and emotions in a world of shadows, instead of finding the true outlet for them in action, in intercourse with his fellow men, and in redemptive labour to lessen the sufferings and evils of the world. (1925.)

#### 6. SELF EXPRESSION AND SACRIFICE

There are many voices to-day which call us to enjoyment, to self-expression, or to contemplate and share in the beauty of creative art. These things need to be subordinated to the service of the Highest, and sometimes in that service they must be given up. There are some too who, listening to the still small voice, which makes clear to them a duty that may not rest upon all, will forego pleasures and activities in themselves good, for the sake of other claims. We would not narrow unduly for any of our members the opportunities for sharing in the joys and activities of life, but in the midst of all we must hold fast the thought of God's Kingdom, of which we are called to be part, and which we have to make real to others by our lives. (1925.)

#### NATURE

Modern thought has emphasised our unity with the whole creation. The majesty of nature, the immensity of space and the regular succession of seasons and of night and day, cannot cease to have a potent influence over the mind of man, warning him of his littleness, and inducing peace

amidst the distractions and instability of our civilised life. "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained, what is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?"

It is often good for those who live in cities to get away from the rush and noise of life, and to stand or walk alone in the silence. Thus we may be brought face to face with our Maker; having battled with the storm and the tumult, we can hear again the still small voice.

In an industrial age it is more needful than ever that we should sometimes consider the fowls of the air, or the lilies of the field, and try to capture something of their care-free spirit. We are taken out of ourselves. We see the world of animals and plants living their life, uninfluenced by our strivings and passions. Our sense of values is re-adjusted. Self-centred thoughts are banished; we are brought into harmony with the whole creation; we become sensible of new and strength-giving contact with the mind of the Creator.

If we enter into the communion of living things, we shall often receive sustenance in the joy and sorrow of life. The delights of nature can fill our childhood's days with holy rapture; the splendour of nature can inspire the valiant courage of youth; the companionship of nature can soothe and console in times of disillusionment, sorrow or despair; there is a tenderness in nature that can sustain old age, and help it to face even death with a serene and tranquil spirit. (1925.)

## RECREATION AND AMUSEMENTS

1. It is part of our Christian duty to secure for ourselves and for our children a due measure of bodily exercise, and those opportunities for unbending the mind, without which

neither our physical nor our mental faculties can be preserved in a healthy condition. A neglect of this duty may materially lessen our usefulness in life, and our service for our Master. There may even be a danger lest philanthropic and religious engagements should so exclusively occupy time and attention as to throw our minds off the true balance, and lessen our power of sympathy with those whom we might largely influence for good. (1883.)

2. Every natural and enjoyable activity has a claim to a place in life ; but there are certain considerations that should be borne in mind in deciding whether any particular form of recreation is permissible or the reverse. Does it necessitate an undue or lavish expenditure of time or money ? Does it absorb the mind to the exclusion of every other interest ? Does it involve annoyance or danger to others ? Does it involve cruelty to animals ? Is it bound up with evil associations which, even if they are not its inevitable accompaniments, may in practice bring us into temptation ? Will it be misunderstood and act as a hurtful example ? Does it exercise a demoralising influence on those who provide it for us ? Are we the better or the worse for engaging in it, and does it interfere with our usefulness to others ? Such questions must be carefully considered by all who would follow Christ in the spirit of pure wisdom and of love to all men. For his own answer to these questions we may confidently look to our Inward Guide. May we all honestly use, for ourselves and others, the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation." (1911 ; 1925.)

3. Of the various means of allowable recreation and mental improvement placed within our reach, few call for the exercise of greater circumspection than travelling, especially in foreign countries. It behoves the disciple of Christ to be careful, when separated from his home associations, to maintain a course of conduct in all things consistent with

RECREATIONS

his profession, and to give expression, as way may open, to his convictions and principles. He is not warranted in lowering the Christian standard by doing amongst strangers that which he would hesitate to do amongst his friends. (1853.)

4. That neither the mind nor the soul shall be kept always on the stretch is one of the great laws of spiritual health ; and we believe that we are doing our Father's will, when we partake, at the right time and in the right way, of the enjoyments which He has placed within our reach. But we must all in our inmost hearts acknowledge, that, while there are some recreations which are pure and elevating, which leave the soul fresh and strong, and ready for renewed communion with its Maker, there are others which either bring us perilously near to the edge of sin, or fail of the true purpose of recreation by leaving us jaded and weary, and which strike at the Divine life in our souls. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1893.)

5. The life of the Christian is not a dull and cheerless existence. There are no joys to be compared with those of which the renewed soul is permitted to partake, even upon earth, in the faithful service of the Lord. It is not for the diminution of their happiness, but for its increase, that we would affectionately invite our Friends unreservedly to submit all their pursuits, even those which may be intended as recreations, to the holy restraints and government of the Lord's Spirit. As this is the case, the various duties and enjoyments of the present life will be placed in their true relation to the life to come. The desires, the affections, the very tastes, will be renewed. The occupations of our leisure hours—our associations, our reading, our varied engagements of a social or more public nature—will be baptized into the Christian spirit. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1853.)



## IN THE HOUR OF TEMPTATION

1. Friends, whatever ye are addicted to, the tempter will come in that thing ; and when he can trouble you, then he gets advantage over you, and then ye are gone. Stand still in that which is pure, after ye see yourselves ; and then mercy comes in. After thou seest thy thoughts, and the temptations, do not think, but submit ; and then power comes. Stand still in that which shows and discovers ; and then doth strength immediately come. And stand still in the Light, and submit to it, and the other will be hushed and gone ; and then content comes. (George Fox, 1652.)

2. The most momentous issue in the life of man is that between good and evil. It may not be possible for us fully to understand the origin of evil, but none can be unconscious of its presence in the world. The task before the Christian is resolutely to resist sin, both in himself and in the world, in whatever form it may manifest itself.

The moral issues, however, are not always plainly defined, and we have been brought into sympathy with those who are placed in circumstances, in which they cannot see clearly which path to take. On the one hand we need to beware of making a hasty decision, and on the other of rendering our action fruitless by halting too long. We live in a world which is still far from ideal, and there may sometimes be occasions when the choice seems to lie between two evils. The solution is not to be found by withdrawing ourselves from the world, yet there should be no compromise in our heart with the spirit of evil. (1911.)

3. We extend our deep sympathy to all who may be sorely pressed in this conflict, and especially to such as find themselves enslaved by evil habits, and discouraged by many defeats. We would remind them that temptation is

common to all, and that temptation in itself is not sin. On the contrary, Christian character cannot be developed save as we pass through and overcome temptation.

If any are tempted to despair, let them remember that others have been in like condition before, and that the exceeding grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is able to deliver from the lowest depth to which the human heart can sink. He gives us the right to turn our back upon the past, however dark, and to face forward to a bright future, made possible for us through His death and glorious resurrection. (1911.)

4. Among the chief aids to a holy life is high thinking. Let not the mind dwell on such thoughts as are degrading or contain the suggestion of evil. When noble impulses are stirred within us, let us be quick to respond by word or deed. The constant repetition of such impulses, when they are not acted upon, only tends to deaden the conscience. It is important to remember the influence which our actions will have upon others. This remembrance has roused many to a fresh fight against sin in their own lives, when they had almost succumbed to the enemy. To put out the hand to help another may often be the surest way to obtain help for ourselves in overcoming temptation. Let us not be too much afraid to take a friend into our confidence. Open confession is good for the soul, and the knowledge that someone else is watching to see the issue of our conflict, and bearing us up in prayer before the throne of grace, may be a real strength to us when we are tempted. (1911.)

5. Especially do we urge Friends not to acquiesce in any state of sin or in any evil habit. We must resolutely set ourselves to oppose and to overcome all in our lives that is not worthy of Christ. Only as we take this attitude are we truly repentant. Our wills yielded up to God, and reinforced by the power of the risen Christ, may obtain the

victory over evil of any kind. He, who was tempted in all points like as we are, said to His disciples, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." In that victory we may be made partakers by faith, so that we may say with the apostle, "In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." (1911.)

## PUBLISHING TRUTH

We hold it to be one of the first duties of a Christian Society to proclaim the Truth. The most important means of fulfilling this duty is through our daily life and conversation, which ought to be so sincere and honest, so pure and loving towards all, that they speak more loudly than any mere verbal expressions of our belief. Nevertheless, we need to put into words the truth which we have come to know, and this should be done afresh generation by generation. For, while the Truth is eternal, our understanding of it should enlarge, and our expression of it must change, as the meaning of the words we use becomes changed in course of time. (*A Word to all Who Seek Truth*, 1920.)

The witness of our Religious Society can only be effectively made if all our members undertake some share in the responsibility, and by dedication of themselves offer the gifts entrusted to them. (1921.)

The hearts of men and women everywhere cry out for the Living God. The demands for Social Betterment and for International Unity, the desire for self-development and the search for satisfaction, even the sometimes misguided search for pleasure and wealth—all these are proofs of our unsatisfied need. For God has made us for Himself and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Him. It was when the realisation had come to Fox that "there is one even Christ Jesus who can speak to thy condition," and he had found peace in the experience of a living Saviour within, that he was able to go forth and give his message with power. And for us there can be no effective delivery of the Message until we too know and obey the voice of God within which "speaks in the tones of Jesus of Nazareth," and find in Him our life and

power. True life is ever to be found in the knowledge of God and that knowledge comes to us through Christ into whose likeness we are to be transformed as we submit ourselves to Him. The World needs re-creating, but that is a work that can only be done through the instrumentality of those who are themselves experiencing the New Creation in Christ. The words of Fox are still true: "If but one man or woman were raised up by His power to stand and live in the same spirit that the Apostles and Prophets were in, who gave forth the Scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round." (1925.)

### 1. MEETINGS FOR WORSHIP

All Friends everywhere, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the gift of the ministry, do not hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel; nor cumber yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of the world. For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the world, much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world. Therefore stir up the gift of God in you, improve it, and do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world. Be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the daylight of Christ. As able ministers of the Spirit, sow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap everlasting life. Go on in the Spirit, ploughing with it in the purifying hope, and threshing with the power and Spirit of God. (George Fox: *Journal*.)

A Meeting cannot allow the Christ-like passion for seeking and saving the lost to be dulled without imperilling its own life. Nor can it fulfil its ministry unless the building up of Christian character steadily progresses. It follows that there should be a continual drawing in of those not in membership with us; and we urge Friends, by personal invitation, distribution of notices, house to house visitation, and in other

practical ways, to use our Meetings for Worship as agencies for the spread of the Gospel in the districts round the meeting-houses. It follows also that, in realizing the true objects of our Meetings, the necessity will be felt for an outpouring of spiritual power to meet the needs of all who gather. We shall hunger after a living waiting upon God and a heart-searching ministry, which as they are experienced will crowd out all merely dull silence and unanointed utterance. (1900.)

Our congregations and our members individually need, above all things, to manifest a spiritual fellowship vitally in touch with the needs of men. We should bear in mind that it will be the warmth of fellowship and of brotherhood in our congregations, that will attract and speak of the love of God. (1906.)

Our work as a church is two-fold, to strengthen the spiritual life of our own members, and to give our message to the world. Each of these is dependent on the other. We should seek in all our outward work to bring healing to wounded souls, to satisfy hungry souls, to bring people into the presence of God, to live the life that Jesus opened up before us. By drawing together into the place of God we shall get strength for the outward work we have to do. We must not let the separate interests of our lives obscure the need for a deep personal vision of God Himself, out of which alone can arise a living ministry in our Meetings for Worship. (*Yearly Meeting Minute*, 1920.)

## 2. EQUIPMENT FOR SERVICE

We observe with interest and rejoicing the new opportunities which have arisen in recent years, in conferences and study groups, in periodic or permanent settlements, for Friends to widen and deepen their experience and gain equipment for wider service through study and fellowship. Some will find here a training ground for their life work,

whether it be in teaching, in health administration, or other work of helpfulness at home or abroad. Others will give a proportion of their time to work in Adult Schools or Children's Schools, in boys' or girls' clubs, in educational societies, or in public work, carrying with them that spirit which will create the atmosphere of happy fellowship. Help is needed in all forms of social service, and we desire that Friends may use their opportunities to the full, equipping themselves as well as possible for effective work. (1925.)

We desire to encourage and strengthen those who feel the duty laid upon them, of endeavouring to help their fellow-men by entering into their intellectual difficulties. Sympathy, it has been well said, is born of knowledge; and we must "sit where the people sit" if we would learn to understand their needs. The man of God should be thoroughly furnished to every good work. Those especially who take a leading share in the Adult School movement, or who have the responsibility of training young people, should equip themselves for such high service to the utmost of their ability. By acquaintance with history, science, social problems, and the results of Biblical research, they may often be enabled to remove stumbling blocks from the path of Christ's little ones. If our whole desire is the service of our Master, and if our reading is undertaken with earnest prayer that we ourselves may be kept loyal to Him, we may depend upon His promise to send the Spirit of Truth to lead us into all the Truth. (1911.)

### 3. CO-OPERATION WITH OTHERS

We have inherited a great freedom of personal initiative in working with one another, and a long experience in using the methods suited to democracy, so that we can often, if working humbly and naturally, give help and leading in working with others. If any are looking to us for this help,

let us be ready to co-operate with them in carrying into practice what they and we believe to be true and right. Friends, by reason of their heritage, have perhaps a special obligation to help in matters affecting international relationships, in leading towards a clearer attitude on the part of the Churches concerning war, in bringing the treatment of crime more into accord with Christ's principles, and in promoting right solutions of economic and industrial problems. Freely we have received : let us freely give. (1925.)

#### 4. THE WRITTEN WORD

"Take heed of printing anything more than ye are required of the Lord God." "Nor none stop writing or speaking when ye are moved with the Spirit of the Lord God." (George Fox : *Epistles*, pp. 104, 85.)

In the early days of our Society pamphlets and tracts were published in great numbers despite the difficulties of printing and distribution ; and there is just as much need to-day for us to present our faith through book, pamphlet and article, in such a way that it may reach the minds of men and women far and near. The distribution of such literature whether among Friends or others will require constant thought and effort if it is to fulfil its service.

The immense volume of printed matter at the present day tends to reduce the value of the written word, and this throws a special responsibility upon those who write. Only such writings as spring from a living experience will reach the life in others, only those which embody genuine thought in clear and effective form will minister to the needs of the human mind. A mystical faith like Quakerism should find expression in creative writing born of imagination and spirit, and speaking in universal tones that will be understood by many who fail to understand the common presentations of Christianity. It is no disrespect to truth



to present it in forms that will be readily understood. (1925.)

#### 5. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS: MEETING LIBRARIES

In the world of literature, there is a great field of opportunity for those possessing literary skill to lend their gift to the production of stories, biographies, poems, dramas, essays, etc., expressing our message. There is need, too, for books and pamphlets, interpreting the fundamentals of the Christian faith from the standpoints of history, philosophy and science. Adequate provision should be made for the translation of suitable books and pamphlets into other languages, and for their sale and distribution throughout the world.

Our meeting house libraries are an important means whereby the best of such literature may always be made available to all our members and those associated with us, many of whom cannot spend much upon books. Those who are responsible for these libraries are urged to keep them well provided with the best modern religious literature and to encourage their use. (1925.)

### A WORLDWIDE SERVICE

#### 1. A UNIVERSAL MESSAGE

“Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue nor pen, but be obedient to the Lord God; go through the world and be valiant for the Truth upon earth; tread and trample all that is contrary under. . . . Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come, that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one.” (*George Fox from Launceston Prison, 1656.*)

In the early days of the Society the first publishers of Truth went forth from the British Isles proclaiming in various parts of the world the message of the Indwelling Christ. They did so in the firm belief that it was a universal message for all mankind. In these latter days we are realizing again, as we look out upon a stricken and restless world, that there is an urgent call to proclaim that message, and to show to others that the fellowship of Christ is a living reality, and only in this fellowship can nations and classes reconcile their antagonism. It is fully recognised that the service required can only be rendered by those who feel a deep inward call to undertake it, and who are bound together, as were the pioneers of early Quakerism, by a fundamental unity of conviction, based on some experience of the Light of Christ in their own souls, and of the presence of that Light, even though it be as yet unrecognised and not responded to, in the souls of all men. It is this that breaks down the barriers of race and nation and religion, and binds men together in the one Divine life. The message of healing and reconciliation will be proclaimed with joy and hope by those who know it in their own lives, and who can say with Paul, "All things are of God, who reconciled us to Himself by Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation." It is in this spirit that Friends must realize, and respond to the greatness of the present call and opportunity. (*Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, establishing the Council for International Service, 1919.*)

## 2. OUR MESSAGE TO NON-CHRISTIAN PEOPLES

As the idea of the obligation of the Christian to the non-Christian peoples has taken a firmer hold upon the conscience of the Church, it has also broadened, so that to-day it is recognised that the sending of itinerant evangelists all over the world is not in itself sufficient. Beyond this, there is the need for patient work through all channels that can be

used for exhibiting the spirit of Christ among the nations. As this thought has been more and more borne in upon the Society, regular missionary work including medical, educational and industrial departments, has been established, and we rejoice that Friends in ever increasing numbers have heard the call to consecrate their whole lives to this high service, and have gladly responded. (1911.)

### 3. OUR SERVICE ONE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

We rejoice in the share which Friends have taken in the missionary enterprise of the last sixty years. The growth of communities of Friends in several Eastern countries is a witness to the blessing of God on the self-denying labours of many. These Friends look to us, with our longer and wider experience, to help them in the new way that they are seeking to follow.

The international service of Friends is one throughout the world. The little Quaker centres to be found in many parts of Europe and elsewhere are witnesses to the same reconciliatory spirit. The bringing of material relief was often the first token of the real fellowship, but this was never all that the Society had to offer. We may be thankful that our message has gone right to men's hearts, and that many have been able to look on life with renewed hope and confidence.

The opportunities of service in the world that have opened up before the Society constitute a tremendous challenge, and bring a need for more utter dependence on the power of God. A way of life can be demonstrated only by living, and a good news for humanity be proclaimed with authority only by inspired men and women.

Always the way will be one of service and fellowship, but each new generation will need to discover methods suited to new conditions. To spread effectively the Kingdom of God, there must always be sympathetic understanding and

comradeship between Friends at home and those engaged in the active, and often perplexing, work abroad. (1925.)

#### 4. A UNIVERSAL FELLOWSHIP

If our faith is great enough, we shall see material things sanctified and made beautiful by the spirit, which shines through the eyes of all men, and shall experience that universal fellowship which is our hope for the world. This fundamental aspect of Quakerism, which breaks down national and racial barriers, must also sweep away the barriers of class at home. The service is one service, the life one life, beginning with the individual dedication that springs from personal spiritual experience, and uniting all in fellowship to meet the terrific challenge of social injustice in national life, and social chaos in international relations. We think no longer of the Society of Friends in England or in America sending out its missionaries afar to make new members of the home body in other lands. We see the light of truth spreading in every land and amongst all peoples; we see groups drawn together by the bonds of human-divine fellowship, working in their places to dispel the darkness of ignorance and misunderstanding around them. For others need us and believe in us, as we in them, that we with them may be among the torch-bearers. This is our international service; we hold high the Light that across the great spaces of the world other groups may catch its rays as we catch theirs. And so forward together, God leading us in a great comradeship of service till "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." (*Report of "International Group" of Young Friends' Conference at Manchester, Easter, 1922.*)

As the spirit of Christ works in the Eastern nations, we look for ever fresh expressions of Christian thought and method; and, since we are all seekers, we hope to receive from them, as they also do from us, new light and leading in

the way of the Kingdom. (*Friends' Foreign Mission Association Report, 1919.*)

### 5. FRIENDS LIVING ABROAD

All Friends who live abroad may have a share in this international service, whether they are called especially to such work, or are engaged in other occupations. In every sphere a life lived in obedience to the spirit of Christ will have its part in breaking down racial and national barriers, and bringing together in one the whole family of mankind. We thankfully recognize the fact that many of our members have been working towards this end in employment abroad ; and it may be that in the future many others may find it their duty and privilege to seek such employment, in order that they may become pioneers in the development of true international relationships. (1911 ; 1925.)

### 6. VARIED FORMS OF SERVICE

The international service of Friends has a common purpose, at once personal and social. All the activities of our centres, whether in Europe or the East, have this double end in view, the redemption of the individual lives of men, and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

We are convinced that the international service cannot be considered by the Society simply as a number of external activities, in which groups of Friends may, if they are so concerned, take part. Prophecy, missionary effort, personal, social and international redemption and reconstruction, touching the whole process of human existence, belong of *essence* to the life of the whole Church. That *whole* way of life for *all* mankind is ignored by the Church at its own most deadly peril. (*Report of the Kingsmead Conference on International Service, 1922.*)

## CHRISTIAN UNITY

How sweet and pleasant it is to the truly spiritual eye to see several sorts of believers, several forms of Christians, in the school of Christ, every one learning their own lesson, performing their own peculiar service, and knowing, owning and loving one another in their several places and different performances to their Master, to whom they are to give an account, and not to quarrel with one another about their different practices. For this is the true ground of love and unity, not that such a man walks and does just as I do, but because I feel the same spirit and life in him. (Isaac Penington, 1660.)

The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion ; and when Death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the divers liveries they wear here make them strangers. (William Penn : *Fruits of Solitude*.)

The unity of Christians never did nor ever will or can stand in uniformity of thought or opinion, but in Christian love only. (Thomas Story : *Discourse at Horslydown, 1737*.)

True unity may be found under great apparent differences. This unity is spiritual, it expresses itself in many ways, and we need divine insight that we may recognise its working. We need forbearance, sympathy and love, in order that, while remaining loyal to the truth as it has come to us, we may move forward with others to a larger and richer experience and expression of the will of God. (*Yearly Meeting Minute, 1916*.)

The existence of our Society as a separate member of the Christian community is due to our belief that in this way we can best testify to that aspect of the Truth which has been

shown to us. But when those who are followers of the Lord Jesus Christ try in simplicity to carry out His will, we believe that unity will be found beyond the diversity.

This trust is one that we can neither take up nor lay down at pleasure.

We are glad that in recent years many Friends have been drawn into co-operation with other bodies. The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held at Birmingham in 1924, was a marked sign of advance on common ground and brought great benefit to those who shared in it. We urge all our members to help the spread of religious truth and the development of the practical interpretation of the meaning of our faith by taking their place with all who are working and praying for the increase of the Kingdom of God. (1925.)

## BUILDERS TOGETHER WITH GOD

Friends' experience of the Inner Light has given them an assurance that God exists, and that He is directly accessible to every soul that seeks for light and guidance. But there is another element in this experience, which is felt in the welling up of life power. New stores of energy are brought into action, and a divine impulse presses on to the construction of new things, more and more expressive of inexhaustible love.

Our service lies in a world of men, every one of whom has the divine seed within him. The work of God is the growth of this seed, the creation of the good ; but His task is still incomplete ; none can believe that the word of God has yet had full scope. The foundation of the City of God has already been laid. This foundation is Jesus Christ Himself. We realise that much patient building remains to be done, and we are aware that the process is slowly going on all around us. The evidence of all those who have striven most patiently to understand the purposes of God, and have sympathised most deeply with the toils of men, shows that, wherever the Spirit of God has free play, there at once is new construction. New avenues of progress are opened up. New and deep fellowships become possible between men. They realise more and more what love and comradeship imply.

In all this God is using human tools. Man's true work is to co-operate with God ; communion is essentially a sharing of God's activity. We seek here to show how, together with God, we can combat evil and reconstruct the world on the basis of love, and on the conviction that all are capable of good. (1925.)



## PERSONAL CHARACTER

The patient Master Builder of the City of God builds with the hearts of men. He does not force His material ; He is content to lay a broad plan and to leave each living stone to draw its fellow into place, relying on that in every one of them which is of His own nature. The secret of His craft is the appeal of His love.

As we respond to the drawings of the heart of God, we are filled with a spirit which restrains the animal and sets free the true man, charging us with a power from beyond ourselves for self discipline and service, and enabling us to love. New creatures, we are fitted for places in the divine fellowship, and through us the same spirit reaches out to other men, winning, forming, upbuilding. Though God is revealed in numberless ways, it is through human personality that he seeks most clearly and completely to express Himself. It is, then, our first duty to make way for Him, to live pure and speak true, to develop character through which He may work. Only by echoing in word and act something of the nature of the God in whom we live, shall we spread His spirit, and help to win and fashion our fellow men for their places in the divine economy.

If we would indeed take a place in God's larger work, more is required of us than the ordinary virtues of respectability. The old law of "thou shalt not" is superseded by Christ's command "be ye perfect." The basis of Christianity is laid deeper than in the maintenance of a certain moral minimum. Yet it would be foolish to ignore the difficulties which beset us, as from day to day we face afresh the task of living cleanly. To none is a life of sincerity, integrity, purity and industry easy. But for the grace of God, it is impossible. We do well, then, to give special time and energy to seeking spiritual support in these matters

both for ourselves and for others. The resources in sympathy and intercession of the whole Church should be available for each one as he meets temptation. But personal loyalty to Christ will always be the strongest anchorage in treacherous waters. It is through this allegiance that power for life is received.

Character is but a general name for our habitual response to the repeated and varied challenge of daily happenings. Every situation makes its demand on us. Our every action registers its effect, not only on physical shape and habit of body, but even more markedly on our attitude to each succeeding challenge. Those around us are influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by what they soon come to recognise and allow for as our usual attitude. They know it at once if we yield to our passions, if we are weak and vacillating, if we do not consider the effects of our acts, if we are the sport of circumstance. They recognise it just as readily, if our conduct is commonly distinguished by strength and firmness that is unmoved when we ought to withstand, by quickness and certainty when action is called for, by alert understanding and penetrating sympathy. If we are possessed, too, of a considerate and helpful kindness, and by a gentleness and graciousness which reflects the Christ life, our neighbours are at once made happier and stronger and more able to bear their own burdens. These are the signs of a life that is filled with the spirit and is in line with the purposes of God.

We ought to study to be efficient in the Christian life. We must constantly exhibit alertness and energy, as well as quiet discipline and orderliness. These are the things that make up Christian watchfulness. They are associated with habits of prayer; and from prayer alone is gained the courage, grit and staying power which can make us ready, both for steady application to familiar tasks and for the adventurous exploits of the pioneer.

With readiness to go forward, there must also be willingness to wait. Humble teachableness, the trustful dependence on a larger wisdom which Jesus detected in a little child, is a primary Christian virtue. The great tradition of guidance, which Friends rightly cherish, can only be maintained as we are enabled faithfully to wait on the voice of God. Having waited, we shall be ready to respond at once to the call to service. Both in the activity of labour and in the quieter life of the home, character is conditioned by our devotional practice.

Courage and energy are valueless except as they are directed by instructed purpose. Paul writes, "It is my prayer that your love may be more and more accompanied by clear knowledge and keen perception."\* Wilful ignorance and the ignorance due to laziness are the cause of irreparable damage to our fellow men and to the cause of God. They are sin. It belongs to Christian character that we should be willing to equip ourselves in intellect and also in bodily skill for the discharge of our responsibilities. In our ordinary work and in special tasks alike, much must depend not merely on knowledge of facts, but also on the power that thorough knowledge alone can give, to judge between good and bad, and also between good and better. The true scientist's longing for the facts, the power of appreciation and judgment, often acquired through familiarity with the best in art and literature, the capacity of expression that comes with careful writing and thoughtful conversation, the sensitiveness that is made keener by the study of economics and politics—these are qualities we must work and pray for. It is important also, if we are to have any share in influencing the thinking of those around us, that we should be able to contribute something more convincing than general exhortation; to be really helpful, we should be familiar with the lines of accurate

\* Philippians 1. 9. (Weymouth's Translation).

thinking and argument and with the main schools of thought. Ample scope will remain for service of a simple kind, but we must not too easily spare ourselves the more exacting work. Willingness to be used in mind as well as body, and to be equipped in both, is a part of character. Our service to God is incomplete without the contribution of the intellect.

Character is a constructive power. It is a question mainly of character, how the opportunities of each new day are to be filled. Joy and confidence in service will beautify with a fresh light even the most humdrum tasks. But there are opportunities also for greater things. The work of the true saint, inspired by communion with the will of God, is original, individual, it may be epoch making. It has for material the plastic institutions and relationships of all human life. The Kingdom of God lies before us in vision. It can be realised only as God works with human hands.

The Kingdom of God is a fellowship, and those who would be of it must be companionable. The ideal attitude to other men cannot be fully described in terms of humility and willingness to serve. Friendliness should be easy to those who walk with God, and who have intimate experience of His gracious dealing. It is the special gift of the Christian to be able to put away bitterness and loneliness, to destroy pessimism and hardness, to inspire kindness and courtesy and unselfishness. The real love which is immediately recognisable by any man, is based on deep knowledge of both man and God, and of the right relation of man to God. It is the overflow of the grace of God through human personality. It is that which brings men back to God. (1925.)

## OUTWARD AFFAIRS

## 1. HONESTY IN BUSINESS

Let Friends and brethren in their respective Meetings watch over one another in the love of God and care of the Gospel ; particularly admonishing that none trade beyond their ability nor stretch beyond their compass ; and that they use few words in their dealings, and keep their word in all things, lest they bring, through their forwardness, dishonour to the precious truth of God. (1675.)

As it hath pleased God to bring forth a day of liberty and freedom to serve Him, let every one have a care so to use his liberty, as that the name of God may be honoured by it ; and that no occasion be taken by any, because of the present freedom, to launch forth into trading and worldly business beyond what they can manage honourably and with reputation ; and so that they may keep their word with all men, and that their yea may prove yea indeed, and their nay may be nay indeed. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1688.)

## 2. DEBTS TO BE PUNCTUALLY PAID

It is earnestly desired that the payment of just debts be not delayed, by any professing Truth, beyond the time agreed upon ; nor occasion of complaint given to those they deal with by their backwardness of payment where no time is limited ; nor any to overcharge themselves with too much trading and commerce, beyond their capacities to discharge with a good conscience towards all men ; and that all Friends be very careful not to contract extravagant debts, endangering the wronging of others and their families, which some have done to the grieving the hearts of the upright ; nor to break their promises, contracts or agreements, in their buying or selling, or in any other lawful affairs, to the injuring of themselves and others, occasioning strife and contention,

and reproach to Truth and Friends. And it is advised, that all Friends that are entering into trade, or that are in trade, and have not stock sufficient of their own to answer the trade they aim at, be very cautious of running themselves into debt, without advising with some of their experienced friends. Some, we fear, have been induced to enter into trade on their own account with borrowed capital, who, had their views been more moderate, might, with greater safety and more real comfort to themselves, have continued, at least for a time, in the employ of others. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1692; 1857.)

### 3. CAUTION AGAINST SURETYSHIPS

We caution Friends against imprudently entering into joint securities with others; by which many innocent wives and children have been inevitably and unexpectedly involved in ruinous and deplorable circumstances. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1771.)

### 4. OUR ATTITUDE TO MONEY

Those who, whilst honestly and diligently endeavouring to provide for their families, have to encounter many difficulties, have a strong claim on the sympathy of their friends: yet they need not fear, as they continue to place their whole trust in our Heavenly Father, but that He will care for them in such a way as He sees meet. But if any are deviating from safe and regular methods of business; if they are carried away by uncertain and hazardous, though plausible, schemes for getting rich; if they yield to a desire rapidly to enlarge their possessions—such are in imminent danger. They cannot justly expect the blessing of the Most High on such pursuits; their spiritual eye becomes dim; and they do not perceive with clearness that light which would enable them to perfect holiness in the fear of God. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1825.)

For some there is a danger that care for the future may lead to undue anxiety and become a habit of saving for its own sake, resulting in the withholding of what should be expended for the needs of the family or devoted to the service of the Society. The temptation to trust in riches comes in many forms, and can only be withstood through faith in our Father and His providing care. (1925).

We feel a concern that no Friends may be tempted, by the prospect of high rates of interest, to risk their property in hazardous engagements; and that they may be very careful, before making any investment or financial arrangement to ascertain the extent of the responsibility involved, that their peace of mind may not be endangered, or the cause of Truth be evil spoken of. (1849.)

There is a danger of mortgaging the future by carelessness or overhopefulness, leading men to accept more than they should upon credit. In the interest of those they love and as an example of honest citizenship Friends are advised to be careful not to incur debts in advance of their income, and to avoid entangling themselves in heavy commitments by the unwise obtaining of goods upon the hire purchase system. Do not hesitate, when in difficulty, to consult other Friends, and remember that if this be done in good time it may save much trouble to others. (1925.)

##### 5. SECRET COMMISSIONS OR GIFTS

We have considered the deplorable extent to which what are known as secret commissions have been offered and taken in commercial and professional life. We believe that the secret paying or giving of money or presents to persons employed or trusted by others, to induce them to act otherwise than they would have done without such inducement, and the receiving of such payments or presents, in no way differ from the giving and receiving of bribes, and are morally

wrong on the part of both the offerer and receiver. The giving and receiving of such payments or presents often inflict injustice on honest men who refuse to make or receive them, and are punishable offences. We earnestly advise our Friends to adhere to a true standard of integrity in all their transactions, and to be willing cheerfully to make the sacrifices which this may involve. (1899; 1911.)

#### 6. SAFEGUARDING OF MONEYS HELD ON BEHALF OF OTHERS

We realize the importance of the proper safeguarding and wise administration of all moneys held on behalf of others, and commend the following points to the attention of our members ;—

- (1) That accounts should be properly audited at least once a year, the audit to include, in the case of investments, a verification of the securities.
- (2) That, whenever possible, such moneys should be kept in separate banking accounts.
- (3) That cheques drawn upon the account should bear at least two signatures.
- (4) That such moneys should not be used or invested by Friends in their own businesses.
- (5) That great caution should be exercised in receiving money on deposit. Depositors may be encouraged to take advantage of the facilities which now exist for investment in safe securities, rather than to place their savings in private hands. (1905; 1911.)

#### 7. CAUTION IN REGARD TO BUSINESS RELATIONS

We caution Friends against hastily starting in business. Time spent in wise enquiry is well spent. This warning is especially to be borne in mind by those contemplating partnership. Let Friends, before entering into relationships involving such far-reaching consequences, not only assure themselves of the solvency and credit of the other parties,



but also consider that the happiness and success of this intimate relation depend upon mutual confidence, unselfishness and forbearance ; and also upon the partners holding similar standards of business conduct.

We further caution our members against verbal understandings, whether in the formation of partnerships or in other business transactions. Serious trouble has often arisen from the absence of clear and well drawn agreements. Even in the case of near relatives or close friends, equal caution should be observed ; for the closer the friendship the more serious is the injury caused by misunderstandings, such as are only too common when important matters are settled by verbal arrangement. (1911.)

#### 8. KEEPING CLEAR ACCOUNTS

Whilst engaged in business, let Friends be very careful to make themselves well acquainted with their annual income and expenditure. This will be facilitated by adopting, and conscientiously keeping up, a clear and methodical system of accounts, in regard not only to trade, but also to domestic and personal expenses. These accounts should be so kept that they will be easily understood, if at any time it is necessary for others to see them.

Whilst the foregoing advice is specially intended for those who are engaged in trade, the principles embodied are applicable in almost every sphere of life. It is the duty of all to arrange their expenditure with due regard to their income ; and clear and correct account-keeping is a means of avoiding reckless expenditure on the one hand, or unjustifiable accumulation of wealth on the other. (1826 ; 1911.)

#### 9. FREQUENT INSPECTION OF AFFAIRS

It is earnestly recommended that Friends in business frequently inspect the state of their affairs, and balance their books at least once in the year. Let each one ascertain that

he is fully justified, as an honest man, in going on with his business. We affectionately encourage Friends, who find themselves in embarrassed or even in doubtful circumstances, to disclose their affairs to men of upright character and sound judgment. Such disclosure would often save the reputation of individuals, prevent the keen sufferings of innocent persons, and avoid the reproach which, in some instances, has been brought upon our high profession. (1782; 1819; 1911.)

#### 10. OPENNESS WITH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

We counsel less mystery and more openness towards those who are worthy of confidence. If men conceal from their nearest connections in life a knowledge of the actual state of their affairs, they may deprive themselves of helpful advice, and kind participation in trouble; expenses may be incurred, and subsequent distress may ensue, which might have been avoided. (1826; 1911.)

#### 11. PAYMENT OF DEBTS NOTWITHSTANDING COMPOSITION OF CREDITORS

It is the sense and judgment of this Meeting, if any fall short of paying their just debts, and a composition be made with their creditors to accept of a part instead of the whole, that, notwithstanding the parties may be legally discharged of any obligation to pay the remainder, yet the principle of universal righteousness enjoins full satisfaction to be made, if ever the debtors are of ability. And in order that such may better retrieve their circumstances, we exhort them to submit to a manner of living in every respect most conducive to this purpose. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1759.)

#### 12. THE MAKING OF WILLS

Knowing the uncertainty of life, it is strongly recommended that Friends make their wills in time of health and strength of judgment, to prevent the inconvenience, los

and trouble that may fall upon their relatives and friends through their dying intestate. We counsel that none postpone this duty to a sick bed, an improper time to settle our outward affairs. Even if we should be favoured with a clear understanding, this ought not to be diverted from a grave consideration of the approaching solemn change. Making his will in due time can shorten no man's days, but omission and delay have proved very injurious to many. (1691; *Yearly Meeting Epistles*, 1695, 1703; 1782; 1911.)

Friends are reminded that marriage revokes a will, and that, after marriage, a fresh will should be made without delay. (1911.)

### 13. EQUITY AND CONSIDERATION IN THE MAKING OF WILLS

Recommended that Friends who have young children do in their wills appoint faithful Friends to be guardians to them, till they come to the age of twenty-one years. (1706.)

Let Friends in making their wills have a strict regard to justice and equity, and not be actuated by caprice and prejudice, to the injury of those who may have a reasonable expectation from their kindred and near connections. Let none (although occasion may have been given or taken) carry any resentment to the grave, remembering that we all stand in need of mercy and forgiveness.

Friends are advised not to make large bequests to relatives or others who do not need them; and to remember the pressing claims of religious and social concerns. (1782; 1911.)

### 14. SKILLED ADVICE

Friends are earnestly recommended to employ persons skilful in law and of good repute to make their wills; as great inconvenience and loss, and sometimes the ruin of

families, have happened through the unskilfulness of some who have taken upon them to make wills. They are advised, on the one hand, to make their wills as simple as possible, avoiding complicated provisions; and, on the other hand, to consider carefully circumstances which may arise after their decease, so that due provision may be made for all who ought to benefit under the will, even should births, marriages or deaths occur, which the testator had not anticipated. (1782; 1911.)

#### 15. PUBLIC TRUSTEE

The making of wills may be unduly delayed by difficulty in finding suitable acquaintances to appoint as executors and trustees. We call attention to the Act of 1906 creating a Public Trustee, who, by the authority of the State, acts as executor and trustee, in accordance with a fixed scale of charges, to anyone desiring to make use of his services. There is therefore at hand the means to carry out a testator's wishes with perfect security. (1911.)

## SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

### 1. SIMPLICITY IN ITS RELATION TO OTHERS

Every degree of luxury of what kind soever, and every demand for money inconsistent with Divine order, hath some connection with unnecessary labour. To labour hard or cause others to do so that we may live conformably to customs which Christ our Redeemer discountenanced by His example in the days of His flesh, and which are contrary to Divine order, is to manure a soil for propagating an evil seed in the earth. Those who enter deeply into these considerations and live under the weight of them, will feel these things so heavy and their ill effects so extensive, that the necessity of attending singly to Divine wisdom will be evident; and

will thereby be directed in the right use of things in opposition to the customs of the times ; and will be supported to bear patiently the reproaches attending singularity. To conform a little strengthens the hands of those who carry wrong customs to their utmost extent ; and the more a person appears to be virtuous and heavenly-minded, the more powerfully does his conformity operate in favour of evil-doers. While we profess in all cases to live in constant opposition to that which is contrary to universal righteousness, what language is sufficient to set forth the strength of the the obligations we are under to beware lest by our example we lead others astray ? (John Woolman : *A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich*, written about 1763.)

## 2. AGAINST EXPENSIVE HABITS

We fear that some of our youth are being trained in habits of expense in attire, furniture and attendance, which are not only inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel, but absorb property which might be better employed in feeding the hungry, and time which might be occupied in visiting and cheering the habitations of human misery. "The trimming of the vain world," said our worthy Elder, William Penn, "would clothe the naked one." (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1798.)

## 3. LOVE OF MONEY

The love of money is apt to increase almost imperceptibly. That which was at first laboured after under the pressure of necessary duty, may, without great watchfulness, steal upon the affections, and gradually withdraw the heart from God. The danger depends not upon how much a man has, but upon how much his heart is set upon what he has, and upon accumulating more. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1858.)

In all your business engagements, whether in smaller or larger concerns, as individuals or as partners with others, keep within the restraints of a tender and enlightened conscience, quick to discern where the desire to serve the Lord in all things ceases, and the service of self begins. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1869.)

#### 4. LIBERALITY

Encourage a spirit of Christian bountifulness. Let all, whatever their circumstances, cultivate from early years a true liberality according to their means. It should be nothing but joy to the Christian to support wise efforts to promote the good of others. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1872 ; 1911 ; 1925.)

While we are bound to use discrimination in giving, and are of necessity compelled to choose among the many appeals that come to us, we should do this in accordance so far as possible, with a settled policy ; remembering that, if income increases, the proportion also grows which can be spared from normal expenditure. The total amount that can be devoted to benevolent objects should be adjusted with reference to our income or capital, and the necessary claims upon them, and we should repress the common temptation to accumulate property for the benefit of relatives who do not really need it. (1911.)

#### 5. FINANCIAL CLAIMS OF OUR SOCIETY

Friends are urged to take their right share in contributing to the needs of our Society, as these have a strong claim upon the support of all our members. (1911.)

We ask all our Meetings periodically to bring before their members their responsibility in the matter of supporting the central work of the Society. The Yearly Meeting

accounts and the budget for each year are carefully gone through by a committee appointed by all Quarterly Meetings in the country, and such expenditure as is agreed to by so representative a gathering should be provided by Friends without hesitation. Some of the difficulty experienced in raising the amount required for the Yearly Meeting Fund is due to Friends' reluctance to depart from methods of collecting which were found convenient and adequate by earlier generations, but are not suited to present-day conditions. We therefore suggest that all our Meetings might with advantage re-open the subject of their method of collecting, both for their own requirements and for Society purposes, and we believe there will be a large response from sections of our membership, which do not now realise their responsibility in the matter of contributing. (*Report of Committee on Financial Resources, 1924.*)

## 6. SOURCES OF INCOME, EARNED AND UNEARNED

In making an income, whether large or small, the Christian must seek the good of others, and of the community at large, and not simply of himself and his family. He will, even at the risk of loss, strive to be strictly honest and truthful in his dealings; will refuse to manufacture or deal in articles that are hurtful to society; and will be on his guard against obtaining, through monopoly or otherwise, an undue profit at the cost of the community. If he is an investor, he will keep these thoughts in mind, and in seeking for investments will think not only of security and the rate of interest, but of the conditions under which his income is produced, in order that he may not, even unwittingly, be profiting by the oppression of his fellows. Not alone the directors, but also the shareholders of public companies are responsible for the wages paid and the conditions of labour. (1910.)

### 7. THE RIGHT SPENDING OF INCOME

In spending money the Christian will consider how his actions affect society. He will take thought as to how his expenditure upon himself and his family may be to the advantage of the community as a whole. He will consider whether there is a reasonable relation between the labour expended on producing the things he buys, and the real satisfaction yielded by their use. He will endeavour to share his good things with others, and will guard against expenditure that neither increases his own efficiency, nor ministers to the happiness of others. (1910; 1925.)

### 8. RESPONSIBILITIES OF EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED

There should be a human relationship between employers and employed, and class barriers should be broken down. In the matter of wages, employers should strive to pay what they believe to be a just wage, with reasonably permanent conditions of employment, and should not simply take advantage of the state of the labour market. This may involve sacrifice, but for that the Christian must be prepared.

Those who are employed, whether receiving salaries or weekly wages, should seek to render good service, and deal with their employers' time and property as with their own. If brought into positions in which they must either do wrong or run the risk of losing their places, they should strive in all circumstances to obey their conscience. (1910; 1925.)

We recognise that modern conditions of business and industry have brought to both workers and employers, their Unions or Federations. We urge Friends who may be members of such bodies to realise their individual responsibility for action taken by their organisation. A Christian is right in combining with others to obtain justice for himself and his fellows, but he should set his face against oppression



and violence as being inconsistent with the example and teaching of our Lord. (1925.)

#### 9. SUNDAY LABOUR

We ask Friends to be very considerate as to the extent to which they make use of the labour of others on the first day of the week. The general cessation of ordinary business gives opportunities for refreshment of body and mind, for united family life, for religious service and for public worship. Friends highly value these privileges for themselves, and we urge them so to regulate their conduct as not needlessly to hinder others from the enjoyment of the same privileges. (1911; 1925.)

#### 10. RESPONSIBILITIES OF PROPERTY OWNERS AND TRUSTEES

Owners of property, whether in the shape of land, houses or industrial appliances, cannot rightly evade the responsibility that ownership entails—responsibility for the management of their possessions, and for the uses to which they are put. A like responsibility to that of the owners of property falls upon those who are trustees for the property of others, since to act hurtfully or uncharitably towards the community in the interests of private persons is as harmful as to act thus in one's own interest. (1910; 1925.)

### CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES

#### 1. NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

We are not for names, nor men, nor titles of Government, but we are for justice and mercy and truth and peace and true freedom, that these may be exalted in our nation, and that goodness, righteousness, meekness, temperance, peace and unity with God, and with one another, that these things may abound. (Edward Burrough, 1659.)

## 2. CHRIST'S PEACEABLE SPIRIT

Advised to walk wisely and circumspectly towards all men, in the peaceable spirit of Jesus Christ, giving no offence or occasion to those in outward government, nor way to any controversies, heats, or distractions of this world, about the kingdoms thereof; but to pray for the good of all, and submit all to that Divine power and wisdom which rules over the kingdoms of men. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1689.)

## 3. ADVICE AS TO CIVIL OFFICES

Let those who enter on any public office be concerned, in the first place, to fulfil its duties in the fear of the Lord, seeking for His help, and diligently and faithfully performing the trust reposed in them, as those who have to render an account, not to man only, but to God. Fulfil the law of immutable righteousness; uphold the standard of truth-speaking and inflexible integrity in all things; watch over your spirits that you be not leavened into the spirit of the world; never allow principle to yield to the influence of party combination, but pursue in humility the course of Christian independence. (1836; 1883.)

## 4. CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

The free institutions under which we live give many of our members a direct share in the responsibilities of government, and in forming the healthy public opinion that will lead to purity of administration and righteousness of policy. This responsibility belongs to them by virtue of their citizenship, and our members can no more rightly remain indifferent to it, than to the duties which they owe to their parents and near relatives. Men and women of alertness, intelligence and high principle are needed to-day, to combat the indifference, ignorance and self-interest which are continually impeding the wise solution of great national questions. (1911.)

### 5. OPPORTUNITIES FOR CIVIC SERVICE

In view of the opportunities for public service opened to Friends during the last half century, we desire to press upon them the duty of qualifying themselves, so that they may be "prepared unto every good work." It is only the few who can find their sphere of usefulness in Parliamentary life; but the development of local government makes new demands of immense importance, and greatly needs the willing response of men and women of education and high principle. Besides the work of County and other Local Councils, with their dependent Committees, many organizations for promoting the welfare of mankind have grown up, which for their right operation equally call for the highest faculties of mind, and the most devoted service. Friends have long been interested in education; and the work of primary and secondary schools, of training colleges and industrial schools, still needs their careful attention, and a readiness of mind to meet fresh requirements. Again, there are few more important and difficult subjects than the right method for the relief of poverty and the prevention of destitution; and we are thankful that many of our members have listened to the call to share in this work, by aiding in Guilds of Help, Health Societies, Care Committees, and similar agencies. We believe that no Government organization, however well planned, can dispense with the humanising influence of voluntary personal service. (1911.)

### 6. RATEPAYERS AND TAXPAYERS

If the public welfare makes new demands upon them, in the shape of rates or taxes or in other ways, Friends will seek to regard such demands in the light of social justice and of the claims of humanity, rather than of mere private interest. (1910; 1925.)

## TESTIMONIES AGAINST SOME PRESENT EVILS

## INDULGENCE IN INTOXICATING BEVERAGES

1. Indulgence in intoxicating liquors is a powerful cause of the sin and misery, the poverty and crime which exist in our land ; at the same time it presents one of the greatest obstructions to the moral and religious improvement of our countrymen, and to the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom in the earth. (1867 ; 1925.)

2. We feel it right to express the very general sentiment of the body, that it would conduce in no small measure to the usefulness of Friends as individuals, and to the well-being of the Society at large, if all could see their way to give up the use of intoxicating beverages. The experience of many years warrants us in saying that this course would involve no sacrifice of health ; but even if it did call for some self-sacrifice, surely it is not too much to ask of those for whom Christ died that they should be willing, for the sake of their weaker brethren and sisters, to deny themselves this indulgence, in order to set before their households and those around them an example which all may safely follow. (1893.)

3. We fear that some, who have known but little in their own immediate circles of the havoc wrought by strong drink, fail to realise the importance of active efforts to spread the principles and practice of total abstinence around them.

If any have allowed themselves to regard this question from a merely academic point of view, without taking pains to become personally acquainted with those who are being dragged downwards by the power of strong drink, we would entreat them to spend some time and trouble in investigating the problem from this more personal aspect. We cannot doubt that the sympathy for their struggling brothers and

sisters, which would then arise in their hearts, would lead them to a fuller devotion and more enthusiastic service in the cause of temperance, than they have yet seen to be their duty or their privilege. We trust it would also lead them to adopt, or encourage them to maintain, the practice of personal abstinence from all kinds of intoxicants, a practice which, we are aware, still involves no small measure of self-denial to many. We believe it is not too much to say, that the social drinking customs of the country are largely responsible for the lapses into intemperance of many in all classes of society, who would otherwise be useful citizens. Some of us know by personal experience that it is harder to refrain from offering strong drink to others than to be firm abstainers ourselves, and we are afresh brought into sympathy with those who feel this difficulty and can hardly bring themselves to seem inhospitable. But we would remind Friends that, through the firm stand taken by a few, the practice of putting wine on the table is far less general than was at one time the case, and we ask their personal help in carrying forward this reform, so as to hasten the day when no host shall think it incumbent upon him to place alcoholic beverages before his guests. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1898 ; 1911.)

4. We are impressed with the importance of explaining to young people the reasons which have led the majority of Friends of the last two generations to become abstainers from intoxicating drink. From the point of view of physiology, the action of alcohol on the brain and the tissues of the body should be explained. In the sphere of economics, the loss to industrial efficiency resulting from the wide-spread use of intoxicants should be pointed out.

But one of the strongest reasons for total abstention is the danger to self-control. The desire for liquor may grow on a man, so that, before he is aware, the occasional taster will have become enslaved to it. Moreover the effect of alcohol

is to weaken the general restraining power of the will, and so leave men at the mercy of their appetites, when temptation comes. (1925.)

5. We earnestly advise that Friends will guard against the temptation to increase their incomes by the sale of intoxicating liquors, or by investing in brewery or distillery companies. Shareholders in such undertakings must necessarily be involved in the responsibilities of promoting a trade so destructive of human life and character.

We encourage our members to embrace every legitimate opportunity of curtailing the power of the drink trade, and lessening the temptations which make the struggle to do right difficult, nay almost impossible, to many of our brothers and sisters. The formation and maintenance of a healthy public opinion will do much, not only to influence the action of Parliament, but also to encourage Magistrates, Watch Committees, and the Police, to put in force the existing provisions of the law; provisions which have often been sadly neglected or abused, because Christian people were too careless to protest. (1893; 1911.)

6. Whilst advocating the power of example by individuals, and the refraining from all participation, however indirect, in the Drink Trade, we urge Friends to enquire of themselves whether it is not their duty as Christians to go much further than this.

Intemperance is not merely a vice; it is also a symptom of disease. It is the duty of those who are concerned on account of the symptoms, to diagnose the disease and ascertain its cause. The dreariness and squalor of the lives of a great section of the people, the overcrowded conditions under which they exist, and their poverty, are all contributory causes of the disease of intemperance, and tend to produce in them a craving for relief from their troubles through alcohol or other drugs.

Careful study will show that there is hardly any part of the social life of the body politic, which does not at some point touch the problem of intemperance. Health and Housing, Town Planning, Education, the provision of parks and open spaces, manifestly have each their part to play in its solution.

Friends who are serving on public bodies, or who are employers of labour, can thus do much to eradicate the evil, quite apart from direct legislation on the liquor traffic, by working for a changed environment of the lives of the people, by the provision of good factory conditions, and the encouragement of wholesome recreation in leisure time. (1925.)

#### BETTING AND GAMBLING

1. We deeply deplore the enormous growth of gambling in this country. This habit now permeates all classes of society; commerce, finance and the press are tainted by it. Moreover, betting is by no means confined to horse-racing, but has fastened itself upon many other forms of sport. In addition to the material ruin both of individuals and of families in all sections of the community, the moral and religious fibre of the people is seriously affected. The prevalence of sweepstakes and of lotteries for charities, however disguised, is a disquieting symptom at the present time. (1911; 1925.)

2. We believe that all forms of betting and gambling and all merely speculative means of obtaining money, are contrary to the spirit of Christ. Through indulgence in such practices the mind becomes set upon quick ways of getting riches, and the sense of the true values of things is often lost, so that the judgment is disordered, the moral faculties are sapped, and life is lived in the excitement of the moment. This state of mind is destructive of the larger life of the soul and the habitual communion with Christ, which are the privileges of His followers. (1911.)

*SOME PRESENT EVILS*

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3. We recognise that the newspaper press, with some exceptions, is deeply involved in the dissemination of betting news and racing predictions. This is one of the main incitements to the evil habit of betting and gambling, and is, we are certain, detrimental to the highest welfare of the community. We earnestly desire that the business of newspaper management may be purged of this growing evil. (1911.)

4. The Church should seek remedies for this terrible disease of our national life. In the first place it is essential that we should dissociate ourselves from all participation in or encouragement of gambling and the gambling spirit. This personal witness is the first step towards creating a sound public opinion on the subject. It is a witness not easy to bear without careful self-examination. (1911; 1925.)

5. Betting, like indulgence in alcohol, is not merely a vice, it is also a symptom of unrest, of a craving for excitement and for relief from the tedium of life. Those who recognise this are called to show to others a better way—a way of service, into which the best that is in man may be thrown. If we would see men abandoning the betting ring and the public house, we must consider it to be our duty as members of a Christian community to provide other avenues, into which they may direct their energies and find the satisfaction of a full life. (1925.)

6. We encourage our members to inform themselves and others as to the extent of the evil, and the distress and sin that follow in its train, and to promote legislation for its suppression. Above all, we ask them, by strenuous effort, by personal example and by earnest prayer, to help those around them to come into the true relationship with our Lord Jesus Christ, which will satisfy the soul's longings, and teach the secret of victory over every kind of temptation. (1911; 1925.)



## SOCIAL EVIL

The subject of chastity as a personal or individual matter has been dealt with in some of its aspects in the section of this book entitled "The Family." There is, however, a public or more general aspect of the subject, that we must not overlook.

Prostitution and its accompanying evils cannot be combated merely by an appeal to the fear of scandal or the dread of disease. The attack must be based on positive social, moral and spiritual grounds. The appeal must be made to the witness of the Spirit of God, that is in the heart of every man and woman.

We must hold fast to our belief in the sacredness and the dignity of human personality. Compulsory methods of dealing with venereal disease, in our opinion, must always outrage this sacredness and dignity; and they have also proved unjust in their incidence upon women as compared with men.

These principles were made very clear by Josephine Butler and her colleagues in their movement for the repeal of legislation regulating vice, and we advise Friends not to lose sight of the experience thus gained. It should be our care, as good citizens, to watch that not only the law itself, but also the administration of it, may be equally just to women and to men. (1925.)

## THE PENAL SYSTEM

The terrible sufferings of our forefathers in the prisons of the seventeenth century have given us as a people a special interest in the management of prisons and the treatment of crime. George Fox protested to the judges of his day "concerning their putting men to death for cattle and money and small matters"; and laid before them "what a

hurtful thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail " ; showing how " they learned wickedness from one another in talking of their bad deeds."

In a later day Elizabeth Fry was the means of introducing urgently needed reforms in the administration of English prisons, particularly those for women. In our own time the experience of prison conditions which many of our members and others have obtained, has deepened the concern of many for more enlightened treatment of the offender, and we gratefully recognise the reforms which have already been effected.

There is, however, much work still to be done, in creating a right understanding of the nature and causes of crime, and in emphasising the need for redemptive treatment rather than retributive punishment. Inherited tendency and evil environment are both causes of crime. Society is in measure responsible for the criminal, a fact which emphasises the duty of meeting moral failure by redemptive care. Evil can only be finally overcome by good.

For the attainment of this end there is need, not only for adequate study of the whole problem of the criminal and wise regulation of his life, but also for personal touch of those who have the good of the individual at heart. Larger use should be made of alternatives for punishment, such as an extended probation system ; and far more care should be taken to help those who are discharged from prison to take their right place in society. There is much room for devoted voluntary as well as official work in these directions. Friends who have the necessary gifts may find a field of service as visitors to prisons, where extensive opportunities are now open for helpful educational work. Men and women endowed with sympathy, tact and firmness are also needed as Probation Officers, and for the oversight of prisoners conditionally released. (1911; 1925.)

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

We have often expressed our objection to Capital Punishment. We re-affirm our belief in the immeasurable value of every human life, and the infinite possibilities of spiritual reclamation. We regard the law of God for the individual as binding upon the community, and we cannot rest satisfied whilst what is wrong for a single person is practised by the State. Moreover we believe that capital punishment fails as a deterrent. The sight of an individual fighting for his life adds an exceptional and dramatic interest to murder trials. There is a consequent inducement to give them wide publicity, which tends to make the thought of murder familiar, and to morbid minds even attractive.

We remember also the suffering which the capital sentence may inflict on the relatives of the person sentenced, and its effects upon others whom circumstances connect with such cases ; upon the jury, the judge, the prison officers, and all who are connected with the execution.

We believe that a considerate and Christian treatment of the offender is as possible in cases of murder as in the case of other crimes, and we urge Friends to do all in their power to create a public opinion which will demand the complete abolition of the death penalty. (1925.)

## THE TAKING OF OATHS

1. Advised, that our Christian testimony be faithfully maintained against the burden and imposition of oaths, according to the express prohibition of Christ, and also of the apostle James ; " Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths ; but I say unto you, Swear not at all ; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne ; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool ; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King ; neither shalt thou swear

by thine head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black ; but let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay ; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." " But above all things, my brethren, swear not ; neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath ; but let your yea be yea ; and your nay, nay ; lest ye fall into condemnation." (1693 ; *Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1782.)

2. In the seventeenth century our Christian testimony against the taking of all oaths placed Friends under many grave disabilities, but these were gradually removed,\* and in the year 1833 an Act was passed (3 and 4 William IV. c. 49) enacting that Quakers and Moravians might make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath.†

By an Act passed in 1838 (1 and 2 Victoria, c. 77) the right to affirm was extended to persons who had formerly been Quakers or Moravians.

3. The above special Acts are still in force ; but the right to affirm was greatly extended by the Oaths Act, 1888

\* The first Act allowing the affirmation of Friends was the Statute commonly called the Toleration Act, passed in the year 1689 (1 W. and M., Sess. 1, c. 18, s. 13). This was afterwards extended in 1696 (7 and 8 Will. III, c. 34), and the form of affirmation having been simplified in 1721 by 8 Geo. I. c. 6, it was in 1749 by 22 Geo. II. c. 46, s. 36, made applicable to all cases except criminal cases, and the oaths required for serving on juries, or for bearing any office or place of profit in the Government.

† The Quakers and Moravians Act, 1833, mentioned in the text, finally made the affirmation of a Friend equivalent to an oath in every case in which an oath can be legally required, by enacting " that every person of the persuasion of the people called Quakers, and every Moravian, be permitted to make his or her solemn affirmation or declaration, instead of taking an oath, in all places and for all purposes whatsoever where an oath is or shall be required " and providing that every such affirmation or declaration should be in the words following :—

" I, A.B., being one of the people called Quakers (or, one of the persuasion of the people called Quakers, or, of the United Brethren called Moravians, as the case may be), do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm."

(51 and 52 Victoria, c. 46), and the provisions of that Statute are now very generally employed for all affirmations.\*

By this Act it is enacted (Section 1) that "Every person upon objecting to being sworn, and stating as the ground of such objection, either that he has no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief, shall be permitted to make his solemn affirmation instead of taking an oath, in all places and for all purposes where an oath is or shall be required by law, which affirmation shall be of the same force and effect as if he had taken the oath."

By Section 2: "Every such affirmation shall be as follows:—'I, A.B., do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm,' and then proceed with the words of the oath prescribed by law, omitting any words of imprecation or calling to witness."

By Section 4 it is provided that: "Every affirmation in writing shall commence, 'I,—— of ——, do solemnly and sincerely affirm,' and the form in lieu of jurat shall be 'Affirmed at ——, this —— day of ——, 19—— Before me ——.'"

For the purposes of the criminal offence of perjury, the making of an affirmation is in all respects equivalent to the taking of an oath.† (1925.)

\* The insanitary practice of "kissing the book" was done away with by the Oaths Act, 1909 (9 Edw. 7, c. 39), which prescribed a new form and manner of taking the oath, and by section 2 (2) provided as follows: "The officer shall (unless the person about to take the oath voluntarily objects thereto, or is physically incapable of so taking the oath) administer the oath in the form and manner aforesaid without question.

"Provided that, in the case of a person who is neither a Christian nor a Jew, the oath shall be administered in any manner which is now lawful."

The right of affirmation is in no way affected; but the person desiring to affirm must intimate his desire so to do.

† The Perjury Act, 1911 (1 and 2 Geo. 5, c. 6) contains in section 15 (2) the following definition:—"The expression 'oath,' in the case of persons for the time being allowed by law to affirm or declare instead of swearing, includes 'affirmation' and 'declaration,' and the expression 'swear' in the like case includes 'affirm,' and 'declare.'"

4. We encourage Friends to spread a knowledge of the law as it now stands, in order that those who feel a conscientious objection to the taking of an oath may make wider use of its provisions. We regard the taking of oaths as contrary to the teaching of Christ, and as setting up a double standard of truthfulness, whereas sincerity and truth should be practised in all the dealings of life. (1911 ; 1925.)

### CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

For Friends' testimony against War, see *THE INTERNATIONAL KINGDOM* p. 137.

## THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER

### I. THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER

If we would build the Kingdom of God here and now, we must first face the facts of our present manner of social life. In the actual conditions in which many of our fellows are living there is much to be condemned. Around us men are living either under the stress of actual poverty or the haunting dread of unemployment. While many are unable to find work or to earn the bare necessities of life, large stocks of the very commodities which they need lie unsaleable in our warehouses. Our economic and financial system seems actually to hinder us from supplying the elementary needs of many of the people. In the same way, the industrial system under which we produce the goods we require has failed to reach standards consistent with the Christian ideal. Men and women are often treated as mere parts of the machine. Impelled by want they may be driven to accept conditions of employment that are degrading, or even to enter upon an immoral life. Meanwhile, too frequently, those who can buy demand without a thought things which harm

the makers, things which waste the resources of nature and the skill of men, and things which pander to luxury, while the labour which goes to produce them might be supplying vital needs. With all our mechanical devices we have not as yet been able to evolve a scheme, whereby men may regularly and efficiently meet all one another's essential needs. We have not yet fully understood the principle of service. The chief purpose of life is defeated, both in our own lives and in those of others, when men's efforts are directed mainly to the acquisition, protection and extension of private property. It is furthered, when they are directed to the service of the common weal.

We appeal to Friends to consecrate not only money and time, but also their opportunities as workers and organisers in industry and commerce to the solution of this great problem of our social life. We are concerned as Friends not only to live in personal integrity, but also to build up the common life of men. We must not think to wait until all are changed in heart, before beginning the task of setting up a social order more in accordance with the mind of Christ. The institutions of society as a whole must be remodelled as an expression of the spirit of the Kingdom of Heaven, and we may hope and pray to be ourselves fitted, as we strive to build it, for our own place in the ideal society. (1925.)

## 2. FOUNDATIONS OF A TRUE SOCIAL ORDER

The following statement as to the foundations of a true social order was adopted by Yearly Meeting, 1918:—

The Fatherhood of God, as revealed by Jesus Christ, should lead us towards a Brotherhood which knows no restriction of race, sex or social class.

This Brotherhood should express itself in a social order which is directed, beyond all material ends, to the growth of personality truly related to God and man.

The opportunity of full development, physical, moral and spiritual, should be assured to every member of the community, man, woman, and child. The development of man's full personality should not be hampered by unjust conditions nor crushed by economic pressure.

We should seek a way of living that will free us from the bondage of material things and mere conventions, that will raise no barrier between man and man, and will put no excessive burden of labour upon any by reason of our superfluous demands.

The spiritual force of righteousness, loving-kindness and trust is mighty, because of the appeal it makes to the best in every man, and when applied to industrial relations, achieves great things.

Our rejection of the methods of outward domination, and of the appeal to force, applies not only to international affairs, but to the whole problem of industrial control. Not through antagonism but through co-operation and goodwill can the best be attained for each and all.

Mutual service should be the principle upon which life is organized. Service, not private gain, should be the motive of all work.

The ownership of material things, such as land and capital, should be so regulated as best to minister to the need and development of man.

### 3. THE TASK BEFORE US

What we desire for ourselves and for our fellows, is the fullest opportunity for the expression of that divine personality, with which each has been endowed. We believe that every able adult citizen should be a producer in the widest sense of the term, and free to take an effective share in directing his own labour. Fellowship is of the very essence of the Christian profession, and we should strive for its fullest practical expression in industry.



The task before the Church is to stimulate and assist the whole community to build up such a system of relationships, that its life and work shall no longer rest on sanctions of force and fear of loss. Its characteristic would rather be complete and efficient mutual service, in an atmosphere of freedom and fellowship and joy. Possession of property would no longer confer rights of control over the lives of others. Natural resources, property, credit and service would be socially organised for common advantage.

We have not lived sufficiently in the spirit of love, brotherhood, meekness, and gentleness, nor sought to bring these gifts to bear on the fabric of life. We have been too ready to take things as we found them, and have not tried sufficiently to mould all according to the teaching and life of our divine Master.

If we are rightly to readjust our own lives and effectually to help those of others, we must needs experience the impelling power of a divine love for mankind.

Our attitude towards life should tend to free us from the bondage of material things, and make us concerned to give the first place to the things of the spirit. The main purpose of the existence of the Church is to work for the coming of that Kingdom of Heaven on earth, for which Jesus Christ lived and died. It is as we all devote ourselves to working for a new spirit in the relations of men, and for a new social order more in accordance with the mind of Christ, that we shall recognise how much the possession of wealth and of the power derived from wealth may blunt the sense of social justice in the owners, and hinder their opportunities for spiritual work, and that we shall come to recognise as superfluous things which perhaps we formerly regarded as necessities. So shall we be ready to examine without prejudice new proposals towards better social relationships. Let us believe in the possibility of reconstruction and seek

actively for new light. Let us make experiments, and pray that out of this period of strife and change a new and better order may arise. Let us show ourselves a community which believes in the practicability of the Kingdom of God. (1925.)

## THE INTERNATIONAL KINGDOM

### I. INTRODUCTION

We are deeply convinced that the testimony for Peace, which we believe has been entrusted to us as a Society, is not an artificial appendage to our faith, which can be dropped without injuring the whole, but rather an organic outgrowth of our belief as Christians and as Friends, which cannot be abandoned without mutilating our whole message for the world.

We believe in common with other Christians, that in Jesus Christ, the Divine Word, which in all ages had been the "Light" of men, took human form. We have seen in him the revelation of the priceless worth of manhood in the sight of God, and know that in virtue of his "Light" shed abroad in every human soul, all men, of whatever race or nation, are brothers. Upon this sacred human personality, war rudely tramples, virtually regarding men as *things*, as obstacles to be got rid of, if they are enemies; or, if they are our own soldiers, as military instruments whose consciences may be disregarded. As Christians we cannot be parties to putting ourselves or others in such a position.

Further, since the Divine Light within us is the Light of Christ, we cannot separate it from the spirit of His teaching, when he was here on earth. We cannot claim his authority for impulses within us which lead us to act in opposition to

that teaching, which he summed up in love to God and love to all men.

In so far as we have grasped and been obedient to these leadings, we have been enabled to see a splendid vision of what human unity is, and of what human fellowship may be, and have of necessity been filled with a profound sense of the evil of violating this fellowship.

This vision has brought us a renewed faith in the power of spiritual forces to build the structure of humanity, and to redeem it from error and wrong. It is only spiritual forces that can do this, the powers that touch men's hearts, that convince their minds and win their loyalty and set free the uniting forces of humanity. The very refusal of all violence, if it springs evidently and sincerely from a deep reverence and love for "that of God" in an opponent's nature, will be potent to reach and win his soul. Those who see this, even if dimly and amid much perplexity, must hold it fast.

We have so valued this vision and recognised its authority that war—"the arbitrament of self-assertion and passion," with all its abrogation of moral restraint, its denial of discriminating justice, its responsibility for atrocities, its destruction of all the divine possibilities of human life—is for us an impossibility.

Backed by these convictions, we hold the moral law of gentleness and forgiveness and love to be unconditionally binding upon us now. It seems a poor and pitiful thing to believe in principles except when they may have to be applied, in forgiveness only when there is nothing to forgive, in love only for those who love us. It is our present sinning and stricken world that needs these redeeming messages in word and life. May we be faithful to the vision! It bears with it a grave but splendid responsibility. (Northern Friends' Peace Board: *The Society of Friends and the War*, 1914; Y.M. at Manchester, *Our Testimony for Peace*, 1912; 1925.)

## 2. OUR HISTORIC TESTIMONY

GEORGE FOX 1651

I told them [the Commonwealth Commissioners] I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, according to James' doctrine: that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars; . . . and was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. (*Journal.*)

DECLARATION TO CHARLES II 1660

We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we certainly know and testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdoms of this world. (*A Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God, called Quakers.*)

ISSUED DURING THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

We entreat all who profess themselves members of our Society to be faithful to that ancient Testimony, borne by us ever since we were a people, against bearing arms and fighting, that by a conduct agreeable to our profession we may demonstrate ourselves to be real followers of the Messiah, the peaceable Saviour, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1744.*)

ISSUED DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

It is a solemn thing to stand forth to the nation as the advocates of inviolable peace; and our testimony loses its

efficacy in proportion to the want of consistency in any amongst us. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1804.*)

Guard against placing your dependence on fleets and armies; be peaceable yourselves, in words and actions, and pray to the Father of the Universe that He would breathe the spirit of reconciliation into the hearts of His erring and contending creatures. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1805.*)

#### ISSUED DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR

We feel bound explicitly to avow our continued unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of His Gospel; and that no plea of necessity or of policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe unto Him who hath said, "Love your enemies." (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1854.*)

#### ISSUED DURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

We believe that the Spirit of Christ will ultimately redeem national as well as individual life. We believe further that, as history shews, the human means will be the faithful witness borne by Christ's disciples. It has been well said, "It seems to be the will of Him, who is infinite in wisdom, that light upon great subjects should first arise and be gradually spread through the faithfulness of individuals in acting up to their own convictions."\* This was the secret of the power of the early Church. The blood of the Christians proved a fruitful seed. In like manner the steadfastness of early Friends and others to their conscientious convictions in the seventeenth century won the battle of religious freedom for England. We covet a like faithful

\* Joseph Sturge.

witness against war from Christians to-day. (*Christianity and War, An Address by the Religious Society of Friends, 1900.*)

#### ISSUED DURING THE WORLD WAR

Meeting at a time when the nations of Europe are engaged in a war of unparalleled magnitude, we have been led to recall the basis of the Peace testimony of our religious Society. It is not enough to be satisfied with a barren negative witness, a mere proclamation of non-resistance. We must search for a positive vital constructive message. Such a message, a message of supreme love, we find in the life and the death of our Lord Jesus Christ. We find it in the doctrine of the indwelling Christ, that re-discovery of the early Friends, leading as it does to a recognition of the brotherhood of all men. Of this doctrine our testimony as to war and peace is a necessary outcome, and if we understand the doctrine aright, and follow it in its wide implications, we shall find that it calls to the peaceable spirit and the rule of love in all the broad and manifold relations of life.

Thus while love, joy, peace, gentleness and holiness are the teaching of the life and death of our Lord, it is to these that we are also impelled by the indwelling of the Divine in men. As this spirit grows within us, we shall realise increasingly what it is to live in the virtue of that life and power which takes away the occasion of all wars. (*Yearly Meeting Minute, 1915.*)

#### ISSUED ON THE PASSING OF THE MILITARY SERVICE ACT

We take this, the earliest opportunity, of re-affirming our entire opposition to compulsory military service and our desire for the repeal of the Act.

War involves the surrender of the Christian ideal and a denial of human brotherhood ; it is an evil for the destruction of which the world is longing ; but freedom from the scourge of war will only be brought about through the faithfulness of

individuals to their inmost convictions, under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ.

Our position is based upon our interpretation of the teaching of Jesus Christ. We regard the central conception of the Act as imperilling the liberty of the individual conscience—which is the main hope of human progress—and as entrenching more deeply that militarism from which we all desire the world to be freed.

Our opposition is not removed by the provisions with regard to conscience, welcome as these are. We have in mind not only conscientious objectors, but also a large number hitherto held back from military service from no unworthy motive, but by a restraining influence to which they would find it impossible to give expression.

Young men may do important service by going before the Tribunals, claiming exemption and making clear their reasons for doing so. At the same time we cannot admit that a human tribunal is an adequate judge of any man's conscience. The final appeal can only be to the source from which the conscientious convictions themselves spring.

Our lives should prove that compulsion is both unnecessary and impolitic. They should manifest a sense of duty not less strong than that which has driven many whom we respect (and some even of our own members) into the fighting forces. We can identify ourselves to the full with the griefs of our nation in which few hearts are not torn by suffering or harrowed by suspense. We pray that in steadfast conformity to the path of duty we may be set free to serve—each one in the way of God's appointing. (*Minute of Adjourned Yearly Meeting, First month, 1916.*)

#### ISSUED DURING THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS

We believe that Christianity has a message as to the true basis of that lasting peace for which all men long. Christ's teaching is practical ; it tells of real laws for real life.

We appeal to all men to test the proposed Terms of Peace by this standard, and we desire to suggest some applications.

We must be honourable in the letter and in the spirit. Our opponents laid down their arms upon certain clear conditions. Are we satisfied that we are now being faithful to our word?

The Christian ideal puts human life and personality before all material considerations such as territory and mineral wealth.

No Peace is permanent save in so far as it is based upon goodwill. If the passions of war are perpetuated in the peace, if we are looking once more to force for our security, the world has learned no lesson. Must we not seek the reconciliation of men, as the only hope?

There is no such healing and reconciling influence as that of compassion. We appeal to men to put their trust in the miracle-working power of generosity and mercy to heal the wounds made by fear and strife. . . .

What shall it profit a nation, if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul? (*A Real Peace, An Appeal from the Society of Friends*, 1919.)

### 3. CHRIST AND WAR

The whole spirit of Christ's life and teaching exemplifies the peaceable nature of His kingdom, and shows that in its service the weapons of worldly passion are to be renounced; and the love and self-sacrifice, of which He is the sovereign example, are to take their place. Rejecting all violent subversion of evil institutions, Christ brought into the world a spiritual life, which transforms humanity by regenerating its inner spirit. This transforming power in Christian civilization has, amongst its other triumphs, already greatly contributed to the overthrow of many evil institutions closely allied with war: the gladiatorial games which were the passion of the Roman world, the institutions of ancient



slavery, mediæval serfdom, and negro slavery ; private war, that terrible scourge of the middle ages ; and, in many countries, the practice of duelling. (1900.)

In this aftermath of history's most terrible war, we see two paths before us. One leads inevitably to another war by renewed preparedness ; the other begins with a complete rejection of war, and of all preparations for it, for any purpose and against any people ; it demands definite organisation for peace.

These two paths lie in opposite directions ; we cannot possibly follow them both. There is no shadow of doubt on which of them are found the footprints and the sign-posts of Jesus Christ our Lord. Shall not then the Christian Church follow its leader with perfect loyalty along this path ? (*To the Churches of Christ in All Countries. An Appeal from the Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia ; endorsed by London Y.M., 1922.*)

The Christianity which makes war impossible is a way of life which extirpates or controls the dispositions that lead to war. It eradicates the seeds of war in one's daily life. It translates the beatitudes out of the language of a printed book into the practice and spirit of a living person. It is not consistent for any one to claim that his Christianity as a way of life stops him from war, unless he is prepared to adjust his entire life—in its personal aspirations, in its relations with his fellows, in its pursuit of truth, in its economic and social bearings, in its political obligations, in its religious fellowships, in its intercourse with God—to the tremendous demands of Christ's way. If Friends are to *challenge* the whole world and claim the right to continue in the ways of peace while everybody else is fighting, they must reveal the fact *that they are worthy of peace, and that they bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus.* (*Friends and War. Adopted by the Conference of All Friends, 1920.*)

We may have to learn to give up the whole idea of defending our rights, and to be willing to stand as Jesus stood, defenceless in the midst of a world of possible enemies. Might it not be that this plan would turn them into friends—a much better thing than defeating them. We may have to learn anew the real meaning of justice, and to demonstrate it in the world as Christ did, by accepting the full consequences of injustice. Is it not possible that we should thus find ourselves possessed of the only weapon by which evil can be overthrown—even the love which never fails? (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1916.)

#### 4. THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In the endeavour to carry out consistently our principles in regard to peace, Friends are urged to consider their responsibility in relation to all questions incidental to the military system, whether these arise in connexion with trade or in public or in private life; and to beware of joining military or naval forces, and of undertaking services auxiliary to warfare in positions where they would be under military orders. (1911.)

If war is to be prevented, the spirit from which war proceeds must be excluded. As with individuals so with nations, the beginnings of strife must be watchfully guarded against. To give occasions of offence or jealousy to the governments or to the inhabitants of other countries, whether by imputing evil motives, by needless alarms of invasion, or by anything approaching to a hostile attitude, is inconsistent alike with Christian duty and with true patriotism. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1859.)

As Christians we cannot recognise two doctrines, one for individuals as between themselves, and another for nations. The morality which Christianity claims from men in their

intercourse with one another, is surely no less binding on them, when they are called to act in the name of and on behalf of their country. Personal combat as a means of settling disputes between individuals has long been abolished in this country as barbarous and criminal. War is substantially international duelling. (1885.)

There is abundant evidence in our own and others' history, to show that our ideal is no idle or impossible dream, but a most practical and effective line of action. It is well to recall the remarkable story of William Penn's experiment in the colonising of Pennsylvania. Founding his settlement among Indian tribes, he relied upon the forces of equal justice, right dealing, friendliness and sympathy, and abjured all methods of violence. As long as this policy was pursued unflinchingly and wholeheartedly—a period of over seventy years—the colony enjoyed security and peace, and goodwill and confidence reigned between the two races.

We do not suggest that faithfulness to our principles will always ensure personal safety. Far from it; we are called to an obedience which does not count the cost. But all experience which shows how spiritual forces are mighty for good is a ground of encouragement, and a means for "instruction in righteousness." (1925.)

Christ demands of us that we adhere, without swerving, to the methods of love, and therefore if a seeming conflict should arise between the claims of His service and those of the State, it is to Christ that our supreme loyalty must be given, whatever the consequences.

We would, however, remember that whatever is our highest loyalty to God and humanity is at the same time the highest loyalty that we can render to our nation. (*From a statement presented to Yearly Meeting by a Committee appointed by the young men of enlistment age present at Yearly Meeting, 1915.*)

## 5. MESSAGE TO FRIENDS IN PRISON

The following message was sent to those Friends who were imprisoned for refusal to undertake military service, 1917 :—

*To our Friends imprisoned for conscience sake.*

Dear Friends,—We thank God for the faithful witness which you are bearing to the Truth and to Christ's gospel of love. We rejoice that strength has been given to you to bear all hardship cheerfully and bravely. We stand by you, and long that you should know how closely we associate ourselves with you.

We know that the sacrifices you are making will not be in vain, but will be richly rewarded both in your own souls and in the service and help of mankind.

Such was the price paid by our forefathers, in their more bitter days, in their great struggle for religious liberty.

We rejoice to know that many of you have been able like William Dewsbury to enter "prisons as palaces, and to esteem their bolts and bars as jewels," and that you have been upheld by the presence of One whom no bars can keep out.

To you we believe has been given a notable place among those who are saving the country from permanent conscription, and it may be the world also from military domination. We look forward to the time when, prepared and tested by all that you now experience, you will step into freedom to take your part in a very special way in bringing the service of Christ into all our service for the future, with its new hopes and new responsibilities.

Your faces are set towards a glorious day of love and liberty in the light of God. Whether it comes sooner or later depends in some measure on us all. We pray that in the outward desert of prison life your souls may be continually refreshed by the upspringing of the living water, the presence of the Christ of God. (*Yearly Meeting Minute, 1917.*)

## 6. FRIENDS AND THE CENSORSHIP

The following statement was issued to the Government and to the Press, upon the authority of the Meeting for Sufferings and endorsed by Yearly Meeting in 1918, consequent upon the issue of a regulation requiring the submission of pamphlets to the Censor during the World War :—

The Executive body of the Society of Friends after serious consideration, desires to place on record its conviction that the portion of the recent regulation requiring the submission to the censor of all leaflets dealing with the present war and the making of peace is a grave danger to the national welfare. The duty of every good citizen to express his thoughts on the affairs of his country is hereby endangered, and further we believe that Christianity requires the toleration of opinions not our own, lest we should unwittingly hinder the workings of the Spirit of God.

Beyond this there is a deeper issue involved. It is for Christians a paramount duty to be free to obey, and to act and speak in accord with the law of God, a law higher than that of any state, and no Government official can release men from this duty.

We realise the rarity of the occasions on which a body of citizens find their sense of duty to be in conflict with the law, and it is with a sense of the gravity of this decision, that the Society of Friends must on this occasion act contrary to the regulation, and continue to issue literature on war and peace, without submitting it to the Censor. It is convinced that in thus standing firm for spiritual liberty it is acting in the best interests of the nation. (*Yearly Meeting Minute*, 1918.)

## 7. EDUCATION FOR PEACE

We encourage parents and teachers to instruct our boys and girls in the principles of peace.

It is very important that our young people should be so imbued with the spirit of love and brotherhood, as exemplified in the life and teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, that they may be enabled to take their stand for peace and righteousness, wherever their lot may be cast.

In this connexion we urge parents seriously to consider whether it is right to send their children to schools where a military spirit is promoted. (1911.)

We believe that the fostering of officers' training corps and rifle clubs, and the drilling of boys and young men for military purposes, whether under voluntary or compulsory conditions, are likely to have a serious effect in creating a spirit which acquiesces in militarism. We also believe that this spirit works against the moral and spiritual development of character, which is the highest aim of education. We greatly desire that the children of the nation may be trained for a true conception of patriotism, and of the duty and privilege of service for their country and for humanity, but we maintain that this service is best promoted by an appeal to the highest elements of human nature, rather than by associating it with a barbaric institution such as war.

We desire that by the co-operative spirit of the school, by a broad and impartial study of history, and by an understanding of the civic and spiritual responsibilities that are awaiting them, our boys and girls may be prepared for great human and Christian service. (1907 ; 1911 ; 1923)

## 8. TRUE PATRIOTISM AND SERVICE TO HUMANITY

He is the truest patriot who benefits his own country without diminishing the welfare of another. For what reason those who induce improvements in the administration of justice, in the maxims of governing, in the political constitution of the state, or those who extend and reform the education, or in any other way amend the moral or social

condition of a people, possess incomparably higher claims to the praise of patriotism than multitudes of those who receive it from the popular voice. (Jonathan Dymond, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind*, 1829.)

If our protest against war is to be genuine and effective, it must include radical revision of every department of our lives. "May we look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses, and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these, our possessions."\* The call to a searching re-examination of our social life and practice is the more binding upon us as Friends, in so far as we profess to keep ourselves clear from all support of war. We see as never before that the active service, which our Christian discipleship demands of us, requires a devotion and equipment no less exacting than that of war.

If our patriotism is called in question, can we point with confidence to lives devoted to the nation's service? We claim, and rightly, that patriotism is not a matter of enmity towards other nations. But how far have we ourselves made it a matter of love towards our own? Our country needs us all the time. Love of country means love of men and women of the country. Yet in times of peace the annual toll of life sacrificed to our industries, the stunting of the higher faculties in monotonous employment, the hardships and even cruelties, suffered by women and children in our slums—these things, which are everyday incidents of our "peace civilisation," bring shame upon our patriotism.

How then shall we best express our patriotism? We need to dedicate ourselves to a better way of life, and to a Christlike endeavour, no matter at what sacrifice, for the good of others. For some of us the need may be to realise that much that is wrong with our country, can only be set

\* John Woolman.

right, if we are ready to act more in common than we have hitherto done. There may be others who have been tempted to rely too exclusively upon state or civil action, and to whom the call will come to be ready as individuals to adventure out upon new and untried paths in the ordering of their personal life. (*Friends' Social Union Report to Y.M., 1915, and Y.M. Minute, 1915.*)

### 9. DISARMAMENT

The ultimate choice before the world would appear to lie between fear, with its more complete organisation of the nations for war, and the venture of faith, with its reliance on spiritual and moral forces only. To adopt the latter course will need a far greater courage and a greater faith in God's governance of the world, than any nation at present possesses. (*Minute of Peace Committee, 2. iii. 1916.*)

We have been led more clearly than ever to regard total disarmament as the Christian solution of the problem before Europe, and to see that it is especially the work of the Society of Friends to put forward this solution. (*Service Committee Report to Y.M., 1917.*)

Our conviction is that Christianity has this to say to the world: "Your reliance upon armaments is both wrong and futile. Armaments are the weapons of organised violence and outrage. Their use is a denial of the true laws of good living. They involve the perpetuation of strife. They stand in the way of the true fellowship of men. They impoverish the peoples. They tempt men to evil, and they breed suspicion and fear and the tragic consequences thereof. They are therefore not legitimate weapons in the Christian armoury, nor are they sources of security. You cannot foster harmony by the apparatus of discord, nor cherish goodwill by the equipment of hate. But it is by harmony and goodwill that human security can be obtained.



Armaments aim at a security in isolation; but such would at best be utterly precarious, and is as a matter of fact, illusory. The only true safety is the safety of all, and unless your weapon of defence achieves this work, or works towards this, it is a source of antagonism, and therefore of increased peril." (*Report of Commission II, Conference of All Friends, 1920.*)

The world is dying for want of peace, and we have been reminded of our duty as a Society and as individuals, to go forth to preach peace, and the doctrine of consent, instead of the doctrine of coercion. We desire afresh to record our conviction that complete disarmament is the only road to those relations between nations, which we believe to be in accordance with God's will, . . . and we urge Friends . . . to take all opportunities that may offer, whether in the way of private intercourse or of public meetings, of presenting the case for Disarmament and Peace. (*Y.M. Minute, 1921.*)

#### 10. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

It is important that our testimony against War should not be a merely negative criticism, nor even a vague spiritual aspiration. It implies a practical policy of free, friendly, harmonious co-operation. The very fact that during the last sixty years or so many organs of international co-operation have been established, suggests that the nations are beginning to recognise that partnership is better than strife. The great world's need of easy intercourse and exchange, health, knowledge and the advancement of the standard of life, is only to be met by united action. The bond of common aims and mutual interests may prove the surest foundation for a durable peace, and this international action will itself minister, not only to the material needs of life, but to the consciousness of a common spiritual life. We are called, therefore, to a willing and eager co-operation in all

enterprises and experiments for the common welfare of humanity. (*Report of Commission II, All Friends' Conference, 1920.*)

We believe that in the pursuance of a co-operative ideal of international trade, the mutual advantage of the peoples would be progressively realised in the free exchange of such goods as each can best supply. Trade carried on upon such a basis, so far from being a ground for antagonism, would link the nations together in the bonds of reciprocal service, so that the development of one country's resources and the growth of its prosperity would make for the well-being of all. The nations no less than individuals are members one of another. (*War and Social Order Committee Report to Y.M., 1916.*)

## II. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Friends may claim that many among their number, from William Penn and John Bellers onward, have been pioneers of an association of all nations. What should be the attitude of Friends to the existing League of Nations?

In our efforts for arbitration and peace we have looked forward to the time when the unity of mankind would take shape in the political organisation of the world. Every true movement in this direction will be welcomed, and as the existing League of Nations marks an important step towards the Christian ideal, we are thankful for its foundation. We cannot overlook its defects. Some nations have been excluded from original membership in the League; the League is entangled with an unjust European settlement; the Covenant explicitly allows for the use of economic and military coercion under certain circumstances; the League has hitherto failed to diminish armaments, or to bring any real sense of peace and security to the nations.

On the other hand its rescue work for humanity has been admirable ; evil traffics are being checked ; several serious international crises have been eased by the League's action. A Court of International Justice has for the first time been established.

The following are some of the tests by which we may judge the League of Nations and its actions. Has it promise of becoming a League of all nations ? Does it reflect the aspirations towards human brotherhood that are growing up among men and women in all nations ? Does it stand for justice and mercy ? Is it relying upon intelligent public opinion and on the consent of its members, rather than on fear or on threats of coercion ? Does its moral authority increase or diminish ? Is it working for the welfare, material and spiritual, of men and women, and not in the interests of powerful groups or tyrannical authorities ? Is it bringing the light of day into places of deceit and corruption ? Is it helping to succour the needy, to release those who are in bonds, to give light to those who are in darkness ? Is it fostering co-operation ? Does it show by its deeds a recognition of the truth that all men, whatever their colour or creed or class may be, are children of one Father ?

We would urge Friends to remember the dependence of the League on public opinion, and to base their own contribution on a careful study of its work. In criticising its actions or failure to act, let Friends endeavour to make their criticism constructive, so as to indicate what they believe to be the Christian method of dealing with the problems involved.

Let it be remembered that a League of Nations, however good its machinery, can only assist in reconciling the nations, if the men and women who make up those nations are themselves filled with the spirit of reconciliation. We must rid our own minds of every feeling of national arrogance or

jealousy ; we should, both by act and word, encourage in our nation the spirit of service instead of the lust for power ; we should urge upon our fellow-citizens the duty of giving to others all that justice or mercy may demand ; in such ways we can help to make the authority of the League of Nations a reality, based on the goodwill of men. (1925.)

We unite in supporting treaties of arbitration and conciliation, limitation and reduction of armaments, international courts of justice, a league or association of nations for the preservation of peace. This is well ; it is a great achievement for statesmen to accomplish these things ; but it is not sufficient for the Christian Church.

A principle is greater than any or all of its applications. The fundamental peace principle of Christianity demands the utter rejection of war, unequivocally and without compromise. With this principle in its charter, the Christian Church can always utter a clear and unmistakable verdict on any specific measure of statesmanship that is proposed ; it will not be misled or coerced by argument or by force into participating in any kind or degree of preparation for war, or into lending the sanction of Christianity to the waging of any war whatsoever. (*To the Churches of Christ in All Countries. An Appeal from the Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia ; endorsed by London Y.M., 1922.*)

## 12. SLAVERY

We would express our thankfulness for an event which concerns not us only, but incalculable multitudes of our fellow creatures, our fellow possessors of the faculty of reason, our fellow objects of the redemption which comes by Christ. We scarcely need name the abolition of the slave trade. We view it as one of the most important acts of public national righteousness which ever dignified the councils of any Government ; and our minds have been directed in

secret prayer to the Almighty Parent of the universe, that He may be pleased to regard this kingdom for good, and direct its future councils to such further acts of justice and mercy as may promote His glory, in the harmony of His rational creation. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1807.*)

The bill for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, which was before Parliament when we last met, has passed into a law, and on the first of the Eighth Month, 1834, slavery is to cease in the colonies of Great Britain. Some provisions are attached to this Act, the insertion of which we regret. We at the same time think it right to express our gratitude to God, in that He has been pleased to incline the hearts of our rulers to this act of national justice and mercy. We look back to the faithful, persevering labours of Friends of former days, when, simply following those principles of justice and equity which the Gospel enjoins, they bore their testimony to the unrighteousness of man holding his fellow man in bondage. To the spread of this view of the subject we attribute, under Divine Providence, the removal of this system of iniquity. It may truly be said to have been hastened in the Lord's time. Such were the singular providences brought to bear upon the public feeling and upon the Legislature, that none could point to the result as arising from their individual efforts; and the lesson was afresh sealed on the Christian mind, that the Lord ruleth amongst the children of men. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1834.*)

A deep concern was laid upon the minds of Friends of a past generation for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. In that cause they laboured faithfully, and in the end with much success. These great evils still prevail under various names. In Africa and elsewhere indentured labour is secured and maintained by professedly Christian nations, under conditions similar to those of the slave trade

and slavery ; whilst slavery itself with its cruelty and immorality still exists in various parts of the world. We desire that the interest of Friends in the cause of the helpless and oppressed may be maintained, and that they may still labour and pray for the removal of these great iniquities. (*Yearly Meeting Epistle*, 1875 ; 1911.)

### 13. TREATMENT OF OTHER RACES : MANDATES

Christ showed the way of universal brotherhood. He taught men to look beyond the divisions and antagonisms of family, nation and race, and to see themselves reconciled one with another under the all-Father. His message comes to us to-day bidding us love our neighbours, whatever their nation, race or colour. He bids us put trust in our fellow men in place of fear, and supplant proud antagonism with humble, helpful friendliness.

How can we help to apply these principles to some of the great race problems of to-day ? What of the immigration problem that faces many countries ? Until we can bring into being a better social organisation, in which workers of different races can meet in a spirit of mutual helpfulness instead of inevitable strife, we may well seek to modify rather than to abolish at once the restriction on immigration. If we can so adjust the immigration laws as to bring together those classes that are best suited to meet on common ground, we shall have started on a new way—the way to real progress and inter-racial relations. If immigration can be limited for some years by some genuine educational test, and if we as Christians do our best to enable the stranger folk to enter into our social life as equals and friends (not as barbarians, to be exploited or patronised), then we shall have paved the way to a more vigorous forward movement.

The problems that arise from the contact of various races, and the economic and political issues involved, may surely be met by patient and courageous efforts

along truly Christian lines ; partly it may be, through the action of the Nations working together in the International Labour Organisation ; partly, too, in Africa and other tropical countries, by proper reservation of land for the natives. The prohibition of the liquor traffic, the abolition of systems of enforced or indentured labour, and the final suppression of slavery are measures which should be urgently pressed forward ; and there is great need for giving fuller educational facilities, including the training of native teachers. Military training and all warlike measures should be rigidly excluded. These are the principles which the League of Nations is expected to uphold, through its Mandates Commission, in the mandated territories of Central Africa and the Pacific. We should do all in our power to make these principles effective in every tropical country.

It is no easy matter either to accept or to practice the full Christian ideal of human brotherhood, in the face of the prejudices and bitterness that have grown up, largely, as we must sorrowfully confess, owing to the injustice and wrong perpetrated by so-called Christian races. Nevertheless, whilst refraining from judging harshly the conduct of those who may seem to fall short, we would earnestly pray that all professing Christians may, in humble dependence upon Divine strength, show forth in their lives a true spirit of brotherhood towards all. (1925.)

#### 14. THE OPIUM TRAFFIC

For many years members of our Society took an active part in working for the abolition of the opium traffic, forced by Great Britain upon China after the war of 1840 ; and this iniquitous trade was, we hoped, ended by the agreement to extinguish it by 1917.

The Indian government, however, continues to grow a large amount of opium, and the British Crown Colonies in the East allow this drug to be imported in quantities far

exceeding the requirements for medical and scientific purposes. As British citizens, our hands can only be clean in this matter, when India and the British Crown Colonies have ceased to draw revenue from the growth and sale of opium for purposes of indulgence, whether in British territories or elsewhere.

We welcome the efforts that are being made through international action to secure that the world production of opium and other drugs of addiction shall be limited to the amount required for medical and scientific use ; and that the manufacture of and trade in prepared drugs shall be controlled and limited by a central board, in accordance with the world's medical needs. We urge Friends to join hands with those of all countries, in East and West, who are working for the attainment of these ends. (1925.)

#### 15. INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

God has appointed us to serve in the ministry of reconciliation. We are to tell how God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, and that he has entrusted to us the message of this reconciliation. On Christ's behalf, therefore, we come as ambassadors.\*

Govern and order with God's wisdom all the creatures that ye have under you, and all exchanging, merchandising, husbandry. Do what ye do in the wisdom of God, and with it, which is pure from above, and gentle, and easy to be entreated. With this wisdom (which is not earthly, sensual, nor devilish) you do good unto all, and hurt no one, nor yourselves ; for it is pure and preserves pure.

So, be careful to do good in all things to all people whatsoever ; in the fear of God serve Him, and be diligent, and not stubborn in anything, but pliable in the power of God, that keeps you over all the powers of unrighteousness ; acting so in that, that ye may be a good savour in all nations,

\* See 2. Corinthians v. 18-20 (Weymouth's Translation.)



islands and places where ye come, in the hearts of all people ; doing truly and plainly, uprightly, faithfully, justly and honestly, according to the light of Jesus Christ in every man ; that ye may witness to all. (George Fox, 1661.)—Here is our warrant. The central purpose of all Friends' International Service lies in the work of reconciliation—man to God and man to man.

The loosely organised groups of Friends in different parts of the world, East and West, should aim to be growing points for the International Kingdom of Christ which we seek to serve and advance. A common aim should bind all Quaker centres whether in Christendom or in non-Christian communities. We want to accomplish certain practical ends making for the truer life. To do this we need a great quickening of the spirit, a spiritual intensity, an evangelistic ardour and a missionary force. The Quaker international movement should be an effort to apply in the practice of the world-life what we learn corporately to know of God in our quiet meetings. The inner life, which is of God, is creative, and must express itself in human relationships, and in definite striving for and consecration to the New Life—in the individual and in the community. Christian citizenship is the citizenship of a Universal City, the Kingdom of God on earth. (1925.)

## 16. THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE

We appeal to all men to recognise the great spiritual force of love, which is found in all, and which makes us all one common brotherhood. In spite of sacrifice and devotion there is dissatisfaction and unrest in all lands. Consciously or unconsciously, men are seeking for a new way of life. They cry for a bond that shall unite the world in freedom, righteousness and love ; that shall liberate it from its suffering, its hatred, its disunion. They cry for a religion

of life, for an active spirit of peace on earth, of goodwill to men.

Through the dark cloud of selfishness and materialism, shines the Eternal Light of the Christ in man. It can never perish. This light of Christ in the heart of every man is the ground of our hope, the basis of our faith in the spiritual unity of all races and all nations. Because we have been blind to this essential fact of life, we have failed in social and international relations, and are now in confusion. The profound need of our time is to realise the everlasting truth of the common Fatherhood of God—the Spirit of Love, and the oneness of the human race.

We have used the words of Christ, but we have not acted upon them. We have called ourselves by his name, but we have not lived in his spirit. Nevertheless, the Divine seed is in all men. As men realise its presence, and follow the light of Christ in their hearts, they enter upon the right way of life, and receive power to overcome evil by good. Thus will be built the City of God.

We stretch out our hands in fellowship, sympathy and love across frontiers, lands and seas. We call upon all men everywhere to unite in the service of healing the broken world, to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the Law of Christ. (*A Message to all Men*. Issued by the Meeting for Sufferings, 1919.)

There are many separate problems in the life of humanity to be faced and resolved by the religious community. Our desire is that we may faithfully consider each such problem in the full light of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. For as we do this we are led to see the essential oneness of that international life, which we know and strive for as the Kingdom and the City of God. Each clear testimony upon right human relations, springing out of a faithful study of such problems as war, disarmament, patriotism, the treatment

of weaker peoples, and co-operation between nations, is but another effort to express the inward oneness and harmony of the Community of the Spirit. We are not working for individual reforms alone. We are seeking a new and unified way of life for the Society of Man, and finding it in the reality of the Kingdom set before us in vision by Christ Jesus.

The Spirit of God works in the world in every creative act that liberates and lifts the human race. The eternal purpose is wrought out daily before us in slow ways, and by hard experience men learn, as they struggle towards the light, that God and the Power of God is what they truly seek. For with him is the secret of effective action ; the vision, the driving force and the power to build a City of God and a Realm of Right. And with him, too, is the willingness to share with us in the mighty corporate life of the Spirit. Have we knowledge of this life, and having it, are we ready individually and as a community, to take our place in this great fellowship of the Spirit, and to find ourselves builders together with the living God ? (1925.)

## FREEDOM AND SERVICE

1. Jesus told His followers that He had come that they might have life, and might have it abundantly. The abundant life is the life spent in the service of others, and joy is its by-product, while absorption in selfish ends brings disappointment and vain regrets. The gladness of the Presence of God may be known even "more abundantly" in suffering or sorrow or persecution. In this sense Jesus was the man of joys as well as the man of sorrows.

Neither did Jesus withdraw himself from the ordinary joys of life: the beauty of nature appealed to him, still more the joy of human intercourse, and he delighted to share its simple pleasures. He did not value the surrender of these things as a means of self-mortification, but he was ready to sacrifice everything to his commanding purpose, the doing of his Father's will and the expression of his love for men. It was this which led him to the Cross. His life, which should be our model, thus acquired unity and harmony. (1925.)

2. We come into the world endowed with a natural capacity for reaching out after all that is good, with an instinct for the things that give life and joy, with a veritable seed of the divine planted in us. Thus endowed, we are able, as we follow the divine promptings, to recognise what is good in the world into which we come—the beauty of the earth and the heavens, the wonder of growth and decay, and still more the beauty of all that is good and true and pure in the men and women around us. We are not withdrawn from the world, nor from the temptations arising from our instincts and surroundings; but the spirit in which we look

upon the world, and upon the beauty and wonder of the creation, should reflect something of the spirit in which "God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good." (1925.)

3. We need to be kept from the love of ease and luxury, from conformity to vain fashion, from undue absorption in material things. Our lives can only attain balance and serenity as all our concerns are brought under the divine guidance. We have to consider the needs of our own body and mind, the claims of our daily occupations, of home and friends, and of our service for the world. Our intellectual and æsthetic interests, and all other healthy activities must be given each its right place, but no more. This can only be attained as our wills are renewed day by day, as we strive to follow the example of Jesus, and seek constant guidance in all our doings.

Some concentration is necessary for all who wish to live well; no man can span the whole realm of human knowledge and attainment. Yet real as is the danger of dissipating energy, we must beware also of the opposite danger. All life is one; and the wise man speedily learns that he cannot understand one thing fully, until he has learnt something about related matters. As we mount higher, we discover, if we look out from our immediate task, that our horizon is ever expanding; all life comes beneath our gaze. Again, in all our activities we must not overstress one aspect of truth, to the exclusion of other truth. Lovers of liberty should not forget William Penn's wise saying: "Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Those who are working to release man from his bondage to material things, should not forget that the body has its needs, which must be satisfied. Material needs must be brought into harmony with spiritual aspirations; order and discipline with liberty. As we yield our lives freely

to divine inspiration, they will be ordered by divine control. (1925.)

4. It is a life of free development to which we are called; but this will be gained, not by throwing aside restraint and principle, but by bringing all the endowments of the human spirit under the unifying reign of the divine purpose. There is no true freedom in the chaos of competing desires, or the tyranny of one over-mastering instinct. Only in that harmony in which diverse elements find their right place, are to be found those conditions of spiritual effectiveness that mean inward peace and liberty. Only thus can the highest self be realised.

We are meant to enjoy an abundant life; but in such a life the instincts and ideals which link us with our fellows must find their full place. Though difficult problems of choice will arise, it remains true that self-development and service are not two but one. The self that is seeking its full growth is a social self. As it develops its capacities of wisdom and knowledge, creative power and joy in all that is beautiful, it is becoming a better member of the community. The life that is devoted to service, the life of those who are builders together with God, is indeed a life full to overflowing. He who lays hold of the eternal, whether in a daily spirit of cheerful courage and tender thoughtfulness, or in more striking fashion in embodiments of beauty, masteries of truth or victories of good, is truly entering into life. (1925.)

5. He who desires thus to become the servant of good, the worker in the harvest field of God, will know the need of self-denial. He has seen the vision of the highest, and all lesser goods will take a lower place. For him the call may be for the sacrifice of many legitimate pursuits, many lines of happy activity, in devotion to some imperative service.

Principle speaks, and comfort and culture and reputation must be laid aside. The summons comes to give himself to a great cause, to bring liberty to the captive, or light to those that sit in darkness ; and the true life, even the abundant life, will be found in obedience to the uttermost. Sacrifice is no end in itself, but it is the test of what we value most, it shows whether we have come out of the narrow circle of self into the great world of human service and divine truth ; it is the measure of our devotion to the supreme purpose. It is the stamp of whole-hearted dedication, and thus carries with it an inspiring and uplifting power that appeals to all men, and may win its way where all else fails. (1925.)

6. Service is not a department of life, something outside the main current of personal living. It is sometimes deliberate, but more often is involved unconsciously in the sheer quality of the soul displayed in ordinary occupations. In our social and recreational activities our gladness and peace of mind will influence others. Special gifts will bring special opportunities and duties. These we shall not think of as tasks to be performed ; they will be the natural outcome of a love of men. But we shall seek also to do our part towards the building of an order of society, in which all may be free to enjoy those wholesome pleasures which imply the right exercise of instinct, and that happiness which comes from successful activity of body and mind.

Throughout, our joy will be an inward one, springing from a happy harmony with the divine will, and confidence in the divine love and power, so that our whole body, mind and spirit will radiate something of the life we have received. This in itself will be our highest privilege and service, and as others learn to draw water from the same deep and certain source, our joy will be complete.

The service that is called for at our hands, the service in which we may realise this happy and active self, will

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carry us deep into the heart of many perplexing problems of life and thought. As followers of Jesus of Nazareth we shall throw ourselves unreservedly into life, and as we do this we shall come into contact with man, with the human soul, struggling through mystery and complexity, through pain and passion, to a fuller understanding of the laws of being and of the things that are eternal. So are we led back to God, and to His perfect revelation in Christ, who is the beginning and the end, and the way. (1925.)



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# THE HADOW REPORT AND AFTER

BEING A STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE OF THE  
NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS UPON CERTAIN  
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONSULTATIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF  
EDUCATION, AND UPON THE  
REORGANISATION OF THE  
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM  
NOW CONTEMPLA-  
TED BY THE  
BOARD

..

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS,  
HAMILTON HOUSE, MABLEDON PLACE, LONDON W.C. 1

1928



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## PREFACE.

**I**N December, 1926, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, over which Sir W. H. Hadow, C.B.E., presides, issued its Report entitled *The Education of the Adolescent*, which contained a careful review of post-primary education in England and Wales, and made suggestions for its radical reorganisation and improvement. The Report is worthy to rank with the most famous of those official documents which have served as milestones to the progress of national education. After a period when the educational system, because of the cataclysm of 1914-18, and the long continued industrial depression and financial stringency which followed it, had somewhat abated its rate of growth, the Hadow Report surveyed the tendencies of the intervening years and showed that they had given birth to new principles which should be directed intelligently to a definite end.

The idea of developing courses of advanced instruction is much older than the Education Act of 1918, which gave it for the first time statutory sanction. After the date of the Act it became the duty of the local education authorities to incorporate this principle in area schemes for the progressive development of education, and proposals that schools should be reorganised for that purpose became more common. Departmental Committees dealing with secondary education and allied subjects noted the problem and the efforts that were being made to solve it, political parties became successively committed to forwarding these efforts, but it remained for the Consultative Committee to survey the progress that had been secured after five or six years of experiment, to insist that every area should proceed in the light of that experience, and to indicate that the realisable objective of all this endeavour was a general system of secondary education, diversified in type, for all pupils over the age of 11 plus.

Too often in the past the authoritative recommendations of Committees have been ignored, or have been adopted only

after long delay. This fate is not likely to befall those suggestions of the Consultative Committee which have commended themselves alike to teachers and administrators. In framing them the Committee had in mind the well ascertained practice of certain areas, and merely proposed that principles of reorganisation which have proved their utility should be more widely adopted. These principles, as we have indicated, had already been accepted very largely in the area schemes of the various authorities, and the delay in operating them was due to the period of economy from 1920 onward.

Reorganisation and the correlative raising of the school age are thus seen to be the natural outcome of the Act of 1918, and the nation may now be expected to take up with assiduity the task that it had temporarily abandoned. There may be checks and impediments to the improvement and extension of national education, but its whole history shows that in time they are overcome and progress is resumed. This may be due to the fact that the ardour of the people for education, and their appreciation of its fundamental importance to the nation, grows as the system itself extends. The schools themselves have created a generation which is no longer content with the achievement of the past, and which demands in fuller measure for its children the advantages it has itself enjoyed.

The influence of this more enlightened public opinion is seen in the history of the last eight years. The school of thought that advocated economy at the expense of efficiency enjoyed only a temporary triumph. The administrations that have succeeded may not have had a mandate to go forward, but it has been sufficiently evident to them that the electorate would permit no serious reductions in the educational service. In consequence, the country has entered upon a period of stabilisation. Meanwhile, the desire for active advance has grown in volume, and the time is rapidly approaching when nothing will be able to resist it.

The reorganisations now favoured by the Government, and under consideration by every local authority, are not necessarily dictated by economy. Many of them will involve additional expenditure, if not at once, yet most certainly when the new system is in being and commences its inevitable

growth. They are merely a preparing of the ground for that future development which will give all pupils a complete secondary education adapted to their various needs and capacities. The teachers of the country accept with a few reservations the changes that are now proposed, not because the new system is likely to be perfect, but because it provides a basis from which a further and outstanding advance may be made. For example, it is incredible, when the new post-primary courses are everywhere established, that the raising of the school leaving age can be long delayed. This particular reform is likely in our opinion to be more productive than almost any other of permanent social benefit, and we are prepared cordially to co-operate in any reconstruction of the educational system that is likely to accelerate its coming.

We do not agree with all the recommendations of the Consultative Committee, and we shall have occasion to utter a cautionary note in respect to some of them, but on the whole the danger is that officials and administrators may deviate too far from the recommendations rather than that they will adhere too closely to them. The greatest public service that teachers can perform is to criticise constructively the lead that the Board of Education has afforded in Circular 1397 and in Educational Pamphlet No. 60 entitled *The New Prospect in Education*. If they do so it will be with no desire to impede advance, but rather to offer their experience in the proper solution of difficult problems, and to secure that whatever changes may be made shall tend towards a co-ordinated educational system, fulfilling its proper purpose in all its parts, and supplying all children with the opportunity fully to develop their individual capacities. That is the purpose of this publication.

It is too often assumed that the interests of teachers as a body, or of the individual teacher, may conflict with the interests of the child. The experience of the Union has always been that any improvement in school conditions confers benefits upon both. For this reason the Union, throughout its history, has been a protagonist of progress, while at the same time it has striven to maintain those amicable relations with the Board of Education and the local authorities which enable it to protect the interests of its individual members when changes are contemplated. There seems to be no

reason why any teacher should suffer financially or professionally through reorganisation, unless that reorganisation is designed to effect economies at the expense of the children and the teachers alike. In every local area some at least of the elementary schools are inadequately staffed, and in an improved system there will be a need for more and not for fewer teachers. Re-adjustments there must be, and the transfer of teachers on a very considerable scale, but in the past we have found that, thanks to the wisdom and the innate sense of justice of local authorities, these changes have been made without hardship to the individual and with benefit to the teachers as a corporate body. The difficulties associated with the degrading of certain schools consequent upon the transfer of their older pupils have been very largely met by the decision of the Burnham Committee, cordially implemented by many local authorities, that this should involve no reduction in the salary of the head teacher. Teachers transferred to new posts owing to reorganisation schemes come within the same protective provision.

This pamphlet, therefore, is not concerned with professional questions, which must continue to be the subject of national and local negotiations, in which we do not doubt that any suggestions the Union may make to safeguard the interests of its members will have the most serious consideration, but rather with broad educational issues. Its main purpose is to consider in some detail the two documents which the Board has issued as a guide to the practice of local education authorities, and the relation of these documents to the recommendation of the Consultative Committee that a general system of secondary education, diversified in type, should be established for all normal children over the age of 11 plus. We shall have reason to suggest that this fundamentally important recommendation is likely to be partially nullified by a failure to observe the conditions necessary to its operation, and we shall reaffirm the opinion expressed by our Annual Conference that secondary education in certain circumstances may be given on the premises of elementary schools, that the education of all children over the age of 11 plus in state-aided schools should be administered under a common Code of Regulations, that parity in staffing, equipment, and the provision of amenities should be secured between present and future types of second-

ary schools, and that secondary education should be free, with adequate maintenance allowances to pupils who are in need of them.

In doing this we are not pursuing utopian ideas, but are actuated by a desire to clarify the public mind, and to ensure that having put its hand to the plough of progress the nation should in no wise look back.

## THE REGRADING OF EDUCATION.

ALL the arguments that have been advanced for an organisation of older pupils apart from others apply with even greater force to the maintenance of the infant school as a separate institution, and we are glad to note that the Board's Memorandum contains a frank recognition of this fact. Formerly the Board held that pupils should remain continuously in the same department from the age of five to the age of eleven, but we are told that "in the light of further experience it is not now possible to press this preference." Probably the experiments that have been conducted at Blackpool, Plymouth, and elsewhere, have convinced the Board, as they have convinced all responsible teachers and administrators, that in a Junior Mixed and Infant Department the particular needs of very small children are apt to be disregarded, the concentration on fundamental subjects which distinguishes the junior stage is sometimes attempted too soon, and class teaching is introduced when it is by general consent inappropriate.

The Hadow Report is based fundamentally on the proposition that each stage of education has a technique peculiar to itself, that the best results are secured if separate provision is made for the exercise of that technique, and if it is committed to persons who have made a special and intensive study of it. This is the lesson that the infant schools and those who have worked within them have taught us, and which is now to be applied, we trust with most beneficial effects, to other grades and age groups. To insist on it above 11 plus, where it has been exercised hitherto only partially, and at the same time to sweep it away at the infant stage, where, since the early days of English education, it has operated with remarkable success, would be the height of futility, and the Board appears to have realised the demonstrable contradiction in which it would have involved itself if it had continued an attempt of this character.

Naturally the doctrine of separate and successive stages in the educational process must not be carried too far. At no age in the career of a child, except perhaps at the outset of puberty, is there a sudden metamorphosis. Growth does not normally proceed by disparate steps, and there is no more marked difference in the child between 6 and 7 than there is between 7 and 8. The same principle is true at 11 plus. The Consultative Committee states very guardedly that "with the transition from childhood to adolescence, a boy or girl is often conscious of new powers and interests," but it is careful not to contend that this awakening occurs definitely at the age when the break between the junior and senior school is recommended. The Board frankly ignores the psychological argument for a break at this stage, and bases its suggestions upon administrative expediency. The truth is that the division of education into successive "courses" is valuable because the teachers, in whatever type of school they find themselves, should work with a definite aim in view, and should be expert in the technique required in education at a certain period of childhood.

It follows that a teacher who is capable of taking a top class of infants and who has some adaptability may be expected to do equally well with the lower classes in the junior school. Similarly those who are expert with children of 12 may suitably take charge of those who are two or three years younger. Indeed those who have experience of education at two or more of the stages which have been discriminated are likely to be better teachers, with a wider outlook and a more thorough understanding of fundamental issues, than those who have experience of only one. We emphasise this point because there is a danger that, when the three grades of school are firmly established, teachers may be trained exclusively for service in one of them. We should regret any development which would prevent teachers from acquiring that variety of experience which will enable them to see their own special task in its proper perspective. Indeed we believe that interchange of teachers between different types of school should be encouraged by the Board and by the local education authorities. With this reservation, and for reasons of administration and organisation, and on educational grounds because it is necessary periodically to review the children and to give them

a fresh start in company with those of their own stature, we assent to the principle that separate infant, senior and junior courses should be established.

This is no new doctrine. The Union throughout its history has supported with its full strength the separate infant department, and has defended in the interests of the children the retention under their own head teachers of such departments even when they were relatively small. The Union has had under constant review also the problem of the age of transfer from these departments to the upper school. It has resolutely opposed premature promotions, and on the other hand has always recognised that when a normal child has reached the age of eight his proper place is with the elder children. Thus, independently of the recommendations of any Committee, the Union, as a result of its long and intimate experience of innumerable negotiations about transfer in every part of the country, has arrived at a practical working rule which is in line with the Report of the Consultative Committee, and which it would regret to see superseded by exact chronological transfer.

The same is true of the break at 11 plus that is now proposed, and to which, we submit, the same principles of transfer should apply. The Union is sometimes represented as opposing any exceptional provision for senior pupils. Nothing could be further from the truth, and it would be easy to prove that the Union was in the forefront of the movement for separate consideration.

Perhaps it was among rural school teachers, who suffer most severely from difficulties of organisation and lack of facilities for advanced instruction that this movement originated, and from 1913 onwards, when the first decision of the Executive on this point was recorded (see page 58), those who urged the need for grouping the older children made themselves felt increasingly in the councils of the Union. In certain urban areas higher grade or higher standard schools were progressively replaced by central schools of the selective type, and the Union did not cease to press upon the Board and the local authorities the need for extending the provision of this character. Sir Ernest Gray, formerly Secretary to the Education Committee of the Executive, was an early advocate



of these schools, and a widely circulated memorandum framed by him provided almost the first exact definition of their precise characteristics and functions. This and other documents issued by the Union were important factors in determining the establishment of selective central schools in many parts of the country.

In the Education Act of 1918 we find the clause which has had an over-ruling influence on all subsequent practice. Under this clause it is "the *duty* of the local authority responsible for elementary education so to exercise its powers in regard to elementary education as to make, or otherwise to secure, adequate and suitable provision by means of Central Schools, Central or Special Classes, or otherwise :—

(i.) for including in the curriculum of public elementary schools, at appropriate stages, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of the children ; and

(ii.) for organising in public elementary schools courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children in attendance at such schools, including children who stay at such schools beyond the age of 14."

This development was welcomed by the Union, which took an active share in getting the Act through Parliament and in popularising it in the country.

The remission to the Consultative Committee of its reference on the education of the adolescent gave the Union a further opportunity of pressing its views and we quote in full the paragraphs from the Union evidence to be found in Miss E. R. Conway's note of dissent (*Report*, p. 185) :—

" It is probable that in many schools provision may be made for the continued education of scholars to the age of 15 plus. Sufficient accommodation may be available, suitable rooms for special instruction may exist, or may be provided without difficulty, and the necessary school equipment may be secured. In such schools there would be a break in the school life at the mental age of 11 plus. The department, whether for boys or girls or mixed, would consist of two sections, the junior department containing pupils from the age of admission to 11 plus, and the senior department from 11 plus to 15 plus. The age of admission to such a composite department would be determined by local conditions, but usually the age for admission would be that at which transfer takes place from an infants' department to a department for older scholars.

In other cases, children will be transferred at the age of 11 plus to another school building, and a form of organisation where such transfer takes place would in many cases be preferable to the retention of the scholars in the school building where they passed their earlier years, as it is undesirable that pupils of the age of 15 should be taught under the same roof as children under the age of 11. Raising the school age to 15 plus must lead either to the building of new schools or to the remodelling of existing schools in order that full provision may be made by means of laboratories, work-rooms, domestic science rooms and so forth, for the continued education of pupils to the age of 15 plus."

It is not likely that a Union with such a record will lightly acquiesce in the charge that it is indifferent to the special needs and requirements of senior pupils, or that it is opposed to separate consideration. We do feel, however, that separate consideration does not necessarily involve the transfer of the pupil to a new building. Very potent arguments have been advanced in the Hadow Report and elsewhere in favour of this course, but the major requirement is that proper facilities for senior education, including adequate work rooms, art rooms, music rooms, libraries, laboratories, gymnasias and playing fields should be provided, and it is on this issue that we desire to concentrate public attention. There is a danger that the real objective will be neglected, while we engage in a fruitless controversy about whether the essentials of a good education should be supplied in one building rather than in another. We advocate strongly a redemarcation of courses, and a new outlook in senior education, and if a reorganisation of schools be necessary to secure this teachers will be willing to facilitate it in every possible way; but reorganisation merely for its own sake with no compensating improvement in school conditions will be resolutely opposed. Wherever reorganisation is undertaken the public must insist that administrators must make a good job of it, and create a post-primary system of which the nation need not be ashamed.

The emphasis that has been placed by the Consultative Committee and by the Board upon transfer to a new building arises perhaps from the fact that secondary schools hitherto have always been separately housed. This is, of course, an accident of educational development under which not only the schools but the systems have grown separately and in no relation to one another. The same conditions due to historical causes are

not found in Scotland, where the idea of the common school is deeply rooted, and where no difficulty has been found in devising a common status for what the Consultative Committee would call "secondary schools, modern schools and senior classes."

There is an element of exaggeration in the contention of the Board that "unless there is a genuine transfer to a new school or department, it is far more difficult to make an effective break in organisation on an age basis." Everything depends on a clear understanding by the teachers of the purpose and significance of the break, and there is reason to think that, even without the intervention of the Board, it would have reflected itself increasingly in the organisation of courses within the school. It might not always have taken the form of strict transfer by age, but shortly we shall give excellent reasons against too rigid an adoption of this device. Meanwhile we do not believe that the break at 11 plus within the school has been applied experimentally on a sufficiently large scale for the Board to pronounce in strong terms about the difficulties created by it.

The Report of the Consultative Committee itself contains certain evidence that in some areas the development of senior departments has been attended with considerable success. In its attempt to classify the present types of post-primary provision it distinguishes nine different categories, of which one is the system now recommended for universal adoption by the Board. Among the others we find—

(i.) Authorities which provide most of their courses of advanced instruction by means of "higher tops," forming integral parts of existing elementary schools, e.g., Durham County.

(ii.) Authorities which have organised their courses of advanced instruction within existing elementary schools, either wholly for the pupils in certain individual schools, or also for a limited number of pupils drawn from other schools, e.g., Hornsey.

(iii.) Authorities which up to the present have provided courses for the older children by means of "senior standard" schools, or of departments providing specially arranged three year courses, e.g., Dorset and Leeds.

To these, and most significantly, it adds a further category—

(iv.) Authorities which are adopting several of these arrangements simultaneously in different parts of their areas, e.g., Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Surely this wide diversity in type of provision, which extends not only to different areas, but to different schools in the same area supplies a conclusive argument against too great a dogmatism.

The Board itself contemplates that in " a mining village or small town with 400 or 500 children of school age there may be some 150 older children—far too many to convey to some other centre and too few to constitute a senior school providing two parallel courses. In such a case it is best to avoid a break in organisation at the age of 9 or 10, and to provide a separate infants' department covering the three-year period up to the age of 8. Then in the main school, which would cover the whole period from 8 years old upwards, an effective break in organisation and curriculum should be made at the age of 11 plus, so as to form a senior division into which children should be promoted on an age basis, and not merely on the basis of attainments as in the normal process of promotion from standard to standard. This will secure for the older children as many as possible of the advantages of a senior school education, and, though there are obvious disadvantages in grouping them in the same school with the younger children, it will at the same time be easier to obtain a good head teacher for a larger school, and the larger staff of assistants will also make it easier for him to organise the work effectively. For example, a teacher, mainly employed with one of the junior forms may usefully take some special subject in the senior division."

The same considerations are likely to apply not only in areas of the type described, but in rural areas where a senior department may most conveniently be built up in close association with a centrally situated elementary school. Even in an urban area which is relatively thickly populated it may be found advisable for some schools to develop in their upper ranges, and without the transfer of senior pupils to a separate building. Obviously Local Education Authorities should be encouraged to explore all the possibilities, and should not necessarily assume in every instance that transfer to a separate building is the most economical and effective way of organising senior education, or of using to the best advantage the buildings and equipment at its disposal.

Nevertheless the Union holds very strongly that the present situation and planning of many elementary school buildings renders them unsuitable for the organisation of advanced instruction, and that frequently it will be impossible to adapt them properly to serve this purpose. Here transfer to other premises will be essential, and would inevitably have become a more common practice as the true character of the provision needed in the arts, crafts, and sciences was increasingly realised. Nor must we forget the advantages of collecting pupils in such numbers that proper grading is possible, and of securing that the attention of the Head Teacher may be devoted to perfecting the rather elaborate organisation of alternative courses required for this purpose. "It is far easier," say the Board, "to provide good organised games in a school with a large number of children of the same age," an argument which would carry even more conviction if the Board should at any time attempt to secure for the senior school suitable playing fields upon which such games might be undertaken. Consolidation of this kind may also assist powerfully in the creation of a proper school spirit, and it is important that, in whatever building the senior course may be undertaken, that both parents and pupils should feel that at the age of 11 plus "a hopeful and critical stage in educational life is beginning in a school environment specially organised to assist it."

## UNITY IN THE POST-PRIMARY SYSTEM.

**R**ECOGNISED secondary schools and their proper place in a universal post-primary system were excluded by the terms of reference from the consideration of the Consultative Committee. Nevertheless the Committee felt impelled to trespass somewhat beyond the strict reference, and to recommend that post-primary education should in future be viewed as an organic whole, within which "experiment and elasticity" is needed, but which should include schools of all the present selective types. To this end it proposed that the "traditional and over-lapping categories" should disappear and that there should be substituted for them the "end on" divisions of primary and secondary education through which all children successively should pass. In support of this view it quoted a volume of evidence from teachers, organisers, administrators and others who had taken pains to emphasise it. The Report recognised at the same time that "no generation ever has a clean sheet on which to write, . . . and that, as educational ideas are applied, their outlines will be blurred by the necessity of compromising with practical exigencies."

The new publications of the Board embody an attempt by practical administrators to "build with materials inherited from the past." All the new types of post-primary school of which we have experience are retained, and, as in the Hadow Report itself, the non-selective senior school assumes a new prominence. Yet there is no attempt to break down the old irrational distinctions, legal and administrative, which at present separate schools which deal with pupils fundamentally of the same age, and supply them with almost indistinguishable curricula. There is no indication that the proposed modern schools will be allowed to take their proper place as an integral part of the secondary system, or that schools designated as "elementary" will be permitted to expand upward and develop within themselves courses that will lead without any

serious intermission to further education in its many manifestations.

The second sentence of *The New Prospect in Education* states that the main thesis of the Hadow Report was "the provision for every child over the age of 11 of a system of *intermediate* education in schools set apart and organised for that purpose." Those who are acquainted with the Hadow Report will marvel at the ingenuousness of this paraphrase. They will want to know what is the exact connotation of this colourless word "intermediate." Has it the sense that it still bears in Wales, or the meaning it formerly bore in Scotland? Perhaps the rest of the pamphlet may be regarded as a definition of it, but the failure to use the word "secondary," and the neglect to suggest means of securing parity of conditions for all post-primary schools, goes far, if we may adopt a phrase from the pamphlet itself, "to blur the meaning of a generous conception" and "to stand in the road of its realisation." Owing, perhaps, to "the very real difficulties, both professional and administrative, in the way of a complete adoption of its suggestions" we are presented with proposals which fall far short of those formulated by the Consultative Committee.

Even without legislation much might be done administratively to co-ordinate post-primary education. Recent simplifications in the Elementary Code have removed some of the former safeguards against retrogression, but at the same time they have rendered advances and variations possible. They have obliterated these specific requirements which, while maintaining a minimum standard, may have tended to a certain uniformity. There seems to be no reason why the Regulations for Secondary Schools should not be similarly generalised, so that they may include within their ambit all the new types of post-primary education that are coming into being.

Some suggestion of this kind, or even a statement that this was the ideal towards which the Board was striving, would have done much to allay the fears of those who see in the latest pronouncement a danger that the old irrational distinctions of status between different types of post-primary schools will continue indefinitely, and even that more rigid barriers will be erected. The Hadow Report itself, while

recognising the need for various types of post-primary schools, is careful to warn us against any over-emphasis on the differences between them. It states categorically that "in spite of existing nomenclature, all alike are concerned with an education which should logically be regarded as secondary, and differ from each other merely as different species of a single genus. During the early part of the school life of the pupils attending them the curriculum will be substantially the same in all, the practical bias (where such a bias exists), being developed only in the last two years. Nor must it be forgotten that in many areas the provision of secondary education (in the narrower sense of the word) still falls so far short of the demand that what we call the 'Modern School,' *whether selective or non-selective*, must inevitably, under existing conditions, supply the needs of many pupils who would, were the provision more abundant, be found in 'Secondary' Schools." This is the final justification for the contention that appropriate general regulations should be framed for the conduct of post-primary education in whatever institution it is undertaken, or by whatever local authority it is controlled.

It may be argued that the first need is the establishment of post-primary schools and departments, and that after they are established the necessary administrative rectifications and correlations may be made. We believe this to be a very short-sighted view, and we submit that to propose a fundamental reorganisation of schools without making an effort at the same time to secure at least some of the re-adjustments in legislative and administrative machinery which at once suggest themselves is to forego obvious means by which the new system may most usefully be fortified.



## CHAPTER III.

## SOME BARRIERS TO UNITY.

(i). *The Leaving Age of Pupils.*

WHILE in any school the length of the course is an important factor, and while for a time it may provide a rough distinction between different types of school, we believe it to be a pure illusion that schools can be differentiated permanently on this basis. Certainly no differentiation between secondary and selective central schools can be sustained for ever upon this argument of age. Mr. Spurley Hey has pointed out that in Manchester the difference between the average school life in secondary and central schools is only six months, and we have no doubt that if the amenities of the central school were improved, and if the pupils were supplied with maintenance allowances on a secondary school scale, the disparity might be further reduced. In this connection it must be remembered that the central school pupils of one area may have the same intelligence quotient, the same outlook and interests, the same financial resources, and may be drawn from the same social classes as many secondary school pupils in another area. In these only too common circumstances there is no reason whatever, except the financial reason, why the best of them should be deprived of an education and environment generously adapted to their needs, or should leave school earlier than their more fortunate contemporaries.

An elementary school, under the provisions of the Education Act, 1921, may only retain its pupils until the close of the school year (or alternatively, the close of the educational year as fixed by the Board) in which they reach the age of fifteen, unless the local authority, with the consent of the Board, extends the limit on the ground that no suitable higher education is available within a reasonable distance of the school. Some modification of this rule, at the option of the Board, may be permitted in certain schools providing facilities for advanced instruction, which may retain their

pupils until the end of the term in which they reach the age of sixteen, or in special circumstances until such later age as may appear to the Board to be desirable. The new dispensation probably means that all modern schools will be included in this category. At present application to the Board is often necessary on behalf of pupils in selective central schools who wish to remain for a term or more beyond their sixteenth birthday, and for whom, for special reasons, transfer to a secondary school is undesirable.

No doubt in formulating the provisions to which we have referred, Parliament was actuated by a desire to limit the upward extension of the elementary system, to prevent elementary schools from trespassing too far into the field of higher education, and in particular, to obviate an overlapping of similar schools in those areas where elementary and secondary education are controlled by different authorities. So far as education up to sixteen is concerned, the Act provides no real safeguard against the overlapping that has undoubtedly taken place, and the attempt to differentiate between the two systems on a basis of leaving age has had merely the effect of creating an unnecessary impediment to the upward development of selective modern schools. The actual experience of the two types of selective school has tended increasingly to correspond, and Mr. Spurley Hey is able to make the claim for Manchester that "the wastage in central schools during the four year course is not higher than the rate of wastage in the municipal secondary schools, each group of schools retaining for the full four year course approximately 66 per cent. of their admissions."

We are aware that these considerations do not apply so forcibly to all selective central schools. When an experiment of this kind is initiated in a new area social customs are inclined to favour early leaving and only experience of the value of a lengthened course is likely to modify deep-seated prejudices. Yet it has been amply demonstrated that wherever a consecutive four year course is offered, free of fees, to selected pupils, an increasing proportion of them remain to complete it, particularly if it is shown that it leads to commercial and industrial employment which would otherwise be closed. Selective schools must be judged, not on

what they at present are in some areas, but upon what they may become. They now exhibit every gradation in leaving age and length of course, except that the superior amenities within them, and the pre-vocational bias of the course, always induce the pupils to remain at least for a limited time beyond the age of compulsory school attendance. Another factor is that, in areas where the secondary school provision is extensively developed, the central schools receive pupils of a lower intellectual quality, who are more likely to seek industrial employment and therefore to leave early. Yet even in these schools the leaving age tends to rise "for the satisfactory reason," to quote the Consultative Committee, "that parents value the education which their children are receiving and make sacrifices in order to keep them at school."

When we consider the new senior schools we find that in them also the leaving age is likely to be a very variable quantity. At first it will no doubt approximate to the maximum age of compulsory school attendance, which except in few areas, is 14 plus. Even before the school age is raised generally a number of other areas probably will initiate bye-laws and thus bring it to 15 plus. This step will at once place their senior schools in this matter of leaving age on a parity with some selective schools. Even if it is not taken, the provision of a four year course will induce an increasing number of pupils to remain until the course is completed, particularly in areas industrially depressed, where even juveniles find it difficult to obtain employment. There is even now a strong tendency to remain at the elementary school beyond the age of compulsion, while administrators, teachers, and even the Board itself, find it almost impossible to visualise a completed educational system in which the leaving age is permanently fixed at less than 15 plus. Any modification of the conditions of industrial apprenticeship as hinted at in the Report of the Committee on Education and Industry, will also make it worth while for some of the pupils of senior schools to stay longer. The time may soon be reached when every post-primary school may provide a four year course, though some pupils, as, in the recognised secondary school, may not remain to complete it. Even in the early stages of the experiment it would be well if all post-primary courses were planned to cover four years.

Those areas in which the Board, because of the limited population, cannot advise the establishment of a selective modern school, create another anomaly. Here a non-selective school must devise for some proportion of its pupils a relatively academic four year course, and perhaps carry some of them to a matriculation standard. It must also supply various courses with a pre-vocational bias in their later stages, and develop others with an emphasis on practical instruction for the more retarded pupils. In such a school, and also in certain rural areas where the school population is so dispersed that transfer is impracticable, we may expect to find for a time every possible variation in leaving age. Such conditions reduce to an absurdity the proposal to classify schools according to the average school life of the pupil, and support our suggestion that no more variable or unsatisfactory basis of discrimination could be devised.

(ii). *The Element of Selection.*

A more obvious demarcation in the post-primary system is that between selective and non-selective schools, but this also would break down in areas where transfer to a selective school is not possible. Very significantly, and with good reason, the Board in its pamphlet does not emphasise the factor of selection as a possible basis of division. Indeed, though the selective central school in London and elsewhere approximates very closely to the recognised secondary type, the Board stresses that the central school must take "its proper place as one among a group of senior schools," that it "should not stand in splendid isolation," and that it will then be "no longer an excrescence on the school system, but the recognised leader for the others." The Board was ill-advised to use the word "excrescence," for this the central schools have never been, but rather a natural and harmonious development from the elementary system, representing the growth that the system would inevitably have made on a wider scale if it had not been cut off from secondary education and limited by the Act of 1902. Nevertheless, we welcome the suggestions contained in these phrases that the Board has in mind the needs of "all sorts and conditions of children, the humble and weak as well as the mighty and strong, and that to concentrate especially on the erection of a few splendidly

equipped schools for selected children " is to miss the real lessons of the Hadow Report. We hold the view that if any distinction is to be made in the educational provision offered to pupils over the age of 11 plus it is " the humble and weak " who should receive special attention, for they are least able to help themselves. We fail to see, however, why the recognised secondary schools should not be the leaders of the others and set the standard of physical amenity to which the post-primary school should conform. It is curious that the Board should wish to preserve their position of " splendid isolation," and the fee system which so clearly distinguishes them from other grades of school and which preserves the tradition of class difference which is at the root of so much social discontent.

(iii). *The Examination System.*

Another barrier to unity is the fact that in secondary schools but not in central schools an external examination marks the close of the four year course, and both the curriculum and the method by which it is approached are largely determined by the syllabus of this examination. Of the pupils who enter the secondary schools only 54 per cent. attempt the First School Examination and only 37 per cent. of them succeed in passing it. This is, in itself, an indication that the examination is not a satisfactory test of the normal work of the secondary school. Very probably a relatively large number of secondary school pupils would profit more fully by a course of a broader type than that which the present examination is designed to test. On all sides we find a growing demand for a simplification of the examination and for the inclusion in it of certain practical subjects. If, at the same time, pupils were completely exempt from any obligation to take it the secondary schools would be freed from requirements which force them into too similar a mould and which produce an undesirable uniformity in the curriculum, and in the methods of teaching. Accordingly the Union has asked the Board to abandon the stipulation that in large secondary schools whole forms must be entered for the First School Examination, believing as it does that even in secondary schools education should be directed as far as possible to the individual requirements of the pupil.

Selective central schools at present are under no obligation to enter pupils for external examinations, and this has secured to the teachers an opportunity to design varied and appropriate courses. Elasticity has extended not only to the choice of subject but to the method of treatment. The advantage that this has provided may be illustrated by reference to the teaching of history, though the general considerations we put forward are applicable equally to other subjects. There is nothing to prevent a central school devising a suitable and simple course of citizenship and world history which will give its pupils before leaving some idea of their responsibilities to their fellows, of the institutions under which they are governed, and of the process of evolution by which the present organisation of society has been reached. Work on these lines may be attempted also in a secondary school, but it is too often neglected because it finds no place in any of the usual examination syllabuses, except partially in those of the Central Welsh Board. The method of teaching citizenship and world history in central schools is fluid because no standard syllabus exists to give a pre-direction to the work of the teachers. The teachers, therefore, use their own ideas and attack those aspects of the subject in which their pupils are particularly interested, or with which they feel themselves most competent to deal. The result is a freedom and effectiveness in the teaching which is not always attained in secondary schools.

We urge, therefore, that the liberty which central schools now enjoy should be extended to recognised secondary schools, and that the taking of an external examination should not be compulsory on any pupil. This reform may be secured most effectively by the removal of the stipulation that whole forms should be entered for the First School Examination. A reconsideration of the place of this examination in the secondary school system would remove one outstanding difference between the secondary school and the modern school and permit both types more easily to be included in the same category.

(iv). *The Barrier of Fees.*

Nor is the examination system the only obstacle that prevents the coalescence of the recognised secondary and the

modern school. A further impediment is that fees may be charged in the former and not in the latter. As a result of this, pupils may be distributed between them not because of their ability to profit by the course provided, but according as their parents are willing or not directly to defray part of the cost of their education. This barrier has hitherto persisted because the secondary and elementary systems of education were different in their origin, but as they approach each other more closely the anomaly created by the existence of fees becomes more evident. Quite apart from the inevitable misconception and the fictitious values to which it gives rise in the public mind, and the inevitable evil reactions upon the secondary schools themselves, it prevents any proper co-ordination of the post-primary system. The arguments in favour of the abolition of fees were formerly strong. If secondary education is to become universal they become irresistible.

The Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, reporting in 1920, recommended "that the discontinuance of all fees in secondary schools should be regarded as a prospective policy to be carried out as soon as the conditions of national finance allow." This Committee stated that "to decline full financial responsibility for secondary education while accepting it for elementary and part-time post-elementary education is to emphasise an artificial and unsound distinction between the several stages of the educational process," and suggested that a frank acceptance of the necessary continuity of education for those capable of profiting, and for those only, was a condition of educational progress. This is precisely the argument that the coming of a universal post-primary system has so strongly fortified. The abolition of fees would remove the greatest obstacle at present existing to a reasonable classification of schools, to equality of amenities within the post-primary system, and to the free and unfettered distribution and transfer of pupils according to the type of course they are fitted to follow.

The specific grounds for the recommendation as set out by the Departmental Committee may be summarised as follows :—

(1). The State would be able to require from the schools, with increased authority, satisfactory standards and conditions.

(2). It would remove the reproach against the present method of financing secondary education that it is based on no fixed principle as to the distribution of cost between the parent and the State.

(3). It would put an end to the fallacious notion in the minds of parents that by paying fees they are meeting the whole cost of their children's education, whereas in fact they are meeting only part of it. (See Note (1).) They would then cease to claim more responsibility and influence in the sphere of secondary education than their contributions warrant, and what has elsewhere been termed "a disastrous illusion of social superiority" would thus be removed both from the nation and the schools.

(4). It would secure that those who were most capable of profiting by secondary education of the type provided would have a first claim to enter the schools, and would relieve Local Authorities of the need to make an invidious selection.

To these admirable reasons in favour of reform we may add other facts:—

(1). Many fee-payers enter the schools at a later age than free place pupils, and often find themselves in a form that is hardly appropriate to their age.

(2). In some schools it is the practice to admit fee-payers, not necessarily at the beginning of the school year, to fill casual vacancies, and this disturbs somewhat the work of the form, besides giving the entrants a preferential advantage to which they are not entitled.

(3). The standard of attainment of fee-paying pupils is on the whole lower at admission than that of free place pupils.

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(1) *Note on Cost to Public Funds of Pupils in Secondary Schools.*

In April, 1926, Lord Eustace Percy supplied the following data in the House of Commons:—

*Elementary Schools.* Cost per unit in average attendance,  
£11 13s. 3d.

*Secondary Schools (Grant Aided).* Cost per registered pupil,  
Gross £26 12s. 0d. Net, £16 7s. 0d.

The net figure is reached by deducting receipts from fees and endowments from the total.



(4). The school life of fee-paying pupils is, on an average, shorter than that of free place pupils, and the admission of fee-payers thus involves the exclusion of those who would be likely to pursue a relatively prolonged course.

From these considerations it appears that the abolition of fees is likely to raise rather than to lower the academic standards of the secondary school, while at the same time it will obliterate a most undesirable social distinction and remove a great impediment to co-ordination between different types of school.

## A DANGER TO SECONDARY EDUCATION.

ONE grave defect of *The New Prospect in Education* is that it offers no guidance about what should be regarded as the appropriate amount of recognised secondary accommodation in any area, though we gather from certain incidental references that a provision for more than 25 per cent. of an age group should nowhere be contemplated. We are not necessarily at one with the Board on this point, and we suggest that in any area where the population only justifies the establishment of a single selective school, that school should be a recognised secondary school, though it should be free to develop more varied courses than are at present usual in schools of this type.

The danger that existing standards may even be lowered is illustrated by one reorganisation proposal with which we are acquainted. A small town in a rural area has a secondary school of some hundred pupils. Though this is perhaps an inconvenient and uneconomical size for a secondary school, and though the buildings may not be suited in every way to the purpose for which they are used, there is no suggestion that the proportion of pupils reaching the artificial standard of the First School Examination is noticeably less than the average experience of the county would lead us to expect. The school serves the useful purpose of preserving the ideal and continuing the practice of secondary education in a relatively unenlightened area, and has won its meed of popular support and enthusiasm. It might have been regarded as the forerunner and pioneer of better things, and its strengthening and development would have given a new educational inspiration to the whole neighbourhood.

In place of that it is now proposed to sweep the school away, to transport 30 of the pupils a long distance to another secondary school, and to deprive 70 children of the protection of secondary regulations that they have hitherto enjoyed. In its place we may find two modern schools taking all the senior

children of the town and the surrounding villages. This is eminently an instance where at least 25 per cent. of an age group might be provided with effective secondary instruction. A possible solution would be the establishment of a multiple bias secondary school to take all children and to develop an academic side which would retain its pupils till they reach the age of entry to a University. Though all education in this area is under the control of a County Council, and the rival claims of two different authorities do not arise, any solution on those or similar lines apparently is not contemplated. Instead of it we are faced with a definite retrogression. The situation might quite easily be duplicated in scores of country towns, and we trust that the Board will not assent to any reduction in the number of secondary school places available in this or in any other area.

Meanwhile the Board's suggestion that not more than 25 per cent. of an age group should be transferred to schools of a selective type appears to set an automatic limit in many areas to the development of secondary education.

The Consultative Committee cannot be alleged to have sympathised with any such limitation. That Committee stated definitely that it was necessary to ensure that in the development of other forms of post-primary education "nothing is done to cripple the development of secondary schools of the existing types," and added the following significant words—"Exactly what proportion of the children leaving primary schools should pass to such schools in preference to the others suggested, it is not possible, we think, to say. The percentage at present appears to be approximately 8.3, and varies apparently from under 5 to over 27. By general consent it is desirable that it should be largely increased. The growth of secondary education in the last twenty years has been one of the most remarkable movements of our day, and it is vital that nothing should be done to cramp its future development."

Such a proposal as we have mentioned leaves us with an uneasy feeling that the powerful plea of the Consultative Committee may possibly be neglected, and that those who have striven so assiduously for extended secondary education, and particularly for an advance in the backward areas, may be disappointed in their hope.

## THE INTENSITY OF SELECTION AND A SUGGESTED ALTERNATIVE.

INTO the chaos that at present marks the administration of post-primary education the Board introduces one new guiding principle, the suggestion that in any area admissions to selective schools, whether secondary or central, should rarely exceed 25 per cent. of the age group 11-12. The first reason given for this view is that if the percentage transfer is too great "it will probably be found that some of the children selected are not of a sufficiently high standard, and their presence will then act as a drag on the work of the whole central school." Whether this is true, and it is stated to be attested by experience, obviously depends upon the position of the selective schools in the system and the work they may be expected to attempt. The figure given has the merit that it approximates almost to that which represents the present transfer to secondary education of the recognised type in one or two English County Boroughs, though it falls considerably short of the actual practice in several Welsh rural Counties. The evidence at our disposal from these areas, some of which may be found in Mr. Kenneth Lindsay's book *Social Progress and Educational Waste*, is that, even in this heavy transfer, the weaker pupils profit very considerably by the type of education provided, and that the percentage passing the First School Examination is not perceptibly less than in areas where free places are awarded after severe competition. This may sound incredible to the reader who does not remember that anomaly in the educational system which admits to recognised secondary schools large numbers of fee paying pupils, many of whom are of merely average intelligence. Even with a 25 per cent. transfer from the elementary school to free places at the secondary school the weakest free place pupil may have more native ability of an academic type than many

of the fee paying pupils whom he will meet in the school. Before the Board questions the ability of pupils who are above the average to profit by a central school course, or talks about certain of them acting as a drag upon the efficiency of the school, it should consider whether all fee-paying pupils in recognised secondary schools are really suited by the curriculum they are expected to follow. If they are so suited the Board cannot logically exclude from similar courses any of the 25 per cent. of elementary school pupils whom it proposes to subject to selective transfer.

Two factors among others have been taken into account when transferring pupils to selective central schools. Certain pupils who might reasonably have expected to proceed to secondary schools have in fact been transferred to central schools, either because of the inability of the parents to promise that the pupils will remain at school till sixteen, or because the local authority has not been particularly generous in awarding maintenance allowances. Further, some pupils prefer a central school course because it offers a prevocational bias in the last two years, and because those who follow it have little difficulty in obtaining employment. We are unable to agree that the average pupil from the junior school will be unable to follow such a course with success. If selective transfer involves preparation for an examination of a matriculation standard it might reasonably be limited to even less than 25 per cent. of an age group, but apparently this is not the intention of the Board, which makes a strong point of the fact that the selective central school must not be an anæmic reflection of the secondary school, and therefore that its function is not to prepare the bulk of its pupils for matriculation. If that is so we cannot understand why children of more than normal ability should be excluded from the course which the selective school may have to offer, and which might be designed expressly to meet their needs.

The second reason adduced by the Board for this limitation is much more cogent. It is that if too many of the brighter children are selected "the ordinary senior schools are left with a very high proportion of their children belonging to the definitely duller type." "If it is argued," says the Board, "that these children gain from attending a school which can provide for their specific needs, it can be answered that they

gain far more if they can also mix on an equal footing with their brighter comrades in the social and athletic life of a school of which they both alike are members." This contention is very reasonable, but the Board apparently fails to see its full implications, for it expresses a principle which is capable of almost indefinite extension, and which might be used with great force by those who do not believe in the separation of the more intelligent 25 per cent. from their fellows. It is in fact an argument against any selection at all, and in favour of the relatively large multiple bias school, which would include among others a course of the present secondary type, and which would secure for all pupils of post-primary age that equality in the hygiene of their environment, and in staffing and equipment which is so much to be desired. For excellent reasons this particular expedient has been adopted throughout the United States of America, where selective schools are almost unknown, and where the problem of the post-primary curriculum has received more expert and scientific attention than in this country. The Board's pamphlet definitely rules out the junior high school of the American type, except perhaps in those few urban areas where the population does not justify the establishment of any selective schools at all, and where in consequence any experiments in multiple bias schools must be carried out under the least favourable conditions.

It is most significant that the secondary school teachers of this country, if we may take the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters and the Higher Education Section of our own Union to be in any way representative, have pronounced definitely in favour of the large multiple bias school, and that the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress support the same principle. We are uncertain whether it should be adopted as the plan under which post-primary education should normally be provided, but we suggest that local education authorities that may wish to use it should be permitted and even encouraged to do so. The Board's figure of 25 per cent. might then have a value in the delimitation of courses within the school, but experience would probably show that some other figure or figures would be more appropriate for this purpose. The value of the multiple bias school can only be determined by experience, and it is particularly unfortunate that presumably nowhere in this country will the experiment be allowed.

The Hadow Report was insistent that, whatever types of school might be found within the post-primary system, a condition of success would be the greatest possible freedom of transfer from one to the other wherever it was found to be advantageous to the child. Where schools are quite separate such transfers will always involve grave difficulties. One outstanding advantage of multiple bias schools is that transfers are effected with no more dislocation than is involved in the passing of a pupil from one "side" to the other of a public or secondary school. Indeed even more fluidity may be secured, and the pupils may be offered a choice of subjects which may add greatly to the parents' estimation of the value of the course.

These considerations lead us to doubt whether the figure of 25 per cent. mentioned by the Board has any real validity, and whether the Board is wise to ignore forms of organisation within the post-primary system, alternative to selection, which might prove in the end to have important social and educational advantages.

**THE AGE OF TRANSFER.**

**T**HE Board is emphatic that transfer to the senior school should take place at the period of the year when pupils are admitted to secondary and central schools, and that it should be strictly on an age basis. We believe that in both these matters the Board has adopted too narrow and mechanical a solution of a very difficult problem, and that until all the difficulties of accommodation are solved, and until the time is reached when there will be no great variation in the number of pupils in successive age groups, considerable latitude will be necessary. The irregularities in the numbers to be promoted, particularly in the years 1932 and 1933, will be so grave that commonsense is likely to dictate some adjustment between the junior and senior courses in many local areas.

Even before that date, if the provision of new accommodation is accelerated, certain local authorities may wish to relieve the pressure upon the junior school and to reduce the size of their classes by making exceptional arrangements. No one will be able to argue that any injustice would result from a temporary modification of the age of transfer designed to meet an urgent but passing need. The transfer of a whole age group once annually at the beginning of the Autumn Term in itself means that there must be a maximum difference of twelve months in the age of the children promoted, and that in consequence, if all leave at the present age of exemption, some of them must follow a two year and some a three year course in the senior school. In these circumstances it would be absurd to pretend that for some children six months might not advantageously be added to the course, and the corresponding adjustments made in its character, if serious difficulties of accommodation and of organisation in the junior school were thereby overcome. We imagine that certain local authorities will find it necessary to make representations



to the Board on this question, and we regret that the Board has committed itself to so rigid an age delimitation between the two types of course.

So far we have dealt only with difficulties of a transition period, aggravated as they are likely to be by the acute variations in the birth-rate, but we are inclined to believe that even in normal times, and when the new system is universally in operation, the Board will find that, though a general promotion of the 11-12 age group will be the rule, certain exceptions may advantageously be made. The arguments advanced in favour of transfer by age are very strong, and are certainly applicable to the majority of children, but there will always be instances in which a departure from the general practice may be advisable. The Board states that "Age is a better guide than scholastic attainments, for it is not true that the child who has failed to reach the school standard normal to his age can therefore best be taught with younger children." It therefore ingenuously assumes that age is the only factor that need be taken into account. Even if scholastic attainment can be altogether neglected, and we are prepared to agree that in this matter of transfer it is of subsidiary importance, we must remember that the physical, equally with the mental, development of children is not a precise function of their age. This is a commonplace of handicapping in athletics, to which scientific principles have been applied with success. No less regard should be given to the physical factor when transfer to a post-primary course is contemplated. Unless injustice is to be done to the child all his individual peculiarities must be taken into account and given their due weight before his appropriate place in the educational system is decided. We should regret any system such as that which has for so long been followed in Scotland whereby promotion to an Advanced Division has depended on the pupil reaching a qualifying stage in attainment, and equally we should regret any system which depended on age alone. In suggesting that age should be the only and unalterable basis of transfer the Board encourages an unnecessary and altogether unfortunate mechanicalisation of procedure. It should have been content to state that age is the most potent of the many factors to be considered, and thus have retained some of the fluidity that seems to be essential.

In advocating transfer by age alone the Board seems to have misinterpreted the clear intention and even the wording of the Hadow Report. *The New Prospect in Education* begins by what is represented as a paraphrase of the findings of the Consultative Committee, a paraphrase which declares that "the cut between the two types of school is on the basis of age, and not of attainment or capacity." The word "capacity" is introduced here quite gratuitously, as will be seen by reference to the Hadow Report itself, which takes care to amplify in a footnote (page 71) the meaning to be attached to its fundamental recommendation that "Primary education should be regarded as ending at about the age of 11 plus." The footnote states categorically that "attention should be called to the fact that the expression 'age of 11 plus' is not intended to be used in a precise chronological sense,—the mental as well as the chronological age of the pupil must be taken into account," and the reader is referred to the previous Report on Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity. The footnote proceeds to insist that the Consultative Committee "do not, however, consider that mental age and educational attainments should be made the sole considerations in determining the exact age at which transference takes place from the primary to the post-primary stage of education." The Board is thus seen to have altered the whole balance and tenour of the Consultative Committee's recommendation, and we hold the view that due weight must be given to those factors which the Consultative Committee was careful not to disregard. Ease of administration is important in any extensive and highly organised system, but the real welfare of even one pupil should not be lightly subordinated to it.

One of the grave dangers consequent upon an over-emphasis on age at transfer is that teachers may be led to think that classification by age within the school itself is a necessary corollary to it. There is ample evidence in the *Suggestions for Teachers* that this is by no means the intention of the Board. The pupil is evidently expected to travel at a pace appropriate to his capacity, and is to be assisted in this by a proper use of individual methods. Nevertheless the position in a junior school which receives all its pupils at 7 plus and loses them at 11 plus will be one of some difficulty, and the temptation to pay undue regard to age in classification

will be serious. If it is not avoided it may lead to excessive retardation, because in large classes, where a full use of individual work is impracticable, some pupils will constantly be confronted with tasks beyond their strength. Even with the most perfect organisation and the most efficient work within the junior school we must expect a number of pupils to be promoted to the senior school from the first or second group in the fundamental subjects rather than from the third and fourth. The abilities of children are so varied that this is unavoidable, and no attempt to insist on an artificial standard of attainment even in a limited number of subjects for all pupils at the end of the junior course will obviate it. Any such attempt would, however, produce a concentration on these subjects and a consequent overpressure which the Board would be the first to deplore. The Board, in recommending a general transfer on an age basis should have been careful to warn teachers and authorities that any corresponding classification within the junior school was likely to produce calamitous results. In fact we are merely told that "the school need not be confined to the work of any particular standard, but can make appropriate provision for the brighter pupils," and we are left to assume that it will likewise make appropriate provision for those pupils who happen to be retarded.

The danger that faces the schools and the teachers is that an attempt may be made to insist that all children shall attain a definite standard of attainment at a certain age. In the junior school, particularly if large classes persist, conditions will be such that the word "standard" will lose any little significance that hitherto may have attached to it.

## THE JUNIOR SCHOOL.

(i). *The Status of the Junior School.*

THE position of the junior school in the new orientation is stated to be "one of great importance and dignity." Once established as a separate institution it receives a stimulus and is endowed with a clear aim—that of carrying all its pupils over a stage in their career, and of itself reaching a definite standard. Where reorganisation has been effected "it has always been found that the junior schools have provided more scope for interesting and effective work than the corresponding standards in schools of the traditional type."

This statement of the Board's attitude towards the junior school will be particularly welcome to teachers, for it will do much to remove the apprehension that educational advance in the senior schools will be inhibited by the neglect and starvation of those schools upon which senior schools will depend for their pupils. The infant departments have secured an enviable reputation for the broad and effective manner in which they have approached the problems peculiar to the period of child life with which they are immediately concerned. This may well be because the energy and the attention of the teacher have been concentrated on a limited and practicable objective. The trained infants' mistress has had all the advantages that accompany specialised work, and in consequence we have observed, year by year, considerable advances in technique. The same considerations may apply to the junior school when the activities essential to it are more precisely differentiated than in the past.

(ii). *Examinations.*

Recently a factor that has had a considerable effect on the work of the junior school in some areas is that all the pupils have been subjected at a certain age to an external written examination in English and Arithmetic. In one

sentence the Board suggest very clearly what it thinks of "teachers, or administrators, or the public," who are "content to judge a school by its examination successes," though, of course, that does not mean that examinations conducted by Inspectors or others as part of an enquiry within the school itself may not be indispensable. The purpose of those who devised the idea of a general examination in English and Arithmetic at 11 plus was clearly stated at the time to test ability and not to test attainment. The Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, who were responsible for the original recommendation, declared most definitely that only if this aim were kept clearly in view would the dangers of such an examination be obviated. Unfortunately it has in practice proved almost impossible to exclude the consideration of attainment in these two subjects. In some areas this has tended to conceal the fact that the business of a school is a full preparation for life, and has led to undue emphasis on certain subjects of instruction. There is ample evidence of this in the Board's pamphlet itself, and to this extent there is, as the Board state, "the danger that the imminence of an examination, which will determine the type of course to be followed after the age of 11, may be found to have a narrowing effect on the work of the junior school."

On the general question of how far an examination in the more restricted sense of the word, apart from the necessary review and assessment of a child's capacities, is necessary and useful at this stage, and for this particular purpose of differentiating type of ability, the Board is wisely silent, though there is some likelihood that the method will be used to analyse the claims of those who wish to be numbered among the 25 per cent. who will be allowed to attempt the relatively academic courses of the selective schools. It will be remembered that the Consultative Committee considered the present arrangements for transfer to such schools, and this led them, perhaps hastily, to suggest an application of what is virtually the same method to a fundamentally different problem. They recommended that "While we think that all children should enter some type of post-primary school at the age of 11 plus it will be necessary to discover in each case the type most suitable to a child's abilities and interests. For this purpose a written examination should be held, and also, wherever

possible, an oral examination. A written psychological test might also be specially employed in dealing with border line cases, or where a discrepancy has been observed between the result of the written examination and the teacher's estimate of proficiency." The Union dissents from this suggestion on the ground that such an examination cannot lead to the proper selection of children according to their various interests and abilities, and that such a written examination would be unnecessary if a general transfer of pupils to post-primary education were contemplated. The abilities of children are manifold both in kind and in degree, and the problem of assessing them is correspondingly complex. A method which may be useful in determining academic ability will fail when other and no less important talents are in question. The devices which should be used in selection will depend also on the number and the type of post-primary courses provided, and it is most unlikely that a single method will be equally appropriate in all areas.

Meanwhile examinations and their place in the elementary school system are the subject of a special investigation by the Joint Advisory Committee of the Association of Education Committees and the Union, and it is impossible at the moment to forecast the findings of that fundamentally important enquiry, but there would be common ground that examinations or any other devices used in or in connection with the elementary school should subserve the primary purpose of that school, as stated so admirably in the introduction to the Codes between 1904 and 1926, and reproduced in the present issue of the *Suggestions for Teachers*—"to enable the children to reach their full development as individuals . . . to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong."

The Board's contention that it is a universal experience that in the reorganised junior school "the standard of attainment rises, and the brighter children make a rapid advance without cramming" probably contains an element of exaggeration. Yet in such schools the problems of internal organisation may be reduced to a reasonable compass, and the teacher may be able, where the department has been somewhat enlarged, often to arrange more easily that the children shall

proceed in the fundamental subjects under proper supervision and with adequate help at the pace appropriate to their various intelligences. There is every reason why such schools should be left free to develop every interest which is in consonance with the psychological needs of childhood. A wide and well-devised activity is a condition of both physical and mental growth, and where it is present the fundamental subjects are grasped more naturally and with greater ease, if not immediately, yet at the time when the child realises that they are the indispensable tools at his future work. Under any system there will be a danger that some teachers will forget their function as the guides and counsellors of budding life, and will be too eager to anticipate this inevitable development ; but we must do everything to encourage the better practice, so well understood in infant schools, whereby the child is led, almost imperceptibly to himself, to seek the interests that the greater wisdom and experience of his preceptor suggest as desirable.

(iii). *Buildings.*

Unfortunately, for some time to come, it is likely that the junior school will continue to be that part of the educational system least favoured with suitable buildings and amenities. In most reorganisations hitherto the more modern premises have usually been utilised for senior pupils, perhaps because they are more commonly equipped with facilities for practical instruction. Even where this factor is absent there is often a tendency to use the oldest and least hygienic buildings for the junior school. Nor can we attribute this entirely to the fact that the older children are more critical of their surroundings and more able to express their criticism, though the need of reconciling them to a transfer, after which they may have to travel considerable distances to school, is not unimportant. The real cause perhaps is a deep-seated conviction in the minds of administrators and others that these children have now reached the secondary stage of their education, and that in consequence they should be supplied preferentially with an environment which shall at least show some semblance of that to which we have become accustomed in secondary schools.

The Board in its statement describes in some detail the conditions appropriate to a senior school, but with regard to the junior school it is exceedingly reticent. While the removal of black-listed premises which it suggests will help both types of school, it is not likely to help them equally. Where new buildings are erected the temptation to build in the first instance for senior pupils will remain. On this important point, where local education authorities may be expected readily to stray, the Board is unaccountably silent. No general rule can be laid down, but we are inclined to think, while for some time, unfortunately, antiquated buildings must still be used, that it would be educationally wise to use the better and more hygienic environment for children in their more plastic stage. Older pupils have resources within themselves that enable them to some extent to surmount any disabilities that may surround them. The younger pupils have no such resources. At the same time they are growing more quickly; external influences are more potent, and leave a more indelible impress upon them. Even in the senior school the children will retain the physique, the spirit, and the character that they have acquired in earlier years. Where new buildings are contemplated, or old buildings are being allocated to new purposes, it is most necessary that the claims and needs of infant and junior schools should be fairly and judiciously considered. The infant schools in particular have taught us more than any other type about the physical needs of childhood. In these departments the necessity for light, fresh air and free movement is paramount, and it will be calamitous if so much attention is paid to the new post-primary requirements that the need for modernised provision earlier in school life, so long neglected, is further postponed.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE SIZE OF CLASSES.

PERHAPS the most serious disadvantage that the junior school may be expected to suffer is found in the number of pupils for which a single teacher may be held responsible. The Board state that its objective, and that of the local education authorities in their programmes, has been "the reduction of all classes for juniors and infants to a maximum of 50 on the roll." Since 40 has been adopted as the corresponding figure for senior pupils we have here a clear distinction between the two grades of education.

Though some differentiation of this kind may be temporarily dictated by the facts of the present position, we cannot acquiesce in it as a permanent feature of the educational system. The Union has repeatedly declared that the size of classes should be limited to 40, and in that decision it has been actuated at least as much by regard for the needs of the lower standards, as for those of the upper. The transfer on a strict age basis to the senior school can only be justified if the conditions in the junior school make it certain that all children have sufficient individual care to ensure that their progress is only conditioned by their capacity and that no preventable retardation exists. There are sufficient impediments to the steady progress of young children without adding large classes to the number.

The Board has stated (*Suggestions*, p. 57) that "self education should be the keynote of the older children's curriculum, just as free expression is of the younger children's," but of that intermediate period known as the junior stage it speaks in more cautious terms, and offers little real guide to method. This is probably because the conditions in the junior school have never favoured a widely extended application of instruction to individuals or to small groups. Of all these conditions that which has had the most limiting and

restricting influence has been the excessive size of the class. Quite rightly the Board declare (*Suggestions*, p. 53) that "all progress depends upon the acquisition of new ideas at the right moment, and no better way of imparting ideas with economy of time and effort has been discovered than the oral lesson to a group of children who are ready for it," but however large the junior school may be, and however carefully the pupils may be graded, it is certain that 50 children in any one class will continue to differ widely in ability, and that therefore uniform results must not be expected from class teaching. Still less is the teacher able to maintain that close and personal contact with the individual child which is necessary to inform him of his progress and intelligently to plan his future work. There is therefore a lack of that wide and well devised activity upon which we have insisted in a previous paragraph, and to that extent the real aim of the junior school cannot be attained. The "great importance and dignity" of the junior school cannot be said to be secured if such conditions are stabilised within it that it cannot hope effectively to fulfil its acknowledged function.

We have no wish to underestimate the difficulties that stand in the way of the elimination of large classes. That they are great is indicated by the relatively slow progress made in London in the implementing of the "40-48" scheme. The major difficulty there, as elsewhere, has been one of buildings, but it is too often assumed that to adapt a school to smaller classes it must be reconstructed or repartitioned. That is by no means true. A classroom designed for 60 children under the old Building Regulations is not in any case too large for a class of 40. If it is used for such a class the floor space per child, and correlatively the cubic space, as Dr. James Kerr has shown (*Fundamentals of School Health*, p. 754 *et seq.*), will still be considerably less than is usual in new schools in the United States of America, and in most other countries. The problem is not one of adapting old buildings, but of adding to them, or of supplementing them by new ones.

In this matter reorganisation, which implies a certain number of new buildings, and a consequential increase in the total school accommodation, may be expected to help, though there is a very grave danger that the Board's suggested maximum of 50 in a junior class may be regarded as a not

indefensible standard by local education authorities. The elimination of classes of over 50 has often been secured by a redistribution of pupils between the classes within the school which cannot be justified on educational grounds, and which has caused some of them not only to include children who have no right to be in the class, but to exceed the size which in our view is necessary to efficiency. While changes of that kind give a new appearance to the summary figures in the *Annual Statistics*, and are the cause of laudatory speeches in the House of Commons, they do not necessarily mean that any important advance has been made, or that authorities are tackling the problem with the energy and vision which the parents and the pupils have a right to expect.

The immediate objective of the Board is the elimination of senior classes with more than 50 pupils, and a substantial reduction of those with more than 40, by the year 1930. Accordingly, where new senior schools are planned either in new or in adapted buildings, their rooms will be designed for classes of 40. The process of reduction at this stage of the school life will be assisted powerfully by the progressive decrease in the number of pupils over eleven between now and that date. After 1930 the influx to the senior school of the relatively large number of children born in the two years immediately after the war will create a new situation. There will be, according to the report of the Government Actuary, "185,000 more children between 11 and 14 plus in the schools on 31st March, 1933, than at the present moment." He says, however, very significantly, "It is perhaps an easier task to frame an estimate for the country as a whole than for particular areas, but it will be recognised that *in regard to measures for dealing with new conditions local considerations will become of the first importance.*" That warning has not been without effect, for in Circular 1395 Lord Eustace Percy says "every local authority will have to undertake its own investigations into the vital statistics of its own area, since the increase in population must operate very differently in different areas. It is, for instance, obvious that authorities, when the school population in the next few years will be effected by quite exceptional factors, can get no useful guidance from a general announcement of national policy. But the first step is clearly to decide upon our national basis."

Unfortunately in planning this national basis the Board appears to have attended almost exclusively to the requirements of post-primary pupils. In the Report of the Consultative Committee this preoccupation was a virtue—indeed it was dictated by the terms of reference,—but the Board has an equal responsibility for all pupils and for all types of school, and cannot be allowed deliberately to depress or to subordinate one in order to exalt the other. This must be our reason for devoting so much attention to the relative provision for reducing the size of classes in the junior and senior school respectively.

So far we have noted that the immediate aim is different in the two types of school. The Board looks to a maximum class of 50 in the former and 40 in the latter. The variation in the birthrate has made the second objective possible of achievement by 1930, and while there will be a heavy influx of pupils to the senior schools after that year, the Board warn authorities that they will be expected to make a provision of additional classrooms that will prevent even then a recrudescence of the old evils. They will be expected also to regulate their senior accommodation so that some time after 1933 they will be able to absorb that large part of an additional age group that will be retained if the age of compulsory school attendance is raised to 15. An incidental reference on page 24 of the *New Prospect in Education* makes it clear what is intended. In discussing there the proper size for a senior school the Board state that “it should contain at least six classes and preferably seven, in order to allow for some elasticity in organisation and for a number of children remaining at school to complete a four years course, and wherever possible it should be planned for an eventual eight classes. In terms of numbers, and on the basis of classes of 40, this will mean a school of 240 to 280 places, or an eventual 320.” Thus we see that, wherever the Board’s anticipations are completely fulfilled, there will be in the senior school at least one, and perhaps two classrooms with only a contingent use. We approve this wise policy of intelligently anticipating future needs, but we must most decidedly contrast it and compare it with what is proposed for the junior school.

The proposal for the junior school is a maximum class of 50 and the Board affords no hope that this limited objective, so inadequate, as we have suggested, to the real need at this

stage, will be attained by 1930, or indeed for some time afterwards. We read in Circular 1397 that "it may not be practicable to secure a final elimination of large classes for younger children by that year, especially as the pressure on the junior school ought not to be relieved by lowering the age of transfer to the senior school. To yield to that temptation would be to prejudice the whole development of education after the age of 11 on the lines advocated by the Consultative Committee." It seems to follow from this that the Board will regard without dismay a situation in which empty classrooms in the senior school will be accompanied by overcrowded classes in the junior schools. Neither the local authorities nor the teachers are likely to share this view, and we have little doubt that, in spite of the attitude of the Board, appropriate adjustments will be made whenever this dilemma arises. Reorganisation should be used to ameliorate and not to aggravate the inadequacies of the present position.

The heavy birthrate of the post-war years, which at the moment introduces such a disturbing factor into educational administration, is now felt in its full intensity by the junior school. The situation was clearly foreseen, and might have been met by intelligent planning, so that the children in these particular age groups might have been provided with adequate care throughout the whole of the pre-adolescent period. Unfortunately proper measures were not taken. The position, as noted in Circular 1395, is that in the last two years "the number of classes containing over 50 children under 11 has risen from 13,458 to 15,207." One third of all these classes are found in the areas of six large authorities, Manchester, Liverpool, the West Riding, Birmingham, Sheffield and London. The following table shows how the size of junior classes in these areas, with the exception of Liverpool, has been allowed to increase.

*Number of classes containing over 50 pupils under eleven.*

	1924-5	1925-26	1926-27	Percentage increase
Manchester ..	340	359	418	23%
Liverpool ..	686	641	624	-9%
Yorks. (W.R.) ..	618	621	678	10%
Birmingham ..	753	814	845	12%
Sheffield .. ..	341	427	471	38%
London .. ..	2,323	2,390	2,495	7%

In the same period the number of classes containing over 40 pupils but not over 50 increased from 21,755 to 23,374. The total increase in classes of over 40 children of junior school age was 3,369. The Board states, probably with some justification, that this is due to difficulties of accommodation and to the delay in erecting adequate school buildings on new housing estates. This may be partly true, but it is no less true that the Board has compelled some and encouraged other authorities to reduce their staffing establishments where this action could have had no other results than to increase the size of classes. This is illustrated by the figures from Tottenham, Swindon and St. Helens, which had respectively 214, 95, and 205 classes of over 40, but not over 50, and 88, 20 and 49 classes of over 50. All these authorities against their will have been compelled to assent to a reduction in staff, and to this extent the Board cannot be absolved from responsibility for the present position.

A simple calculation reveals that a million children are being taught in battalions of over 50, and upwards of 3,000,000 in classes of over 40, and that of these a very large proportion are in the junior school. We wish to insist that *The New Prospect in Education* is likely to perpetuate a differentiation between the junior and senior school which is indefensible on educational grounds. It is likely, unless a greater latitude in staffing is permitted, and unless the available accommodation is used with due regard to the needs of schools of both types, that junior schools, in the alleged interests of economy, will be organised wherever possible on a basis of 50 in a class.

## CHAPTER IX.

## SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

A LARGE number of the new post-primary schools will be housed temporarily in specially altered buildings. The Board emphasises the need of utilising accommodation that may at present exist to the best advantage, and says that "it is surprising how well existing buildings can, with some thought and care, be adapted for new purposes." "There is no need," it adds, "to associate the ideals of a senior school education too closely with the provision of new buildings." Yet we anticipate the use of old buildings may prevent too often a really adequate provision for advanced instruction, and thus defeat the real purpose for which post-primary schools are suggested.

In other instances the modern school may be able to occupy buildings specially erected on a new site, and in our opinion, when this solution is proposed, it is essential that the new buildings should fully subserve the purpose for which they are intended, and should be planned on a scale which will set a standard to other schools of the same type. The Board insists that in planning these buildings it will be necessary to consider in detail the special purposes for which they will be required, and that no attempt should be made to imitate too closely schools already existing and serving rather different purposes. The Board, in fact, would deplore too slavish an imitation of the existing secondary schools, and we agree that the outstanding characteristic of the modern school may well be a provision for practical instruction on a scale which is at present unusual in secondary schools.

We do not agree, however, that the lavatory accommodation, the provision for physical education, or the amount of floor space required for the individual pupil should be less in the modern than in the secondary school. When old buildings are adapted the secondary school standards in these particulars may not be attained, but in new schools we suggest that an

effort should be made to approach them. We see no reason for differentiating in these matters between the elementary and the secondary system in those parts of the course which are designed for pupils of the same chronological age. In adopting this attitude we have behind us the authority of the Consultative Committee, which insisted that in principle the standards of equipment in modern schools should approximate to those in secondary schools.

That Committee stated very definitely that in its view, as in that of many of its witnesses, "the education of children over the age of 11 in modern schools or in senior classes is one species of the genus 'Secondary Education.' It is not an inferior species, and it ought not to be hampered by conditions of accommodation and equipment inferior to those of the schools now described as Secondary." The Committee, therefore, attached great importance "to ensuring that so far as possible, and with due allowances for differences in the character of the curriculum and the age range of the pupils, the construction and equipment of modern schools should approximate to the standard from time to time required by the Board in schools working under the Regulations for Secondary Schools." "At the same time," they stated, "we fully recognise that finance is a limiting factor, and as it is not feasible at once to establish conditions such as we have described, we must be content to recommend the establishment of the best conditions obtainable in the circumstances." Whenever new buildings are erected, and if the financial factor is put in its proper place as subservient to efficiency, circumstances will be such that no inferiority in the provision for the physical needs of the pupils need be entertained, and the opportunity will present itself for an advance which has long been awaited. Unfortunately, the Board does little to suggest that this is the appropriate time to advance. This places a special responsibility on the local education authority in the preparation of plans, and we trust that they will prefer to supply whenever possible buildings which are fully adapted to modern requirements. The Board contemplates, as a reasonable provision in new schools, classrooms on a basis of 12 sq. ft. of floor space for each pupil. The Building Regulations for Secondary Schools insist upon a minimum of 16 sq. ft. per head. The 12 sq. ft. basis is less than that



which is provided in the elementary schools of France, Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Russia, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and the United States, and certainly should be exceeded in every school for post-primary pupils. The 20 sq. ft. per pupil which is usual in American High Schools compares particularly favourably with the provision that is now proposed in England.

The arguments in favour of larger classrooms are not solely educational. Questions of infection and of the general health of the pupil are involved, and where new schools are to be erected we should be no longer able to say of them that "except in the matter of the audibility of the teacher's voice, there is no health in them." For too long in this matter of floor space English schools have been regarded as amongst the worst in the world, and reorganisation should certainly provide the opportunity for a definite step forward. The standard of 16 sq. ft. per pupil set by the Building Regulations for Secondary Schools appears to be the minimum provision which should be contemplated.

Particular care should be taken to provide as a minimum an assembly hall on a basis of at least six square feet for each pupil for whom the school is to provide accommodation, and to equip it so that it may be used when necessary for gymnastics and physical instruction, and may serve the purpose of a school auditorium. Modern schools should commonly be provided with special rooms for the practice of art, music, and the diverse forms of handicraft, not merely on the secondary school scale, but even more generously, as it is probable that these sides of the curriculum may have to be developed with an intensity which is at present unusual in secondary schools. When the curriculum of the senior schools is finally determined it may be necessary in a school of 400 pupils to allocate more than four rooms to science, art and practical instruction. The need for a library will not be less in a modern school than in a secondary school, although the type of book to be found in it may be somewhat different.

Cloakrooms and offices should be planned on a worthy scale. The secondary schools here have set a standard which it is desirable that all schools taking children of the same age should attain, and hitherto the provision made in schools

conducted under the Elementary Code has been abominably inadequate. We cannot view with equanimity the perpetuation of the old conditions, and in this matter the new schools will provide a crucial test of the educational zeal of the local authorities that are responsible for erecting them. There is no evidence that in secondary schools the regulations at present laid down have been in excess of requirements. They provide for one closet seat for every 25 boys and one urinal stall for every 15. For girls the standard is one closet seat for every 15 up to 100, and then one for each 20 in addition. The number of lavatory basins should at least comply with the following rule:—

Boys.—One for every 20 pupils up to 100, and one for each succeeding 25.

Girls.—One for every 10 pupils up to 100, and one for each succeeding 20.

There must, of course, be a plentiful supply of hot water, and we suggest that there should be no need for any pupil to use a towel that has previously been used by another. This difficulty has been overcome in America by the utilisation of large rolls of absorbent paper, and, if this device is not adopted, some equally satisfactory method of dealing with the problem should be found. It is useless to inculcate lessons of cleanliness and hygiene unless the opportunity of carrying them out in practice is provided.

Cloakrooms should also be equipped as changing rooms, should contain seats, lockers and boot racks, and should provide an opportunity for drying clothes. We would emphasise the value of providing all children with lockers, in which their books, clothes, and personal possessions may be secured. Perhaps these might be provided in recesses in broad corridors, and not necessarily in the changing and drying room. We cannot possibly overvalue the proud sense of responsibility that comes to children when they have within the building at least one corner which they may call their own.

The provision of playing fields, not only for new schools, but so far as possible, for all schools taking pupils over the age of 11, is a matter of the first importance. One of the weightiest arguments used by the Board in advocating a

general transfer by chronological age is that pupils of like physical capacity will be brought into association and the organisation of games will therefore become more easy. At this stage in the child's life the need for developing the team spirit and for inculcating those principles of fair play and of sportsmanship which are the outcome of organised games, is very urgent. Nowhere better than on the playing field may the children prepare themselves adequately for "a life of active labour and social co-operation." Further, the healthy development of the child pre-supposes the opportunity for physical activity. We note with approval that certain rural counties have already resolved that playing fields should be provided as an essential part of the post-primary provision, and we trust that this example will be widely followed. We are aware that in towns the problem is more difficult. Even here an attempt should be made to solve it even though it involves exceptional measures such as the provision of transport facilities.

We notice with regret that the Board contemplates that in certain circumstances 10 classrooms, together with additional accommodation for manual or domestic instruction which will take a full class, may be used by 440 senior pupils. We are aware that if this stipulation is read in connection with other parts of the pamphlet it will be understood that senior schools will only be filled to their full capacity in 1932 and 1933, when there will be a relatively heavy influx of pupils to them, or after that date if the school leaving age is raised to 15 plus. Nevertheless, we urge that if a stabilisation of the school population is ever secured a permanent condition of congestion in the schools should certainly be avoided. If the rooms used for manual instruction and for domestic science were not reckoned in the nominal accommodation of the school a real safeguard would be provided. This safeguard would only be necessary if the special accommodation provided for practical work was on the rather meagre scale suggested by the Board in the pamphlet. Certain modern schools, for example, some of the non-selective central schools, established by the Surrey County Council, contain special rooms on a scale largely in excess of what is now proposed. A school for 320 boys may contain 6 classrooms, 2 handicraft rooms, 2 science laboratories or practical rooms, and an art

room. We wish schools of this type were much more common, and we would not propose to exclude all the special subject rooms in them from the calculation of accommodation ; but at least two of the rooms should be so excluded. Though the wording of the Board's pamphlet is not quite clear, we imagine that the previous practice whereby a practical class contains not more than 20 pupils will obtain under the new conditions.

We have every reason to welcome the recommendation of the Board, which has recently been reinforced by the Committee on Education and Industry, that practical work should normally be undertaken within the modern school and not in a separately organised centre. Besides the educational advantages that this arrangement offers, we regard it as important that the teachers who are responsible for this special instruction should be full members of the staff of the school and should work in close co-operation with their fellows.

**THE RURAL PROBLEM.**

**N**OWHERE is the proposed reorganisation likely to be more valuable than in those country districts with a scattered population distributed between widely separated villages, and nowhere will it be more difficult to arrange. Post-primary departments providing advanced instruction and allowing appropriate classification of pupils and differentiation of curricula can be developed in the upper ranges of large urban schools. By general consent this cannot be done effectively in small village schools, and the problem created has given the Union the utmost concern over a long period of years.

The disabilities under which the rural teacher suffers are not always realised by the general public. The schools at present are often so small that staffing is expensive. In consequence the supplementary teacher persists and often has charge of all children at the infant stage, where it is absolutely necessary that only the particularly well-trained and experienced teachers should be employed. Often the certificated head teacher is the only fully qualified person in the school. The task which confronts these head teachers is no light one. They are engaged themselves in full-time teaching duties and yet they must constantly exercise supervision over the work of assistants less well qualified than themselves. The children immediately under their charge may be working at four or even at seven different stages, and properly to organise the work of so many small groups is a task of great complexity. The buildings are frequently inadequate and in many areas they are properly cleaned only once a term. The lighting, ventilation, and offices are often most inefficient. Perhaps there is no proper water supply and there is rarely any provision for drying the clothes of the children who attend on a wet day. All the classes may be taught in a single room. There are no real facilities for advanced instruction and it is impossible to

devise them. We cannot speak too highly of the wonderful work which is often done in these difficult circumstances, or of the devotion of the men and women who undertake it, and who frequently supplement it by social work in the village. Nevertheless, the Union has always urged that the task set was too difficult, that the children are not given their full opportunity, and that modification and alleviation should be introduced wherever possible.

So far back as 1913 the Executive in considering rural education resolved :—

“ Where the number of older scholars in any school is insufficient to enable suitable provision to be made for their teaching, such scholars should be transferred to a school centrally situated where real educational progress may be made. Such school may be within the area of the same or of an adjoining Education Authority, the necessary financial adjustments being made. Children so transferred should be required to attend a school course of not less than two years.”

This is in effect the experiment already attempted in several rural areas, which was advocated by the Consultative Committee, and which has now received the official recognition of the Board. We welcome the evidence that where it has been tried it has proved to be relatively successful.

Yet it is necessary to issue one very serious warning. Too often when the village school has been truncated, the employment of a certificated teacher has been discontinued, and in consequence the conduct of the school has lacked that expert guidance without which the difficulties of organisation, which are still considerable, cannot be met, and without which efficiency cannot be attained. At the same time the village has been deprived of an important and valuable element in its communal life. We hold very strongly that every village school, however small, is entitled to the service of one teacher who is recognised as certificated. To suggest otherwise is a betrayal of the countryside, and may jeopardise for the village children the possibility of success in any further courses of instruction to which they may proceed.

With this important reservation we welcome the proposals of the Board in so far as they are designed to effect improvements in rural education and to open the door of opportunity to a larger number of pupils. They have been rendered

possible by the modern development of transport, which has removed in some measure the isolation of the village. Obviously the cost of transporting children to school should not fall upon the parent, but should be entirely defrayed by the local education authority.\*

One further obligation rests upon the local education authority. In a section devoted to the dinner hour, the Board commends those County authorities which arrange "that properly cooked meals shall be provided in conditions of decency and comfort at every school which is attended by any number of children from a distance." Continuing the Board states that "A meal eaten under decent conditions is not only of great value for the physical welfare of the children, but can also provide a valuable training in cleanliness and behaviour, and the existence of a good dinner scheme is an essential factor in securing the support of parents for any scheme of reorganisation." We are in thorough agreement with this view, but we insist that teachers must not be expected to undertake the preparation and serving of meals and the arrangement of the room in which they are taken. These are extraneous to their responsibilities, and often would conflict with their ordinary duties. The local education authorities should provide for these services to be undertaken by others, even if some expenditure is involved. It is to be hoped that they will devote more money and attention to this duty than many of them now do to their equally fundamental but much neglected responsibility—the proper cleaning of rural schools.

## CHAPTER XI.

# THE CURRICULUM OF THE SENIOR SCHOOL.

**I**N discussing the aim of the modern school the Board emphasises the significance of what it terms "the course idea," and at some length attempts to explain what it means by that phrase. We gather that for all children who enter the school there shall be a pre-arranged programme, adapted to their particular type of ability and framed with due regard to the pace at which they will travel and the time they are likely to remain at school. Each course within its own limits should be complete and rounded. Too much should not be attempted, because the ideal is that whatever is attempted should be completely achieved. "A sermon," says the Board, "does not compensate for its indeterminateness merely by its length."

The analogy is amusing, but not very helpful. A sermon too prolonged will tire even the devotee. An educational course well devised gathers interest as it proceeds, and only fulfils its true function when it leaves the pupil asking for more. Education is by its very nature an indeterminate process, for however far and fast a student may travel there is always something waiting for him beyond. Yet there is value in the course idea if it gives the teacher an attainable objective, and if the setting of a definite bound to his studies gives the pupil a mark towards which to strive, and which he will not be satisfied if he does not reach.

Perhaps we may examine the problem that faces those who have to plan courses for the modern school. The content of each course, as we have said, will depend upon the type of ability possessed by the pupils, the time they are likely to remain at school, and the pace at which they are expected to travel. The teacher has to take account of these three separate factors, which are at present in every conceivable combination. We hope rather than expect that type of ability, probably the most important of them, will be given its due weight.



It is not at present possible accurately to determine type of ability at II plus, and, though the advance of psychological research may help us in this matter, selection has hitherto been based upon the success the pupil is likely to attain if he pursues academic studies. We have been able to measure this with some accuracy, and on the basis of it presumably we shall continue to decide whether a pupil, shall proceed to a recognised secondary, to a selective central, or to a senior school. Within the modern school the same criterion will probably be used in drafting the entrants to A. B. or C. forms. "The main categories into which pupils will naturally fall" are likely to be decided by the relative success of the pupils in academic work. This is an imperfect basis for classification, but it will be used because no better presents itself. It is imperfect because it ignores types of ability which it should be the function of the school to discover and develop.

In the secondary school we have had experience of the course idea, and nothing is more regrettable than that the courses have been designed with almost a single eye to the academic factor. Because the pupils have academic ability it has been assumed that they will develop most naturally in an academic school. In consequence, the instances of failure to encourage special gifts in music, in art, in the crafts, and even in specialised aspects of the academic subjects themselves, have been innumerable, and the following of the pre-arranged course has not always led to any real understanding of science, of history, of language or of mathematics and certainly not to a breadth of view, or to an easy tolerance of other people's opinions. We hope that this failure will not be duplicated in the school of the new order. The danger inherent in the course idea is that the child may be fitted to the course, and not the course to the child. In the same paragraph in which the course idea is promulgated the Board states that this is a danger that it is particularly anxious to avoid.

Apart from the necessary groundwork in fundamental subjects our conception of a school is rather different. We regard it as an experimental ground in which the real aptitudes of each individual child are discovered, and opportunity is given them to have the freest play. The course is therefore progressively modified to meet the ascertained needs and

interests of the pupil as it proceeds, and from its very nature cannot be exactly predetermined. Schools should be judged by the Board less on their success in evolving formal courses and bringing the majority of their pupils to the conclusion of them, than upon the help and inspiration they are able to afford individuals in developing the capacities with which they have been endowed.

Nevertheless, in any practicable form of school organisation the needs of the individual are likely to be sometimes subordinated to the overruling needs of the group, and the great advantage of collecting pupils of the same age together in considerable numbers is that a better classification becomes possible. However the classification is effected it is likely to reveal that certain groups of children have fairly well-defined requirements, though these requirements have not been previously recognised because the individuals composing the group have been dispersed among those who have different needs and have consequently been judged on their academic attainment alone. In this sense the curriculum and method of the modern school is still to seek, and a special responsibility will rest upon the teachers during the experimental stage. We welcome the warning of the Board that teachers in modern schools should not deflect their unique opportunity into "traditional and inappropriate channels."

For example it may well appear that certain pupils in modern schools may possess a definite linguistic gift, and yet that it will be impossible to teach them French through the traditional medium of grammar, or to test their acquired knowledge by paper examination. It would be a calamity if at a time when the recognised secondary schools were abandoning old-fashioned methods in language teaching the modern schools should be content to accept them. It may be that no foreign language will be attempted, but that the school will confine itself to developing a greater command and appreciation of English. Similar considerations will apply to almost any subject, and indeed the old rigid barriers between the subjects may have to be rejected. In the content, quality, and method of teaching, nothing is yet finally decided, and a happy field of experiment is open, which may lead after a time to the foundation of generally accepted courses. What-

ever work is undertaken should obviously aim at bringing out the best that can be found in the children, and the lessons therefore should be as interesting as possible. They should not be dictated by pre-conceived and probably fallacious notions of what is good for adolescents, or necessarily follow the lines that have been adopted in the past. We welcome the promise of the Board that it will return to the subject of the curriculum, and we trust that any suggestion it may have to make will be illustrated by an adequate description of what is being attempted and accomplished in modern schools throughout the country.

We welcome the frank recognition by the Board that no examinations at present existing are likely to be of use in assessing the work of modern schools, and its statement that if an attempt were made to utilise them it would merely "succeed in stereotyping and hardening what is still free and fluid." Authorities, parents, employers, and even teachers need this significant reminder that to contemplate at this stage a general examination in a modern school will defeat the very purpose of reorganisation, which is to "realise a new conception and leave to it every facility for varied growth." The Board seems to think that in certain areas and in certain schools there may be even at present a demand for some form of leaving examination, and it states that any such examination that may be set up "should be avowedly and deliberately of a temporary and tentative character, adapted to particular schools or groups of schools, but not formalised by the erection of large examining bodies, who might easily become the masters of a system which they were created to serve." The Union is only too well aware that the demand may be made, and it appreciates the valuable help which the Board's expression of opinion may supply when it is called on to urge the dangers that attend such examinations, the chief of which is that they cannot fail to limit the freedom of the schools to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

The Board indicates that, though it will be a difficult task, it may be possible to devise appropriate leaving examinations for modern schools when the experimental period is further advanced. The Union is now engaged in discussing the merits of alternative possibilities with representatives of the Associa-

tion of Education Committees and it would therefore prefer not to express a final opinion on this subject at this stage.

Meanwhile the problem that will face the teachers in the modern school should be seen in its proper perspective. It is well known that in the distribution of intelligence, and cor-  
relatively of academic attainment, pupils tend to cluster round the normal, but that some will always be two or three years in advance and some two or three years behind the average. In the Scottish schools, for example, classification up to the age of 12 is almost rigidly on the basis of attainment and it is interesting to see how the pupils are distributed in a typical area at the age of 11 plus. The figures for this age group in Ayrshire are as follow, all pupils in secondary schools, who are presumably above the average, being omitted.

	Junior (1)	24.	Senior (3)	653.
Infants (Higher) 1.	Junior (2)	104.	Senior (4)	1,872.
			Senior (5)	2,003.

It is thus seen that about 2,000 children will have reached what in England we have hitherto called Standard V., and of these 1,000 would be promoted to selective schools and another 1,000 to modern schools. In the modern schools we shall also find 1,872 pupils at the level of Standard IV., 653 pupils at the level of Standard III., and 129 pupils retarded to an even greater degree. So far as academic subjects are concerned it is obvious that the problem here is not one of arranging for two parallel forms, but of dividing at least the more retarded children into a number of small groups. If two parallel courses are provided, the more advanced of these is likely to be comparatively homogeneous, but the less advanced will contain children ranging in attainment from the Infants to Standard IV. The problem for these will not be one of class teaching, but of securing that children of widely differing ability shall make the fullest possible progress in academic subjects at their own pace. Not only must the content of the curriculum be adapted to the varying capacities of the children, but it may prove that the method of treatment will have to be fundamentally different for the more backward of them. When it is understood that some of the 25 children who are only fitted academically for the first class in the junior school will remain barely two years in a senior school, and that

during that time they will make relatively slow progress, the difficulty of devising appropriate courses will be at once apparent. The need for appropriate forms of practical instruction is also evident. We must not assume, as the Board apparently assumes in its suggested model organisation, that all pupils in the modern school will spend the same time in the practical subject or in the manual instruction rooms.

In applying the course idea to the organisation of these schools the factor of time is likely to be of outstanding importance. If rounded courses complete in themselves are contemplated, it is evident that the longer the course the greater will be the content and the less the teachers are likely to suffer from an undue limitation in the scope of the work they are expected to do. Even the more backward children when they leave school should have some facility in the 3 R's, but their achievement will always be limited by their native capacity to receive instruction. The only real hope of securing a higher attainment at leaving is an extension of the course. These considerations lead us to suggest very forcibly that the full benefit of post-primary education will not be secured unless the length of the school life is considerably extended. In particular it will be difficult to devise courses if some pupils entering at 11 continue to the age of 15, while others entering at 12 leave directly after their fourteenth birthday, and if every possible length of course is to be found within these two extremes. A general raising of the school leaving age to the end of the term in which the pupil attains his fifteenth birthday will secure a much greater uniformity in length of course and will assist considerably the effective organisation of the post-primary school.

Whatever courses may ultimately be adopted we anticipate, in view of the Board's pronouncement, that His Majesty's Inspectors will do everything possible to encourage experiment, and will themselves to some extent abandon traditional criteria in the assessment of schools. If this is so, the future for education is full of hope.

## RECOMMENDATIONS.

### *A Universal System of Post-Primary Education.*

- (1) The need for establishing a universal system of post-primary education should be held clearly in view. The measures necessary to attain it should go steadily forward.
- (2) Primary education should be regarded as ending at the age of 11 +.
- (3) All children should proceed normally to some form of post-primary education.
- (4) A common Code of Regulations should be framed to cover all forms of post-primary education in whatever school they are conducted.
- (5) The common Code of Regulations should be so framed as to permit the retention of pupils beyond the age allowed by law in elementary schools.
- (6) All schools for children over the age of 11 should be termed "Secondary Schools" and all secondary schools should be regarded as of equal importance.

### *Types of Post-Primary School.*

- (7) Schools of the recognised secondary type should continue and the provision of these schools should be extended. Many more children should pass to recognised secondary schools than at present do so.
- (8) The payment of fees in secondary schools aided or maintained by local education authorities should be discontinued.
- (9) Schools of the type of the existing selective central schools should continue and the provision of these schools should be extended.
- (10) Before establishing non-selective central schools, authorities should examine the possibility of developing existing elementary schools by the provision of advanced instruction in senior classes, central departments, or higher tops.
- (11) Wherever possible parallel courses of different types should be organised within the secondary school, and local authorities should be permitted to establish post-primary schools of the multiple bias type taking all children from the age of 11 onwards and supplying some of them with an academic course leading to the university.

- (12) The work now done in junior technical schools indicates the lines on which modern courses with an industrial bias might be developed in certain areas. If all post-primary schools are conducted under revised Secondary Regulations, and their equipment is on the accepted secondary standard, there will be no objection to the merging of junior technical schools in the general post-primary provision.
- (13) Similar considerations apply to full time junior art departments in art schools.

### *The Curriculum of the Post-Primary School.*

- (14) The courses in post-primary schools should vary according to the age up to which the majority of the pupils taking them remain at school, and according to the different interests and abilities of the children; but neither of these factors will provide a basis on which the schools may be classified in clearly differentiated groups.
- (15) All post-primary schools should provide at least a four year course for the children attending them.
- (16) The curriculum must for some time remain in an experimental stage, and though courses to cover a number of years may be designed, they should be altered and adapted as they proceed to meet the needs of individual pupils, and to incorporate the teaching of experience.
- (17) In all post-primary schools sufficient time and attention should be devoted to practical instruction, to music, and to the arts and crafts.
- (18) Experiments in language teaching should be conducted in all post-primary schools, but where a foreign language is the medium care should be taken to avoid the over emphasis on written work and on the theory of grammar which has been too common in the past. Oral work, either in English or the foreign language, should be regarded as of the first importance.
- (19) While the course of instruction in post-primary schools should never be vocational, the treatment of the subjects of the curriculum should be practical in the broadest sense and brought directly into relation with the facts of every-day life. The courses of instruction should be used to connect the school work with the interests arising from the social and industrial environment of the pupils.
- (20) A pre-vocational bias may be introduced progressively into the curriculum in the third or fourth year of a four year course. This bias should be introduced only after careful consideration of local conditions and upon the advice of persons concerned with the local industries. It should not be of so marked a character as to prejudice the general education

of the pupils. Adequate provision should be made for the needs of that minority of the pupils who may gain greater advantage by following a more general course of study.

- (21) Certificates should be awarded by the schools to all pupils who leave them having completed a course of instruction. These certificates should indicate the nature of the course, and the success that has attended the pupil in pursuing it.
- (22) Pupils in post-primary schools should not be asked to take external examinations unless they wish to do so. The present provision in recognised secondary schools that whole forms should be entered for the General School Examination should be abandoned.
- (23) Local education authorities and teachers should draw the attention of pupils leaving school, and of their parents, to the facilities for further instruction, whether cultural or vocational, which are available in the area.

### *Transfer to the Post-Primary School.*

- (24) Transfer to post-primary courses should take place normally at the age of 11 plus.
- (25) Transfer to selective schools should occur simultaneously with transfer to non-selective schools in the same area.
- (26) The school years of the primary and post-primary schools in any given area, where possible, should be arranged to coincide.
- (27) The allocation of pupils to different types of post-primary course at the age of 11 plus should not be regarded as final, and the fullest possible opportunity of transfer at a later date from one course to another should be offered to any pupil who is likely to benefit by such transfer.
- (28) No uniform written examination of all children in an age group should be held for the purpose of deciding to which type of course they should proceed, because an examination of this type cannot lead to the proper selection of children according to their various interests and abilities.
- (29) Selection for the different courses should depend chiefly upon the school record and the teacher's knowledge of the individual characteristics of the pupils.

### *Teachers and Staffing in the New Educational System.*

- (30) No class in any school, whether infant, junior or senior, should exceed 40 on the roll, and every effort should be made to secure that this maximum is not exceeded.



- (31) Teachers should not be trained exclusively for service in one particular type of school, but should be encouraged to take, at the end of a period of training common to all of them, supplementary courses which will help them in the work in which they may desire especially to engage.
- (32) Free transfer of teachers between different types of schools should be encouraged, so that as many teachers as possible may obtain a variety of experience which is likely to be of value to them in their work.
- (33) The number of teachers in every post-primary school should exceed the number of classes so that proper opportunity may be given for the preparation of lessons and the marking of exercises.
- (34) It is desirable that the number of graduates entering the teaching profession should be largely increased, but appointments to post-primary work of every kind should be made with full regard to experience and teaching ability as well as to academic qualifications, and the Board of Education Certificate should continue to be sufficient to qualify a teacher for the headship of a post-primary school.
- (35) Every school department, however small, should have at least one certificated teacher.
- (36) In determining the staff where reorganised schools are mixed, local education authorities should appoint the most suitable applicant, regardless of sex, provided that in every mixed school the teaching staff should include both masters and mistresses in order that satisfactory provision may be made for the instructional and ethical training of both boys and girls. The qualifications of the applicants and the needs of the school should be the only determining factors.

### *Buildings and Equipment in the New Educational System.*

- (37) When new buildings are contemplated, or when old buildings are reconditioned or redistributed between schools of various types, the relative claims of infant, junior and post-primary schools should be considered in all their bearings. Infants should be organised in separate departments wherever possible, even if the departments are relatively small. Particular attention should be given to the position of the junior school in the system, and the importance and dignity of it should be in every way upheld.
- (38) Where new schools are built the value of open-air principles should be frankly accepted, and the need for modernised sanitary provision, and for a liberal supply of hot water should be recognised.

- (39) Where new infant schools are built the arrangements for securing the health of the children should approximate to those that are usual in the best nursery schools, and a garden should be provided.
- (40) The construction and equipment of all post-primary schools should approximate to the standard now required by the Board of Education in schools working under the Regulations for Secondary Schools.
- (41) In new types of post-primary schools well-equipped rooms for handwork, art and practical science should be provided, because of the special nature of the curriculum, on a scale in advance of that usual in secondary schools. If two rooms only are provided for such subjects these rooms should not be included as part of the recognised accommodation of the school. Where more than two additional rooms are provided the number of such rooms in excess of two may be recognised as part of the normal accommodation.
- (42) The provision of lavatory accommodation in post-primary schools should not fall below the present secondary school standard, and spray baths should be introduced.
- (43) Separate lockers should be provided for individual children, and a changing room in which damp clothes conveniently may be dried.
- (44) Where pupils stay at school to dinner, the local education authority should provide suitable rooms in which the meal may be served, and should employ competent persons, other than the teacher, to undertake the preparation and serving of it.
- (45) Every post-primary school should contain an assembly hall with floor space on a basis of 6 square feet per pupil, which may be used for physical instruction and should be equipped as a school auditorium.
- (46) A playing-field should be attached to each post-primary school, and in congested areas where that is impossible arrangements should be made for the transport of children from the school, or from a group of schools, to suitable playing-fields in the environs. In selecting sites for post-primary schools the need for playing fields should be emphasised.

### *General Principles of Reorganisation.*

- (47) Local education authorities should consult the teachers, preferably through the medium of a Joint Advisory Committee, before the details of reorganisation schemes are formulated.
- (48) No general rule can be applied in the varying conditions which prevail throughout the country, but the details of every scheme of reorganisation must be considered on their merits.

- (49) Reorganisation should not hinder the development of secondary education as it is at present recognised, or reduce the provision of other forms of higher education.
- (50) Junior schools should not suffer by reason of reorganisation in respect to the qualifications and number of the staff, the size of classes, or the playground or playing-field space they at present enjoy.
- (51) Correlation of curricula between primary and post-primary schools, and between the different types of post-primary school, should be secured by frequent consultation between the staffs, so that problems of transfer may be rendered less difficult.
- (52) Where transport of pupils is necessary the whole cost should be borne by the local education authority.
- (53) Special provision should be made
- (i.) to prevent downgrading of head teachers by the arbitrary transfer of scholars or by the reduction of accommodation consequent upon classes of 40 occupying classrooms originally intended for larger numbers, and
  - (ii.) to give full protection to existing teachers of all grades.
- (54) School attendance until the end of the term in which they reach the age of 15 should be made compulsory upon all pupils by an Act of Parliament which should take effect not later than the beginning of the school year 1932-1933.
- (55) The question of supplying part-time education for pupils over the age of compulsory school attendance up to the age of 18 should not be neglected.





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# FEAR AND POLITICS

A Debate at the Zoo

LEONARD WOOLF



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# FEAR AND POLITICS

## A DEBATE AT THE ZOO

**I**T is a well established fact that to confine living creatures, to put them under lock and key or behind iron bars, is one of the most effective methods of taming and civilizing them. It has been, and is, the universal practice in civilized countries to imprison the criminal, who will not act, and the lunatic, who will not think, like his neighbours. Thus is the criminal tamed, the hooligan civilized, and the lunatic either learns to think like those outside the asylum—in which case he is discharged with a certificate of sanity—or he continues, until removed by the great tamer, death, to think like his immediate neighbours, his fellow lunatics.

Civilization consists in acting and thinking like the ordinary man—the ordinary man being, in this connecton, obviously an ordinary man or woman of the upper middle classes. The more people there are who act and think like the ordinary man or woman who is born in Onslow Square or Cadogan Gardens, the more civilization; and if people persist in behaving as if they had been born in the jungle, in utopia, or in the Kingdom of Heaven, they must be shut up under sentence by a judge or magistrate or under a certificate signed by a doctor and a Justice of the Peace. Our judges, magistrates, prison authorities, and Lunacy Commissioners can give innumerable instances in which a few weeks or months confinement have so changed some fellow who had been behaving like a savage that you could not have known that he had not lived all his life in South Kensington.

The object of putting wild animals in cages and of exhibiting them behind iron bars in Zoological Gardens is not primarily to tame and civilize them. The main laudable object of the Zoological Society is to provide a place where

civilized children (half price) and civilized adults (one shilling) may spend an afternoon of pleasure combined with instruction and deposit the paper bags in wire receptacles specially constructed for the purpose. But the civilizing power of solitary confinement and imprisonment cannot be confined to the vertebrate bipeds called human beings, and the Zoo has a profound effect upon its permanent inhabitants. Those who have seen the leopard glide swiftly and savagely through the jungle, or an elephant go crashing brutally through the undergrowth, will hardly recognise as the same creatures that great, immobile, meditative cat in the Lion House and that great swaying mass stretching out its trunk through the wooden bars of the Elephant House for a penny bun. Indeed, the observant visitor to the Lion House may notice that it and its inhabitants have acquired something of that sombre melancholy and dingy respectability which is so overpowering in Cromwell Road and Onslow Square, and, without being too fanciful, he may even detect in the eye of the lion staring into space a gleam of the same look which one sometimes sees through a South Kensington window in the eye of an old gentleman pretending to read the Sunday paper behind a white lace curtain.

So civilized have the animals become that, after the Gardens have closed for the night, many of them contrive to meet together in a kind of debating society, the object of which is mutual instruction and improvement. Only those are admitted to membership whose spirits are completely tamed by confinement and civilization: experience has shown the necessity of excluding, for instance, those animals, natives of Asia and Africa, who are not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world and whose personal habits are offensive, and also the lower classes of even European animals whose smell is naturally unpleasant. It has been regretfully decided also to exclude all the larger carnivora, although, as the aristocratic antelope admitted, they are nearly all "gentlemen and white men"; but the sombre, meditative melancholy which affects these animals in captivity is liable occasionally to turn into homicidal irasci-

bility, just as in South Kensington occasionally the old gentlemen "go mad and kill their wives."

The discussions among the animals admitted to membership almost always come back to one subject, Man. The existence, nature, and mysterious ways of Man have always been, and still are, a source of difficulty and dispute among the animals. At first it was universally believed that men were a kind of spirit, or as we might almost say, gods, who were responsible for all the inexplicable events which happened so regularly in the Zoo. Obviously the keepers were the givers and withholders of food and drink, meted out rewards and punishments, and, by opening and shutting the doors, were the creators of day and night. Then one of the zebras suddenly began to believe that the many men were only an illusion, and that really there was only one omnipotent Man, sitting in a large building invisible in the Zoo and appearing to the animals in the form of keepers and visitors. This belief spread like wildfire, and eventually one of the warthogs announced that he had actually discovered the name of this Man, and that he was called Mitchell; that Mitchell was, however, too sacred a name ever to be uttered, and that in conversation or prayer he had to be addressed as "Secretary to the Zoological Society." For a long time after this all the animals believed that there was only one Man, who had created the universe and the Zoo and whose name was "Secretary to the Zoological Society."

The snakes are, however, temperamentally agnostic, and one of the Russell's Vipers (*Daboia elegans*) known familiarly as Bertie, some time ago put forward the theory that there was no one omnipotent Man, but only men, and he supported his opinion in such a brilliant speech and with such coldly conclusive logic that he convinced all the more advanced animals who were members of the debating society. This trend of thought was carried a step further by the orang-outang, a cynical and savage pessimist, who, after hanging upside down on the bars of his cage for the better part of an afternoon and staring fixedly and ferociously at the female visitors, at the next meeting stated his opinion that men and

women were animals just like themselves, and that, after careful study, he could see little difference, except in hair and clothes, between a female orang-outang and the women who came into the Apes House, and personally he preferred the female to be both hairy and naked.

The orang-outang's theory was the cause of violent controversy, the discussion turning almost exclusively upon the resemblance of women to the females of the various species. The monkeys, deer, bears, and pigs were on the side of the orang-outang, but the male tortoise and male elephant remained for a long time unconvinced, passionately protesting that they could not conceive how a woman, hairy or not hairy, could perform the functions of a female tortoise or a female elephant. The orang-outang sardonically asked the elephant whether he could conceive of a female tortoise performing the functions of a female elephant, and would he therefore deny that tortoises were full members, however curiously formed (he intended no offence), of the great animal community and Zoo Society? The elephant made a dignified and angry reply in which he did not meet the orang-outang's point. Such nervous exaltation and irritability manifested itself among the members that all the females were asked to withdraw, but even this did not produce calm or relaxation of feeling, and the discussion was adjourned *sine die*.

At the next meeting it was unanimously agreed that the subject of sex should in future be absolutely barred from discussion. There followed many debates upon the orang-outang's theory. It rapidly gained ground, and one result of the new doctrine was an intensive study of the history, habits, and customs of human beings. The Secretary Bird and the Long Eared Owl were the first animals who taught themselves to read. Visitors to the Zoo are often careless or absent-minded, and any book or newspaper dropped in one of the houses was eagerly seized upon and added to the public library. The monkeys often succeeded in purloining volumes from the pockets of visitors. Communication was opened with the sparrows who frequent the gardens in great

numbers and yet have free access to the outside world, and an agreement was easily reached by which a news service was organized under the direction of the Secretary Bird, the sparrows collecting current information in Fleet Street, in the West End among the clubs, and in Whitehall, and bringing it to the Zoo in return for a fixed share of the animals' food. A precis of the day's news was made under the direction of the Secretary Bird and read out at the beginning of each meeting.

All the animals were greatly interested in the war; it affected their food supply and so brought home to them its immense importance as a struggle between right and wrong, between the ideals of militarist tyranny and democratic freedom. They studied and discussed its deeper causes and effects, and in the process acquired a considerable amount of historical knowledge. Later Bolshevism took the place of the war as a subject of debate, and the General Election of 1924 caused the keenest discussions. I propose to give here a somewhat curtailed account of the debate which was held immediately after the final results of that election became known.

The Rhinoceros, a slow and deliberate speaker, who is almost invariably supported by the Hippopotamus, opened the discussion:—

“I rejoice,” he said, “that this Baldwin and his species have won so overwhelming a victory, and I am sure that things will rapidly go back—the only direction in which rapid progress is either safe or desirable—to the state of things which existed before the war and even earlier. Protection, as I have frequently explained, would be meaningless unless it meant, when combined with a tariff and taxes upon imported food, the protection of food, i.e., a cheaper and more abundant food supply. The logical result of the Conservative victory will be a high tariff all round, and I am sure that you will find in the next year that all tariffs in these Gardens, whether of the restaurants or of our Houses, will share in the increase.”

There was a murmur of dissent from the orang-outang and

several monkeys, whereupon the Hippopotamus opened his eyes and said in a loud voice, "Hear, hear!"

"But," continued the Rhinoceros, who, being extremely short-sighted and even more hard of hearing, was rarely conscious of interruptions or indeed of what was going on about him, "but I do not wish to discuss the subject of protection, about which we are all agreed. What I wish to talk about is these Russians or Bolsheviks. The appearance of this new species of animal in the world, like the appearance of everything new, is terrifying and spells disaster, and all I can say is that I thoroughly agree with the King, the Baldwins, the Northumberlands, the Banburys, the Poincarés, the ever-to-be-lamented Tsars, and all the other Conservative species of human animal which refuse to have anything to do with, or to recognize the existence of, these appalling creatures . . ."

"I do not wish to appear to boast," said the Ostrich in a genteel voice, "but, if you will allow me to say so, does not that show the hereditary wisdom of my race which has taught us that the surest way of conquering fear and destroying evil is to shut our eyes to it?"

The Hippopotamus, who woke up as soon as the Ostrich began to speak, roared her interruption several times into the Rhinoceros's ear and eventually succeeded in making him understand it.

"There is undoubtedly something in what you say," he allowed. "To every species of God's creatures"—there was a loud laugh from the monkeys—"its own peculiar, proper, and hereditary wisdom. It is well-known that my own race is one of the oldest, and has always enjoyed the distinction of being short-sighted and rather deaf. We have learnt by age-long experience—I had an ancestor in the Pliocene Age who was an intimate friend of one of the greatest of the Pteropods—that on the appearance of anything new and terrible, one should stand still for a moment, look fixedly in the direction in which the evil appears to be—or if you are not sure in which direction, then more fixedly in any direction—and finally run away with a blind and magnificent rush. In this

manner you may, quite possibly run over and destroy the evil, while, if it does not happen to get in your way, you will at least get out of its way. Simply to shut one's eyes, or, as I understand it, to bury one's head in sand, is no doubt another method of attaining the same end. It is a very ancient method, and therefore has much to recommend it, but it happens not to have been adopted by the race of rhinoceros. However, I have nothing whatever to say against it.

“ But let me return to the Bolsheviks. It is clear, I think, from our study of human beings that their species is suffering from a kind of malignant disease of mutability, which for the last century and more the monarchical, aristocratic, and conservative sub-species have unsuccessfully attempted to hold in check. It all began, I understand from our friend the Long-Eared Owl, in 1789. A new and terrible human species, the French revolutionaries, terrorists, or democrats, then suddenly sprang into existence. Human beings do not appear to possess that instinctive and hereditary wisdom that enables other animals to deal effectively, in one way or another, with things new and terrifying. The blind, magnificent rush is not theirs, nor have any of us observed any man or woman effectively bury its head in the sand. When they are afraid, instead of *doing* something, they all start talking at once, and they quarrel and fight among themselves as to the best way of destroying the new phenomenon. That is precisely what happened, I understand, at the time of the French Revolution: instead of destroying the new species, or running away from it, or at least ignoring it, they tried to do all these things at the same time, and, in addition, to talk and argue and philosophize over the nature of the new phenomenon.

“ The consequence was that this abominable revolution and democracy were never extirpated; the revolutionaries and democrats have continued to propagate their species and to infect every nation of the world. But the root of the evil is this accursed habit of change among human beings. It is about 50 years ago that another new and malignant species

of human animal, the German, sprang into existence. Everyone, particularly the people of this country and the French, were immediately, and rightly, terrified of him. But the incredible behaviour of man is shown by the fact that, instead of trampling the Germans out of existence at once, they went on arguing for 44 years about the "German menace," living for the better part of half a century in terror of their lives, spending immense sums of money on guns for shooting Germans, disputing whether one ought to shoot Germans or whether they had enough guns for shooting Germans, but never in all those long years shooting a single German. In fact, when the Chinese species, who do seem to have some hereditary wisdom, being terrified by the sudden appearance of two Germans talking about Jesus Christ at the other side of Asia, had the sense promptly to cut their throats, the rest of the world began shooting the Chinese until they compelled the survivors to give the Germans one of the richest provinces of China, pay them a large sum of money, and set up the statue of a German General in one of their chief towns.

"Well, they lived in terror of these accursed Germans for 44 years, doing nothing at all, beyond shooting a few Chinamen and niggers in order to keep their courage up. And they would have continued to do nothing unless a Serbian had shot an Austrian prince—which caused all the guns to go off everywhere. In the panic which followed they began at last to shoot Germans, and, in the process, they seemed to learn some of the hereditary wisdom of my own race, making magnificent blind rushes up and down the face of the earth for the better part of four years. But the mutability and changeability of the human animal are most distressing. After shooting Germans happily and contentedly for four years, they suddenly seem to have grown tired of it and, instead of completing the job satisfactorily when they had the chance, they allowed a large number of Germans to survive in Germany, and even to come to this country. The result is that people, particularly in France, are becoming as frightened of the Germans whom they have not killed as they were pre-



viously frightened of the Germans whom they have killed.

"To crown all, even before they had stopped killing Germans, there sprang into existence, in Russia this time, another new species of human animal, the most terrible and horrible that the world has ever known. The fundamental evil in the world is change. I cannot understand this senseless habit of change among man, of continually breeding new species or sub-species. Why, the Rhinoceros race has come and gone upon the face of the earth for hundreds and thousands of years—I had an ancestor who was famous in the Pliocene age—and who ever heard of a rhinoceros changing its hereditary wisdom or breeding a new kind of rhinoceros? Seven or eight years ago one would have said that in Russia men were as wise as the Rhinoceros; for hundreds of years they had altered nothing, the lower classes obeying and working for the upper classes and worshipping their Little Father, the Tsar. Then unexpectedly there springs up this obscene species of Bolshevik who want to change everything, to make the upper classes work for the lower classes, to take all our possessions away from us, and who have killed the Little Father, the Tsar.

"Obviously the appearance of this new species in Russia is the greatest menace which has threatened the world since the glacial period (which very nearly extinguished the race of rhinoceros, for large numbers of my ancestors were, at that time, caught in the ice and frozen to death in Europe). The terror which they inspire in this country is extremely sagacious, for fear is the beginning and the better part of wisdom. But the problem remains: what should the human animals in this country do? They might make a magnificent rush and trample the Russians out of existence, but I admit there are difficulties in the way of doing this, owing to the sea and other things. Personally I should like to see them shoot the Bolsheviks, and all the workers and strikers here who support and copy them. (One of the few useful things which this human animal has invented is the gun, if he would only use it more often against his own sub-species and not so often against other animals.) The difficulty, however, as I

understand it, is that the upper classes here are only too ready to shoot the lower classes in Russia who have already shot their own upper classes, while the lower classes here have not yet been sufficiently frightened of the lower classes in Russia to agree to go and shoot them there. Pending the time, then, when the upper classes here shall have instilled into their lower classes that amount of fear of the Bolsheviks which is the beginning of political wisdom, and will induce them to shoot Russians, I do not see that there is a better course to pursue than that adopted by this Baldwin and his Conservative species.

“ I hope I may be pardoned a short digression at this point. The sparrows tell us that this Baldwin has a passion for pigs. Now you may have observed that the pig is the only animal native to this country which remotely resembles a rhinoceros. The resemblance is exceedingly remote, but, stretching a point, I would not object if anyone said that the pig does resemble a minute and very inferior rhinoceros, if such a thing could exist. This being the case, it is not improbable that the brain of the English pig, of which we have, unfortunately, no specimen among us, resembles the brain of a minute and very inferior rhinoceros. You will follow my argument when I now suggest that this Baldwin, and through him the Conservatives, have learnt a good deal of their political wisdom from the pigs.

“ The policy of Baldwin and his species is a simple one. They are waiting for a time when the newspapers shall have made the lower classes sufficiently afraid and when it will be possible to use them to exterminate the Bolsheviks by shooting. Meanwhile, they keep up their own fear as well as they can; they refuse to have anything to do with the Bolsheviks and, as far as possible, pretend that they do not exist. It is the only thing they can do. For political wisdom may be summed up in the following precepts: ‘ Fear the new and destroy it; if you cannot destroy it, run away; if you cannot run away, shut your eyes and your ears.’ In other words the highest wisdom consists in a judicious mixture of fear, blindness, and deafness—a mixture which, if I may say so, has

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distinguished the race of rhinoceros ever since the Pliocene Age."

The Hippoptamus woke up and roared approval. The Tapir, Camel, Giant Sloth, Marmots, and most of the Deer applauded. A large number of Monkeys leapt to their feet gesticulating and all speaking at the same time. When order was restored, it was agreed that the Mandril should speak on behalf of the Monkeys. He then delivered the following oration, during which he continued, slowly and deliberately, to eat shrimps out of a paper bag:—

"I am myself," he said, "a Bolshevik. It is true that I belong to the intelligentsia among the races and tribes of apes and monkeys, but I have deliberately thrown in my lot with the proletariat. The lower classes eat shrimps, and that is why I eat shrimps out of this paper bag, even while I am speaking in public. If the Rhinoceros would forget his ancestors for a moment and eat shrimps, he would acquire a little more political wisdom.

"The only true thing which the Rhinoceros said was that fear is the beginning and end of political wisdom. But if the upper classes are afraid of the lower classes, the lower classes are even more afraid of the upper classes. The more fear, the more wisdom. That is why true political wisdom is found only among the common monkeys or common people. God is fear—and *vox populi, vox Dei*. If only all the workers of the world would unite—under the leadership of the Mandril—what terror they would inspire, what terror they would feel! It would be a universal Reign of Terror, a new Holy Roman Empire, a union of the British Empire and League of Nations, a universal socialized Soviet republic—in a word, the millenium.

"For two thousand years or more the human proletariat has lived in terror of the upper classes, and with good reason. Our friend the Long-Eared Owl has taught us all a little history. Freemen and slaves, feudal lords and serfs, aristocrats and peasants, landowners and agricultural labourers, masters and men, employers and employed—it is all the same old story told and retold over again. 'The good things of the

earth,' say the first, 'and art and literature and music, by some divine dispensation, are for us, for we are the spirit which makes the wheels of the world go round; and you,' they say to the second, 'are the cogs and wheels; by some divine dispensation, it is your duty under our direction to go round; in the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread. Did not Almighty God tell you so? Go round, go round, go round! We may regret that the world has been made in this way; but it is God or Nature or the Logic of Facts; it is not our fault. Go round!'

"And they have been going round for two thousand years and more. Do you think they would have done so except through fear? And they have good cause for fear, for truly your Baldwins and conservatives, your Kings, Tsars, and capitalists, your aristocrats and land-owners and feudal lords know that God is fear and the rich man His prophet. We know what Luther and the upper classes of his time did when the proletariat stopped going round. 'Slaughter and stab them,' cried Luther, 'openly or in secret; kill them as you would a mad dog.' And they did; they slaughtered some hundred thousand and only stopped when the survivors began to go round once more. The Russian peasants have just learnt from Kolchak and Denikin that they can expect in the 20th century from the upper classes only what their ancestors got in the 16th.

"And the capitalist? What does the capitalist and behind him the capitalist Government say to the town worker? Work or starve! Work on our terms or starve on your own! There are the machines—our machines and our government and our police and our soldiers and our machine guns. God is fear and we are His prophets. Work—or strike and starve.

"The proletariat learnt its lesson during the war. It learnt that guns can go off in more than one direction. If God is fear, the poor man with a gun in his hand can become a better prophet of God than the rich man without one. That is what has happened in Russia. The cogs and the wheels began to go round, but in the opposite direction; the guns

went off, again in the opposite direction. For the first time in history the upper classes became more afraid of the lower classes than the lower of the upper. 'Work,' said the proletariat to the Tsar and his capitalists, 'work—or strike and starve.' It is a new and most divine dispensation.

"This Baldwin and his conservatives and capitalists do well to be afraid. A little wind has begun to blow in Russia which will shake the very bars of our cages before the hurricane is laid. But you cannot trample the wind out of existence, however magnificently blind is your rush, and the storm will not spare your back-side because you have buried the other end of you in the sand. Woe, I say, upon the back-sides of the Baldwins and the capitalists and conservatives! They are shutting their eyes not to evil, but to a hurricane of good. The day of the Rhinoceros and Hippopotamus and Kings, Tsars, landowners, and capitalists, is over; the day of the common monkey and common people has dawned. It is true that I am not a common monkey; you have only to observe the colouration of my face and back-side to see this. I belong to the intelligentsia. But I have thrown in my lot with the proletariat and I shall rejoice to be their leader now that their day has dawned.

"One word more—on the subject of change. I agree that most things which are new are terrifying. But all change is good. The race of monkeys has always been on the side of change. The rhinoceros, no doubt, has not changed since he had a distinguished ancestor in the Pliocene age; but that is not true of my race. We have always been breeding new races of monkeys. Why, you would hardly be able to tell from his appearance that the little brown monkey who resides in the third cage on the right in the monkey-house—I have a bad memory for names—belongs to the same race as myself. If the Pliocene ancestor of the Rhinoceros had but given a little more attention to the great and beneficent principle of change, the foundation of revolutions, his descendent to-day might have had blue wrinkles on his nose and a sky-blue rump. One of the most reliable of the sparrows told me that both Lenin and Trotsky have that distin-

guished scheme of colouration."

When the Mandril had finished, the monkeys screamed approval, waving their arms and all chattering together (they thought they were singing the "Red Flag"). Several animals rose to continue the debate, but the Elephant pointed out that the hour was late and called upon the Long-Eared Owl to make the last speech before he himself summed up the discussion. The Owl then spoke as follows:—

"It is our custom in these discussions, after hearing the partisan opinion of animals who have taken one side or the other in the controversy under consideration, finally to refer the matter to one of the race of birds whose wings have enabled them to acquire the habit of rising 'above the battle' and of obtaining, from a safe distance, an impartial, bird's-eye-view of the situation. I do not pretend myself to understand the extraordinary behaviour of the human race, whether of the Conservatives and capitalists or of the Bolsheviks and proletariat. From the point of view of a bird, man appears to be a most dangerous animal, so clever that he would have destroyed every living thing on the earth, including himself, if he had not been repeatedly saved by long lucid moments of extreme stupidity. For races and species of animals like ourselves, whose minds and habits have a natural stability, fully to understand this savage and unbalanced creature man, is, I believe, impossible; but it is occasionally possible to discover some partial explanation of his conduct if you examine his history.

"In political questions, such as the one which we have been discussing, man appears to be more irrational and unstable than in any others, and to know something of his history is therefore of the greatest importance. By a fortunate accident an absent-minded visitor dropped near my cage the eight volumes of Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, and I have therefore been able to study the history of that revolution which took place in France over 100 years ago, and which throws much light upon the Russian Revolution.

"Now a study of man's history shows, I think, that our friends the Rhinoceros and the Mandril, though right in

some of their judgments, have made not unnatural errors regarding the irrational conduct of the human race. It is true that the human political organization is founded upon fear, and that when men talk about justice and reason and patriotism, they often really mean panic and terror. For instance, it is only when the majority are sufficiently frightened of a minority that they begin to call the latter criminals and to make laws against them, and then it becomes just to imprison or hang them. You can see this in their treatment of two of their sub-species, the bore and the murderer, both of whom they dislike. But they are frightened of the murderer and not of the bore—consequently they apply justice to the murderer by hanging him, while, as they are not afraid of bores, justice is not applicable to them. Again it has been found absolutely impossible to keep any of their nations patriotic unless it is kept terrified of some other nation, and they have invented a special class of men, called statesmen and diplomatists, who are paid very large salaries in each country and whose duty it is to make the rest of the people afraid of some other nation (or preferably nations) and so keep up their patriotism. In fact one of the gravest charges against the Socialists and Bolsheviks has been that they started a doctrine called internationalism, maintaining that it was unnecessary for any nation or race to be afraid of any other. If this monstrous doctrine were accepted, the whole of the political organization of human beings would collapse, and the common people would cease to be patriotic. The Conservatives at the last election saw this danger, and it was only in the nick of time that one of their most intelligent diplomatists invented the 'Zinovieff Letter,' as it was called, and succeeded in making the common people once more afraid of the Russians, and so patriotic. France is, in fact, the only country in Europe where the political organization is in an absolutely sound state and patriotism permanent and unassailable. The reason is that every Frenchman is innately and permanently terrified of the Germans, and therefore he has in his own heart a perpetual spring of pure and undefiled patriotism. Some foolish people after the war thought that

Frenchmen might lose their fear and with it their patriotism, because the Germans had been beaten so soundly that it would be impossible for anyone to be afraid of them. Events proved that dead and unborn Germans can be just as terrifying as live ones. If there has ever been the slightest sign of fear and patriotic fervour flagging in France, it has only been necessary for the statesmen to recall the acts of dead Germans, or to refer to the fact that 50 years hence 500,000 more German babies than French babies will be born every year into the world, and immediately the French people, roused to the highest pitch of terror and enthusiasm, have decided to conscript another 100,000 African negroes into the French Army.

“ The Rhinoceros and Mandril are, therefore, correct in giving to fear a great importance in human politics, but they are both wrong, I think, in the view which they take of what is happening with regard to the Bolsheviks. A study of human history reveals the fact that politically man is an animal which never learns from experience. He himself is accustomed to say that there is nothing new under the sun, or that *plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*, or that history repeats itself. In this, at any rate, man shows some understanding of himself. You know that, with his extraordinary love of malignant cruelty, he has invented a small cage with a wheel in it, and that he is accustomed to confine in it one of the most beautiful and cheerful of all animals, the squirrel, and that, apparently, it gives him pleasure to see the squirrel go round and round without making any progress in any direction. The squirrel in the cage is the epitome of man's history. He is always setting out with drums and trumpets in order to reach the place from which he started, and when he has devastated half the earth in order to get back to his starting point, he complacently remarks that there is no new thing under the sun and that history repeats itself.

“ Both the Rhinoceros and Mandril are wrong in believing that the Russians or Bolsheviks are a new species. They have existed for hundreds of years. They existed in France at the time of the French Revolution, and they performed the same antics there, one hundred and thirty years ago, as



they have just been performing in Petrograd and Moscow. The revolutionary wheel goes round, and it makes not a pin's difference whether Mirabeau and Danton and Robespierre are in it or Lenin and Trotsky and some fanatical Russian. And it is precisely the same with the reactionaries and conservatives: the Tsar and Tsarina, the Allies and Denikin and Kolchak, Mr. Baldwin and the Conservatives have copied in every minute particular the antics of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, of the Allies of 1791 and the Comte de Provence and the *émigrés*, of Mr. Pitt and the Conservatives of 1793.

“In order to prove my point, I should have to read to you the eight volumes of Sorel's History. I can now only give you one or two instances which will show you how the human species is revolving in its wheel. The people who made the French Revolution were pacifists and internationalists just like the Russians who made their revolution. In 1789 there was to be universal brotherhood and perpetual peace and 'no annexations and no indemnities.' At first all the 'Liberals' everywhere welcomed the revolution with tears in their eyes, just as they did in 1917. But then fear began. As soon as the revolutionaries in France touched 'legal rights'—of the King and the aristocracy and the clergy and, above all, of property—people began to grow afraid—'it may be our turn next,' they said. Emigration started at once; there were French Princes, Dukes, Counts, and gentlemen in every country of Europe, already talking of and plotting 'intervention.' Then it was the turn of the revolutionaries to become afraid; they struck at the *émigrés* and their property or at all who might be suspected of wanting to emigrate. The King and Queen were afraid, and plotted with Austria and Prussia and Russia and the *émigrés*; the revolutionaries were afraid of the King and Queen, of Austria and Prussia and Russia and intervention; they began a 'revolutionary propaganda' outside France. Then the English became afraid of the propaganda; they demanded that the French Government should cease its propaganda which was directed against the institutions of other countries. Austria, Prussia, France, and England mobilized their armies

or fleets; the émigrés mobilized their corps of 'volunteers' on the frontiers; and when everyone was sufficiently afraid of everyone else, war. And when the Allies appeared to have been victorious and Fox demanded that peace should be made, 'Pitt declared'—I quote M. Sorel—"that England could never negotiate with France as long as she claimed to impose the so-called principles of the Rights of Man, principles of conquest without and disturbance within. Moreover, negotiate with whom? Factions rise and fall one after the other; every post brings the tale of new crimes. If we were to negotiate with Marat, before the end of the negotiations he would have sunk again into the dregs of the people from which he rose and would have left in his place a more atrocious criminal than himself?"

"You will see that poor Mr. Baldwin, who believes that he believes in the Rights of Man, is as regards the Rights of the Proletariat precisely at the same point in the wheel where Mr. Pitt was revolving in 1793. Now let us turn to Mr. MacDonald . . ."

But the Elephant interrupted:

"I do not wish to cut short this discussion, but the hour is late, the night is short, and history and M. Sorel appear to be long. I propose to wind up and sum up this debate. I am too old to be anything but impartial, so that I think you will find me upon the side neither of the Rhinoceros and Mr. Baldwin nor of the Mandril and the Bolsheviks.

"One indisputable and important fact has been established by our discussion. Human beings live in mortal fear the one of the other. Everyone is terrified that his neighbour will cut his throat or shoot him in the back or blow him up with high explosive shells or drop a bomb on his head or destroy his lungs with poison gas or steal his wife or conquer a bit of his native land or a bit of land that he has conquered, or filch his watch or his money, or get better pay than he does, or climb over his head in society.

"It has been pointed out to-night that among human beings justice and patriotism and wisdom and truth are only other names for fear. I agree, but I do not agree that fear

is the beginning and end of political wisdom. I want to recall certain facts which some of us naturally have forgotten or have ignored.

"Some of us in these gardens have never been free. Two thousand years ago one of these human animals, I understand, wrote a poem which says: 'Of all things not to be born into the world is best, nor to see the beams of the keen sun; but being born, as swiftly as may be to pass the gates of Death, and lie under a great load of earth.' And I say to you: 'Of all things never to have known freedom is best; but being born free, as swiftly as may be to pass the gates of a Zoological Gardens, and to live behind strong bars and mighty locks.'

"Those happy animals among us who have never known what it was to be free, whose tickets upon their cages bear the fortunate inscription BORN IN CAPTIVITY, may not understand what I am going to say. I was born in the jungle. Do you remember the jungle?"

The Elephant trumpeted the words so that they boomed out over the cages and the Mappin Terraces, and a curious hush fell upon the animals. The Elephant trumpeted again: "Do you remember the jungle?" and every animal felt the note of fear in the sound.

"Some of you, I see," he went on, "remember the jungle, but for those of us who do not understand, I will explain. We were free in the jungle, and very pleasant it was on a fresh cool morning to shoulder your way through the undergrowth, the heavy dew dripping from the leaves, and to bring down the saplings with a crash and to feed on the young leaves. I remember the great herds of deer running free on the great plains; I remember how the monkeys laughed and chattered in the flowers, and how the peacocks on the tree-tops screamed their greetings to the rising sun.

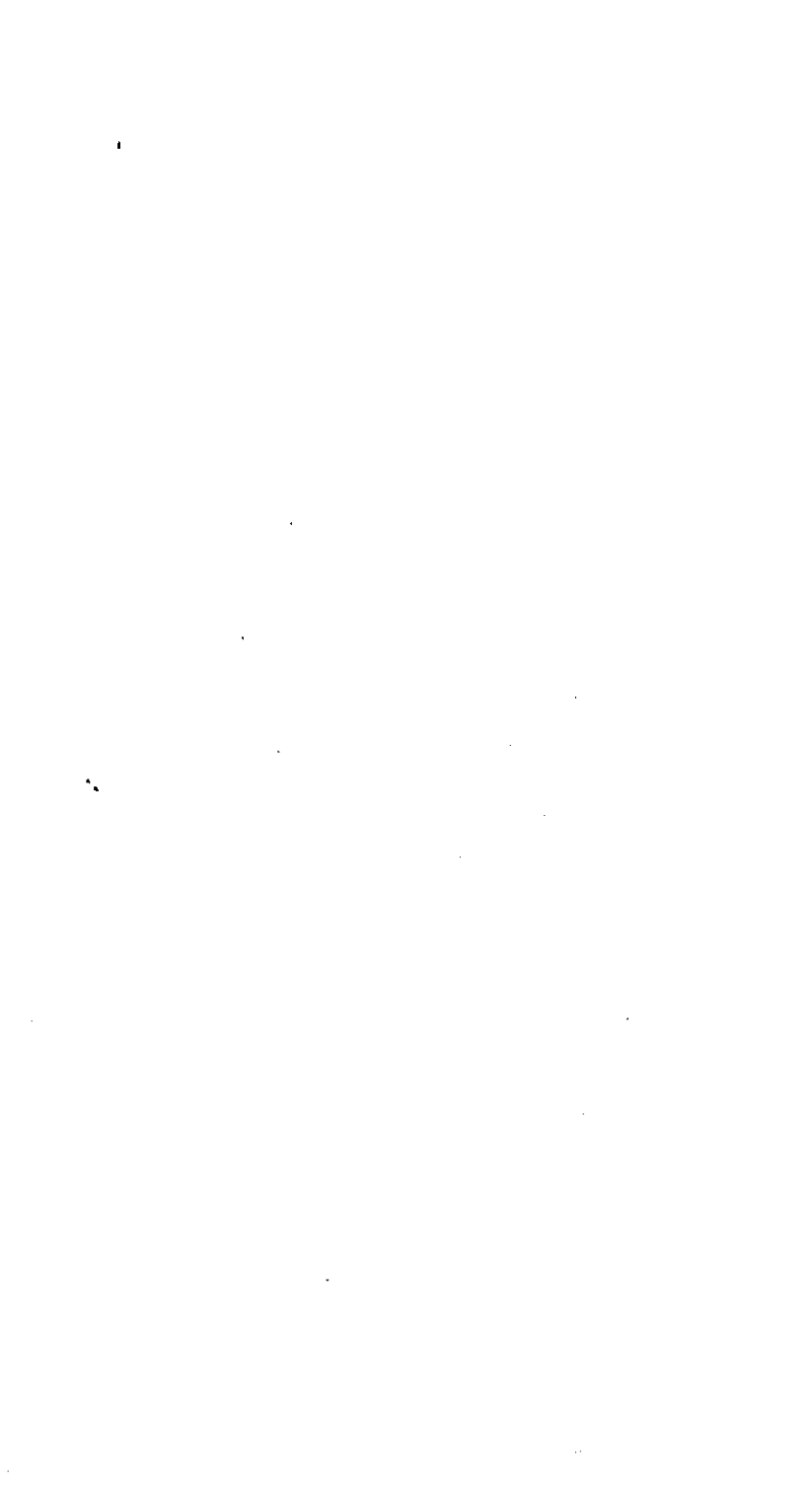
"Yes, it was sometimes very pleasant to be free in the jungle. But only for a moment, because the jungle was a place of perpetual fear. We were all, like these human animals, perpetually afraid of one another. It was a continual struggle, a continual killing of one by the other. The

deer were perpetually fleeing from the leopard and the tiger, and the leopard and the tiger from their own shadows. Fear ruled us and the beginning and the end of jungle wisdom was fear. We Elephants are old and wise and peaceful, but I can remember how some faint whisper or a little creaking or a faint scent coming from the shadows of the trees would strike a sudden fear into me and I would charge, panic stricken, away through the undergrowth in what, I have no doubt, the Rhinoceros would describe as a magnificent blind rush. It may have been wisdom, but it was not pleasure.

“It is clear from our discussion to-night that men are still living in the jungle. They should learn a lesson from us. Here we are in captivity, peaceful, happy, unafraid, civilized, Here each of us, locked up securely in his or her separate cage, neither harms nor is harmed by, neither fears nor is feared by, any other animal. Is it not clear that man will never be happy and civilized and unafraid until he has done for himself precisely what he has done for us? These human beings delude themselves that a League of Nations or Protection or armies and navies are going to give them security and civilization in their jungle. But they are the savagest race of carnivora known in the jungle, and they will never be happy and civilized, and the world will never be safe for democracy or for any other animal, until each human animal is confined in a separate cage.”

The Elephant then declared the meeting closed amid applause.





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# A SHORT VIEW OF RUSSIA

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES



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## PREFACE

THESE chapters are the fruit of a brief visit to Russia in September 1925 by one ignorant of the language and of the country, but not without experience of the people, and in the company of an interpreter. The occasion was found in the bicentenary celebrations of the Academy of Sciences, once the Imperial Academy of Petersburg, now of Leningrad, at which I represented the University of Cambridge.

They are not based on intimate knowledge or close experience, and claim no authority as such. They are merely the impressions, for what they are worth, of an observer, whose prejudices were not specially calculated to distort his sight, endeavouring to convey, as best he can, how Russia struck him.

I use not infrequently in what follows the epithet *religious* as applicable to the disciples of Lenin. Judging from letters which I received when these chapters were appearing in the *Nation*, I believe that Englishmen will see what I mean; but in Russia there will be few, I gather, who will approve or understand this use of language. To the Bolshevists themselves the word will sound as stupid and offensive, mere vulgar abuse—as though I were to call the Archbishop of Canterbury a bolshevist (which, however, he may indeed deserve, if he seriously pursues the Gospel precepts); for they claim to be just the opposite. Religion, mysticism, idealism—it is part of the Leninist's creed that all such matters are trumpery and trash, whereas they themselves are materialists, realists, of the earth earthy. Have they not,

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but the other day, ordained that in the libraries of the proletarian clubs "the section on religion must contain solely anti-religious literature" ?

There may be good reasons out of the past why religion should have a nasty taste in Russian mouths. There may be a consistent and intelligible use of language by which High Church mystics are alone religious and those who try to find a better path on earth are irreligious, by which the cries of dancing dervishes are religious and the Sermon on the Mount irreligious, by which Rasputin was religious and Tolstoy irreligious. Let me, therefore, explain in advance that, when I say that Leninism may be inspired with religious fervour, I do not suggest that the Commissars are High Church mystics, dancing dervishes, or Rasputins in mufti.

To English readers these explanations are probably not needed. For here we have long recognised that there are two branches of religion—high and low, mystical sleep-walkers and practical idealists. There are two distinct sublimations of materialistic egotism—one in which the ego is merged in the nameless mystic union, another in which it is merged in the pursuit of an ideal life for the whole community of men. The participants of the first may neglect or ignore the second ; many followers of the second contemn what seems to them the idle indulgence or self-deceptions of the first. It has been the peculiarity of some great religious leaders that they have belonged to both classes at once. At any rate, when I speak of religion I include both, and not the former only.

Some instances from our latter-day celebrities may illustrate my explanation. Certain of the politicians of France, M. Poincaré, for example, followed hard by some of the politicians of the United States, seem to me to be amongst the most irreligious men now in the world ; Trotsky, Mr Bernard Shaw, and Mr Baldwin, each in his

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way, amongst the most religious. I do not forget that Trotsky has written :

“To accept the Workers’ Revolution in the name of a high ideal means not only to reject it, but to slander it. All the social illusions which mankind has raved about in religion, poetry, morals, or philosophy, served only the purpose of deceiving and blinding the oppressed. The Socialist Revolution tears the cover off ‘illusions,’ off ‘elevating,’ as well as off humiliating deceptions, and washes off in blood reality’s make-up. The Revolution is strong to the extent to which it is realistic, rational, strategic, and mathematical. Can it be that the Revolution, the same one which is now before us, the first since the earth began, needs the seasoning of romantic outbursts, as a cat ragout needs hare sauce ?”

For he has also looked forward to “a society which will have thrown off the pinching and stultifying worry about one’s daily bread . . . in which the liberated egotism of man—a mighty force !—will be directed wholly towards the understanding, the transformation, and the betterment of the Universe.” Trotsky himself does not confuse the means with the end :

“The Revolution itself is not yet the Kingdom of Freedom. On the contrary, it is developing the features of ‘necessity’ to the greatest degree. . . . Revolutionary literature cannot but be imbued with a spirit of social hatred, which is a creative historic factor in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship. But under Socialism solidarity will be the basis of society. Literature and Art will be tuned to a different key. All the emotions which we revolutionaries, at the present time, feel apprehensive of naming—so much have they been worn thin by hypocrites and vulgarians—such as disinterested friendship, love for one’s neighbour, sympathy, will be the mighty ringing chords of Socialist poetry.”

One has a feeling that such sentiments would not come with equal sincerity or seriousness or emotional force

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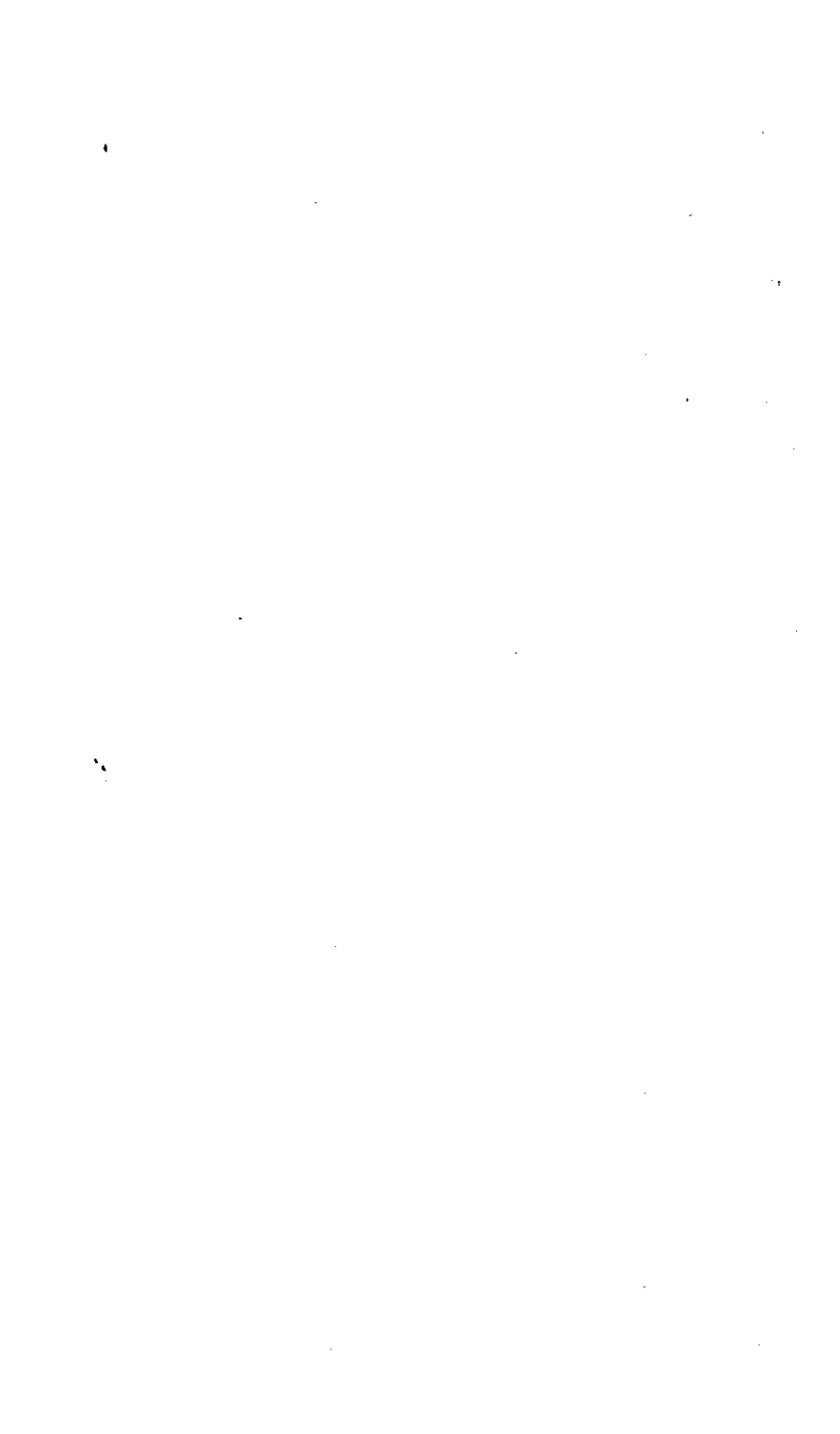
from the lips, for example, of Signor Mussolini or of President Calvin Coolidge. The Duce may be a rake susceptible of being reformed, and the President a respectable person whose salvation is out of the question. What are they really? I cannot certainly say;—these matters, which are often palpable at close quarters, are hard to distinguish at a distance. Before I went to Russia I was in similar doubts about the Communists. What I thought I learnt on the spot and could not have learnt elsewhere, is a partial answer.

J. M. KEYNES.

*November 1925.*

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# A SHORT VIEW OF RUSSIA

## CHAPTER I

### WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST FAITH ?

**I**T is extraordinarily difficult to be fair-minded about Russia. And even with fair-mindedness, how is a true impression to be conveyed of something so unfamiliar, shifting, and contradictory, of which no one in England has a background of knowledge or experience? No English newspaper has a regular correspondent resident in Russia. We rightly attach small credence to what the Soviet authorities say about themselves. Most of our news is from prejudiced Labour deputations or from prejudiced *émigrés*. Thus a belt of fog separates us from what goes on in the other world where the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics rules and experiments and evolves a kind of order. Russia is suffering the penalty of years of "propaganda," which, by taking away credence from words, almost destroys, in the end, the means of communication at a distance.

Leninism is a combination of two things which Europeans have kept for some centuries in different compartments of the soul—religion and business. We are shocked because the religion is new, and contemptuous because the business, being subordinated to the religion instead of the other way round, is highly inefficient.

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Like other new religions, Leninism derives its power not from the multitude but from a small minority of enthusiastic converts, whose zeal and intolerance make each one the equal in strength of a hundred indifferentists. Like other new religions, it is led by those who can combine the new spirit, perhaps sincerely, with seeing a good deal more than their followers, politicians with at least an average dose of political cynicism, who can smile as well as frown, volatile experimentalists, released by religion from truth and mercy but not blinded to facts and expediency, and open therefore to the charge (superficial and useless though it is where politicians, lay or ecclesiastical, are concerned) of hypocrisy. Like other new religions, it seems to take the colour and gaiety and freedom out of everyday life and to offer a drab substitute in the square wooden faces of its devotees. Like other new religions, it persecutes without justice or pity those who actively resist it. Like other new religions, it is unscrupulous. Like other new religions, it is filled with missionary ardour and œcumenical ambitions. But to say that Leninism is the faith of a persecuting and propagating minority of fanatics led by hypocrites is, after all, to say no more nor less than that it is a religion and not merely a party, and Lenin a Mahomet, not a Bismarck. If we want to frighten ourselves in our capitalist easy-chairs, we can picture the Communists of Russia as though the early Christians led by Attila were using the equipment of the Holy Inquisition and the Jesuit missions to enforce the literal economics of the New Testament; but when we want to comfort ourselves in the same chairs, can we hopefully repeat that these economics are fortunately so contrary to human nature that they cannot finance either missionaries or armies and will surely end in defeat?

There are three questions to answer. Is the new religion partly true, or sympathetic to the souls of

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modern men? Is it on the material side so inefficient as to render it incapable to survive? Will it, in the course of time, with sufficient dilution and added impurity, catch the multitude?

As for the first question, those who are completely satisfied by Christian capitalism or by egotistic capitalism untempered by subterfuge will not hesitate how to answer it; for they either have a religion or need none. But many, in this age without religion, are bound to feel a strong emotional curiosity towards any religion which is really new and not merely a recrudescence of old ones and has proved its motive force; and all the more when the new thing comes out of Russia, the beautiful and foolish youngest son of the European family, with hair on his head, nearer both to the earth and to heaven than his bald brothers in the West—who, having been born two centuries later, has been able to pick up the middle-aged disillusionment of the rest of the family before he has lost the genius of youth or become addicted to comfort and to habits. I sympathise with those who seek for something good in Soviet Russia.

But when we come to the actual thing, what is one to say? For me, brought up in a free air undarkened by the horrors of religion, with nothing to be afraid of, Red Russia holds too much which is detestable. Comfort and habits let us be ready to forgo, but I am not ready for a creed which does not care how much it destroys the liberty and security of daily life, which uses deliberately the weapons of persecution, destruction, and international strife. How can I admire a policy which finds a characteristic expression in spending millions to suborn spies in every family and group at home, and to stir up trouble abroad? Perhaps this is no worse and has more purpose than the greedy, warlike, and imperialist propensities of other Governments; but it must be far better than these to shift me out of my rut. How can

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I accept a doctrine which sets up as its bible, above and beyond criticism, an obsolete economic textbook which I know to be not only scientifically erroneous but without interest or application for the modern world? How can I adopt a creed which, preferring the mud to the fish, exalts the boorish proletariat above the bourgeois and the intelligentsia who, with whatever faults, are the quality in life and surely carry the seeds of all human advancement? Even if we need a religion, how can we find it in the turbid rubbish of the red bookshops? It is hard for an educated, decent, intelligent son of Western Europe to find his ideals here, unless he has first suffered some strange and horrid process of conversion which has changed all his values.

Yet we shall miss the essence of the new religion if we stop at this point. The Communist may justly reply that all these things belong not to his ultimate Faith but to the tactics of Revolution. For he believes in two things: the introduction of a New Order upon earth, and the *method* of the Revolution as the *only* means thereto.<sup>1</sup> The New Order must not be judged either by the horrors of the Revolution or by the privations of the transitionary period. The Revolution is to be a supreme example of the means justified by the end. The soldier of the Revolution must crucify his own human nature, becoming unscrupulous and ruthless, and suffering himself a life without security or joy—but as the means to his purpose and not its end.

What, then, is the essence of the new religion as a New Order upon earth? Looking from outside, I do not clearly know. Sometimes its mouthpieces speak as though it was purely materialistic and technical in just the same sense that modern capitalism is—as though,

<sup>1</sup> In these chapters I use the term "Communism" to mean the New Order, and not, as is the practice in British Labour politics, to mean the Revolution as a means thereto.

## WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST FAITH?

that is to say, Communism merely claimed to be in the long run a superior technical instrument for obtaining the same materialistic economic benefits as capitalism offers, that in time it will cause the fields to yield more and the forces of Nature to be more straitly harnessed. In this case there is no religion after all, nothing but a bluff to facilitate a change to what may or may not be a better economic technique. But I suspect that, in fact, such talk is largely a reaction against the charges of economic inefficiency which we on our side launch, and that at the heart of Russian Communism there is something else of more concern to mankind.

In one respect Communism but follows other famous religions. It exalts the common man and makes him everything. Here there is nothing new. But there is another factor in it which also is not new but which may, nevertheless, in a changed form and a new setting, contribute something to the true religion of the future, if there be any true religion. *Leninism is absolutely, defiantly non-supernatural, and its emotional and ethical essence centres about the individual's and the community's attitude towards the Love of Money.*

I do not mean that Russian Communism alters, or even seeks to alter, human nature, that it makes Jews less avaricious or Russians less extravagant than they were before. I do not merely mean that it sets up a new ideal. I mean that it tries to construct a framework of society in which pecuniary motives as influencing action shall have a changed relative importance, in which social approbations shall be differently distributed, and where behaviour, which previously was normal and respectable, ceases to be either the one or the other.

In England to-day a talented and virtuous youth, about to enter the world, will balance the advantages of entering the Civil Service and of seeking a fortune in business; and public opinion will esteem him not less

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if he prefers the second. Money-making, as such, on as large a scale as possible, is not less respectable socially, perhaps more so, than a life devoted to the service of the State or of Religion, Education, Learning, or Art. But in the Russia of the future it is intended that the career of money-making, as such, will simply not occur to a respectable young man as a possible opening, any more than the career of a gentleman burglar or acquiring skill in forgery and embezzlement. Even the most admirable aspects of the love of money in our existing society, such as thrift and saving, and the attainment of financial security and independence for one's self and one's family, whilst not deemed morally wrong, will be rendered so difficult and impracticable as to be not worth while. Everyone should work for the community—the new creed runs—and, if he does his duty, the community will uphold him.

This system does not mean a complete levelling down of incomes—at least at the present stage. A clever and successful person in Soviet Russia has a bigger income and a better time than other people. The commissar with £5 a week (*plus* sundry free services, a motor-car, a flat, a box at the ballet, etc., etc.) lives well enough, but not *in the least* like a rich man in London. The successful professor or civil servant with £6 or £7 a week (*minus* sundry impositions) has, perhaps, a real income three times those of the proletarian workers and six times those of the poorer peasants. Some peasants are three or four times richer than others. A man who is out of work receives part pay, not full pay. But no one can afford on these incomes, with high Russian prices and stiff progressive taxes, to save anything worth saving; it is hard enough to live day by day. The progressive taxation and the mode of assessing rents and other charges are such that it is actually disadvantageous to have an acknowledged income exceeding £8 to £10 a week.

## WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST FAITH?

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Nor is there any possibility of large gains except by taking the same sort of risks as attach to bribery and embezzlement elsewhere—not that bribery and embezzlement have disappeared in Russia or are even rare, but anyone whose extravagance or whose instincts drive him to such courses runs serious risk of detection and penalties which include death.

Nor, at the present stage, does the system involve the actual prohibition of buying and selling at a profit. The policy is not to forbid these professions, but to render them precarious and disgraceful. The private trader is a sort of permitted outlaw, without privileges or protection, like the Jew in the Middle Ages—an outlet for those who have overwhelming instincts in this direction, but not a natural or agreeable job for the normal man.

The effect of these social changes has been, I think, to make a real change in the predominant attitude towards money, and will probably make a far greater change when a new generation has grown up which has known nothing else. People in Russia, if only because of their poverty, are very greedy for money—at least as greedy as elsewhere. But money-making and money-accumulating cannot enter into the life-calculations of a rational man who accepts the Soviet rule in the way in which they enter into ours. A Society, of which this is even partially true, is a tremendous innovation.

Now all this may prove Utopian, or destructive of true welfare, though, perhaps, not so Utopian, pursued in an intense religious spirit, as it would be if it were pursued in a matter-of-fact way. But is it appropriate to assume, as most of us have assumed hitherto, that it is insincere or wicked?

## CHAPTER II

### THE ECONOMICS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

**WE** shall not understand Leninism unless we view it as being at the same time a persecuting and missionary religion and an experimental economic technique. What of the second aspect—Is the economic technique so inefficient that it courts disaster?

The economic system of Soviet Russia has undergone and is undergoing such rapid changes that it is impossible to obtain a precise and accurate account of it. The method of trial-and-error is unreservedly employed. No one has ever been more frankly experimentalist than Lenin was in everything which did not touch the central truths of his Faith. At first there was much confusion as to what was essential and what not. For example, the doctrine held at the outset that money must be abolished for most purposes is now seen to be erroneous, there being nothing inconsistent with the essence of Communism in continuing to use money as an instrument of distribution and calculation. The Government has also come round to the view that it is wiser to combine a policy of limited toleration with intermittent teasing and harrying towards (for example) the old intelligentsia who have stuck to their country, towards private traders, and even towards foreign capitalists, rather than to attempt to crush out these elements altogether—trusting on the one hand to the complete control of the educational machine and the upbringing of the young, and on the other hand to the gradual improvement of the technique of State trading and to the growth of State capital, to dispense with these



pagan auxiliaries in course of time. Thus almost all the members of the non-Communist intelligentsia with pre-war educations are now in the service of the Government, often in important and responsible posts with relatively high salaries; private trade is again lawful, though precarious and difficult; and foreign capitalists, who grant short-period trade credits against Government imports into Russia, can reckon for the present with some certainty, in my opinion, that they will see their money back in due course. The fluctuating pursuits of these expediencies make it difficult to generalise about anything in Soviet Russia. Almost everything one can say about the country is true and false at the same time—which is the reason why friendly and hostile critics can each in good faith produce totally different pictures of the same thing.

A further difficulty in estimating the efficiency of the economic system is caused by the hard material conditions attending its earlier years, which would have tried severely any economic system. The material losses and disorganisation of the Great War were followed by those of a succession of civil wars, by outlawry from the rest of the world, and by several bad harvests. The bad harvests were partly due to bad management as well as to bad luck. Nevertheless the Soviet experimentalists can fairly claim, I think, that at least five years of peace and fair weather must elapse before they can be judged merely by results.

If one is to make any generalisation in present conditions, it must be this—that at a low level of efficiency the system does function and possesses elements of permanence. I estimate the truth about the economic condition of Russia in its present phase to be roughly as follows.

Russia is now a country of about 140,000,000 inhabitants, of whom six-sevenths are rural and agricultural

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in their life and one-seventh is urban and industrial. The urban and industrial population, which is what the casual visitor sees, is not self-supporting—it lives, that is to say, at a standard of life which is higher than its output justifies. This excess expenditure on the part of the town population is covered by the exploitation of the peasant, which is only practicable because the town population is a numerically small proportion of the whole country. Thus the Communist Government is able to pamper (comparatively speaking) the proletarian worker, who is of course its especial care, by exploiting the peasant; whilst the peasant, in spite of this exploitation, desires no change of Government, because he has been given his land. In this way a certain equilibrium has been established both in the economic sphere and in the political, which gives the Soviet Government a breathing space in which to try its hand at a serious economic reorganisation.

The official method of exploiting the peasants is not so much by taxation—though the land tax is an important item in the budget—as by price policy. The monopoly of import and export trade and the virtual control of industrial output enable the authorities to maintain relative prices at levels highly disadvantageous to the peasant. They buy his wheat from him much below the world price, and they sell to him textile and other manufactured goods appreciably above the world price,<sup>1</sup> the difference providing a fund out of which can be financed their high overhead costs and the general inefficiency of

<sup>1</sup> The National Commissariat for Inland Trade for Northern Caucasia reported in September that the peasantry were refraining from offering as much corn as they could because of the unfavourable position with regard to manufactured goods. Peasants were declaring that “grain prices were good but the costs of wearing apparel incredible.” The Commissariat considered that the peasants should obtain about three yards of cloth for a pood (36 lbs.) of grain, whereas in fact they receive less than a yard.

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manufacture and distribution. The monopoly of import and export trade, by permitting a divorce between the internal and external price-levels, can be operated in such a way as to maintain the parity of foreign exchange in spite of a depreciation in the purchasing power of the money. The real value of the rouble inside Russia is, admittedly, much depreciated compared with its external value as measured by the current exchange.

These devices, though effective for their purpose at present, and perhaps inevitable for a time, involve two disastrous factors of inefficiency. The low value of agricultural products in terms of industrial products is a serious deterrent to the output of the former, which is the real wealth of the country. The fundamental problem of the Soviet Government is to get itself into a sufficiently strong financial position to be able to pay the peasant more nearly the real value of his produce—which would surely have the effect of giving him both the means and the incentive to a far higher output. Meanwhile the pampering of the proletarian workers of the towns, whose real incomes are something like double those of the peasants, and are said to have reached, allowing for everything, nearly 80 per cent. of their pre-war level, renders town life far too attractive in comparison with country life. The stimulus to migration from the country to the town is much greater than is justified by the power of industry, with its impaired equipment and deficiency of working capital, to absorb new workers. Nothing would stop the migration, if it were not for the housing difficulties and the lack of employment now offering in the towns—a peasant arriving at Moscow is notified at the station that he can find neither work nor lodging. But these deterrents are only effective after the towns have become overcrowded and unemployment has reached unheard-of proportions. For two years unemployment has been severe and increasing, and I believe that by now from 20 to 25 per cent.

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of the industrial workers of Russia are unemployed—say 1,500,000 men out of a total of 6,000,000. Some but not all of these men receive from their trade a dole representing about a third of their normal wages, which, even so, is not much inferior to the working income of the poorer peasants, with the result that this vast army of unemployed is a heavy burden on the financial resources of the State establishments. This condition of affairs serves but to enforce a lesson of bourgeois economics as being equally applicable in a Communist State, namely, that it impairs wealth to interfere with the normal levels of relative prices or with the normal levels of relative wages so as to make some occupations unduly attractive as compared with others. But it also teaches that similar evils can arise in totally different conditions from totally different causes ; for the Russian problem of relative wages and relative prices out-of-gear is partly the same as ours.

Thus the real income of the Russian peasant is not much more than half what it used to be, whilst the Russian industrial worker suffers overcrowding and unemployment as never before. Nevertheless there is, beyond doubt, a certain measure of political and economic stability. The Soviet State is *not* so inefficient as to be unable to survive. It has lived through much worse times than the present. It has established an organisation, covering all the activities of economic life, which is inefficient on normal standards, but which has been evolved out of chaos and the void, yet does exist and function. It has set up a standard of life, which is low compared with ours, but which has been evolved out of starvation and death, yet does provide some comforts. Everyone agrees that the improvement in the last year is enormous. This year's harvest is tolerably good. Conditions are manifestly on the up-grade. Some of the grandiose schemes of the new *régime* are beginning to

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take actual shape. Leningrad will soon be supplied with power and light from one of the largest and most modern generating stations in the world. The plant-breeding establishments, which are to supply the peasant with better seeds on the latest Mendelian lines, are extensive and well-equipped.

After a long debate with Zinovieff, two Communist iron-sides who attended him stepped forward to speak to me a last word with the full faith of fanaticism in their eyes. "We make you a prophecy," they said. "Ten years hence the level of life in Russia will be higher than it was before the war, and in the rest of Europe it will be lower than it was before the war." Having regard to the natural wealth of Russia and to the inefficiency of the old *régime*, having regard also to the problems of Western Europe and our apparent inability to handle them, can we feel confident that the comrades will not prove right?

## CHAPTER III

### COMMUNISM'S POWER TO SURVIVE

**M**Y third question is not yet answered. Can Communism in the course of time, with sufficient dilution and added impurity, catch the multitude?

I cannot answer what only time will show. But I feel confident of one conclusion—that if Communism achieves a certain success, it will achieve it, not as an improved economic technique, but as a religion. The tendency of our conventional criticisms is to make two opposed mistakes. We hate Communism so much, regarded as a religion, that we exaggerate its economic inefficiency; and we are so much impressed by its economic inefficiency that we underestimate it as a religion.

On the economic side I cannot perceive that Russian Communism has made any contribution to our economic problems of intellectual interest or scientific value. I do not think that it contains, or is likely to contain, any piece of useful economic technique which we could not apply, if we chose, with equal or greater success in a society which retained all the marks, I will not say of nineteenth-century individualistic capitalism, but of British bourgeois ideals. Theoretically at least, I do not believe that there is any economic improvement for which Revolution is a necessary instrument. On the other hand, we have everything to lose by the methods of violent change. In Western industrial conditions the tactics of Red Revolution would throw the whole population into a pit of poverty and death.

But as a religion what are its forces? Perhaps they

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are considerable. The exaltation of the common man is a dogma which has caught the multitude before now. *Any* religion and the bond which unites co-religionists have power against the egotistic atomism of the irreligious.

For modern capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always, a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers. Such a system has to be immensely, not merely moderately, successful to survive. In the nineteenth century it was in a certain sense idealistic; at any rate it was a united and self-confident system. It was not only immensely successful, but held out hopes of a continuing crescendo of prospective successes. To-day it is only moderately successful. If irreligious Capitalism is ultimately to defeat religious Communism it is not enough that it should be economically more efficient—it must be many times as efficient.

We used to believe that modern capitalism was capable, not merely of maintaining the existing standards of life, but of leading us gradually into an economic paradise where we should be comparatively free from economic cares. Now we doubt whether the business man is leading us to a destination far better than our present place. Regarded as a means he is tolerable; regarded as an end he is not so satisfactory. One begins to wonder whether the material advantages of keeping business and religion in different compartments are sufficient to balance the moral disadvantages. The Protestant and Puritan could separate them comfortably because the first activity pertained to earth and the second to heaven, which was elsewhere. The believer in progress could separate them comfortably because he regarded the first as the means to the establishment of heaven upon earth hereafter. But there is a third state of mind, in which we do not fully believe either in a heaven which is elsewhere or in progress as a sure means towards a heaven upon earth hereafter; and if heaven is not elsewhere and not hereafter, it must

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be here and now or not at all. If there is no moral objective in economic progress, then it follows that we must not sacrifice, even for a day, moral to material advantage—in other words, that we may no longer keep business and religion in separate compartments of the soul. In so far as a man's thoughts are capable of straying along these paths, he will be ready to search with curiosity for something at the heart of Communism quite different from the picture of its outward parts which our Press paints.

At any rate to me it seems clearer every day that the moral problem of our age is concerned with the love of money, with the habitual appeal to the money motive in nine-tenths of the activities of life, with the universal striving after individual economic security as the prime object of endeavour, with the social approbation of money as the measure of constructive success, and with the social appeal to the hoarding instinct as the foundation of the necessary provision for the family and for the future. The decaying religions around us, which have less and less interest for most people unless it be as an agreeable form of magical ceremonial or of social observance, have lost their moral significance just because—unlike some of their earlier versions—they do not touch in the least degree on these essential matters. A revolution in our ways of thinking and feeling about money may become the growing purpose of contemporary embodiments of the ideal. Perhaps, therefore, Russian Communism does represent the first confused stirrings of a great religion.

The visitor to Russia from the outside, who tries without prejudice to catch the atmosphere, must alternate, I think, between two moods—oppression and elation. Sir Martin Conway, in his true and sincere volume on *Art Treasures in Soviet Russia*, writes thus of his departure out of the country :

“ . . . After a very long halt the train moved on about half a mile to the Finnish frontier, where passports, visas, and luggage



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were again examined much less meticulously. The station was new built, a pleasant place, simple, clean, and convenient, and served with much courtesy. It has a charming refreshment room, where simple but nicely cooked food was supplied in an atmosphere of hospitality.

“It seems a churlish thing for me to say, after all the kindness shown to me in Russia, but if I am to tell the whole truth I must here put on record that in this frontier station of Finland I experienced a sense as of the removal of a great weight which had been oppressing me. I cannot explain just how this weight had been felt. I did not experience the imposition of it on entering Russia, but as the days passed it seemed slowly to accumulate. The sense of freedom gradually disappeared. Though everyone was kind one felt the presence of an oppression, not on oneself, but all-pervading. Never have I felt so completely a stranger in a strange land; with successive days what at first was a dim feeling took more definite shape and condensed into an ever-increasingly conscious oppression. I imagine one might have passed through the same experience in the Russia of the Tsars. Americans often praise what they call the ‘air of liberty’ which they claim as characteristic of their country. They possess it in common with all the English-speaking dominions. The moral atmosphere of Russia is a very different compound of emotional chemistry.

“The part of Finland through which our train now bore us was not different in physical character from the lands across the frontier, but we found ourselves passing ‘nice little properties’ and the signs of comfort and even prosperity. . . .”

The mood of oppression could not be better conveyed. In part, no doubt, it is the fruit of Red Revolution—there is much in Russia to make one pray that one’s own country may achieve its goal not in that way. In part, perhaps, it is the fruit of some beastliness in the Russian nature—or in the Russian and Jewish natures when, as now, they are allied together. But in part it is one face of the superb earnestness of Red Russia, of the high seriousness, which in its other aspect appears as the Spirit of Elation. There never was anyone so *serious* as the Russian of the Revolution, serious even in his gaiety and

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abandon of spirit—so serious that sometimes he can forget to-morrow and sometimes he can forget to-day. Often this seriousness is crude and stupid and boring in the extreme. The average Communist is *discoloured* just as the Methodists of every age have been. The tenseness of the atmosphere is more than one is used to support, and a longing comes for the frivolous ease of London.

Yet the elation, when that is felt, is very great. Here—one feels at moments—in spite of poverty, stupidity, and oppression, is the Laboratory of Life. Here the chemicals are being mixed in new combinations, and stink and explode. Something—there is just a chance—might come out. And even a chance gives to what is happening in Russia more importance than what is happening (let us say) in the United States of America.

I think that it is partly reasonable to be afraid of Russia, like the gentlemen who write to the *Times*. But if Russia is going to be a force in the outside world, it will not be the result of Mr Zinovieff's money. Russia will never matter seriously to the rest of us, unless it be as a moral force. So, now the deeds are done and there is no going back, I should like to give Russia her chance; to help and not to hinder. For how much rather, even after allowing for everything, if I were a Russian, would I contribute my quota of activity to Soviet Russia than to Tsarist Russia! I could not subscribe to the new official faith any more than to the old. I should detest the actions of the new tyrants not less than those of the old. But I should feel that my eyes were turned towards, and no longer away from, the possibilities of things; that out of the cruelty and stupidity of Old Russia nothing could ever emerge, but that beneath the cruelty and stupidity of New Russia some speck of the ideal may lie hid.



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# NOTES ON LAW AND ORDER

BY

J. A. HOBSON



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# NOTES ON LAW AND ORDER

## CHAPTER I

### AGAIN' THE GOVERNMENT

WHEN I read in the papers of a convict escaping from Dartmoor, with the warders, police, and the whole neighbourhood hunting him down, why do I want him to evade his hunters, and why am I sorry when he is caught? My feeling (which is also yours) is not due to any opinions I may hold on the subject of crime and punishment. Nor is it, I think, at root, a merely instinctive flash of sympathy with the underdog in an unequal struggle, though that comes nearer to the truth. I even find a feebler and more evanescent sympathy with the burglar, who, single-handed, breaks into a house for pilage. This feeling again is not due to any doubts about the sanctity of property, and it yields to the least reflection.

Some adherents of law and order, indeed, may never have this feeling. But I have. Nor is it completely explained by the natural zest for violent risk-taking that seizes the imagination of those whose quiet life affords no outlet for such risks. This positive and active sympathy with law-breakers is natural for most red-blooded boys, though they are soon taught to repress its utterance. But for mature and sober manhood! Let us look a little closer at our burglar. If he is armed and confronted by an awakened householder, I stand for the latter. But if

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the police are after him, and, climbing to the roof, he makes a perilous run for liberty, my heart goes with him, whether he carries the swag with him or leaves it behind. If I sat in court next day adjudicating the case, I should doubtless have adjusted my feelings with better conformity to my regard for the interests of society. But my first feeling still deserves some consideration.

Or take another instance. Why are the police in forceful execution of their duty unpopular with an ordinary crowd of decent working people? This sentiment may not be strong and can easily be turned by tact or courage into one of active support. But it is there, and vigorous police action, even in arrest of law-breakers, easily arouses popular resentment, unless the sort of law-breaking itself has stirred a strong sentiment of reprobation.

We give approval to Law and Order, but we do not like them, or their methods, or their instruments. Take the most general test, our feeling towards Government and officialism. The natural man is "agin'" the Government, at any rate whenever it takes concrete shape in law and administration. And this irrespective of its quality. Nay, though bad government may arouse more impassioned resentment, "good" government evokes no affection. Indeed, there is a dislike of government because it is "good." Efficiency involves "officiousness." Rigorous enforcement of laws, without respect to persons or particular circumstances, is a cold-blooded justice which offends our feeling of humanity. Take India. The dislike of the British Raj is far less due to the fact that it is an expensive enforced rule of foreigners than that it is orderly, impersonal, implacable, inhuman, even incorruptible. Most Indians would probably prefer a looser, more disorderly, more despotic rule under a Rajah whose present personality and erratic conduct gave human interest to the scene. Just as it is difficult for religion to

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survive the loss of a presiding Deity, so political government loses hold of the heart of the people when it divorces itself from personal leadership and becomes Law and Order.

This is no plea for return to personal government, where sovereignty is vested in some autocracy or some decorative head. The scrutiny goes deeper. It is "law and order" itself that the natural man is "up against." He is not an anarchist. He wants some law and some order, but in moderation. Unerring law fails to recognise that to err is human. If "order is Heaven's first law," its second is disorder. That brings us to the root of the complaint against civilisation as it is commonly presented. The arts of civilisation, not politics alone, are engaged in bringing order, security, certainty into the lives of peoples. Standards of mass production put uniformity upon the activities of human beings in their industries, trades, professions—for even the most learned professions and the finest arts come in some degree under this economy of routine production. Standards of living carry the same stamp of uniformity into ever nicer gradings of varieties. Economic progress consists in an ever-increasing refinement of this producer-consumer's order.

Kickers against this standardisation of the economic system, humanists such as Ruskin, Carpenter, Tolstoy, over-reached themselves. They failed clearly to pose the question: How much system, how much standardisation, how much "law and order" is it good to have?

Reflection upon modern man more and more closely packed in standard cities discloses a crop of disconcerting "problems" which represent the efforts of repressed or thwarted instincts to find expression. Men are not satisfied. There is "unrest." Blind politicians and reformers seek remedies in further measures for insuring minimum standard conditions, under the mistaken notion

that what discontented workers want most is security of living.

The real discontent goes far deeper. What the city man and woman want most is some let-up from the oppressive burden of monotony and routine in the ordinary city life, some risk, chance, and skill in the game of life. "What nonsense," some will say, "risks and chances everywhere abound, the physical and moral life of man is exposed to countless dangers, and as for skill, everyone has his work cut out to steer a prosperous, or safe course through life." And it is true that the chief attraction drawing more and more of the rural population into city life has been the craving for adventure which cities seem to offer. Cities were more dangerous, men lived there shorter and more irregular lives. But that was before city life had been reduced to order and hygiene. Now "relief" from city order has to be sought more and more in drink, drugs, sex dissipation, gambling, and sensational amusements. And reform takes shape more and more in efforts to stop these ventilating shafts for thwarted instincts, or to regulate their operation. Has anyone thought out the human significance of a city life where every "social problem" has been solved, and where good order prevailed among all sorts and conditions of men? Perhaps some answer can be found by means of the facile phrase "sublimation of the instincts"; the natural cravings for risk, adventure, and personal achievement being diverted into innocent or even virtuous channels. Possibly by moral and intellectual equivalents for war, sex, greed, and other crude egoistic impulses we could make "our life sublime"! But are we certain that the rarified atmosphere of such sublimity would satisfy the claims of the animal within us whose instincts suffer this air-change? May it not be necessary to make a compromise on a lower level with the forces of disorder?

How much wiser the Catholic Church with its allow-

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ance for revelry than the repressive regularities of Puritanism. "It is sometimes a good thing to give oneself an airing outside the strict diocese of the conscience." How to make proper provision for this margin of disorder in the economy of social life is of prime importance at a time when science conspires with ethics to impress the dominance of physical and moral order. The common human resentment against a prig attests the same economy of righteousness. "A prig is someone who tries to shut up the universe in his black hole of a conscience."<sup>1</sup> It is significant that these problems stand out so conspicuous in that city life which has given its title to "civilisation." Is it possible we may be in danger of carrying "civility" too far? That "polis" may bring too much polish? Art recognises the quality of "roughness" in design and execution. May we not be aiming at too fine a finish in the art of living?

<sup>1</sup> Sheila K. Smith, *Isle of Thorns*, p. 267.

## CHAPTER II

### THE REVOLT AGAINST REASON

**N**OT in the practical fields of social and personal conduct alone does the problem of the limitations of Law and Order arise. In the world of philosophy and science, thinkers have been eagerly competing to limit the reign of reason and the competence of logic. In part, psychology has forced their hands, by laying bare the origin of reason as a tool of the animal instincts. As a river can never rise above its source, so reason, however freed from its original servitude to the senses, can never answer the final questions about the nature and purpose of the universe or of man's place in it. Hence we find thinkers so different in the texture of their thinking as Bergson and Vaihinger finding the valid answers to these ultimate questions in the realm of practical experience.

There is "system" or "order" in Nature as in our thinking about Nature—there is possibly *a* system if we could reach it, though we cannot—but there are not departmental systems. Yet pride and a sort of æsthetic craving incessantly impels thinkers to piece together their bits of intellectual order into a completeness and an objectivity they do not possess. This is particularly true of thinking in fields where thought is not closely addressed to what are termed hard facts, *e.g.* history, the mental and social sciences, philosophy.

There is among philosophers a desperate desire to incorporate in a system of thought elements essentially

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recalcitrant against system. It is, I think, a last attempt to save the face of formal philosophy. For the admission, that thought and language are in origin and function incapable of doing more than confronting us with a series of irreconcilable positions, implies the renunciation of philosophy's secular boast to place a coping stone upon the edifice of human knowledge.

But the revolt against systems of thought goes further. The disappearance of the hard, self-sufficing specialisms of physics and chemistry, of the division between the organic and inorganic sciences, of the separation of biology from psychology, the interpenetration of the social sciences, all testify to a loosening of the entire thought process. Most of all is this seen in the disposition of the great seminal thinkers of our age to break away from formal scientific presentations in order to use artistic or loose literary devices for the communication of their thought. So humanists like Tolstoy, Shaw, and Anatole France couch their philosophy of life in dramas or in fiction sketches, while Samuel Butler and Havelock Ellis, the most stimulating general thinkers of their age in Britain, have sought even looser methods of expression. The return of the Diary is perhaps the best tribute to the success of the revolt against the arrogance and falsity of over-system. For in these records of passing thoughts and feelings we may hope to escape the temptation to fill out our fragments of personal experience into some excessive pattern of objective truth. The new humour of psychology justifies the suspicions which practical man has always entertained towards the theorist, of presenting his private fancies as systems of authoritative principles. This temptation creeps from theory into practice. A panegyrist of Mr Justice Holmes recently described him as "free from the disposition to substitute his personal prejudices for the constitution of the United States." The advice of the aged scholar to the young

student entering his career of intellectual research, "Take care, my son, lest you find what you are looking for," is a salutary warning. For the desire to discover some hidden truth and to present it in an interesting and elaborate design drives the scholar and the scientist to the most intricate modes of self-deceit in the selection, rejection, and appraisal of evidence and the processes of reasoning they employ, all conducted, they easily persuade themselves, in the dry light of disinterested science. The practical man, doubtless, carries his suspicion of the intellectual life too far, and scholar and scientist feel themselves able to meet contempt with contempt. How should the ignorant appraise the learned? But when the learned themselves recognise the humour of their processes of system-mongering, and return to a simpler intellectual life, the inkling in the practical man's mind becomes illumination. Psychology performs no greater service than in thus turning the light of comedy upon the pretence of Reason to be Master—or even Freeman—in the human household. The main difference between the practical man and the intellectual is that the former doesn't even want to be completely reasonable, while the latter thinks he does but doesn't, and cannot.

This brings us round again to our theme, "How much Law and Order" does man require of Life? The intellectualist will tell us we can never have too much, that beyond the ground he has reduced to order lies a boundless hinterland for further risk and industry in discovery and cultivation. But this does not answer our inquiry, which is addressed to the process or method of the intellectual life. The idea of precise order is too dominant in our intellectual life. It is not enough that we are engaged in extending order and security over wider tracts of life and thought. There still remains Nature's demand for risk and chance and adventure as



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desirable on their own account. No doubt every science has its borderland of adventure, but the adventurers are few as compared with the many who spend their time in the intensive cultivation of tracts already well surveyed and broken in. Here, too, civilisation imposes overmuch of safe drudgery and makes too little provision for a dangerous life.

But why, it will be said, this stress on dangerous living? Peace and orderly plenty, with the innumerable little chances and changes of this mortal life, are good enough for us! And as for the intellectual life, science, that introduces ever more exactitude into new fields of knowledge, satisfies all requirements. The answer is that these things do not satisfy. Just as in city life, so in academic life, there remains "the call of the wild"—a breaking away from the reign of law. Perhaps we ought to be satisfied with freedom within the law. But we are not. The demands of the creative intelligence, the urge for life, are not directed merely to conquering new kingdoms, in the sense of imposing order upon them. The human mind and the human body need areas of disorder, of risk, caprice, or undirected activity. I once met a sage who told me that he set aside one day each week in which to reverse all the little regularities of work and personal habits that occupied the other six—so as to preserve his freedom. Perhaps this was what God meant by His seventh day of rest—for He was not really tired. But all such use of holidays is a too mechanical device. What is needed is a free margin of disorder around the order of our lives so as not to take ourselves too exactly. It may be (as Wordsworth points out) that within these margins of free living and free thinking some hidden qualities may find expression. Burke is seldom counted nowadays among the "philosophers." Yet there was deeper "philosophy" in his plea for "the unbought graces of life" in an age of "sophisters, economists,

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and calculators." But, perhaps, after all, even this plea for the finer utilities may be an improper concession. It may be better for the unbent mind to play a game of chance as a sacrifice to the Goddess of Unreason.

## CHAPTER III

## THE NEED FOR LIES

UNLESS people usually spoke the truth to one another society would be impossible. But if they always spoke the truth, it would equally be impossible. Where, then, lies the right economy of truth? The issue is only evaded by distinctions between statements of objective or external facts and statements of private thought or feeling. No doubt it is easier to say what you think about the weather than what you think about the character and conduct of those around you. But there are not a few occasions when we feel justified in concealing or misstating our opinion of the weather. Note that "we feel justified." We hold some lies to be not merely harmless, but useful. There is, indeed, something absurd to us in the posing of an extreme case, such as "If a murderer ask you which road his intended victim has taken," as though some desperate exception were needed to justify the lie. Concealment or misrepresentation has an accepted place in every phase of our social economy, nay, of our personal economy. Would our life be tolerable if we did not try "to put the best face on it" and deceive ourselves as we deceive others? Some persons are franker than others, but all of us are practising deceit from morning to night. So habitual, indeed, has this alloy of falsehood become in every phase of social intercourse, that some are disposed to deny that it is falsehood, on the ground that it does not, in fact, deceive. It is only conventional politeness or good manners! But this is "rationalising" the service of falsehood. These

social amenities are intended to, and do, deceive, though not precisely in the manner and degree a strict interpretation of the words suggests. Falsehood, in a word, is recognised to have a proper place in the rules and respectabilities of life. Yet children are never taught when to tell a lie and what sort of lie. On the contrary, they are commonly taught that they must always tell the truth, irrespective of consequences either to themselves or others. Why is this? Is it because parents and teachers know that it is so much more difficult to get the requisite amount of truth-telling? Anyhow, this early misteaching, by seeking to attach a sense of sin and shame to all lying, causes a large amount of needless misery to sensitive natures, and sometimes impairs for life the acquisition of the requisite facility for falsehood. Most quick, observant children doubtless soon perceive that parents and teachers fail to observe their own prescriptions, but some damaging confusion must remain as the result of the early authoritative imposition of the supreme falsehood, "You must always tell the truth."

Generally, theory lags behind practice, as law behind custom, but in this recognition of the vital necessity of mixing falsehood with truth, philosophy has now gone far, perhaps too far. For all the sciences are seen to make a conscious use of fictions as tools in their pursuit of truths. Not only the physical sciences, with their atoms, forces, causality, etc., but, most of all, the exactest of the sciences, mathematics, derives its exactness from the bold contradictions of its fundamental fictions, as in geometry the lines and points and circles whose definitions are sheer illogic. The moral sciences, economics, politics, ethics, sociology, are recognised to operate throughout by assumptions which are false and contradictory when tested by strict reason. "Free will" in ethics, like "free" competition in economics or "free" contract in politics, is a conscious invention, justified by the claim that,

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contrary as it is to the known facts of human conduct, it is useful in the attainment of a social order. So with the numerous analogies and metaphors which figure so prominently in all attempts to put order into mental processes, their virtue is not their truth, but the utility they are held to furnish through blending falsehood with truth. It is not here a matter of anticipating truths and laws by hypothesis with subsequent verification. The scientific fictions are claimed to be deliberate falsehoods, containing this falseness in their very essence, *i.e.* self-contradictory, to be sloughed off when they have done their work in helping the scientific mind to discover truths useful for the furtherance of life. Not merely is fiction thus incorporated in the processes of each science, but the work of generalisation itself contains an element of falsehood, as indeed the once famous battle between nominalism and realism disclosed. Language, and the art of thinking associated with it, are composed of images that deliberately misrepresent the concrete facts of Nature, and, what is more, their values for man depend upon this falsification. So the whole conceptual world—the world as imaged in the mind of man—is an elaborate fiction.

That every one of the representative fine arts falsifies the facts in order to attain that beauty which is a higher truth, is an accepted doctrine of æsthetics. It is for that reason that hard, practical men, and their moralists called Puritans, have condemned art. It was not, as is often held, that they hated beauty on its own account (that is a libel of their enemies), but that they hated falsehood, and could not see the high truths art's falsehood was designed to serve. No doubt their hate was primarily due to what they regarded as the degradation of the spiritual truths of religion by material imagery and sensuous appeals. By a natural extension their ban also fell on these same arts applied to secular uses, for was not theirs a jealous God who brooked no rival in His claims upon

the spare time and interests of man outside the prescribed day's work for livelihood? What they failed to see was that alike the thought of their theology and its anthropomorphic imagery, the "spiritual truths" for whose purity they fought, were the products of this very faculty of artistic falsification they held to be the enemy. The graven images they expelled from the churches were doubtless more material than those stored in their hearts. But the latter were even false, because painted in softer stuff, vaguer forms, and looser colours, and if thus rendered more mysterious, were not less but more replete with contradictions. For conscious art, applied to the conception of a spiritual universe, will transcend its false images in some higher harmony (however incomplete), while unconscious art will lose itself in the dogmatic perplexities which it has woven into the false semblance of spiritual verities.

So we perceive that, alike in the arts of conduct, and of thought in science, philosophy, and the fine arts, there emerges the necessity of falsehood to temper truth and help to mould it to the uses of man. Indeed, so fascinating is this justification of the free imagination of man in its revolt against hard law and order, that it is no wonder the showmen of this world of fiction tend in their turn to exaggeration and excess. The presumption still stands in favour of the plain concrete truth of realism. We still do well to ask not "How much?" but "How little?" fiction we must employ in the several arts and sciences. Moreover, of fictions may we say with Browning:

"Well, now: there's nothing in nor out o' the world  
Good except truth: yet this the Something else,  
What's this, then, which proves good yet seems untrue?  
This that I mixed with truth, motives of mine  
That quickened, made the inertness malleable.  
O! the gold was not mine. What's your name for  
this?"

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Are means to the end in fact themselves an end? Is fiction which makes fact alive fact too?

It is natural enough that a poet here should raise an issue which escapes the harder intelligence of the scientist and philosopher. These fictions which serve as emollients in social conduct, helping men to live and work together harmoniously, to build up language, laws, religions, morals, and all social institutions: which mix with the materials and the movements of the artist in his creative work: which furnish direction and tools to the man of science and the philosopher in their tasks of the discovery and ordering of thought—is it just to speak of them as falsehood, because of some internal contradictions they contain? Are the kinds of fact to which they are false pure truths? Or may they rather be regarded as the other side of the so-called truths which are but half-truths without them? Can any stuff be considered as helping to mould and move other stuff towards some new and higher form unless it has some community of nature with that other stuff? Falsehood that was the sheer contrary, or negation, of truth could exert no such influence as is ascribed to it. Matter, mind; body, spirit; truth, falsehood; these, as all other dualisms, are but convenient halts in the upward movement of the mind towards a unity of law and order that can be never reached, but after which we are perpetually striving. One practical point remains, that in every field and level of conduct, individual or social, practical or intellectual, a modicum of lawlessness, disorder, risk taking, falsehood, and illogic belongs to the economy of life. The attempt to deny this and refuse it access because it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to measure this modicum, and to prevent excesses, remains alike for politics and morals, for economics, as for the finer arts and processes of thinking, a conservatism which is literally deadly, for it kills the adventurous spirit of man.

## CHAPTER IV

### ARMS AND MAN

**A**S disorder and falsehood have their place in the economy of life and conduct, so has physical force. In the spiral of civilisation this place is one of ever-diminishing importance. In the arts of industry, mind is constantly displacing muscle; new inventions and better organisation continually reduce the quantity even of inorganic energy that goes into a given product. The modern factory, with its automatic machines controlled by a few skilled engineers, has gone very far towards the elimination of human physical force from industry. So have the locomotive engine and the automobile in transport. The absolute ideal is expressed in "Touch the button." But it never is, nor can be, reached. For to the almost negligible force of touching a button or moving a switch must be added a larger reserve force for rare and ever rarer emergencies that call for sudden and considerable effort, not of mind only, but of muscle. If from mechanics we turn to art, we encounter in a more delicate way the same economy. In the fineness of creation or execution, in sculpture, painting, music, the dance, the drama, quality prevails over quantity, the greatest results involving the least expenditure of physical force. And yet, even in the most refined of the arts, the creative work involves at certain times a heavy tax not only upon the nervous but the muscular system—sheer physical strains and stresses.

This is evidently applicable to every ordinary art of conduct. However far we go in economising effort by



custom and routine, some minimum of effort still remains, and there is always the possibility of some break in the routine, some sudden accident that calls for a reserve of force. It is so in driving a horse, in tending a garden, looking after a child, even in reading a book. If you do these things skilfully the effort will be small, and the small emergencies will be easily met. I chose the last example purposely, for in reading a book one seems to have reduced the element of physical force to something like zero. Yet, as one gets older, the double call, that of constant psycho-physical attention and that of sudden concentration, makes the lesson clear. An angry man, tackling a stiff lock with a rusty key, will put out much force and break the key: the wise man will oil the lock and use gentle pressure, but even his gentleness is a matter of degree. My reason for labouring these platitudes is that their wisdom is lost sight of in a really dangerous way by modern idealists in social and political reform. We have educationalists who pretend that the beautiful nature of a child should be permitted to unfold itself quite freely, or that something called guidance can be conducted with no element of physical restraint. Similarly, reaction against ignorant brutality in the care of criminals, lunatics, and defectives has taken shape in quasi-scientific or sentimental treatment professing to rely entirely upon moral influences. Christian Science, Higher Thought, and other doctrines of the absolute control of body by the mind, would expel drugs from therapeutics and scrap all the accepted rules of physical hygiene. There is, of course, nothing novel in these attempts of elevated and ascetic thinkers to ignore and to deny the body and the influences of matter in the conduct of life. They are ever-recurrent manifestations of a spiritual pride in the only animal so foolish as to be ashamed of his ancestry and inheritance.

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It may be said that the animal in man is and will remain quite strong enough to take care of its own interests, and to resent successfully any undue attempt at the supremacy of mind in the regulation of conduct. Any over-spiritual animals will be bred out, or otherwise eliminated. But the trouble is that these fantastic excesses of idealism are serious impediments to urgently needed steps of human advance. They provide *reductiones ad absurdum* to every enemy of progress. Let me illustrate from a wider field of human conduct. The greatest single peril to the progress of man, to the safety of civilisation, is war, and the minds of thoughtful men and women are bent upon schemes for getting rid of war. A quite simple proposition, says an absolutist. If there were no arms there could be no war. Let nations, therefore, agree to disarm and to submit all matters of dispute to judicial or arbitral settlement. Courts for international settlement will need no force behind their judgments; the public opinion of the world will suffice. Now it is conceivable that some nations might disarm, if they had full confidence that every likely enemy would obey the award of the court when it went against him. But would all nations have this confidence, and would they be justified in a faith which has the whole of past experience against it? The proposal, therefore, to put no international force behind the international court of justice will simply mean that effective national disarmament will not take place. In order to disarm individuals in a community and to put down group-fighting, public courts of justice are established with the requisite amount of physical force to back public opinion in securing the execution of the courts' decrees. Why should it seem reasonable to put international courts at once upon a higher plane of morals, and to presume moral force capable of dispensing altogether with armed force?

The only result of the absolutist attitude is to render national disarmament impossible. It is at least significant that the militarist sections of every nation stand side by side with extreme pacifists in refusing to put an international force at the disposal of the Court or League of Nations. Force can be made a means of justice. Upon this truth society is built. Force applied selfishly by individuals or sections is bad. Force applied socially by organised society is good. Internationalism simply applies this same economy of force on a higher level. There will be less force used, and it will be used in the cause of justice and not of injustice. National armaments must yield place to international. Public opinion cannot be mobilised so speedily, so strongly, and so wisely as to dispense with an international police. The attempt to do this will simply leave large national armaments in being, and weaken the reliance upon international Court or Council. No reliable peace for the world can be won by a false overestimate of public opinion.

No-force pacifism contains a double error. For how does it check the movement towards disarmament? It relies upon an ultimately false antithesis between physical and moral force. Public opinion, even when in substance sound, and operated in the cause of justice, is often as brutal and as cruel in crushing opposition as the cruder forms of violence it purports to displace. Indeed, any close psychological analysis discloses the facts (1) that public opinion commonly incorporates elements of definitely physical force, and (2) that its appeal to reason and good feeling is driven home by the bludgeon of authority in ways at least as degrading to humanity as the simpler modes of coercion. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* "Yes," it may be replied, "but the public opinion in question will be the enlightened will of all the peoples, informed and nourished by the equity and wisdom of

known and trusted judges." An admirable ideal, gradually approachable! But now? Do the peoples now possess that full faith in the justice and wisdom of foreigners (there's the rub) needed for the present working of this internationalism? Are they sure that they, and all the other nations, will accept and obey the Court or Council on issues which are held to be of vital interest to their safety or honour? If so, the millennium is nearer than I think. Sound courts of justice expressing an international will are not enough. It is upon a reasonable faith in an enlightened, steady, incorruptible public opinion that no-force pacifism must rely for the safety of an unarmed world. Now, does the public opinion even of the educated classes in every, or any, nation satisfy this test? "Not completely," it will be said, "but hold up the banner of the ideal and the rest will advance most rapidly to fulfilment." A possible economy, provided it does not lead its exponents to deny the risk their policy involves. What is that risk? Not the failure of an unarmed world-order to maintain itself. Rather the failure of nations to disarm, because they do not possess the requisite amount of faith in the moral sanction of public opinion for the fulfilment of the decrees of international justice. The fallacy of pacific absolutism will thus be registered in terms of competing national armaments and menaces of war.

There is a single philosophic fallacy underlying all the perfectionist codes. They all mistake the antithetic dualisms of order and disorder, truth and falsehood, spirit and matter, force and reason, for ultimate and absolute distinctions, whereas they are only conveniences for the conduct of life. Couples so intimate in their relations, always found in company, always acting upon one another, may seem to the casual spectator to be quarrelling. But they are of the same flesh and blood, of the same spirit, otherwise you would not find them in such

intimate relations. Perhaps it is an improper sublimation of the fighting instinct which leads so many pacifists to stress and dramatise a conflict between physical and moral force which is nothing but a lovers' quarrel, when seen *sub specie æternitatis*.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NEED FOR HUMOUR

**B**ERGSON hit upon a serviceable half-truth when he made laughter turn upon the behaviour of a human being as if he were a machine. The scholar, philosopher, or professionalist who brings the severe logic or the formulas of his special branch of learning to bear upon some ordinary situation in practical affairs cuts a ridiculous figure. Why? Because he is essentially unequal to the occasion. He is the exponent of an intellectual routine that must always lag behind the requirements of the present. His weight of learning, logic, procedure, cramp his liberty for handling a new situation in ordinary life. "Mathematics," remarked Oliver Wendell Holmes, "breeds a despotic way of thinking." This applies to every scientist in proportion as his science is "exact." The professor in politics has always been a byword—an essentially comic figure—out of place, bringing into the discussion and settlement of human problems the method and temper appropriate to measurable and reliable material. Even if his specialism falls outside the exact sciences, belonging to the humanities, the burden of precedent, which large acquaintance with the past secretly imposes, quite visibly impairs his agility and willingness to take risks. His truisms tend to conservatism, because they cannot help exaggerating the extent to which history repeats itself. It is to the historian that we look for the most frequent utterance of a false determinism in the judgments that begin "Human nature being what it is" and "The whole course of history teaches us." Pride of intellectual

property constantly impels to this statical view of human conduct. Even great men of science commonly concern themselves over-much with the codification of their laws, neglecting the cutting edge of science in its more hazardous excursions into the hinterlands of knowledge. I have already touched upon the fallacy of system-mongering and the æsthetic and property instincts that impel towards the practice. But here it is the comedy of such procedure that interests us. Great system-mongers, like Comte, Bentham, Spencer, are engaged in being comic upon the largest possible scale, *i.e.* putting the whole creative process of man and the universe under the fetters of formula. They do precisely what Molière's pedant, lawyer, or doctor does when he automatically applies his jargon and treatment to cases where they have no relevance. Our philosopher, scientist, historian are right in holding that the future will resemble the past in large measure. Where they err is in failing to realise that the bit of the future which does not resemble the past is for that very reason the most interesting and important part. It is always the discontinuous, the novel, the breach of the rule, that fastens itself upon us as spectators and actors in the human drama. So far as we are scientists, or can handle the elaborate routine of life by rules of thumb or thought, all goes smoothly. But the variants, the novelties, the cases where experience is dumb, these call for the artist—or the gambler. For if you haven't got the creative instinct with some skilled aptitude for handling the novel, life is for you nothing but a gamble, a game of chance—"just one damned thing after another!" If you possess this instinct and this aptitude, you may be said to be an artist. For it belongs to the artist to handle new opportunities in a creative way. But what sort of artist? A Philosopher? I think not. He has too heavy a hand for the job. Shall we say a Humorist?

It is a pity that this word has been so narrowed and

degraded from its Elizabethan use that Jonson would scarcely recognise it. And yet perhaps its modern meaning still retains a necessary ingredient for the artist of life. For the true humorist is not the mere spectator some pretend, laughing, however good-naturedly, at the queer-nesses and follies of the great mundane process. He can take a hand himself in life, and, by virtue of his keenness and imaginative sympathy, help to convert a game of chance into a game of skill. The contemplative attitude of a Montaigne does not fill the rôle. To extract the richest humour out of life, one must experiment as well as observe. Especially must one experiment with oneself, the richest and most reliable material at hand. This explains why, upon the whole, we prefer the title humorist to that of humanist, which to many may seem better accredited to the part. It carries certain qualities of verve and lightness—I had almost said levity—needed for the perception and the handling of novelty and opportunity. The associations of humanism are a little over-serious for the art. Knowledge is taken by its devotees a little too gravely. It does not do to be over-steeped in culture. It will hardly leave you spry enough to handle quick, unforeseen occurrences.

If, however, it be felt that a humorist is too much identified with the comic spirit, we may at least insist that humour is the first and most general requisite for the artist in life. Whenever the tension of routine is broken, whenever the unexpected happens, or history fails to repeat itself, anger, fear, admiration, pity, or disgust may overwhelm all other emotions at the spectacle. But where none of these emotions prevails, humour steps in and asserts a reversionary right. The sudden contrast which its discontinuity, its incongruity, presents, the element of surprise, are an assertion of the creative in the phenomenal process, and bring into sympathetic action the creative intelligence in man. Our first reaction to



it is a play of humour which perceives a "happy thought," a quaintness of behaviour, a strange event—something surprising which we must take into account and handle with interest and skill, as lying outside the safer low-grade thought and feeling with which we carry on our routine life. Things that "happen" make us "happy" not merely in the sense that we are interested spectators, but because they take us out of a groove and supply us with the material for free creative activity. To deal with things that "happen" we exercise intelligence, initiative, and ingenuity, and by helping to make things happen, launch ourselves on the creative current of life.

But if things are "happening" all the time, the rush overwhelms us and paralyzes intelligent activity. We need, then, a safe, steady background of law and order where happenings are so small as not to count. So once more, by a slightly different road, we return to our prime economy of compromise.

Happiness consists perhaps in a general sense of well-being derived from the smooth rhythm of an orderly life, with occasional swift excursions into fields of adventure where the creative impulse may enjoy itself. This "general sense of well-being" is rooted in social order. The creative impulse is the individual's break away, usually consumed in personal enjoyment, but sometimes sowing seeds of fruitful change within the social order.



# SILESIA REVISITED

## 1929

(AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS  
ARISING FROM THE PLEBISCITE  
AND THE PARTITION  
AND  
THE RELATION BETWEEN THE BRITISH  
COAL PROBLEM AND SILESIA.)

By

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Commission, 1920-21).*

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## FOREWORD

THE considerations which have prompted me to revisit both German and Polish Silesia are summarized hereunder.

There are reasons why a monograph upon the Silesian question may be of very special interest at the present time, not alone in England, but to the world. I have attempted in this examination of the results which have flowed from the decisions of the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission not to resuscitate the controversy, which too intemperately raged in the Press and in pamphlets, and among politicians and economists during the years 1920 and 1921. But I have been obliged, for purposes of clarity, to restate the argument in summarized form. So much has been written, both by accredited experts, and by theorists unfamiliar with the conditions prevailing in Silesia, that it would seem that the Silesian problem has become a hobby that has been ridden to death by journalists, pamphleteers and partisan publicists. I have deliberately sought also to avoid any domestic political controversy in regard to the control and organization of the British coal-mining industry. I claim, however, for this examination, written as it has been some seven years after the conclusion of the Plebiscite, that the results can be viewed impartially and dispassionately in an atmosphere freed from prejudice or partisan considerations, and being not tinctured also with an official viewpoint, it has the veracity to be expected of an account, compiled actually upon the field of dispute, of affairs in which I have actually participated. The conclusions which are reached and

the inferences which are drawn are those of a witness, who has closely investigated the issues, and has done so with complete impartiality.

As to this, no apology from myself is necessary except that my authority for writing such a book is that, as one who has spent a considerable number of years in the public service, in the Regular Army, in the Colonial Service and under the Foreign Office, I should not unnaturally be expected to have some further interest in the fruits of my work ; and I hope also that I may be representing, if only by proxy, what would be the considered view of responsible British members of the late Commission. Moreover, the question of Silesia is of high importance to anyone who plays any part in the public life of this country. Great Britain has more than generously supported the League of Nations. To the great mass of British people, of whatever political view, the League has quickly become the sheet-anchor of British foreign policy, and of world polity. At the last meeting of the League at Lugano, the ideals inspired and proclaimed at Locarno gave place to a quarrel between the Polish and German representatives, which if they are to be continued must cause the gravest misgiving in this country. The League will meet again in March, and it is the intention to discuss fully the Minority question, particularly as it is exhibited in the Silesian territories. It has seemed to me, therefore, a duty to revisit Upper Silesia for the purpose of examining without bias as to one party or the other, the suggestions, made on both sides, that the Minorities, Polish and German, are being subjected to ill-treatment and perhaps also to tyranny, which, if substantiated in fact, is a condition certainly not in keeping with the aspiration of British members responsible for the conduct of the Plebiscite itself, and for the recommendations which were made to the Supreme Council, under Articles 87 and 88 of the Treaty of Versailles. The

Memorandum which follows hereafter seeks to test evidence contributed both from Polish and German sources in regard to the Minority question. No similar memorial has been prepared or written by any unbiased independent witness with a full knowledge of the facts.

I should say that I am familiar with the arguments which were advanced by M. Korfanty in Paris, and with the writings upon the Silesian problem of such authorities as Professor J. M. Keynes, Mr. A. L. Garvin, Mr. Headlam Morley, Mr. Sidney Osborne, Deputy A. Wierzbicke and M. Kramsztk, Major Robin Grey, the Professors of the Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau and with the important articles which have appeared in the leading newspapers of Great Britain.

I have been rendered the utmost courtesy by the inhabitants, both German and Polish, during my recent visit. I shall not forget the unfailing kindness and help which I have received in castle and in cottage, by all classes of the community.

But my interest in the Silesian question does not end with a desire to clarify the issue as it affects the Minorities and the League of Nations. I had already learnt during 1920-21 that the coal-mines and industries of Silesia were magnificently organised. The German industrialists who developed and controlled these enterprises in the past realised that the psychological factor in industry was the keystone of evolutionary progress and of peace. In consequence, the human factor has received even greater stimulus from capital outlay and welfare supervision than have machinery and industrial organization. For some years, without possessing any vested interest whatsoever, I have taken a deep interest in the welfare of our mining community. The coal-mining industry remains the most tragic circumstance in English life. A solution of the problem seems to have baffled politicians,

economists, owners and miners alike. The Upper Silesian coal-field is one of the largest in the world, with immense potentiality for the future. It is so situated geographically that, without equal conditions in production, and in the standard of life of the workers, it constitutes a serious competitor with our own coal-fields in several markets. It is right, therefore, that the British people should be informed as to the practicability for British coal being able to compete with Silesian coal in those markets which are especially favourable to our own product and its transport facility. The British people have a right to know also whether the determinations made in Paris, rightly or wrongly, in the demarcation of the new German-Polish frontier in Silesia have militated against the success of our own coal-mining industry in the export market. The decisions then taken, as will be shown, were political and military, to which the moral principle was subordinated.

But such knowledge should certainly be available to the owners of coal-mines and to the hewers of coal themselves. I have attempted, therefore, to make some contribution to the considerations which must be taken immediately in regard to the unhappy state of our own mining industry, especially as it affects the lives and homes of hundreds of thousands of workers.

The report of the Industrial Transference Board suggests the transference of vast numbers of workers from the mining areas, especially in South Wales and in Durham, to others, more fortunate, in which they will become gradually absorbed. Such transference has commenced in a small way, and special works of public utility have been commenced, or are envisaged, with a view to providing employment for at least that part of our mining population which can never again be employed within



the industry. I suggest, however, that there is no authority yet competent to say what numbers of men and boys will be able to remain so employed. The work of the Industrial Transference Board and of the Ministry of Labour in this respect must therefore, so it would seem, be continued indefinitely. The response to the Prime Minister's appeal in August last was also astonishingly small, and nothing of any moment has been achieved for the unemployed miners other than a last minute appeal to national and individual charity for the purpose of saving the miners' families from the final degradation of destitution during the winter months. A factor of immense importance which must influence the activity of the Ministry of Labour and necessarily also public utility schemes designed to prevent physical and moral deterioration, is the question of the probability of being able again to compete successfully in those foreign markets which we have lost. This question was most ably analysed by the Royal Commission, 1925, though its forecast has not in some respects justified the hope expressed. I suggest that a better knowledge of the potentiality of the Silesian coal-fields must influence, profoundly, decisions which will have to be taken at no distant date in regard to this matter.

In the pages which follow, therefore, I have summarized the history of this territory, have restated the events during 1920-21 covering the actual Plebiscite, and have re-examined again the problem, economically, socially, politically, especially having in mind the grievances which it has been alleged exist. I have sought to disentangle truth from the fiction of propaganda, and to lay the matter clearly before a nation, the British people, who not least among the nations have exhibited an ardent desire for justice and fair play, and who, also, as past history demonstrates, not least among the nations, have exhibited an ability to co-operate in harmony with any with whom they may have quarrelled.

The months which I have spent in this territory, little known to British people, have awakened in me a profound regard for the inhabitants. Whether peasant stock of the forests and the fields, or workers in the vast industrial belt, the Silesians are frank and generous, courteous and hospitable, and peculiarly lovable. For this reason it is, therefore, indeed sad that the nation has been torn asunder to serve political interests which they cannot properly understand. My memories of, and close association with, French troops in 1914, on the Somme in 1916, at the battle of the Lys in 1918, are far too poignant to permit to forget either the heroism or the sufferings of our Allies, while the unfailing kindness of farmers in Picardy, whose open hospitality I received for four years, abides uppermost in my mind. But the fever of war has gone. More than ten years ago the Armistice was signed. Great Britain has always claimed to be just towards her enemies. In South Africa those lately engaged in bitter warfare now share a common destiny. I cannot, therefore, permit myself a partiality for French policy, though I may feel warmly towards France, nor can I witness in silence the tyrannising of subjects of an ex-enemy, whom I have now learnt to respect and for whose people, with better knowledge, I now possess both admiration and affection. I prefer to be a better European, and it is in such a mood that I have contributed this work.

It is right, too, that we should be properly informed as to whether, perhaps, in the excited post-war atmosphere and during the bargaining at Versailles, an injustice may have been done to the nationals of our late enemies, which has now reacted to the disadvantage of our own key industry. If, in fact, an injustice has been enabled, then the British people will be the first in their desire to remove both griefs and grievances; and this they can achieve by action in the political field. If, on the other hand,

we are satisfied that the arrangement is equitable, then it is at least clear that the Baltic market may have become a declining asset for British coal.

It will not be difficult to calculate the number of coal-hewers and their families, who, as the direct consequence of this loss, must seek fresh avenues of employment ; or for whom a Government responsible for their lives, as well as for our foreign policy, must find work of a wholly different character. By the tonnage lost, also, in the Baltic, must British capital invested in our mines be written down in order to meet the depreciated turnover and profit.

The subject is so vast that it is impossible for me within the scope of this short book to cover it in its entirety. All I have attempted to do is to provide facts, to recite history without favour, and to demonstrate the relation between the Silesian problem and that of our own domestic unemployment problem.

My investigation would have been even more thorough had not the severity of the weather not only made it very difficult to get about the country, but often even physically painful to be out of doors for any length of time. The season was the coldest recorded for 140 years, the temperature falling as low as  $-47$  degrees Centigrade. The inhabitants would only go out of doors with faces completely bandaged or muffled ; while hares, rather than perish in the fields, preferred the greater warmth of civilisation and the danger of the villages in which in hundreds they were slaughtered. Railway points froze, delaying trains by many hours, and Silesia was the most intensely cold part of Europe. Despite this, I succeeded, however, in traversing Silesia in the course of this investigation almost from end to end, covering Myslowitz, Kattowitz, Beuthen, Tarnowitz, Lublinitz, Hindenburg, Gleiwitz, Tost, Kreuzberg, Oppeln.

Each chapter, for convenience, within itself, summarizes the more important evidence and conclusions reached in other chapters, in order that any reader preoccupied with much reading can more quickly turn to that chapter which most closely touches his own interest, and can assimilate both the main facts of the general position as well as the detail of his special interest.

My earnest hope is that those responsible for the destiny of our people will at least familiarize themselves with the facts.

GRAHAM S. HUTCHISON.

THE OLD GARDEN,  
HILLINGDON,  
MIDDLESEX.

*March, 1929.*

## CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF UPPER SILESIA  
AND OF ITS PLEBISCITE.

## SILESIA AND GERMAN CULTURE.

UPPER Silesia is essentially German, as this monograph in other chapters clearly demonstrates. The territory, it is true, was connected with Poland for a century and a half, the association having commenced in the year 1163, but, in 1335, King Casimir of Poland formally renounced Upper Silesia. From this date Upper Silesia formed a part of the German Empire until 1745, thence as part of Austria under the Hapsburgs and later as part of the Prussian Province of Silesia. Politically, therefore, for 587 years this territory has belonged to the German Empire and in practice it has been connected with it for 759 years. Silesia was colonized by the Germans before the twelfth century, who founded towns and introduced the new culture, social, literary, artistic, developing in Western Europe. Its industrial development dated from the middle of the eighteenth century; and, therefore, from the transfer of Silesia to Prussia began the expansion of its coal, iron, zinc, lead and metallurgical products.

Silesia, therefore, through the centuries has become a country with German culture and a mixed German-Polish population. German culture is the common property of the inhabitants, but the language has remained largely what is known as "Wasser-Polnisch," a dialect which is to the Pole what the Glasgow dialect is to an Englishman, or what the *patois* in the Valais of Switzerland is to a Parisian. "Wasser-Polnisch" contains very many German words, introduced of necessity in relation to matters of higher culture, technique and so forth by the German immigrants. This

dialect is understood by the majority of the population of German origin. Upper Silesians are, therefore, a racial unit, economically a part of Germany and in culture aspiring towards the higher culture of Western Germany.

#### SELF-DETERMINATION.

The War was determined by the acceptance of all the belligerent parties of the principles embodied in the Fourteen Points enunciated by President Wilson. The Treaty of Versailles, besides the other obligations which it imposed upon the enemies of the Allied Powers, was based fundamentally upon the Fourteen Points. Among them was the "Principle of Self-Determination," namely, the right of minority nationals included within the older Empires, and of State combinations under central government, to declare for Autonomous Government, or alternatively for inclusion under some other central Government. Thus, in consequence, for example, upon this principle, the Empires of Germany, of Austria and of Russia were disrupted and partitioned; the new States of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia were fashioned; and Plebiscites were held in East Prussia and Schleswig-Holstein, while Danzig became a free port. Of the Plebiscites, that of Upper Silesia undoubtedly from every point of view was of greatest importance, its decisions of most far-reaching consequence.

#### THE PLEBISCITE.

Prior to the War the whole of Upper Silesia formed a part of the German Empire.

The history of Upper Silesia, and of the Plebiscite period in 1920-21, is of the greatest interest. The writer was a witness of the principal events during what were the most dramatic and consequential months of all its history, and now after the lapse of so many years, he can describe the events in their correct perspective.

The Polish case for Plebiscite was represented in Paris by M. Korfanty. Based upon the fact that a considerable proportion of the Upper Silesian population speak the dialect "Wasser-

Polnisch," to which reference has been made, and that in past history for a period Upper Silesia has formed part of the Polish Kingdom, M. Korfanty successfully swayed the Peace Conference to grant a Plebiscite for Upper Silesia. It may be remarked in passing that very few of those concerned with the arrangement of the Treaty and with its ratification in the British Parliament, possessed any idea even as to the geographical position of this territory, apart from its supreme economic significance in the European polity.

#### THE POLISH COUP D'ÉTAT, MAY, 1921.

The Poles immediately organized two revolts with the object of establishing a *coup d'état* in Upper Silesia. Both failed. The revolt in May, 1921, later, was of a more serious character. Those familiar with the situation came to the conclusion at the time, and their conclusions were supported by responsible members of the House of Commons, including the Prime Minister, that this serious revolt was carried out with the connivance of both the Polish and French Governments.

But there was never any question concerning the policy of the French in regard to Upper Silesia. The discussions in Paris which led up to the framing of Articles Nos. 87 and 88 of the Treaty of Versailles very clearly revealed French intentions, of which, also, no secret was made. It is difficult to believe that Great Britain and Italy acquiesced in this policy, and it is amazing, therefore, that France was given the preponderating influence in the Upper Silesian Commission. General Le Rond, an able and skilled diplomatist, was appointed President; the armed forces were placed under General Gratier, a very senior French General; the Prefecture, governing the whole Administration of the Territory, to M. Anjoubault, an official of wide experience; the Police placed under General Bonnet, who had lately commanded the Gendarmerie of the North-East of France; the majority of troops were French, with some Italians; and, except for a weak Brigade after the Plebiscite, there were never any British troops in Upper Silesia. From the Constitution of the Commission, it would appear, therefore, that Great Britain and Italy were subordinated to French policy. This policy, both politically and economically, was to allot Upper Silesia to the new

State of Poland, including the rich coal-fields and industrial area of Beuthen, Kattowitz, Konigshutte and Zabrze.

M. Korfanty was obviously informed that both the British and Italian Governments, in making their recommendations to the Supreme Council in Paris, had considered that, with the exception of a few minor adjustments of the frontier, only part of the district of Rybnik and that of Pless should be allocated to Poland. This was also the considered opinion of the economic and other experts attached to the Commission. The French, with logical consistency, were determined, however, that the whole of Upper Silesia, at any rate up to the line of the River Oder, should pass to Poland. It is clear from subsequent history that the French financiers, industrialists and militarists were possessed of the vision of a new Germany bounded on the west by the River Rhine and on the east by the River Oder. Since it seemed, however, that the French-Polish policy would fail, Korfanty, with a mob of youths and boys, under the leadership of officers in the uniform of the well-known Haller Army from Cracow, swept westwards capturing towns, cities, seats of government, railway centres, transport and the means of communication, up to what was known as the Korfanty Line, approximately that of the River Oder. General Gratier, appropriately and conveniently, had withdrawn the French troops, roughly 10,000 men, who constituted the whole of the Allied Army responsible for the preservation of order, except for a thin force of Italian soldiers, and, while the Polish rebels advanced, the French troops were peacefully engaged in army exercises in a remote corner of German South-West Silesia, a territory in no way in dispute. It was quite obvious, however, that the *coup d'état* had been arranged several months previously; and it was launched after the members of the Commission were generally aware as to the recommendations which would be made by the majority of the Commission, namely, the British and the Italian Commissioners. During this "Putsch" a number of German officials and other citizens were subjected to violence and ill-treatment; the German inhabitants were terrorized; while the Italian soldiers who were left alone to uphold the authority of the Allies, lost some thirty men killed in action before they were finally driven back. The German civilian population, who



had probably anticipated a "Putsch," then formed a defence corps, so that during the first and second weeks of May, 1921, two armies were opposed to each other in the field. The writer was personally left with the duty of preventing further bloodshed, and with considerable difficulty arranged a forty-eight hours' armistice in order to provide time for diplomatic intervention.

There followed in the House of Commons a debate (in a later Section some of the speeches are quoted *in extenso*) which revealed the fact that representative authorities of the three political parties in Great Britain refused to be parties to such a *coup d'état*, or to countenance British adherence to such a method of exerting influence upon the Plebiscite decision.

#### THE COMMISSION'S FUNCTIONS.

The Treaty itself does not, perhaps, always give quite clear guidance, but it is plain that the instruction is that the Commission should firstly make a recommendation. The words of the Treaty are as follows: "In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality." The result of the vote showed that in the proportions of six to four the inhabitants voted for the continuation of German rule and possession, while without doubt, also, in the opinion of the experts, and as has also been declared by the injury done to our own coal-mining industry, the economic conditions demanded that this territory should with certain minor adjustment, be taken over again by the German Administration, both in the interests of the Silesian inhabitants themselves and with due regard to European policy as a whole.

The second step following the recommendation by the Commission was the final decision by the Supreme Council in Paris. We have no information as to what were the considerations which weighed so strongly with the Supreme Council that it ignored the majority recommendation of the Commission and the advice of the economic experts, deciding to pass to Poland the whole of the industrial area; but it would appear that military influence and opinions preponderated. Whatever influences were at work, we now know that the decisions have proved disastrous

to Great Britain, to the stability of Europe and to the peace of the world.

#### A FAIT ACCOMPLI.

We may recollect a cynical remark by M. Korfanty to the *Matin* correspondent early in June, 1921, following the "Putsch" and after a British brigade had been despatched to Upper Silesia.

M. Korfanty, fearful lest his plot should fail through the impartial solidity of British soldiers and due to a belated policy of British determination, redoubled his propaganda effort. "Voilà les véritables électeurs," he said, pointing to the Schnoppnitz and Beuthen chimneys. "Pour le grand capital Anglo-Allemand, ce sont les seules voix qui comptent. Les hommes, cela n'a aucune importance."

It is the fact, certainly, that we in Great Britain to-day must be preoccupied to the exclusion of almost any other consideration by the welfare of our own men, hundreds of thousands of whom are unemployed; and we may enquire what it is that "le grand Capital Franco-Polonaise" has accomplished for the unimportant Polish miner. A comparison of British, German and Polish wages indicates which are "les seules voix qui comptent." It is quite clear that M. Korfanty, with specious promises that have never been fulfilled, secured the adherence of many Silesians to his propaganda thesis. The armed mob which carried through his behests in the May, 1921, "Putsch" consisted of mere boys, immature, half-educated, commendably high-spirited and adventurous, as the photograph of a typical company clearly shows. By clever propaganda M. Korfanty inflamed the youthful passions of these youths, seducing them from the paths of law, order and justice, and promoting in them characteristics which would have shamed the better class of brigand. By the methods of armed force, a *fait accompli* was established in defiance of the recommendations of the British and Italian Commissioners, and with the active connivance of the French authorities, who ardently desired it, and were determined upon its accomplishment. The British possessed no troops, other than a handful of officers, with which to withstand the threat to British authority, while the stand made by an isolated post of Italian soldiers lost Italy some thirty men killed. The provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were in

consequence flouted and a final decision as to the Partition of Silesia was made in Paris, almost entirely ignoring the considered recommendations of the British and Italian Commissioners and of the experts.

#### IS BRITAIN BLIND ?

In January, 1923, the author wrote as follows : "At the termination of the war I had hoped that the treaties would be framed in such a way as to provide for just and reasonable reparations to those countries which had suffered material damage, while out of the treaties would arise a new basis of agreement and co-operation between all the nations. I had also hoped that these treaties would be based upon the ideals which sustained our people throughout the war and for which Great Britain stood. The Treaty of Versailles was drawn up, while M. Clemenceau rejoiced that through its instrument 'the peace was war carried on by other means.' I claim that as fundamental to peace, the League of Nations, to which I give my best whole-hearted support, should be separated from the Treaty of Versailles, and be reframed in keeping with the ideals which are the national heritage of the British people, and which ideals have too long been prostituted in the terms of the Treaty. It must be remembered that 41 per cent. of Great Britain's products are made for export. The prosperity of Europe will never return until armies of occupation are abandoned, the sovereignty of every State re-established, absurd indemnities abandoned and a Peace of violence replaced by a Peace of justice." Surely these observations are as true to-day as they were years ago. The distress which our people have suffered, and in greater intensity are now bearing, is assuredly sufficient proof. And the problem of Coal remains urgent, insistent and unsolved. Will prosperity spring from so much wrong ? Is Britain blind ?

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF SILESIAN PARTITION.

**U**NDER the terms of Article 88 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, the Plebiscite was taken on the 20th March, 1921, in the greater part of Upper Silesia and in a small frontier district of the Lower Silesian Namslau area, the result of which was that out of 1,185,611 votes polled, 707,143, or approximately 60 per cent., were cast in favour of Germany, and 478,418, or approximately 40 per cent., in favour of Poland. On the basis of this Plebiscite result and an opinion obtained from the Council of the League of Nations in the matter, the Council of Ambassadors considered it right to divide Upper Silesia in such a manner that approximately one-third of the country, with less than one million inhabitants, was annexed to Poland, while the remainder of the territory was left with Germany.

There has been an endeavour, by means of extensive propaganda, to represent Upper Silesia in America and among the Western Powers as an entirely Polish country, and historical and ethnographical, as well as economic, arguments have been preferred in favour of assigning Upper Silesia to Poland.

#### HISTORY.

History, however, hardly favours the Polish claims. Upper Silesia had only been connected with Poland for a century and a half; nor had this connection been actual since 1163, while in 1335 the King of Poland, also, formally renounced Upper Silesia. From that time onwards Upper Silesia belonged to the German Empire, until 1745 as part of Austria under the Hapsburgs, and afterwards as part of the Prussian province of Silesia. Upper Silesia has therefore belonged to the German Empire for 587 years politically, and for 759 years actually.

## SETTLEMENT.

Upper Silesia was colonized by the Germans before the twelfth century, at the time of the migration of peoples ; since that time it has been, without interruption, the objective of German immigrants from the west, who, partly as peasants, partly as artisans, settled, founding towns and opening up the country to culture. The industrial development of the country, which led to the exploitation of its coal, iron, zinc, lead, etc., dates from the middle of the eighteenth century and therefore from the transfer of Upper Silesia to Prussia.

## NATIONALITY, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE.

The continual settlement of German elements in Upper Silesia, lasting for approximately 900 years, caused it to become a country with German culture and a polyglot population. Whereas German culture was the common property of the whole population, the language has remained partly "water Polish," a dialect which is essentially different from Polish, containing very many German words, and understood also by the majority of the population of German origin. Owing to the fact that nearly all Upper Silesians speak German and "water Polish," they have come to consider themselves in the course of the centuries as a racial unit, whose national consciousness has not yet, perhaps, found proper expression. With regard to nationality, the Upper Silesian may be characterized as being a patriotic Upper Silesian in the first place, a pious Catholic within the German community of culture in the second place, and as using as a language either German or "water Polish."

## PLEBISCITE AND DISMEMBERMENT.

The result of the Plebiscite of 1921 was three-fifths of the total poll in favour of Germany. The result would probably have been even more favourable had all the thousands of Germans who had immigrated since 1908 been allowed to take part in the Plebiscite ; and if the vindictiveness directed by the Poles against the Germans had not frightened many of them into abstaining from any participation in the "Abstimmung."

In view of the Plebiscite result, it would have been right and

proper if the whole of Upper Silesia had been left with Germany, the more so since it forms an historic, ethnographic and cultural unit. From the economic point of view, also, this territory presents a large, complicated and interconnected industrial system, equipped with a highly developed, centralized net of lines of communication and pivoted on the Oder. In spite of these facts, the Council of Ambassadors decided upon a division of the country, which has brought economic loss to the country itself, lowered the standard of life, and has also opened up, in one of the most sensitive parts of Europe, a wound which is constantly endangering the peace of the East.

#### THE PRODUCTS OF UPPER SILESIA.

The economic consequences of the dismemberment of Upper Silesia have been of very decisive significance. Upper Silesia possesses considerable mineral wealth, above all coal, iron and zinc. The produce before the war (1913) in the entire Upper Silesian industrial area, concentrated within a small geographical area, was as follows:—

- Over 41 million tons of coal;
- Over 130,000 tons of iron ore;
- Approximately 1 million tons of zinc and lead ores.

Eight iron works, with thirty-seven blast furnaces, fourteen rolling mills and a number of secondary works, produced before the war (1913):—

- Over 600,000 tons of pig-iron;
- Over 1.1 million tons of fluid metal and steel;
- 828,000 tons of rolling mill products, etc.

The production of cast zinc in 1913 amounted to 169,000 tons, that of cast lead 42,000 tons.

Apart from the mining industry, there was in Upper Silesia an extensive metal industry, a large chemical, cement and cellulose industry.

In the middle of this closely connected industrial system was drawn the new boundary line, which cuts off for Poland the richest part of the industrial area. The new boundary line gave to Poland:—

80% of the carboniferous area ;  
 92.5% of Upper Silesia's coal reserves, estimated at 113  
 milliard tons ;  
 53 (out of 67) coal-mines with 77% of the coal production ;  
 Half of the coke ovens, but almost the whole of the coal  
 from which coke can be produced ;  
 82.4% of the entire zinc production ;  
 72.5% of the entire lead production ;  
 All the zinc and lead works ;  
 5 (out of 8) iron works, with  
 21 (out of 37) blast furnaces ;  
 67% of the production ;  
 9 (out of 14) rolling mills, with  
 72% of the production of semi-manufactured and 84% of  
 the production of manufactured goods ;  
 15 (out of 25) iron and steel foundries ;  
 The entire chemical industry.

#### COAL.

Poland possesses in the Dombrowa and Cracow districts large reserves of coal, where the incidence of coal is greater by more than one and a half times that of Upper Silesia ; these districts supplied in 1913 already nine million tons of coal, covering nearly 90% of Poland's coal requirements. Only a slight development of the mines in these districts was therefore necessary in order to supply Poland's entire coal requirements from her own production. There was, therefore, no economic justification whatever for assigning to Poland the eastern district of Upper Silesia with a pre-war (1913) supply of 32.3 million tons of coal.

On the other hand, Germany was in great need of the Upper Silesian coal, and the Eastern German market absorbed before the war approximately 75% of Upper Silesia's coal supply, so that only 25% of the coal had to find other markets. The surrender of Posen and Western Prussia only plays an insignificant part in this connection, as these territories were only able to absorb barely 9% of the Upper Silesian coal production. The fact therefore emerges that the Upper Silesian coal was taken away from Germany, although she required it, and given to Poland, although Poland had no use for it.

The absurdity of taking the coal away from Germany and assigning it to Poland is clearly reflected by a comparison of the

figures relating to coal production in Eastern and Western Upper Silesia respectively. Coal production amounted to:—

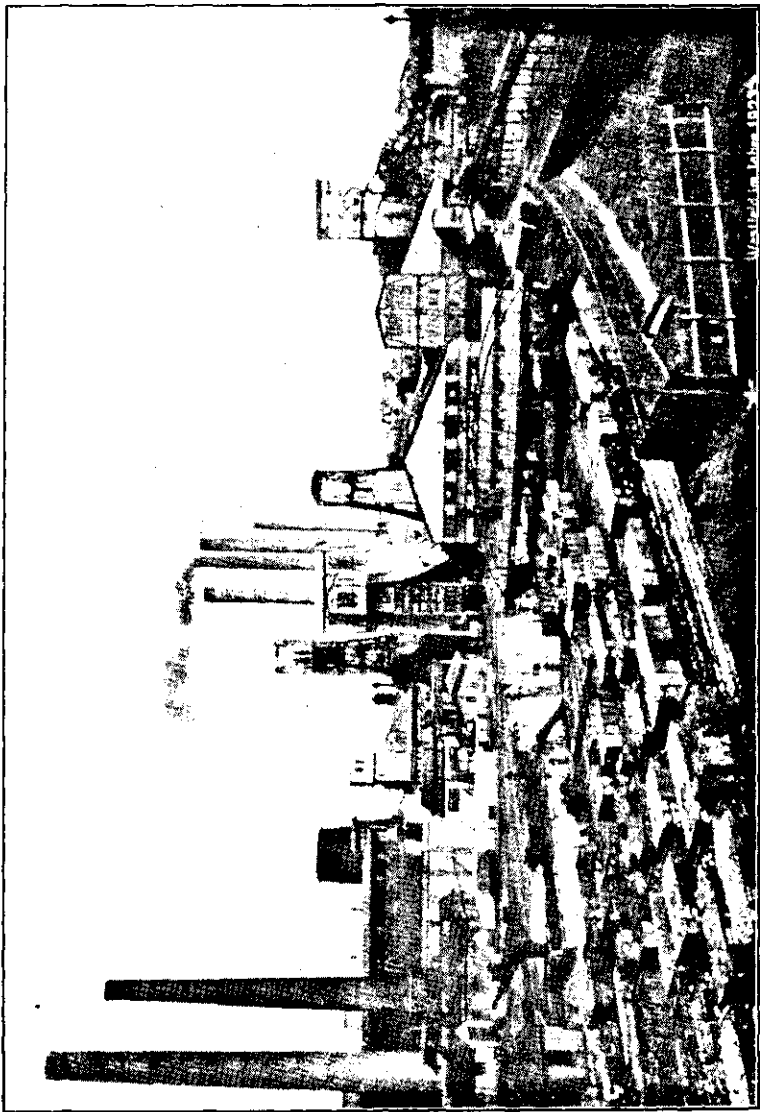
<i>In Eastern Upper Silesia.</i>				<i>In Western Upper Silesia.</i>				
(In million tons.)								
			<i>Per cent.</i>				<i>Per cent.</i>	
1913	...	32.3	...	100	...	11.1	...	100
1922	...	25.6	...	79	...	8.8	...	79
1923	...	26.5	...	82	...	8.7	...	79
1924	...	23.7	...	73	...	10.9	...	98
1925	...	21.4	...	66	...	14.3	...	129
1926	...	25.8	...	81	...	17.5	...	157
1927	...	27.7	...	86.6	...	19.4	...	175
1928	...	30.3	...	94.5	...	19.7	...	177

As has been stated, Poland has no internal use for the great supply from the Eastern Upper Silesian mines; the Eastern Upper Silesian mining industry was obliged during the past six and a half years, in spite of heavily restricted production, to market abroad approximately 70 million tons of coal, or 42% of its total production. This was only made possible at all by the far-reaching support of the Polish State Railways, who granted for Upper Silesian export coal to Baltic countries a rate which was approximately 3 Marks per ton below the cost price to the Polish State Railways. The export of coal to the Baltic countries must, nevertheless, be connected with considerable losses to the Eastern Upper Silesian mines. The present price of Upper Silesian coal amounts to M.11.90 per ton F.O.B. Danzig; freight charges amount to M.3.50 and handling charges to M.1.70 per ton, so that the price of a ton of coal at the pit-head amounts to M.6.70; inferior qualities realizing even as little as M.5.70 per ton. Even if, in calculating the price of the coal exported through Danzig and Gdingen (approximately seven million tons in 1928), we disregard the general overhead charges, and only take into account the additional expenses of the mines in connection with the delivery of this export coal, a higher cost price to the mines is arrived at which would exceed the selling price obtained by at least M.1.50 to M.3 per ton.

These circumstances would inevitably have led to the collapse of the Eastern Upper Silesian coal-mining industry, if the British coal crisis in 1926 had not favoured Poland. To Poland it meant







SILESIA IN 1925  
SILESIAN INDUSTRY—COAL, IRON, LEAD, ZINC. A TYPICAL VIEW.

economic salvation. Poland has been enabled, even to-day, to sell her superfluous coal, because she has obtained a firm footing in the Northern markets; and she now supplies, in spite of the keenest competition of British coal, approximately half of the requirements of Scandinavia and the Baltic.

It should be noted also that 40,000 Polish workmen have been transferred from Western Poland to France for work in the coal-fields in the neighbourhood of Lille. This transfer was officially arranged by the Polish and French Governments. The men are reported to be living in the lowest possible conditions. The Press of the National Labour Party in Poland perpetually protests against this: but the Polish Consulates in France remain silent. The average daily output of coal in France, in 1913, was 136,147 tons; the number of workers employed, 203,208. In November, 1928, these figures were respectively 179,081 and 295,368. The trade balance has moved very favourably for France, in which, also, there are no unemployed.

Both the Polish Government and the Eastern Upper Silesian mining industry are making every endeavour to maintain the mines. This is evidenced by the construction of the costly coal railway to the Baltic and of the coal port of Gdingen. The ring price for coal sold in the Polish home market has been fixed at an extraordinarily high level for the purpose of counter-balancing the losses incurred in connection with export coal; it amounts at present to 1.38 Zloty or 17.93 German marks or 17s. 8½d. The mines have been trying to help themselves, without exception, by exhaustive exploitation throughout the whole of the post-war period.

Apart from the fear of an increase in unemployment, and, perhaps in consequence, of revolutionary tendencies in the working class, fomented from the Soviet Republics across the frontier, the reasons for this forced production may also be discovered in the fact that Poland is anxious, for reasons of prestige, to avoid any diminution in production in Eastern Upper Silesia, in order to demonstrate her alleged economic right to this territory. Above all, however, Poland desires to push the export of coal until an International Convention is accomplished, in order to

obtain a correspondingly high quota for export coal—at a high export figure. The struggle of Eastern Upper Silesia for markets is accordingly directed, in the main, against the English coalfields.

### IRON.

In consequence of the division of Upper Silesia, all the—in themselves not very productive—iron-ore mines fell to Poland. The production of iron ore has rapidly diminished. It amounted to :—

<i>Year.</i>			<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Percentage.</i>
1913	...	...	134,000	...	100
1922	...	...	82,000	...	61
1923	...	...	60,000	...	45
1924	...	...	31,000	...	23
1925	...	...	19,000	...	14
1926	...	...	4,000	...	3
1927	...	...	6,000	...	4.5
1928 (9 months)	...	...	12,000	...	10

What is far more important in Upper Silesia than ore production is iron smelting. The Congress of the Iron Industry of Poland and Galicia was in a position to satisfy the requirements of the entire Polish market, and even to export. They were, therefore, by no means in need of the Upper Silesian smelting industry. As against this, the Upper Silesian iron industry supplied the whole of Eastern Germany. For their supplies of raw materials the Poles depended, for the most part, upon German ores and partly also on Lower Silesian coke. In the same manner the Upper Silesian steel works, whose production is based on scrap iron, obtained the latter from Upper Silesia itself as to 20% and from the rest of Germany as to 80%; as against which Poland, as an agricultural country, is far from being able to make good this loss of scrap iron supplies.

Under these conditions the division of Upper Silesia has also led to a drop in the production of the foundries in the Polish part, as shown by the following table. The Eastern Upper Silesian foundries produced :—

## ZINC AND LEAD

		(In thousand tons.)					
		<i>Cast Iron.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Ingot Iron and Steel.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Rolling Mill Products.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1913	...	613	100	1,105	100	828	100
1922	...	401	65.4	810	74	600	72
1923	...	409	66.7	869	79	600	72
1924	...	263	42.9	520	47	372	45
1925	...	228	37.2	533	48	432	52
1926	...	268	43.7	497	45	384	46
1927	...	441	71.9	785	71	624	76
1928 (10 mths.)		380	74.3	767	83	580	84

The cast iron production of Eastern Upper Silesia has therefore only attained last year 74.3%, the ingot iron and steel production 83%, and the rolling mill products 84% of the pre-war production.

As against this, the Western Upper Silesian foundries produced:—

		(In thousand tons.)					
		<i>Cast Iron.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Ingot Iron and Steel.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Rolling Mill Products.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1913	...	381	100	355	100	235	100
1924	...	262	69	268	75	186	79
1925	...	289	76	357	101	236	100
1926	...	232	61	441	124	308	131
1927	...	311	82	529	149	450	191
1928	...	245	64	528	149	412	175

As compared with 1913, the Western Upper Silesian production at present amounts to 64.3% for cast iron, 149% for steel and 175% for rolling mill products.

## ZINC AND LEAD.

Of the sixteen zinc and lead mines of Upper Silesia, Poland received eleven. Out of the total production of the Upper Silesian zinc mines 82.4%, of the lead ore production 72.5%, fell to Eastern Upper Silesia through the division. The loss in zinc hit Germany all the harder, as 80% of Germany's zinc supply was produced by Upper Silesia, and from a zinc exporting country Germany now became a zinc importing country. The zinc and lead foundries fell to Poland without exception, so that the mines that remained in Germany's possession were left without foundries. Out of the eight zinc plate rolling mills, only three small plants were left with Germany.

The assignment of Eastern Upper Silesia to Poland promoted that country to third place in the world production of zinc. But the production statistics show considerable retrogression for Eastern Upper Silesia with regard to this too.

Production amounted to :—

		(In thousand tons.)							
		<i>Zinc Blende,</i>		<i>Cast</i>		<i>Zinc</i>		<i>Cast</i>	
		<i>Calcined.</i>		<i>Zinc.</i>		<i>Plate.</i>		<i>Lead.</i>	
		<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>	
1913	...	385.8	100	169.4	100	42.5	100	41.6	100
1922	...	183.6	48	75.6	45	22.7	54	17.0	41
1923	...	212.3	55	84.5	50	24.3	57	19.9	48
1924	...	194.3	50	77.7	46	25.5	60	19.7	48
1925	...	230	60	98.2	58	27.5	65	27.6	66
1926	...	237.7	62	106.2	63	8.4	20	27.1	65
1927	...	270.6	70	129.8	77	12.7	30	28.9	70
1928 (10 mths.)	...	220.5	68	115.5	82	11.9	34	29.8	86

As compared with the pre-war year of 1913, the Eastern Upper Silesian production therefore amounts to 68% in calcined zinc blende, 82% in cast zinc, 34% in zinc plate and 86% in cast lead. The production of sulphuric acid and silver has just reached the pre-war level during the past year, while the production of cadmium at present amounts to approximately one-ninth of the pre-war production.

As against this, zinc and lead production in German Upper Silesia has increased at a rapid rate, and amounted to :—

		(In thousand tons.)					
		<i>Zinc Blende.</i>		<i>Lead Ores.</i>		<i>Zinc Plate.</i>	
		<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>	
1913	...	92.5	100	15.3	100	3.9	100
1923	...	38.1	41	3.2	34	3.4	87
1924	...	39.1	42	5.1	33	4.4	113
1925	...	49.8	54	6.6	45	4.5	116
1926	...	109.4	118	12.0	78	6.9	176
1927	...	191.0	206	16.1	105	8.1	205
1928	...	175.8	190	17.7	115	8.6	218

Thus, whereas the production of zinc blende in the Polish part of Upper Silesia only attained two-thirds of the pre-war level last year, production in the German part has almost doubled. The other columns also show increased production in German

Upper Silesia, while Eastern Upper Silesia has not reached the pre-war level by a considerable margin. The difference is particularly striking with regard to the production of zinc plate: Eastern Upper Silesia's production of zinc plates is at present approximately one-third, German Upper Silesia's nearly double the pre-war quantity. As all the zinc and lead foundries have fallen to Poland, all the zinc and lead ores mined in the German part must be smelted in Eastern Upper Silesia in the refining trade. Zinc production in Upper Silesia belongs mostly to Harriman's American group, which owns nearly 25% of the world's zinc output. The American influence in the world's zinc market has been, therefore, considerably strengthened by its new interests in the Giesche and other Polish Silesian mines.

Viewed as a whole, the picture is therefore the same with regard to zinc and lead production as well: Poland is not in a position to exploit the enormous wealth of Eastern Upper Silesia either for herself or for export, and is compelled to waste it, while on the other hand Germany—deprived of the greatest part of her mineral wealth in Eastern Germany—must make every effort to increase production, in order to balance the loss in coal, iron, steel, zinc and lead.

#### CAPITAL.

As a result of the dismemberment, the part of Upper Silesia allotted to Poland has lost its natural money market, namely, Germany. The Polish Government and banks have been unable to find a substitute, at any rate from within Polish borders. German capital was driven out step by step, but the capital that supplanted it was not Polish but foreign, namely, French and American, introduced on unfavourable terms. Not one penny of Polish capital has been introduced; but the share-holding in the original German State Mines has been replaced by that of a company known as "Société Fermières des Mines d'Etats," commonly identified as "Scarboferm," in which the share capital is represented by 51% of French private capital and 49% of Polish State capital. There is no other Polish money in the coal-fields.

## NO ECONOMIC BASIS FOR PARTITION.

Polish propaganda operates with different figures from those quoted herein. It assumes as its starting point—we must assume with too obvious reasons—the year 1922, a year in which abnormal conditions prevailed and in which the entire Upper Silesian industry produced only negligible quantities. But even accepting Polish figures, what is stated remains true. The statistics quoted above, embracing the year 1913 and all the years from 1922 to 1928, demonstrate equally clearly the difference between the development of Eastern and Western Upper Silesia, and express forcibly the fact that there was no economic basis for such a division of Upper Silesia.

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## PLEBISCITE RESULTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL AREA.

If, therefore, there were no adequate economic reasons for the severance of the industrial area from Germany, we must again reiterate that the results of the Plebiscite did not justify such a division. In the districts of the industrial area proper of the part of Upper Silesia awarded to Poland, 163,000 votes, or 51%, were cast in favour of Germany, and 160,000 votes, or 49%, in favour of Poland, and it is only in the districts of Rybnik and Pless that the Poles can claim a majority of the votes in their favour.

On the 14th November, 1926, municipal elections took place in Eastern Upper Silesia. These produced in the industrial area a result even more favourable to the German contention. Out of a poll of 235,221 in this area, 132,063 votes, or 56%, appeared on the German registers, 89,551 votes, or 38%, on the Polish lists, and 13,607 votes, or 6%, on other registers. The result of these elections is all the more remarkable, because some 75,000 Germans had already left Eastern Upper Silesia in 1926, preferring accustomed standards, and an approximately equal number of persons from the interior of Poland had immigrated.

## DIRECTING FACTORS IN UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY.

The Poles—even highly placed State officials—point to Upper Silesian industry as a proud work of Poland's creation. They



state that Polish industry in Upper Silesia has proved in the course of the last seven years that it is capable of managing its own affairs and of contributing to the progress of mankind. No one can doubt that the men who are at the head of Eastern Upper Silesian industry are capable of advancing the economic interests of the country. It is only necessary to make it clear who these men are. Unfortunately, no official statistics are available, but Number 73 of the *Polska Zachodnia*, dated the 30th March, 1927, contained some statistics. It was shown that 31 of the 172 directors and 415 of the 3,043 technical employees alone are Polish. If, in addition to this, statistics of the workmen also existed, the fact, known to everyone possessing a knowledge of Eastern Upper Silesia, would clearly emerge that the overwhelming majority of the workmen equipped with specialized knowledge, such as foremen, mechanics, fitters and superintendents, are German.

The reasons for this are not far to seek, and are outlined more fully in the Section referring to the Minority question. But, broadly, the high standard of German schools and technical education, for which the Poles have possessed little aspiration, accounts for this.

#### ECONOMIC TROUBLES CAUSED BY DISMEMBERMENT.

It has been demonstrated in the foregoing how unreasonable was the dismemberment of Upper Silesia from an economic point of view. But we must also point out the serious damage caused by the drawing across the middle of a centralized industrial area of a boundary line which, in spite of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement, has crippled economic communications between the two parts of Upper Silesia. In spite of the endeavour to assign to Poland, as far as possible, a self-contained industrial system, the new boundary line, as the British experts of the Plebiscite Commission foreshadowed, has led to absurd and uneconomic results. Rolling mills were cut off from their cast iron supplies, refineries from their supplies of semi-manufactured materials and rolling mill products. Half of the coke ovens was left with Germany, but the Rybnik coal, specially suitable for the production of coke fell to Poland. The zinc and iron ore mined in

German Upper Silesia can no longer be smelted in the country itself, since the zinc and lead foundries are now in the possession of Poland. Since the entire chemical industry was passed over to Poland, the coke works and the zinc industry have been obliged to dispose of their by-products elsewhere. On the other hand, Eastern Upper Silesia could find no market for the sulphuric acid produced in large quantities. The position was particularly ridiculous as regards the water supply of the industrial area, because the new boundary severed the complicated water supply system, necessitating the construction of expensive new water-works on the German side. The same applies to the supply of electrical current to the industry and the towns; here, too, new power stations had to be constructed. The large town of Beuthen was cut off from its rural district by the creation of the new boundary line; of the eight roads starting from Beuthen, six lead to Poland and only two lead to Germany. In travelling from Beuthen to Hindenburg, a distance of 10 kilometres, it is necessary to cross the frontier by tramway twice. A number of new railways, tramway routes and roads had to be constructed. Individual villages were cut across the middle by the creation of the new boundary line, so that new administrative buildings, railway stations, warehouses, schools, etc., had to be constructed.

A traverse of the new frontier shows how absurd it is. Conforming to the old line, centuries old, have been established works and factories, dwelling-houses serving the industrial organizations, schools and hospitals serving the residential quarters. Houses are now separated from factories by the frontier control posts. There are repeated searches of workers by the Polish authorities in order to discover if perchance more than the scale quota of food ingredients are included in the middle day meal. Children are delayed for hours going to and from school by the control posts. Tramcars passing in and out of the frontier are locked, searched, and workers delayed. Thousands of workers cross to German Silesia daily from their homes to their usual work, and receive wages which are one hundred per cent. in advance of their comrades living upon the slave wages of the Polish administration. Children kick their footballs over the frontier from their playgrounds and risk the



EXTRAIT DU TRAITÉ

FRANCO-ALLEMAND 22<sup>ME</sup> MAI 1918

BYRONIEN - ROUPE

Article 100 d'accord pour cesser, à 11 heures, de jour, le huit heures à dater de ce jour, 1921, jusqu'au douze mai 1921, huit heures, sous les conditions formelles que toute action militaire ne soit entreprise pendant ce temps par les Allemands. Cet ordre est transmis à tout les points dépendant de ce groupe.

*J. H. Dreyfus*

D.P.T.

comme précédemment  
reçu  
Après réception

*E. H. Raison*  
Commissaire à l'Affaire

FACSIMILE OF ARMISTICE,  
SIGNED BY THE AUTHOR.

severities of international law, soldiery and officials if they dare to retrieve them. Rail waggons bringing sand for filling the mine seams now have to make long, uneconomic detours in order to avoid crossing the frontier, instead of going straight from the sand pits to the shaft. The numbers of unemployed, in consequence of the industrial and economic upheaval, have risen within German Silesia close to 140,000; while once prosperous Silesian families now in Polish territory have been beggared, their children reduced to anaemic skeletons, their clothing to rags, boots to sackcloth. The hewer of coal has lost 100 per cent. of his real wages, without taking into consideration, also, the benefits previously enjoyed by himself and his family in every department of domestic life; and now remains little better than a slave. Towering customs barriers have been erected, so that, for example, fruit with its high vitamin content and food values, especially to a mining population deprived of light by the incidence of their labour, is prohibitive in price to Polish Silesian workers; an orange, for example, costing one shilling, where across the border the German Silesian miner pays a penny or twopence.

The quiet serenity, almost a fatalism, of the German minority of all classes is truly noble in face of the ruthless methods of the Wojewoda and his satellites. There is cause for shame to all honest men who participated directly or indirectly in the committal of the Silesians to degradation so infamous, to economic absurdity which everywhere mocks its makers. The unrighteousness and the folly of the Partition are the only things which distinguish it. In America, with just cynicism, it might be said, "So this is 'self-determination.'"

#### WAGES.

The Upper Silesians have in the course of the centuries developed a close attachment to German culture; the division of Upper Silesia has delivered a million Upper Silesians to a civilization which is foreign to them and at a very far lower standard of development. The consequence, we observe, is naturally considerable cultural retrogression, accelerated by the economic conditions. Before the war, the Upper Silesian work-

man was entirely adjusted to the German rate of wages; the satisfaction of his needs, both material and spiritual, corresponded to that of the German workman in the Reich, and if the Upper Silesian industry did not keep pace with the rate of wages in Saxony, Berlin or Westphalia, he was at liberty to look for better earning possibilities there. Now, however, the Eastern Upper Silesian workman's wages have been reduced almost to the low level of the under-paid Polish workman. For example, average wages in the Eastern Upper Silesian mining industry amounted to :

(Gross wages, actual earnings, including workmen's insurance contribution, under-ground and overtime extras, rent, marriage and child allowance, value of coal supplied in kind and holiday compensation.)

	<i>For the under-ground workers.</i>			<i>For the entire staff.</i>	
1913	...	...	4.50 marks.	...	4.02 marks.
1927	...	...	4.04 „	...	3.82 „
1928 (9 months)			4.35 „	...	4.10 „

In contrast to the above, the corresponding figures for Western Upper Silesia were :—

	<i>For the under-ground workers.</i>			<i>For the entire staff.</i>	
1913	...	...	4.56 marks.	...	4.02 marks.
1927	...	...	6.96 „	...	6.71 „
1928	...	...	6.96 „	...	6.71 „

Thus, while wages have only reached 95.4% and 102% respectively of the pre-war rate in Eastern Upper Silesia, they are by 60% and 64% respectively higher in Western Upper Silesia and therefore exceed the pre-war level by 53% and 68% respectively. It should be observed, however, that the cost of living is lower in Poland than in Germany. But even if this difference is taken into consideration, there remains a great difference between real wages in Western and Eastern Upper Silesia. It is well known that industrial wages in Germany do not fluctuate far above the minimum living wage; but wages in Eastern Upper Silesia do not even reach this minimum by a considerable margin. It is difficult to believe that the young men and lads who participated in the Korfanty Putsch in 1921, now that they have reached years of discretion and can measure rightly for themselves the material results flowing from a change of paternal Government, are satisfied with the results promised.

## CHAPTER III.

## MINORITY QUESTION IN OUTLINE.

## POLISH COUPS D'ETATS.

THE draft of the Peace Treaty handed by the Allied Powers to the German Peace Delegation at Versailles provided for the surrender to Poland of the whole of Upper Silesia without a vote being taken, but Article 88 of the final Treaty of Versailles laid it down that the fate of Upper Silesia should be decided by a Plebiscite. The Poles immediately organized two revolts in an attempt to create a *fait accompli* in Upper Silesia, as they had succeeded in doing in the case of Posen, before the Plebiscite. Both these revolts failed, but led to an extraordinary intensification of the national conflict in Upper Silesia. Then, in February, 1920, the administration of the Plebiscite area was taken over by the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission, represented by England, France and Italy, supported by military forces, almost wholly French, and the Plebiscite took place on the 20th March, 1921, more than a year later.

The form and actual conditions of the Plebiscite certainly did not favour the German side, owing, above all, to the powerful French influence in the Plebiscite area. In spite of this, however, the result was a 60% majority for Germany, or 707,000 votes against 479,000. Moreover, had the population been informed that there was even a remote possibility of the territory being partitioned, without doubt, for family reasons, the vote would have been infinitely more favourable for Germany. As the fact, however, the Commission purposely reserved any definition of its ultimate purpose until the result of the Plebiscite itself was known. There was, too, the strong influence of French-Polish power and domination within the Plebiscite area, which influenced that part of the population of lower culture to follow and give

its adherence to what appeared to be the stronger side—in colloquial terms, “backing a winner.” Other influences were the religious issue, which is more fully discussed in a later chapter; and probably also the desire to escape from the incidence of war reparations, concerning which considerable play was made through propaganda. The towns and large townships voted overwhelmingly German; the important industrial area showed a strong German majority, and only in the country, particularly in the rural districts of Rybnik and Pless, did the Poles secure a preponderating majority.

The German demand that, in view of the German Plebiscite majority and the economic indivisibility of the territory, the whole of Upper Silesia should be left with Germany, was disregarded. But the Plebiscite Commission was also unable to agree as to the part of Upper Silesia to be awarded to Poland. The French representative, General Le Rond, who had piloted Korfanty's claims at Versailles, with inflexible consistency, favoured the far-reaching Polish demands, in accordance with his instructions. The British and the Italian representatives, however, were substantially of the opinion that only the districts of Pless and part of Rybnik could be justifiably assigned to Poland.

The Poles were very well informed of these differences within the Plebiscite Commission. Fearing that the Anglo-Italian point of view would prevail, they resorted for the third time to a revolt as a means of enforcing their demands. The political leader of the revolt was Korfanty, and one of its military leaders was Grazynski. The *Times* special correspondent, writing from Oppeln on 11th May, 1921, refers to “French partiality and unconcealed co-operation with the Polish cause.” To-day Grazynski is the Wojewoda, that is to say, the highest administrative official, of Polish Upper Silesia. The Polish revolt affected almost the whole of the territory claimed by Poland. Although brought to a standstill by the German defensive, of which I claim to have been the principal witness, since I personally conducted the negotiations with the German leaders and with the Bytom group of the Polish “army” resulting in the first armistice, the revolt achieved its political object.



## THE GENEVA AGREEMENT.

On the 20th October, 1921, the Council of Ambassadors, after prolonged deliberations and on the advice of the Council of the League of Nations, decided to divide Upper Silesia in such a manner that the greater and more valuable part of the industrial area was awarded to Poland. But, at the same time, the Council of Ambassadors imposed the obligation on Germany and Poland to come to an agreement designed "to ensure the continuity of Upper Silesia's economic life and the protection of national minorities." Signed in Geneva on the 15th May, 1922—and therefore usually referred to as the "Geneva Agreement"—this Agreement, which incidentally is longer than the Treaty of Versailles and comprises no fewer than 606 Articles, is valid for a period of fifteen years, that is to say, until 1937; and Part III. of the Agreement, comprising Articles 64 to 158, concerns exclusively the protection of national minorities.

Not only did the Agreement itself come into being through the mediation of the Council of the League of Nations, but the Council of the League of Nations is also permanently the supreme Court of Appeal in cases of breach of the Agreement. The observance of the Agreement is supervised on the spot by a Mixed Commission with headquarters in Upper Silesia, under the chairmanship of a neutral, at present President Calonder. Minority bureaux established by both countries submit any applications of the minorities to the Chairman for adjudication in the first instance.

That is the legal position. It is thus characterized by the fact that very detailed provisions have been made concerning the protection of national minorities and that international courts have been provided for to decide in case of disputes.

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THE PROBLEM OF SILESIAN NATIONALITY.

Now, before going into the question as to how far this Agreement affords protection in practice to the minority rights of Germans or Poles in Upper Silesia, a few observations must be made with regard to the problem of nationalities in Upper Silesia in general.

As is so often the case in the East of Europe, there is in Upper Silesia no clear, and, above all, no racial definition between the nationalities. Politically separated from Poland for 750 years, Upper Silesia has been opened up, both economically and culturally, by Germany. The result of these German influences is not only a high percentage of Germans among the indigenous population, and the development of a distinct dialect—the so-called “water Polish”—interspersed with many German words, but they have also imprinted on the country the mark of German culture. Polish national tendencies were first imported to this territory from Posen during the last decades before the war. But they have only shaken the influence of German culture to a negligible extent. It is a significant fact that, in the Plebiscite of 1921, hundreds of thousands of Upper Silesians of non-German speech gave their votes in favour of Germany.

In any case, national consciousness in the narrower sense is in a comparatively early stage of development in Upper Silesia even to-day. The Silesian is first a Silesian. In the second place, his sympathies for Germany or for Poland are determined by economic, religious and cultural considerations. It was mainly due to promises of an economic nature that Poland succeeded at the Plebiscite in securing the votes of a minority for Poland.

Again, it is significant that many thousands of Poles had migrated from Poland to the Rhenish provinces in Germany for work in the coal mines, preferring the higher standard of life and culture offered by German organization.

But how a strong cultural attachment to Germany has remained to this day in the part of Upper Silesia assigned to Poland, is illustrated by the strenuous campaign carried on by “the German minority” in Upper Silesia, and, seeing that the economic promises of the Poles have not been realized, there are strong reasons to doubt whether even 40% of the votes would again be cast in favour of Poland if a fresh Plebiscite were taken in Upper Silesia to-day. The results obtained in 1921 were secured under stress of the Korfanty *coup d'état*, aided and abetted by the French, who had financial and military interests to serve, and not least under pressure of threats and promises, made to a largely ignorant

population, and by propaganda directed towards arousing fierce passions and the baser emotions of acquisitiveness.

#### SCHOOLS AND LANGUAGE, THE BASIS OF MINORITY RIGHTS.

The basis of all minority rights are schools and language. The Geneva Agreement recognizes this and contains in Articles 97 to 133 detailed provisions concerning the establishment by both parties of minority schools, private and elementary, as well as secondary. The principle underlying these provisions is that minority classes or schools must be established if there is a suitable number of applications. The applications are to be made by the parents or guardians, who are to make a declaration concerning the child's native tongue. This declaration—in the exact words of the Agreement—must not be either investigated or disputed. This important provision expresses the basic principle of the modern conception of minority rights, according to which, adherence to a minority is essentially a matter for personal, subjective decision. With reference to the question of language, mentioned in these provisions of the Geneva Agreement, circumstances in Upper Silesia are somewhat complicated by the fact that the speech of the population is not partly German and partly Polish, but that the great majority of the inhabitants speak the local dialect (Wasser-Polnisch), and more, or less, German. It is, therefore, difficult to decide in practice the purely pedagogic question whether a child is better able, by reason of its vocabulary, to follow German or Polish instruction, and this circumstance has enabled the Polish educational authorities to impose, in open breach of the intentions of the Geneva Agreement, the greatest difficulties to the admission of children to the German minority schools.

As international public opinion, owing, probably, to the numerous complaints lodged with the Council of the League of Nations, became better acquainted with the heavy oppression of the Germans in Polish Upper Silesia, the Poles have, in turn, attempted to make complaints concerning the position of the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia. It must be said that there is much misleading propaganda in regard to the figures relating to the number of minority schools existing in Polish Upper

Silesia and the number existing in German Upper Silesia. From the fact that the German elementary schools in the Polish part have an attendance of approximately 20,000, while the Polish elementary schools in the German part only have an attendance of about 800, the conclusion is drawn that Poland meets her obligations under the Geneva Agreement more conscientiously than does Germany. This conclusion is entirely erroneous. If the Poles do not possess more schools in German Upper Silesia, it is due to the fact that they do not want to have more schools. On the contrary, the German Government has carried its tolerance in this matter so far as to permit Polish minority schools to continue even long after the number of scholars had dropped below normal, and even when they stood almost empty.

The German population of Polish Upper Silesia has been carrying on a campaign for years, at the cost of considerable sacrifices, for German schools, and this campaign is being met with vexations and repressions on the part of the Polish authorities and with vindictiveness and maltreatment on the part of Germanophobe chauvinists. If the just demands of the Germans of Polish Upper Silesia were carried out loyally, there would have to be at least double the present number of German minority schools in Upper Silesia.

#### POLISH AND GERMAN EDUCATION CONTRASTED.

I think I may claim to possess some special qualification, not as a pedagogue, but after several years of co-operation with educational authority, for enquiry into educational administration. I had been informed by Polish authorities that the Germans scarcely permitted the existence of minority schools within German Silesian territory, and that only four or five such schools existed, whereas within Polish territory the clemency of the Polish Government encouraged a large number of German schools.

In a study of this question one must bear in mind that from the British point of view Poland possesses no "middle class," that is, a class engaged as artisans, foremen of works, in administration, clerical occupations, in the distributing services, and so forth. The population of Poland is represented roughly by an



WOJCIECH KORFANTY,  
*Former Champion of Silesian Autonomy.*



aristocratic class comprising about ten per cent. of the population, the remainder, with the exception of the large numbers of Jews, being almost wholly engaged as peasants in agriculture, or as labourers in the lowest grades in industry. The older Polish ruling class must be held responsible for the non-education of the people, comparable to an England of the pre-Reformation period. Perhaps the argument may have been that for a population engaged almost wholly in manual labour in the fields and in the mines, education was an unnecessary expense and embarrassment: be that as it may. The German migrants, however, had sprung from districts highly industrialised, in which learning was an essential concomitant to industrial and scientific development and expansion. As the result the development of Silesia was carried out especially by those elements eager for culture and education in its widest sense, namely, the Germans, who deeply impressed a desire for cultural improvement upon the inhabitants. The remarkable industrial expansion of Upper Silesia has been due to a German urge, while in Poland itself, across the frontier, neither culture nor industrial undertakings showed any evidence of development. Since the Partition in 1921, following the Plebiscite, the German schools in that part of the territory ceded to Poland have been continued with their customary vigour, equipping young people for happier and more progressive positions in industry, despite irksome restrictions imposed upon the German minority by the Polish Administration. In German Silesia, on the other hand, without any similar urge from the Poles, the purely Polish schools have declined both in number and in students. Even those of more markedly Polish characteristics, origin and habit, seem to prefer the education provided by the German schools, equipping them better, as it obviously does, for a place in the higher grades of industry and commerce. If one can picture an England of the Reformation period, there is some analogy to a twentieth century Poland, while the German educational system provides a parallel to our own. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Silesian parents in the great majority prefer to send their children to schools which will the better equip them for life, and that within Polish Silesia those of even remote German origin and culture strive to send their children to the German schools.

The argument in the preceding paragraphs is fully supported by Dr. Roman Dyboski, Professor in the University of Krakow, and sometime Lecturer on Polish History and Literature in the University of London. In a very informative contribution to "The Twentieth Century in the Making," published by the Encyclopædia Britannica Company, he demonstrates the growth of national unity in Poland and how the "Polish Party of Socialists endeavoured to unite the class aims of modern industrial labour with the national ideals of the Polish race in one revolutionary programme." In practice, he said, "the activities of these revolutionaries outwardly amounted to little but a campaign of bomb outrages and armed assaults . . . The foremost worker in the new movement, Joseph Pilsudski, was to become the first chief of the new Polish State." It is not surprising that similar methods were employed by Pilsudski's chief henchman, M. Korfanty, in 1921; while General Zeligowski, by armed assault, seized Vilna from Lithuania, as additional evidence of Polish adherence to the Treaty, which at the cost of nearly a million British lives gave her independence! Dr. Dyboski emphasizes the feudal character of the Polish state, and describes how, as has been shown, the Jews, almost alone, constitute a middle class for the purposes of trade and commerce. The Jews represent one-ninth of the population. "They are centred all over the country in proportions varying from one per cent. in western to eighty per cent. in eastern towns, and amount to from thirty to forty per cent. in the large cities of Central Poland; they still hold practically a monopoly of trade, especially in the smaller provincial towns, and thereby impede the much-needed growth of a solid Polish middle class, in which Poland is sadly deficient."

It is no purpose of this monograph to suggest in what manner the Polish rulers can promote a middle class, but obviously education is the first step. If education has been denied to the Polish peasants in the past, or, owing to long habit, the people have not sought it, it is not surprising that the German migrants with an instinct for commerce, possessed also of the habit of culture and education, have set up their own schools conforming to German technique and curriculum; and that, in consequence, the Silesians prefer attendance therein.



The writer has every sympathy with Polish aspirations, has written also in the past with profound admiration of the Polish peasants. He realizes also that the State of Poland is hedged between Soviet Russia and a strong, highly industrial Germany of which the Polish governing classes are afraid. Great Britain's interest would seem to be to support Poland financially in order that upon the basis of reciprocity of trade a growing market can be developed, but any such financial help should be conditional upon a wholesome and determined attempt on the part of the Polish people to raise the standard of life within its borders and to discontinue the methods of violence which, since the war, and her own foundation of an independent State, Poland has directed against her neighbours.

#### SOME EXAMPLES.

A few examples will illustrate the manner in which the campaign in the educational field is being carried on against the German minority in Upper Silesia.

In May and June, 1926, nearly 9,000 children applied in Upper Silesia for admission to German minority schools. The Polish school authorities, in open contravention of the Geneva Agreement, investigated the applications, subsequently declaring that 7,000 of them were out of order. Police and judicial penalties were inflicted on parents who refused to send their children to Polish schools. This case has repeatedly engaged the attention of the President of the Mixed Commission in Upper Silesia and the Council of the League of Nations, and in spite of the compromise usual in such disputes before international courts, the illegality of the Polish procedure has been clearly established. But it is most unfortunate that even a decision of the Council of the League of Nations in favour of the German minority does not ensure in practice that the complaints will be remedied. The Polish authorities, we regret to say, seem determined to find ways and means of preventing the admission of German children to the minority schools. An interesting insight into the practices of the authorities is afforded by the large number of complaints lodged with the Council of the League of Nations by the German National Union for Upper Silesia at the end of 1928. It appears from these that, by order of the Polish school authorities, applications

for admission before the commencement of a new school-year are made first in respect of Polish schools, and a few weeks later in respect of German schools. In the interval the parents are canvassed by private Polish organizations with a view to persuading them not to send their children to the minority schools. If application for admission to the German school is delayed beyond the time limit, the child is compelled to attend a Polish school. The parents must make the application in person, and are always asked the name of their employer. The object of this question must obviously be to induce the employer to dismiss an employee or workman who sends his child to a minority school. Proof is available that this has actually occurred in many cases. It is not to be wondered at that such pressure, and even worse, has succeeded in reducing the number of applications for admission to the German minority schools in Polish Upper Silesia to a considerable extent— $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the school children in the school-year 1927-28. But we are obliged to agree with the German deputy Pant, who, in the Upper Silesian Sejm on the 28th February, 1928, pointed to "the forcible measures by which this figure of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  was arrived at, the tears that have been shed, the injustices committed, the hatred and revolt engendered in those who were compelled to yield to brute force."

The endeavours of the Polish authorities are, however, not restricted to preventing attendance at the German minority schools; they are also directed to depriving these schools of their character as minority schools by eliminating to a considerable extent the teachers belonging to the minority. This applies to the elementary, as well as to the secondary, schools of the minority. It has happened in numerous cases that male and female teachers of these schools were arbitrarily dismissed and replaced by Poles whose knowledge of the German language was often very defective. In 1928, for instance, only twenty-five of the eighty two masters of German elementary schools in Polish Upper Silesia belonged to the German minority.

The German schools are also placed at a disadvantage with regard to management. They receive fewer and worse school-rooms than the Polish schools, and are even frequently obliged to defer the classes until the afternoon.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS COUNCIL MEETING 41

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COUNCIL MEETING, DECEMBER, 1928.

It is just in connection with the school question that the Germans of Polish Upper Silesia have frequently availed themselves of their right to lodge complaints with the President of the Mixed Commission and with the Council of the League of Nations. This has caused extreme bitterness on the Polish side, which finally found expression in the speech of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs at the sitting of the Council of the League of Nations in December, 1928, in which he went so far as to reproach the German National Union in Upper Silesia with high treason. There seems to be no evidence in support of such charges. German nationals certainly are not happy under the irritating restrictions imposed; but they comport themselves with a sense of good citizenship, obviously not without protest, in circumstances of prolonged humiliation and annoyance. It would appear that the real cause of Polish irritation is to be found in the fact that the German complaints have been the means of revealing many illegal actions upon the part of the Polish authorities.

It must be emphasised in this connection that the admission of their complaints by the Council of the League of Nations does not by any means always help the German Minority in practice. Even if such a decision is carried out loyally by the Polish authorities, the whole procedure is so protracted that the closing of a German school or the dismissal of German teachers has become an accomplished fact in the meantime. Apart from that, the Polish authorities always contrive to find ways and means to create fresh difficulties for the German minority.

## RELIGION.

What has been said with regard to schools in Polish Upper Silesia also applies to the position of the Germans from a religious point of view. The Germans of Upper Silesia are preponderatingly Catholic, and we should assume that a Catholic state such as is Poland would treat Catholic Germans with benevolence. But the opposite appears to be the case. With the aid of a politically-minded clergy, a campaign is waged against the Germans, especially in Polish Upper Silesia, within the Catholic Church.

German Catholic priests and teachers of religion have been removed and German sermons and services cancelled in many cases. The terrorism of the so-called Revolutionary Union which operates permanently in Upper Silesia, and of which the Wojewoda Grazynski himself is a member, was continued even up to the point of breaking up the Papal festivities of German Catholics in Bielschowitz in April, 1927.

#### MINORITY COMPLAINTS.

The complain of the German National Union of Polish Upper Silesia, which was before the Council of the League of Nations in the autumn of 1928, gives some idea, perhaps inadequate, of the conditions prevailing. Seventy-five cases of the most brutal terrorism, for the most part bomb outrages, against members of the German Minority were enumerated in this complaint. This terrorism does not even stop before the parliamentary representatives of the German minority. Nearly all the German deputies have been attacked or have had attempts made on their life. Thus the deputy Franz was very seriously assaulted in Gieraltowitz on the 6th November, 1927. Terrorism of this kind is only made possible by the tolerance of the authorities, and the negligence with which the police proceed in these matters, the leniency shown by authority in the case of crimes of this character, prove that the German minority of Upper Silesia is not even assured of the most elementary rights of a modern state, those of protection of life and equality before the law.

The object of this systematic terrorism is, naturally, to exterminate the German Minority as far as possible, whether by means of emigration or by means of absorption. The authorities are not diffident in the exercise of strong pressure on industrial undertakings in order to obtain the dismissal of German engineers, employees and workmen. There seems to be proof that in some cases respite for the payment of taxes, location of railway wagons, and replies to inquiries at Government Departments were made conditional upon the dismissal of German employees.

There is something heroic in the fact that the Germans of Polish Upper Silesia are able to assert themselves at all in these circumstances. The British people, always ready to support the

cause of the oppressed, and desirous for what we term fair play, cannot fail to be eager in their demand that oppression shall cease. We possess a social consciousness which for generations has set its face against slavery and subjection. We shall not, assuredly, tolerate, or be a party, to oppression and tyranny in an age which has given birth to new principles of self-determination and of freedom. Yet it is true that the German minority is threatened with deliberate extermination, as illustrated by the municipal elections of the 14th November, 1926. Undisguised oppression prevented the German electioneering propaganda almost wholly at that time, and it was therefore even impossible to establish German electoral registers. In spite of this fact, however, nearly half of the votes appeared on the German registers, and in the towns and the industrial area the German majority amounted, according to Polish official statistics, to 56%. It is sufficiently characteristic of the Polish authorities that the municipal council of Kattowitz with its German majority was dissolved administratively soon afterwards, and replaced by a commission with a Polish majority.

Bearing in mind these facts, it seems clear that the Polish attempts to describe the fate of the Germans in Polish Upper Silesia as favourable, and to complain of the misery of the Poles of German Upper Silesia, is a transparent manœuvre with the object of clouding the true issue. The present Polish complaints from the German part of Upper Silesia mostly concern paltry matters; the Council of the League of Nations has already had to deal with the case of a booking clerk who called upon a woman to ask for her railway ticket in German. Apart from that, and in contrast with Polish Upper Silesia, the German police and judicial authorities take energetic measures whenever the Polish minority really has just cause for complaint. And finally, if the Poles and the Press accessible to them, especially in Paris, like to point out that nearly 20,000 children attend the minority schools in Polish Upper Silesia, while not even 1,000 children attend Polish schools in German Upper Silesia, the facts are true, but the explanation supplied by the Poles is wholly misleading. And for this reason, namely, that the Poles of German Upper Silesia do not desire more schools. The German Government permits more minority

schools to exist than obligated under the terms of the Geneva Agreement. Restrictions and vexations in Polish Upper Silesia, on the other hand, prevent a very large number of German children from attending German schools in accordance with the wishes of their parents.

The causes of this difference in pressing for minority schools are of an economic and cultural character. The same factors appear here as in the case of the political elections. In Germany the Minorities, with few exceptions, vote with the German parties, because they have no particular minority claims, and, on the contrary, consider their position as a minority as satisfactory. In Poland, however, the Minorities carry on a bitter struggle, at the elections also, for the rights withheld from them, hence the extraordinarily high percentage of minority members in the Polish Sejm, whereas not a single minority representative is sitting either in the German Reichstag or the Prussian Landtag. It is adequately clear from this fact alone on which side the Minorities consider themselves at a disadvantage and as being restricted in their rights, and this applies to both parts of Upper Silesia, as well as to the whole of Germany and Poland.

From what I have observed personally and from the evidence which has been contributed to me, during my recent return visit, I am unable to give credence to the complaints alleged on behalf of the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia.

#### THE POWER OF PROPAGANDA.

In these days no business man can be wholly unfamiliar with the methods and technique of propaganda. In my considered judgment trivial differences of opinion are cleverly manufactured until the final product presents the appearance of a *casus belli*. Polish *agents provocateurs* are always as ready as they were in the service of M. Korfanty during 1920-21 to provoke dissension and revolt in the minds of citizens of remote Polish origin, both in the political and industrial spheres, with the defined object of producing a dangerous irridenta. Small village grievances are magnified and irritated until, by the process of uneducated gossip, by rumour insidiously introduced, they assume the proportions of grave scandal, and simple truth is lost in a welter of falsehood and partisan passion.

Propaganda can be a service of such potentiality in the promotion of peace and culture that those who are familiar with its processes can only remain shocked that it is being utilized as a weapon for the purpose of arousing the passions of peasants and workers, whose economic prosperity and cultural happiness lie in the peaceful pursuits in agriculture, in the mine, the factory and the workshop. Without question, also, as can be testified by the International Labour Office at Geneva, both the prosperity and cultural level of the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia is very much higher than that of the Poles engaged in similar occupations within Poland herself. Those, like myself, who have compared the villages, housing conditions, standards of life and amenities of workmen and artisans within both territories cannot fail to have remarked a difference, almost as tragic as it is astonishing.

It is my considered opinion that, left to themselves, without the incessant irritation of propaganda which disturbs their minds, the Polish minority would be happily absorbed and engaged in industry with a very favourable standard of life.

## CHAPTER IV.

# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE MINORITY QUESTION.

### THE MIXED COMMISSION.

**A**S has been noted previously, Minority questions and complaints are dealt with in the first instance (Article 149, Geneva Convention) by the Mixed Commission, under the Presidency of M. Calonder, formerly President of the Swiss Republic. It consists also of two German and two Polish members. The President of the Mixed Commission has more than once been violently attacked in the Polish Press, but anyone familiar with the President's earlier experience of life, and the decisions which he has made, will agree that he has shown complete impartiality. He is neither pro-German nor pro-Polish, but pro-Minority, with, if anything, a tendency to lend a ready ear to the complaints of the Polish minority in Germany, due to their relative weakness, lower standard of culture and comparative ineptitude to present a case.

### APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE.

The Mixed Commission has no executive power and results from its work depend alone upon the goodwill of the State. The Commission can therefore achieve nothing other than the publication of the President's decisions (*Avis*), and the Minorities then hope that they will be upheld by the Council of the League of Nations. But, in any case, there is great delay in the hearing of complaints, which often drag on for several years. The result is that the complaint ceases to be actual and becomes theoretical, while those who have made the complaint continue to be subjected to all kinds of petty annoyances.



Under the terms of the Geneva Convention the League of Nations intervenes in minority questions in various ways. The general procedure is that a minority question comes before the Council of the League only when a member of the Council takes it up. In Upper Silesia every member of the Minority can appeal directly to the League Council (Article 147); while an appeal may also be made to the Council in the course of the procedure before the Mixed Commission. The procedure before the Mixed Commission is: that an "Avis," that is, a recommendation, by the Mixed Commission is sent to the Government concerned for its necessary action. If the Government does not accept the "Avis," then appeal may be made direct to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva. The Government concerned, however, by procrastination, can nullify the work of the Mixed Commission; but if the Minority which has suffered injustice presses the case to the Council of the League, then it is the duty of the Council to deal with it. But the Council itself will not admit that injustices are done. As a matter of practice, too, it is quite impossible for the League to deal with the Minority question either in principle or in detail: and for this reason, namely, that two of the most prominent members of the Council are France and Italy, with their own very definite minority problems. Neither the French nor the Italian Foreign Ministers could be expected to declare in favour of ventilating publicly the whole question of minorities, in principle, when each in his capacity as Foreign Minister is responsible for silencing, or camouflaging, the complaints made by the Alsations and the Austrian Tyrolese respectively, as minorities within the new territories acquired by France and Italy under the Treaty of Versailles. The resolutions of the Council must be taken unanimously. It will be understood, therefore, that it is impossible to obtain a juridical decision from a board which from its very nature is a political one.

The practice of the Council is to refer minority questions to one of its members. It has been in the hands of the Columbian delegate, who can hardly be interested in, or have any knowledge of, the subject, and now is in charge of the Japanese Ambassador in Paris, who, however willing, can scarcely be expected to

acquaint himself with the details of the problem within two or three days.

It will be seen, therefore, that though machinery exists for the hearing of complaints, there is no instrument effective to carry out the recommendations.

Some further details both as to the history of Silesia and as to specific instances of injustice and pressure will show that the problem, in its inception, is misunderstood and consequently some more effective procedure and machinery is needed, if the rights of minorities are to be protected.

#### RELIGION, THE BASIS OF THE SILESIAN PROBLEM.

As has been explained in an earlier section, the Polish strain in Silesia came under the influence of German culture introduced by emigrants from the West who came at the invitation of the Piasten (small princes). With the emigrants came also large numbers of monks, who established monasteries and centres of culture and learning throughout Silesia. In the twelfth century, therefore, these small territories ruled by the Piasten with a mandate from the King of Poland under the feudal system were politically Polish, and culturally, and in religion, German. Since 1335 Poland has had no political connection with Silesia. At this date was concluded the Treaty of Trencin. With the exception, therefore, of the Franco-Spanish frontier, the pre-Plebiscite frontier in Upper Silesia was the oldest in Europe.

The Silesian question is less than fifty years old. It was promoted by the fight between the German Catholics and Bismarck. The Polish Catholics in Posen, which was certainly Polish, were oppressed by the Prussians; and, as Catholics, they looked to the Silesians for assistance.

But it must be made quite clear that while the fight of the inhabitants of Posen with the Prussian Government was both political and religious, that in Silesia at its outset was religious alone. Members of the German community in Silesia speak with high approval of the fight made by the Polish inhabitants of Posen. In Silesia, during the process of years, the religious question became intermingled with political objectives, and the question assumed also a political aspect. When Poland achieved

its independence through the Treaty of Versailles, a movement in Poland commenced for the purpose of establishing a State Church. During 150 years the Poles had fought both against Russia, as well as against Prussia, for the maintenance of their national institutions. These institutions had their basis in the Catholic religion which separated them from both adversaries. The conception, therefore, of a Catholic Poland became fundamental to the new political Poland. The new State identified itself with Catholicism, and considered that not only should both State and Church be closely associated, but also that the Church should be a pendant from the State. The Concordat between the Holy Seat and Poland dating from 1925 gives a wider latitude to the matter of State interference in religious questions than any other similar Concordat. The influence of the State is therefore much stronger, too, in view of the fact that religious culture had not been developed in Poland because the former Russian Government, as a deliberate policy, had suppressed it. The Church, therefore, rests financially upon the State and its work is coloured by the political necessities of the Government.

Without entering into questions of Catholic organization, it may be explained that the German Catholics enjoyed spiritual freedom under the leadership of Rome; while the Polish Catholics have been gathered within State Church control, the organization and direction of which is centred in Warsaw under the suzerainty of, and appeal to, Rome. The political objective, therefore, in Poland directs Church policy, and spiritual freedom does not exist. This religious organization accounts, therefore, for the domination of Church and parish priests by the Wojewoda of Kattowitz, for the replacement of German parish priests by Polish Chauvinists, and for the control of education, culture, emotion and spiritual development among the people by politicians. What was therefore formerly only a resentment upon religious grounds by Silesians, as part of the German body politic, against the Bismarckian-Prussian control, was utilized for political purposes by the French as the basis for the Plebiscite. It may be remembered in passing that the French Government itself some years ago suppressed the Catholic Church in France, closing monasteries and religious institutions, so that the French Government cannot

claim to have any interest whatsoever in the survival, let alone the freedom, of Catholicism in Silesia. The French purpose alone was political and military; and the strong personality of M. Korfanty largely dominates these issues. M. Korfanty is cultured, independent of view, an idealist with supreme confidence in his own judgment, and capable of persuading himself that his leadership is always for the best. It is clear that M. Korfanty saw in the principle of self-determination a possibility of Silesian autonomy and freedom from Prussian control for Silesian Catholicism. At Paris, Silesian autonomy became engulfed in the avaricious military and industrial conceptions of France, whose intention was, through the instrument of the Polish Government in Warsaw, politically to control Upper Silesia whether Catholicism existed or not. That it did exist with the enthusiasm born of oppression, alike among the original Silesian inhabitants and the tens of thousands of German emigrants, admirably suited the French political purpose. The religious question provided at once a propaganda platform upon which to build.

The result of the vote constituted a six to four majority in favour of Germany. Despite Polish terrorism and the bribery and corruption during the elections in 1928 by the Government Party, the vote in Polish Upper Silesia for the Parliament in Warsaw was forty-two per cent. German. Without doubt, given political peace, this vote would be considerably higher.

#### THE MINORITY A POLITICAL DANGER ?

The German Minority in Silesia is regarded by the Polish Government as a political danger. Poland fears that the frontier question will be raised again. There are no statistics available as to the number of Germans, or those who prefer adherence to the new German conception with religious freedom, cultural education, and higher standards of life. On the evidence of all classes of the community German sympathies predominate over Polish, despite large numbers of importations. Silesians bitterly resent the importation of officials of non-Silesian origin from the East; while were it not for the wholesale corruption of the Wojewoda and the terror of his illegal insurgents, there is little doubt that elections would be overwhelmingly in favour of

Germany, most certainly in favour of an autonomous Upper Silesia. The position of M. Korfanty himself is the best evidence in proof of this statement. In addition, the wages of the workmen have fallen to starvation level. Medical authorities can contribute the best possible evidence as to the decline in standard of life ; while liberty, as we understand it, has been subordinated to Eastern conceptions of control, wholly foreign to the Silesian people.

## A TRIPARTITE TERROR.

The Polish Government, determined upon the extermination of the German Minority as such, directs its activities, therefore, chiefly against the minority schools, against German officials in industry, and against German parish priests. There are 20,000 children attending the German minority elementary schools ; and this number constitutes only ten per cent. of the school attendance between the ages of six and fourteen. Were it not for the difficulties placed in the way of parents, having in mind the average number in each family and the German vote in the Sejm, it is probable that at least 80,000 children would attend the minority schools, apart from the great number of indigenous Polish parents who would desire the advantage of the higher culture offered by the German schools. The Geneva Agreement is not clear, judicially, upon the question of right of a parent to send a child to a minority school. Any fair-minded person would declare that the subjective right is the true determination. The Hague decision of March, 1927, is unfortunate in that it gives to the authorities not the right, but the practical possibility, of making investigations, that is, that the parent is deprived of subjective choice, and the language test in the child itself is made the desideratum. The language test itself alone is unfair, in that, as we know even in our own country villages, dialects are assimilated by children, and the children of German-speaking parents will first with their village playmates assimilate "Wasser-Polnisch." But beyond the language test, the Hague decision introduces and permits a system of pressure and of terror which the Polish Administration fully exploits for the purpose of exterminating the minority schools and of removing the minority question.

The Hague, no more than can the League of Nations, is unable to deal with this question except with prejudice to the national interests and political problems of those who compose the Court.

#### EXAMPLES OF PRESSURE.

The authorities claim the right, therefore, to make investigations. A minority school must be erected if there is a demand by the parents of a minimum of forty children. The Convention permits a written, or an oral, declaration to this effect. The Polish Government will only allow an oral declaration before a Commission set up for the purpose.

Parents are obliged to appear before this Commission, consisting of a school teacher, the chief of the local administration, and a Government administration official, all of whom owe their appointments to Wojewoda. Before the Commission, the parents undergo a cross-examination. They are requested to state their reasons why they desire their children to attend a minority school. It is pointed out then by pressure that they are citizens of Poland and eat Polish bread, and suggestions are made that they should relinquish their desire. If adamant, however, the parents are questioned as to the nature of their employment; and since the Polish Government has compelled businesses to employ Polish directors and managers, the parent who persists is in danger of being thrown out of work, while other pressures through a priest, or by the withdrawal of privileges, are brought to bear. Another method is as follows: It is ordered, for example, that declarations for attendance at the minority school shall be made between the hours of nine and eleven upon certain days. The Polish Commission then wastes the allotted two hours with irrelevant business or by brow-beating one of the parents; and the remainder, who have suffered loss of wages already by attendance, are informed that it is too late to hear their declarations. In short, in defiance of the provisions of the Agreement, it is made as arduous as possible for parents to send their children to the minority schools.

#### POLISH MINORITY SCHOOLS.

The Polish minority schools in German Silesia provide a very different picture. The Germans have been anxious to show an



MICHAL GRAZYNSKI,  
*The Wojewoda of Silesia.*





ample fulfilment of the conditions imposed. There are, in fact, only about 800 children attending the Polish minority schools. Under the terms of the Convention at least forty children are required as a minimum to form a school. Rather than incur any charge of unfairness the Germans have preferred to keep open schools for even so few as six or seven Polish children. The Polish schools in German Silesia conform to the German pattern and teach the minority language. As has been shown in a previous section, the reason why Silesian or Polish parents in German Silesia do not send their children to Polish minority schools is due to the fact that Silesian culture is German. In consequence, uplift in the cultural or economic plane proceeds best from education in the German schools. The suggestion made by the Polish Government that the Germans exert pressure upon the Poles to prevent them from attending minority schools is entirely false; and the obvious facts from past history and present administration are witness of the truth.

#### EXAMPLE OF POLISH MINORITY EDUCATION IN GERMAN SILESIA.

Whereas within Polish Silesia every obstacle is placed in the way of parents wishing to send their children to minority schools, the conditions are wholly different within German territory. As must be realized, the question of children's education in the "Mutter Sprache," and of the maintenance of national culture throughout the schools, and during the most impressionable years of life, is fundamental to the existence of a minority. The Polish administration by means of pressure and of terror is making every effort to exterminate the minority by exerting such pressure upon the parents of children and upon the children themselves. The German minority schools in Poland are not unsatisfactory so far as curriculum and general administration is concerned. There is evidence, too, that the system of terror reflects itself in the temper of the teacher. Polish schoolboys are incited to ostracize the children attending the minority schools, with the result that the major tyranny of the Wojewoda is translated into terms of abuse and petty annoyance by Polish schoolboys towards German children. For example, as can be invariably observed, children

travelling by train to the schools in carriages specially reserved for the purpose are invariably Polish, and the small percentage of German minority children travel in other carriages among the ordinary passengers for fear of interference. The deliberate policy of social segregation by pressure passes, therefore, from Polish school teachers to the children, who pursue it among those of similar age to themselves.

In German Silesia, on the other hand, a completely different system prevails. Although the number of minority schools is far less for reasons which have been stated, and in spite of the fact also that the Polish minority schools themselves consist sometimes only of two or three students, the education itself is faithfully carried out, while the students of both schools often utilize the same building and have a common playground. A typical example is provided by the town of Hindenburg, with 128,000 inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in mining operations, and which town during the period of the Plebiscite was the scene of considerable propaganda accompanied by violence. I paid a surprise visit without notice to the Zaborze School. The building itself compares very favourably with any school building in England. I first visited the minority school, which is conducted in the same building as the German school. The students numbered twenty-three, between the ages of seven and fourteen, both boys and girls. The school teacher is a Silesian. He was conducting reading lessons in higher Polish, that is, the Polish language as spoken in Poland, being vastly different from "Wasser-Polnisch," as will be shown by example. The children were well dressed, scrupulously clean, as was the schoolroom itself, and bright, polite and intelligent. The curriculum posted in the schoolroom showed that only three hours during the week, out of 32 hours devoted to all subjects, were given to the teaching of the German language. Yet at a German reading lesson that followed, the children were able to read and speak good grammatical German from the Gothic caligraphy. The children also sang in harmony a Polish national song under the leadership of the teacher.

I next visited a German school in the same building, and attended a class for boys of fourteen years of age. These boys,

compared with those of similar age in Polish Silesia, were healthy, well-proportioned, of good stature, scrupulously clean, well clothed in good suits and woollen underclothing. The number in the class was thirty-four, under a teacher of the best possible type. With the exception of four, the names of all the boys were obviously of Polish extraction, though their pre-names, that is, Christian names, were, except for two or three, invariably German, demonstrating again how German Christian culture in past ages has penetrated the original Silesian stock. With the exception of three, these were all the sons of miners working in the neighbouring German Silesian pits. The appearance of the children in both the Polish minority and the German schools, working side by side, provided a vivid contrast to the pitiful state of the ragged, often dirty, under-nourished children in the Polish mining villages. I am able to speak with some authority in this matter, since I have had opportunity of examining a great many miners' children, especially in connection with the origination of the well-known Sherwood Colliery Demonstration under the chairmanship of Sir Bruce Bruce-Porter, conducted by eminent British medical men.

At play the children of both schools meet together, and the language used most often is the original "Mutter Sprache" of all the children, namely, "Wasser-Polnisch." In order to demonstrate how vastly different this language is from the Polish of Poland, hereunder is given a common and simple example:—

*English* : Where do you live?

*German* : Wo wohnt Ihr?

*High Polish* : Gdzie Wy mieszkacie?

*Wasser-Polnisch* : Kaj wasza Sztuba?

The school teachers are instructed not to interfere in any way with the speech of the children. If any school teacher should be detected in interfering with the children playing together, or with utilizing their "Mutter Sprache," the teacher is liable to instant dismissal. This again is in complete contrast to the method employed in the Polish schools, where the teachers are tools of the Wojewoda, carrying his political policy into school life, with

the planned purpose of fomenting strife between the nationals, and with terrorizing individually the German children by means of the excited mass.

Other benefits provided equally for both German school children and those of the Polish minority are free issue of warm clothing for those of poor or widowed parents, free dentistry, and bi-annual medical inspection.

The example here provided is typical of the other Polish minority schools. The Schulrat, that is, Chief Education Officer, for the district, I could observe, is upon equal terms of courtesy and friendship towards both the German and Polish school teachers, with lively interest in the welfare of the school children, regardless of majority or minority.

That the Polish minority Volksschule in German Silesia are infinitely higher than similar elementary schools in Poland itself is due to two causes: firstly, their German cultural basis; and, secondly, the infinitely higher standard of life of the German Silesian miners compared with the Polish Silesian miners, which permits the children to attend school, coming from good homes, properly nourished and clothed, and, in consequence, capable of assimilating a higher culture and learning.

As has been observed, without obligation but in extension of the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the German Government maintains minority schools even where, as in the case of the Hindenburg school quoted above, for example, the numbers are less than the requirements of the Convention (forty children). There seems to be a general tendency on the part of the Polish minority to send their children for preference to the German Volksschule. The reasons for this tendency are: firstly, the education in the German schools certainly offers higher economic and cultural opportunities for gifted children in after life; secondly, in the German Volksschule the classes are graded by years, so that children of the same year go forward educationally without the drag of younger children in the same class; and, thirdly, since the education and benefits are identical, and the origin, stock, "Mutter Sprache" and everyday work of parents is almost identical, any reason for separating children, as a racial unit, becomes less and less.

On the other hand, the political determination of the Polish Government, through its instrument the Wojewoda, enters at the youngest age at which the State can bring political pressure to bear upon the life of the subject—school age, that is, six years. It cannot be reiterated too often that the Silesians are an original people who have for 700 years been raised far above the level of their neighbours the Poles, through German migration, religious culture and the technique of industry. Therefore, the Wasser-Polnisch, original Silesians, in German Silesia will undoubtedly tend towards unification with the German people, as would have happened under a German Republic after the war, had not political pressure and military considerations intervened. On the other hand, for the very same reasons, the German and Silesian basic culture in Polish Silesia will never, except by violent extermination, be absorbed within the Polish culture, Eastern in its outlook, centuries behind in its capacity for unfettered democracy and based upon the theory of force, as opposed to right in the newer cultures. It would be almost as absurd to expect the inhabitants of Rhodesia to submit to the rule and institutions of the Mashona, as it is to expect the cultured Silesian to adapt himself to the methods of Galicia and to adopt institutions from Lemberg.

#### POLISH ECONOMIC PRESSURE.

Polish pressure upon the minority demonstrates itself in the removal of German directors and managers and their replacement by Poles. By this means the Government is able to control employment, and, as has been noted, to dominate the parents' choice in regard to school.

The Government possesses innumerable opportunities for compelling industrial enterprises to comply with Government policy, for example, through taxation, distribution of railway waggons, refusal of passports, police and customs house interference. Armed with such weapons the Government quite openly compels Silesian industries, the directors and foremen of which are Silesians or German Silesians, to dismiss such directors and overseers, and to replace them by Polish migrants. In those enterprises which have been taken over by foreign capital, foreign directors have replaced the former German directors, while the

chief executives are original Polish citizens who have obtained education and experience in the United States of America and have been re-imported to fill executive positions previously held by Silesians. For example, there is a complaint which has been before the Mixed Commission for nearly two years concerning the dismissal of the German director Pietsch from the Konigshutte by order of the Wojewoda. By means of *agents provocateurs*, false charges are manufactured and preferred against leading German citizens with the object of discrediting them or causing them to be ejected from the country, or in fear to migrate from it.

In the country districts, charges of disloyalty almost ludicrous in their conception have been preferred against German, or German Silesian, landowners. In this connection it is worthy of note that these charges have only been trumped up since 1925. Landowners, charged, for example, with depriving Polish Silesian tenants of privileges, with bringing pressure to bear upon tenants and workers to send children to minority schools, with organizing German festivals, have offered to the local Starosta the fullest investigation, and in the case of definite charges which have been formed, they have replied to them categorically in detail, but they have not received replies to the proofs of good citizenship which they have offered, while the Polish agitators continue, as they did in the pre-Plebiscite period, to promise to parcel out the land of the present owners among the peasant population.

The further example of Mr. Ulitz, a case referred to by M. Zaleski in Geneva, is perhaps typical. He was charged with treason, the basis of the charge being so childish and absolutely impossible, that when the Wojewoda sought to impeach his immunity against trial before the Silesian Sejm, the assembly itself, although being a Polish majority, refused to proceed with the charge. Similar unfounded charges have been made against Mr. Dudek and Miss Ernst, leading members of the German Volksbund.

It is notable that Mr. Ulitz and the Minority members, whether in public life or not, express their loyalty to the State at every opportunity. They realize that their very existence depends upon their unquestionable loyalty to the State in which they live. They appreciate, too, that their present position as a

minority is a *fait accompli*, from which it is quite beyond any powers possessed by themselves now to change, even if they would. All that the minority have requested is the just fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement and their protection by the League of Nations against tyranny and oppression. They claim the right to exist within the spiritual body of their own Church, with their own schools for their own children, with a centuries-old culture and the right to peaceful occupation in industry and commerce.

The fate of the Silesian people must be one of profound historical and political significance. If the League of Nations is only to be a further political instrument in the hands of certain dominating and interested parties; then at least it is right that the world should understand this. If, on the other hand, the League has in fact ushered in new principles and more just and human practice between the nations, then it is time that some active demonstration were made if the League is to escape from charges of futility, ineptitude or worse.

It may be worthy of note that the British Government itself on January 19th, although perhaps with some reluctance, honoured the claims of the Minority in the Irish Free State, although this Minority consisted in a great many cases of persons at least economically competent to look after themselves. Such a recent precedent, with British attachment to the League of Nations, should not permit the British Government to turn a deaf ear to the claims of other Minorities, whose Court of Appeal resides in the Council of the League of Nations.

#### A PERMANENT COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is proposed, therefore, that a Permanent Commission should be set up whose function should be treating of Minority questions. There is no legal difficulty; and such a Commission could be instituted under Article 72 of the Agreement. Questions of international law are involved, so that there is a very real necessity for a Commission on a permanent basis, while judicial rulings of far-reaching consequences must be made by men wholly free from the national political bias at present governing the decisions of those at Geneva or The Hague.

Full publicity must also be given to minority questions. The ruling at Geneva that the Press is not entitled to attend the sittings of the Minority Commission must be abandoned. The findings of the Commission alone are published. The procedure now is that a complaint proceeding from a Minority in Upper Silesia, if not rectified, is then referred to the Council of the League of Nations, who delegate it to a member for the purpose of a decision; and within a few days or hours the member, without specialized knowledge, communicates his decision, the result of which is then published. The plaintiff has no right to a hearing by the factor of decision, nor does he have an opportunity to see the reply of the majority Government to the complaint.

In short, three immediate steps are necessary in order to safeguard the rights of Minorities and to prevent extermination by terror of the Minority in Polish Silesia. These are: firstly, a Permanent Commission; secondly, full publicity; thirdly, the hearing of the appellant by the Permanent Commission. If these steps were enabled, great satisfaction would be given among the minorities, while the obvious fairness of procedure and world publicity would, it is certain, curb the Polish administration in its present acts.

#### DICTATORSHIP OF THE WOJEWODA.

If the steps suggested were taken immediately, without doubt the President of the Mixed Commission would be enabled to show greater energy in the treatment of minority complaints. So long as he is not helped from Geneva, President Calonder can do nothing. Moreover, European peace itself would be secured by such necessary and desirable steps. Upon European peace depends the life and culture of generations to come.

The complaint of the German "Deutscher Volksbund," laid before the Council of the League of Nations in September, 1928, contains quite definite evidence that even the life and limb of members of the German Minority are not secure. The insurgents' associations, under the open leadership of the Wojewoda, possess a free hand in the committal of injury to the Minority. Among the incidents cited are wounding, flogging, bombing, hustling and



public insult; and these have occurred without the intervention of the authorities, police or the courts of justice. The system of local self-government which existed under the German administration through county councils, village and communal boards has been overthrown; while should the minority obtain a large minority in a town council (Stadtverordnetenversammlung), for example at Kattowitz, the Council is dissolved by the Wojewoda and members appointed by himself take over the functions of the council, or should the town council itself not suffer dissolution then the town board (Magistrat) is formed from members appointed to it instead of by legal election. The same methods are employed in the administration of village life. The civil rights, therefore, of the minority are not respected, while, as has already been noted, the elections are carried out under a system of terror and falsification itself a complete denial of the principles of self-determination and democracy.

Polish Upper Silesia has been made safe for the Wojewoda. That is the beginning and the end of justice.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SILESIAN, KORFANTY, AND GRAZYNSKI.

#### THE SILESIAN.

**A**S has been noted in previous chapters, Upper Silesia, both economically and in culture, evolving during past centuries, is German. But, as has been insisted, also, the Silesian possesses characteristics which clearly define him as being distinctive and individual. The Silesian is not Prussian, nor Bavarian, Saxon, or Hanoverian. But the Bavarian is not similar in characteristic to the Saxon. It was certainly neither logic nor biology which persuaded those responsible for the Partition of Silesia in their decisions. There is an analogy between Switzerland and Silesia. The Swiss people, by reason of generations of association, politically, economically, in education and culture, have become a homogeneous people. Politically, Switzerland possesses the respect of its neighbours and the admiration of the world. Its industries and public utilities have been developed upon the innate genius of the Swiss, but always assisted and promoted by the geographical and ethnographical position and possessions of the country itself. Swiss culture and the arts have developed hand in hand with progress in the political and economic spheres. Yet Switzerland is inhabited by people of French, German, Italian and Romansch stock. It would not be possible herein to attempt to analyse in their various spheres of influence wherein may lie any preponderating racial influence. But Switzerland provides a perfect picture of an autonomous state consisting of people of widely differing original characteristics, which, through the ages, have been blended to produce a distinctive people possessing characteristics, ideals, aspirations and institutions of their own. This is true also of

Silesia, except that when Germany, France and Italy were contributing their cultures to the cantons of Switzerland, Germany alone was contributing to Silesia. Thus we find, therefore, a homogeneous people in Silesia, possessing individual characteristics born of their native soil, climate and ethnographical position, but with an industrial organization, educational system and culture wholly German. Biology supports both the argument and the analogy. In so far as the principles of self-determination, and economic and ethnographic considerations are concerned, it would be as reasonable to destroy Switzerland itself as it has been to break up Silesia. If further proof is needed, the impartial witness has only to visit the Polish towns and villages which lie on the eastern side of the old frontier prior to the Partition. While the German-Silesian towns are equipped with excellent buildings and public institutions of all kinds, the Polish towns, in vivid contrast, consist of mean dwellings, with the poorest public institutions and barbarous sanitation. The industrial town of Dombrowa just across the old frontier in Poland is perhaps typical, and may be compared with Hindenburg or Beuthen.

#### M. KORFANTY.

M. Korfanty was the main factor throughout, in the Silesian decision. It is interesting, therefore, to examine more closely his career. He was the spokesman for a Polish Silesia at Paris, and his case was guided by the clever diplomatist-militarist, General Le Rond. M. Korfanty was the Polish Commissioner during the Plebiscite in 1921. He was also the recognized leader of the Polish revolt. After Upper Silesia was partitioned, the name of this Polish patriot figured prominently on the boards of the most important economic undertakings. Korfanty's power was founded upon French support and upon his propaganda and promises made to the working classes. His promises have not been fulfilled, nor can they be fulfilled. Quite apart from deeper considerations, the Partition itself largely destroyed the economic structure of the territory. This did not become apparent until 1925, due to tariff and other restrictions imposed upon Germany. There can be no doubt, however, that if a Plebiscite were again held in Silesia through the medium of disinterested parties, the result would be

overwhelmingly in favour of Germany. It must be remembered that the 1921 Plebiscite was conducted by an Inter-Allied Commission, French, Italian, British, in which the French mainly predominated both as to executive offices, and in almost sole control of the forces responsible for law and order, namely, French troops. M. Korfanty was aided and abetted by the French in lawless acts, in inciting to revolt through his newspapers, which should have been instantly suppressed, and in open armed insurrection, despite the protests of the British and Italian Commissioners. The German officials were muzzled, ordered and counter-ordered. German citizens were assassinated in the streets, or set upon by gangs of half-educated youths whose lawlessness had been cultivated by Korfanty propaganda and *agents provocateurs*. But despite this, the population voted in a majority of six to four for the continuance of German rule.

Recently M. Korfanty, either because he has been removed from the offices held by him, or from fear of losing his power based upon false or hopeless promises, or better, it is to be profoundly hoped, because he is a Silesian with the true interests of Silesia at heart, has publicly impeached the Polish Administration. He stated in the Silesian Sejm on February 9th, 1928, that the abuses practised by the authorities transgressed all limits hitherto known. At the time of the greatest oppression none of the officials had outraged the laws of the country and misused public funds as the Administration was now doing. Above all, coercion of subordinate officials and citizens had never been practised in such shameless manner as was now happening.

#### GRAZYNSKI IMPEACHED.

The newspapers in which his speech was published were immediately suppressed. But M. Korfanty continued:—

The Wojewoda, Dr. Grazyński, himself is organizing a Party which carries ticket No. 1, and he does not only pay canvassing calls on his officials, but also on influential private persons, and wins them over for his Party. He has called on the prelate Monsignor Londzin more than once and, by making him all kinds of promises, has won him over for the Government Party. Beyond that, the Vice-Wojewoda, Mr. Zuravsky, and the sheriff, Mr. Kisiala, have brought their influence to bear upon the prelate, Monsignor

Londzin. Several burgomasters have also been won over by the Wojewoda for the Government Party by promiscuous promises.

The *Polska Zachodnia*, which openly incites to violence and disturbance of the peace and public order and calumniates respected citizens, is being supported out of public funds accumulated from the taxes levied on all the citizens of the country.

The Wojewoda has advised even the sheriffs personally to engage in the electioneering campaign on behalf of the Government Party and to bring their influence to bear on the parish magistrates to induce them to support the Government Party and by all means at their disposal to impress the citizens to cast their votes for the Government ticket. The parish magistrates have been coerced into executing these orders of their superior authorities, but they themselves have felt all the time that they were lending themselves to acts unworthy of an official, and at one of their last meetings they protested emphatically against such procedure, especially against such violence done to their consciences. It is the duty of an official to serve *all* strata of the population alike, and not only *one* particular Party, because that is immoral and detrimental to the interests of the State. State funds and funds belonging to the Wojewoda districts must be applied to the benefit of *all* citizens alike, but not to the benefit of one section only, which, moreover, is undermining the authority of the State. The methods as practised at present bring down dishonour on our State, they lower its reputation, and they undermine its foundations in the whole of Silesia.

The Silesian Revolutionary League, which includes in its ranks the most complete rogues, has issued its orders for the present electioneering campaign. They simply amount to this, that the election meetings of the other Parties are to be broken up by violence and the speakers at these meetings be soundly drubbed.

And this League is under the patronage of the Wojewoda, Dr. Grazynski, and is in receipt of monetary support out of funds administered by the State and the Wojewoda.

To-day money is flowing freely, and support is granted generously in order to buy the votes of invalids, widows and orphans. But once the elections are over and past, charity will also be a thing of the past. I stand here in this place and I ask the people to accept all that is given to them, because the money they receive comes out of funds to which all taxpayers in the country contribute equally.

The vexation and alarm over the Galician electioneering methods are unheard-of and the people have no means of giving adequate expression to their horror and contempt.

With the fullest cognizance of the superior authorities, secret orders have been issued for forging election lists, and the subordinate officials have been obliged to perpetrate these forgeries in the course of one night and to burn the old lists. The Revolutionary League and the Western Counties Club have spread a net of espionage all over the Wojewoda district, with the full knowledge of the district authorities, whereby peaceable citizens are being denounced and marks are actually given for their degree of patriotism. Distinguished Poles are thus being turned artificially into Germans and Teutons and, being naturally thoroughly disgusted, they go and cast their votes on the German ticket. Officials who presume to assert their citizenship and refuse to co-operate in such moral degradation are pensioned, set back in their ranks, or transferred to the far East. Wherever teachers are concerned, the President of the School Department, Mr. Regorevicz, excels in this respect. All teachers have been ordered to extend their cultural activities beyond their own particular sphere: as a matter of fact, however, it is being demanded of them that they should actively canvass for the Government Party. School has been turned into a political tool, with the result that all confidence in Polish schools is being undermined and the children are being driven into the minority schools. The wives of the officials are being threatened and warned that, if they continue to remain members of the League of Polish Catholic Women, their husbands will lose their jobs and their daily bread. Even labourers are being threatened with instant discharge if they refuse to join the Sanacja. Methods such as all these surely deserve the sharpest condemnation, because they are detrimental to State and national interest in Polish Silesia. Upper Silesia is not the East, neither is it Galicia, nor Roumania or Turkey, and it does not acquiesce in such methods.

Credits out of public funds are likewise nowadays being distributed from the viewpoint of party membership: whoever opposes this corruption has no chance whatever of obtaining credit. Only recently the Wojewoda attended a congress of the Middle Class Party, declaring beforehand that, unless the middle classes voted for the Sanacja, no member of the middle classes would ever be granted any credit out of public funds.

All this detestable and shameless work is demoralizing society, destroying the State, and annihilating Polishdom in Silesia. Our administration authorities are imbecile and composed of a set of inexperienced people who come from other parts of the country and who are wholly ignorant of the needs and of the very soul of Upper Silesia. The people never did set much faith in them, it is true, but in consequence of such corruption and such abuse

of power they are completely losing all confidence in the authorities. It will take decades of hard and laborious work to repair this damage.

As a Silesian and on behalf of the Silesian people I invoke all compatriots who have come to us from other parts of the country and abuse their offices and the schools for purposes of corruption: Do not destroy and frustrate all the work we have done.

Other chapters, especially those dealing particularly with the Minority question and with the Polish terror, confirm the charges made by M. Korfanty.

The Silesian question is of the utmost importance in Great Britain. A strong affection has developed in me for the Silesians, whether Polish or German. If this monograph may be of any service to the Silesians of all classes, and of Polish or German sympathy, I shall be happy that I have been enabled to clarify the position both as to the true aims of Silesians, and as to the present danger of the political situation, engineered from Warsaw. If nothing else, being possessed of special knowledge, I have a quite plain duty, namely, to make known the facts, to publish the evidence; nor did my obligation in this respect end when I ceased to be a public servant. Interested in our own mining industry and its problems, I am glad, while having an opportunity to fortify my knowledge by comparison, to have been able at the same time to re-examine the Silesian problem at its source.

#### THE SLAVERY OF SILESIA.

No one who has knowledge of Silesia and wishes well of its people can fail to hope that M. Korfanty, who has wielded such power in the past, now in maturity, with wisdom and foresight, prompted by lofty motives, and with judgment mellowed by a new kindness which has followed the bitterness and passion of war and its aftermath, will apply himself to the task of bringing a renewed prosperity and happiness to Silesia as a whole.

It would appear that the decisions in Paris and at Geneva were a shameful travesty of an honourable peace, of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and of the principles upon which peace was established. These decisions were based alone, so it would seem, upon the military dictatorship and policies of

France. The consequence has been the dismemberment of Silesia, and the virtual enslavement of tens of thousands of Silesians to political and cultural methods and institutions of the Middle Ages.

That the Silesians in the past had no cause for complaint against the rule of Prussia no one in their senses would suggest. There were grave abuses and injustices against which M. Korfanty, as an exponent of democracy and of liberty, had fought for years in the Reichstag. During the period of the war the civilized world was scandalized by reports of excesses committed by Prussian militarists in Silesia. But we have been witnesses of a revolution in Germany, of changed institutions based upon more ideal relations between man and man, of the birth and quick evolution of a democracy founded largely upon the British Constitution.

German Silesia with its Silesians, as does Saxony with its Saxons, partakes of the fruits of German democracy, while Polish Silesia with its Silesians suffers the infliction of a rule wholly foreign, of corrupt administration, and the denial of liberty and of culture.

Those of us who took part in the actual waging of war with some vague idea that we were "making the world safe for democracy," or, at least, as the months of alternate boredom and of agony swept over us, determined that the war of 1914-18 would be "a war to end wars," cannot fail to view with resentment and dismay the Polish tyranny in Silesia. We are known also by the company which we keep. No one seriously denies that Poland with its government of filibusterers is in the pocket of France. It is time Great Britain made its voice heard. The degradation of Silesia degrades Great Britain.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE POLISH TERROR.

#### NO TRUTH IN THE CHARGES OF M. ZALESKI.

**T**HERE is the fullest evidence that the charges made by M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, at the December meeting of the Council of the League of Nations are not only without foundation, but can be wholly refuted in detail. Dr. Stresemann, in reply to M. Zaleski, went so far as to demand a full investigation. It is plain to any impartial observer that M. Zaleski seized the strategic opportunity at Lugano for the purpose of prejudicing the German case in the eyes of the world, and, with the initiative of the attack on the Polish side, he purposed definitely to overwhelm the ever-growing volume of legitimate complaint made by the German minority of all classes in Upper Silesia.

A witness reporting the measures adopted by the Polish Administration for the suppression of German culture and habit, or in fact the existence of the German Minority at all, must be careful lest any details of acts of Polish oppression contributed by him should lead to further vindictiveness against parties suspected of providing evidence.

As a matter of fact, I have been able to collect detailed evidence over a wide tract of country, in the towns, in the workers' colonies, in the coal-mines, and from workers and their wives and children in their own homes. By comparison of the houses, their furnishings, appearance of the inhabitants, their clothing, foodstuffs, wages and general demeanour in, for example, such typical industrial areas as Hindenburg, in German Silesia, Kattowitz and Myslowitz, in Polish Silesia, and in Dombrowa, in that part of Poland proper which was never within the Reich, I have been able by comparison, and by question and answer, to

substantiate in detail all the evidence contributed in this monograph. For example, I possess true copies of the curriculum in the minority schools, of the House Tax receipts and other similar matter. Deliberately I have not sought evidence among the well-known leaders of the "Deutscher-Volksbund," or the leaders of the Polish Parties, but have preferred to test every statement by personal observation and enquiry. My conclusion is that there is not a tittle of truth in the suggestion that the "Deutscher-Volksbund," or the German Minority as a whole, is concerned with plottings and propaganda against the State. There is no evidence of conspiracy or of intrigue. What has been done has been done openly by protest alone. Equally, I am satisfied from personal observation that in German Silesia the Polish Minority receives equal privileges of citizenship with the German inhabitants among whom they live; and that the Reich itself, in the fullest measure, is honouring the terms of the Geneva Agreement.

Undoubtedly, in Polish Silesia, a system of terror exists; and, as has been noted in a previous chapter, even M. Korfanty himself, the former champion of Silesian liberty, has been led to denounce the Polish administration in Upper Silesia. The complaint, therefore, does not come alone from the German Minority, but from the better-educated and cultured among the Polish Party themselves.

M. Zaleski has been answered categorically, frankly, and courageously both by Graf Edwin Henkel-Donnersmarck, who published an open letter in the Kattowitz newspapers, and by M. Korfanty in the Sejm, whose speech also was fully reported in the Press. It is typical of the system that the newspapers publishing both Graf Henkel-Donnersmarck's letter and the speech of M. Korfanty were suppressed immediately.

#### "THE WOJEWODA."

The seat of government for Polish Silesia is in Kattowitz. The "Wojewoda," or Governor, Dr. Michal Grazynski, is not a Silesian. The police, railway and other officials have mostly been imported, and rule the country by a system of espionage and petty tyranny, at the same time failing to understand the special characteristics of

the Silesian people. Bribery and corruption are rampant; and the determination of the "Wojewoda" appears to be the complete suppression of the German minority. It would be possible to contribute very many instances of the methods employed for this purpose; of watchings; of informers; of listening-in by secret police to telephone conversations; of the transfer of officials; of the opening of private correspondence; of taxes illegally collected by duress; of the suppression of the association by the more cultured Polish people with German citizens; of false charges concocted against members of the "Deutscher-Volksbund"; of plots staged with the purpose of implicating German citizens. With certain exceptions, the new Polish Administration did not misbehave itself towards the German minorities from the time Poland took over the newly-acquired territory until 1925. It was from that date that planned Polish terrorism commenced. The present purposeless political turmoil, the agitation of which the Polish Government at Warsaw must be aware, if continued, may ultimately throw the Silesian population into the arms of hooliganism and disorder. Under the German administration the workers in the vast industrial undertakings and the mines were comparatively satisfied, and certainly the homes constructed for them by the management, and the welfare arrangements, compared more than favourably with anything similar in Great Britain. Those homes, with the institutions set up by German foresight and good management, remain; but wages have fallen to starvation level. One can witness the astonishing spectacle of thousands of Silesian workers, since the Plebiscite of Polish nationality, tramping across the new frontier line in order to secure the very much higher wages offered by German works administration for precisely similar work within what remains as German Silesia.

#### POLISH-GERMAN CO-OPERATION?

If there remains any sincerity in the Polish Government, it would contribute its best effort to securing harmony and co-operation between the German and Polish citizens in Polish Upper Silesia. There is ample evidence, historically, and at present, that the fine German families who migrated centuries ago to Silesia, have contributed to its culture, health, wealth and

happiness, have organized the huge industrial undertakings with the best principles of paternal government, in the economic sphere, and with due regard to religious tolerance, education, housing, and the welfare of the people. As one example, Graf Henkel-Donnersmarck in the past protested and won his case, when the Prussian Government attempted to impose legislation to enforce the conducting of church services in the German language rather than in "Wasser-Polnisch," the hereditary "Mutter Sprache" of the Silesian people. The Graf did not add to his popularity in Germany by this and other paternal acts, but he demonstrated the same good Silesian spirit and love of Silesia for which to-day, as the President of the "Deutscher-Volksbund" in Silesia, the association responsible for this cultural development and economic administration in its higher ranks, is being terrorized by the "Wojewoda" of Kattowitz, and calumniated by the Polish Foreign Minister before the civilized nations of the world.

#### THE LUGANO CHARGES.

At Lugano, on 15th December, 1928, M. Zaleski read a long declaration, in which he denounced the activity of the "Deutscher-Volksbund" as a direct contravention of the spirit of the Geneva Convention. The main burden of his statement dealt with the economic development of Upper Silesia, and he closed with the statement that the complaints of the German People's League only demonstrated the fact that the situation in Upper Silesia is still dangerous. Dr. Stresemann replied as follows:—

"I have followed the Polish Foreign Minister's speech with the greatest surprise. I regret not to be able to say anything but that the spirit of hate permeates this speech, against the German Minorities, and that it cries out against the people who are making use of the rights guaranteed them by the League of Nations—through the Council of the League of Nations gathered here to-day. It may be that the individual questions treated are not of decisive importance but they are not without meaning. Oh, no, Herr Zaleski. Whether I may have my children brought up in my mother-tongue and in the culture of my race, may be rather unimportant compared with trade treaty negotiations or peace treaties, but it is here a question of part of the rights of mankind—rights, given to the minorities by the League of Nations for their

protection. How can you declare that it is "unheard of" if a Minority in Upper Silesia has made use of this right? How can you suggest that our time here is wasted by these Upper Silesian Minority complaints? You know the Geneva Convention. You know that one has the right to appeal to the Council. If the number of cases brought before the Council increases, why look for the blame on one side only? Why commence a debate upon the industrial development of Silesia, when the questions themselves relate alone to schools? What are the political grounds which suddenly cause you to give explanations in respect of the coal production, of the zinc production, of the general industrial development of Upper Silesia? Shall I perhaps reply with Germany's industrial development, which has shown a movement upwards since 1919? What have these declarations to do with the erection of minority schools in Upper Silesia? Why this discussion at all? Shall I mention that to-day in most cases Germans stand at the head of the works in Upper Silesia and German intelligence co-operates? Shall I say that alone you would never have achieved the development you have spoken of? Why do you bring all this up? Do you want to open up old wounds? Is it your desire to agitate against Germany by declaring how wonderfully far you have advanced in Upper Silesia?

I have no objection if you wish to lay a case before the League of Nations Council, but I do refer to the subject under discussion here.

You spoke chiefly against the German People's League. Since when have minorities been forbidden to form organizations and to bring their questions before the League of Nations Council? You say that Herr Ullitz, if he were not a delegate (member of Sejm), would probably be charged with high treason. We do not wish to complicate the question of high treason here. Love for the old country and treason are often closely related. It is the difference between the Government point of view and the standpoint based upon feeling. I know very highly esteemed personages who allow themselves to be guided in this decision by their personal feelings. If, therefore, the German People's League is arraigned—and I have understood you thus—as an organization which cannot be permanently tolerated, and which shakes the foundations of the Polish State and makes difficulties—if it is said that the minorities in a State are not allowed to organize themselves or make use of their rights, such as appeals to the League of Nations regarding the bringing up of children does it mean then that this portends danger for the State?

Therefore, I thank M. Dandurand (the Canadian representative) for his suggestion to bring the minority case before

the Council for a thorough analysis and to bring up all these questions for discussion.

Not only from the standpoint of the German Minorities in Upper Silesia, but from the minority point of view in general, I cannot in any way agree with what the Polish representative has said, and I say with all clearness that were the League of Nations to take any other point of view, its whole principles would be undermined.

Just because of the protection afforded to minorities which is a foundation of the whole edifice of the League of Nations, many have built their hopes on the League, and many have believed that the League of Nations offers something new for those people who have a different religion and different emotions to those of the State in which they live. The League of Nations must hold its protecting hand over the minorities and their rights. Were that not to happen, then those Powers would have to consider whether, or not, they find in the League of Nations the ideals which caused them to join it.

I wish, therefore, in the next session of the League of Nations Council, to open a thorough discussion of the minority rights which exist in accordance with present agreements, and not in the form of a tail to a school debate, as has happened here."

#### DR. STRESEMANN SUPPORTED BY FACTS.

It would seem that M. Korfanty's denunciation of the Polish administration supports the view advanced by Dr. Stresemann, as does the industrial unrest, due to depressed wages and standards of life in the Kattowitz district. If there is any danger in Polish Upper Silesia, it is due to the terror of the administration and the economic destruction of the country. That way lies anarchy, or military despotism. The German Silesians themselves, a fact admitted, also, when in secrecy they dare, by the best types among the Polish population, are law-abiding, despite vexation, industrious, cultured. They constitute the best elements, socially and industrially, in Silesia. They hold, by virtue of ability and the qualities of good citizenship, the majority and the principal of the industrial appointments, working harmoniously with their Polish colleagues, where such on the basis of equal ability have been placed in appointments by German or neutral directors, as was, and is, often the case. The Germans, of whatever class or political party, too, have contributed enormously to the raising

of the standards of life of the Silesians, by means of good schools, good houses, comparatively high wages, the State theatre, and other cultural institutions. The German schools have been, and are, open to the children of Polish parents. Were it not for the restraint and terror of the Polish administration controlling the police and armed military force, it is a fact that many more children would attend the German minority schools, in order that, as the right-thinking and intelligent parent realizes, their children might receive an education and culture of a higher type, equipping them incidentally to take a higher place in industry, and therefore, in consequence, to receive a higher standard of life. A knowledge of human nature and of the simple facts within Silesia itself makes statements to the contrary wholly ridiculous, or perhaps a deliberate travesty of the truth. Certain of the most cultivated elements in Poland, after the Partition, realized that if a new civilized state was to be created, and a new Poland emerge from the upheavals of war and the subjection of Tsardom, it was imperative to win the goodwill and co-operation of the cultured minorities included in the new Polish State. Advances were, therefore, made even from Warsaw to the Silesians. These advances were welcomed, and the hospitality and courtesy of Germans within the new Polish Silesia was extended in a remarkable manner to the officers of the new administration. Repressive measures were taken by the Polish Governor; and Polish officers are no longer allowed to participate in such courtesies and sports, which are the very foundations of corporate life.

It almost passes belief, also, that the terror succeeded in exerting political pressure through the Catholic Church in such a way that parish priests of German origin are boycotted, and those who will not fulfil the will of the political and military dictatorship are transferred elsewhere to make way for Chauvinists.

The President of the Minority Commission set up under the Geneva Agreement, Signor Calonder, himself has, with pains-taking care, listened to the complaints made, and in consequence, without doubt, has incurred the ill-will of the Polish Governor and of his satellites. Every German among the minority in Polish Upper Silesia, and very many of the Polish Silesian inhabitants,

would welcome an independent and impartial commission composed of men without entangling and embarrassing political alliances, or the bias of government policies, to conduct again, if not a further Plebiscite, at least a further investigation.

#### AN ARTIFICIAL AGITATION.

Polish business men, who have no political prejudices, seem anxious to co-operate with the German Minority. That is, of course, only good business. For the economic health of Upper Silesia such co-operation is absolutely essential; and were it not for the artificial political agitation and the almost mediaeval Chauvinism of the present Polish administration, there is no doubt that very little more would be heard, either of the injustices done to the German Minority, or of continued danger threatening in Upper Silesia. The armed rebel bands which were formed by M. Korfanty in 1921 still exist in Polish Upper Silesia to the number of tens of thousands as a kind of militia of the Italian Fascisti pattern. Many of those responsible for such illegal military activities were those who took an important part in the Korfanty "Putsch" in May, 1921, and were associated with the grossest atrocities committed upon the persons of harmless German citizens. It is remarkable that the presence of some 10,000 French troops failed to prevent the insurrection, but with the arrival of a weak British brigade, popular alike with Poles and Germans, order was instantly restored. It must remain a source of very proper German criticism that the insurgent bands continue their activities, under arms, with the full knowledge and support of the Wojewoda of the Polish Administration. Such activities are a direct contravention of the Geneva Agreement. As has been before remarked, Poland owes its political existence to the Allies, and not least among them to Great Britain. We ourselves entered the war in support of the French in defence of the sanctity of contract, namely, the "scrap of paper." Poland, with the active support of France, has made, and is making, of the Treaty and Agreements which terminated the war, also "scraps of paper." The immense wealth of Upper Silesia and Galicia, agricultural and industrial cannot be developed







in such an atmosphere nor can the standard of life of the workers be raised.

#### POLAND'S THREAT TO PEACE?

So far as can be observed, the Polish military forces are well disciplined, men of fine bearing, and generally well officered in the higher ranks by men of the old Russian and Austrian armies. As a garrison they do not now appear to irritate the German Minority, but they are, of course, the tools of corrupt politicians. The better disciplined are troops, the better can they be depended upon to carry out the orders of the politician. Strategy and statesmanship, if the word in this sense is applicable, must go hand in hand. If the Polish Government, as would appear to be the case, is determined upon a policy of excess and terror in Upper Silesia, with the successful precedent of 1921, which virtually contributed the territory, it is not outside the realm of speculation that well-disciplined troops, in the place of Korfanty's rebels, but aided by the Wojewoda's insurgents, may be used to crush the Minority out of existence. Poland already, through warlike acts, has threatened civilization anew.

Silesia and the Silesians have been thrust from the community of cultured peoples to make a Versailles holiday. Tortured and torn, with public funds diverted to private needs, with an administration which would shame the better class of bandit, the Silesians remain the victims of the venom and of the ignorance of those who dictated the Treaty of Versailles.

#### THE SILESIA DICTATORSHIP.

It seems more and more plain that the object of the Polish Government is to set up a military Dictatorship. Once he had achieved a Polish Silesia by means of propaganda, bloodshed and the help of Paris, the regime of M. Korfanty was at least democratic. He had not wholly abandoned an idealism, which might yet serve Silesia; nor, having achieved his political objective, did he pursue a vendetta against the minority population. But neither the idealism, nor the democracy, of Korfanty suited the methods of Pilsudski. Refreshed from his filibustering conquest of Vilna, this former organizer of bomb plots fell upon the Silesians.

Arrayed in the military uniform of a field-marshal, this freebooter must destroy Silesian autonomy, and dispense with democracy and representative institutions.

Through his instrument, Grazynski, the Wojewoda of Kattowitz, the head of the illegal army insurgents, he has sought first to destroy the large German Minority, by means of bomb plots and assaults, the tyrannizing of school children and the trumping up of false charges against the respected leaders of the minority institutions and the people's elected representatives. The Wojewoda discovered his vicious malice baulked by the democratic institution of the Silesian Sejm. The Sejm, the Parliament of Silesia, consisted of representatives of six parties, namely: Catholic Democrats (Korfanty); Labour Party (Government); National Workmen's Party; Polish Socialists; German Socialists; German Party (Fraction—Christian Catholic and German Party).

#### THE CASE OF MR. ULITZ.

The Sejm was the first foundation of an autonomous Silesia, and provided all that Korfanty, in his wisest moments, might have desired; and certainly what the principle of self-determination demanded, if, indeed, it can be assumed that the Silesians had so determined.

But the political objective and ambition of the Wojewoda, Governor and would-be Dictator of Polish Silesia, was baulked. The Sejm had refused to proceed with the forged charges against Mr. Ulitz. Questions and enquiries in the Sejm as to the misappropriation of public funds by the Wojewoda became too pressing. At the moment of writing, this little autocrat, Grazynski, has dissolved the Sejm, thus depriving the Silesians of the simple rights of civilized democracy. And though the Sejm refused him, Grazynski now is possessed of the body of Mr. Ulitz. For, so soon as the Sejm was dissolved on February 12th, Mr. Ulitz, the leader of the Minority, was arrested.

I was fortunate to be in Kattowitz at the time of the dissolution of the Sejm, and of the arrest of Mr. Ulitz. The history in detail becomes of first importance in view of the direct appeal which has been telegraphed to the League of Nations. As has been noted, the charge preferred against Mr. Ulitz three years ago was

that he sought to provide the evasion of military service in the Polish Army for a Silesian, now Polish, citizen. The Special Commission of the Sejm, empowered to investigate the charge, reported, after investigation, to a full session of the Sejm itself that the charge was false. It reported as follows:—

“There are grammatical errors and faults in punctuation, from which indications the majority of the Commission find that the document has been forged.”

The Public Prosecutor, instructed by the Wojewoda, had ordered the body of Mr. Ulitz to be delivered. As a member of the Sejm he was immune from arrest, unless the Special Commission, appointed for the purpose, in the first instance found him guilty of the charge. Since the Sejm itself, by a large majority, concluded that the charge against him was false, built upon a forged document, Mr. Ulitz remained immune from arrest, and the charge could not be proceeded with. On February 12th the Wojewoda dissolved the Sejm. In an interview with Dr. Grazynski, reported in the Government newspaper, *Polska Zacobnia*, the Wojewoda states as his reasons for dissolving the Sejm, firstly, the non-delivery by the Sejm of Mr. Ulitz; secondly, the forthcoming Budget question; and, thirdly, what he terms the general incompetence of the Sejm.

It is of significance that the Wojewoda has chosen to dissolve the Sejm and to imprison Mr. Ulitz only a few days before the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, providing an opportunity for M. Zaleski to declare to the League that Mr. Ulitz, to whom he specifically referred in his speech to the Council of the League in December, has now been imprisoned.

It is interesting, too, that the newspapers of the 13th and 14th of February, including the *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, representing the interests of the German Minority, and the *Ober-Schlesischer Kurier*, representing Catholic interest, were confiscated by the police after issue, although a certain number of copies succeeded in achieving circulation. These newspapers had published an appeal by the “Deutscher-Volksbund” to the League of Nations, following the arrest of Mr. Ulitz between eleven and twelve on the morning of February 13th. The arrest of Mr. Ulitz is obviously wholly illegal. The material facts are that three years ago he had been found not

guilty by the Sejm—a Constitutional Court with full powers to adjudicate such a matter—of the false charge trumped up against him. If Mr. Ulitz could be considered, nevertheless, a person against whom process could legally be instituted for this offence, then two important legal points at once emerge as to procedure. These are, firstly, the danger of collusion, and, secondly, the danger of flight. As to the first point, for three years Mr. Ulitz has had every opportunity for collusion if he desired and thus to nullify the evidence of the prosecution, if it existed. As to the second, although Mr. Ulitz has had every opportunity to escape from Upper Silesia and render himself immune from arrest during the intervening three years, he has remained, performing his accustomed functions. His arrest, therefore, is not only a travesty of the simple rights of citizenship, but it is wholly illegal.

#### THE SILESIAN SEJM AND ITS DISSOLUTION.

On July 15th, 1920, the Warsaw Sejm, that is, the Polish Parliament, placed an Act of Parliament upon the Statute Books of Poland, which, in principle, provided for the Silesian Sejm. It provided, also, for Silesian autonomy as the basis of the Silesian Constitution. This Act set out the principles of such autonomy; and empowered the autonomous Silesian Sejm, after it had come into being, with the framing of the details of the Silesian Autonomous Constitution.

During the Plebiscite period, the text of this Act of Parliament was utilized to the fullest extent both by the Warsaw Government and by M. Korfanty, at that time the champion of Silesian autonomy. In addition to the extravagant promises made by the Korfanty propaganda and agents, this Act was used to sway the vote of the Silesians in favour of separation from Germany.

It was enacted, therefore, that the constitution of Silesia within the Polish State should be very similar to that of Saxony, or Bavaria, within the Reich; although, in fact, both Saxony and Bavaria enjoy a larger measure of autonomous freedom than the Warsaw Sejm had provided for Upper Silesia.

The Silesian Sejm has not, in fact, completed the work with which it was empowered in 1920; and it could not, therefore, be legally dissolved. But where, in fact, the Sejm has sought

democratically to carry out the work with which it was constitutionally entrusted, the Wojewoda himself has obstructed it. Moreover, he has himself dissolved nearly all the autonomous bodies which had been legally elected; and, in their place, he has appointed his own nominees. These nominees, *inter alia*, possess the power to collect and vote the taxes. It will be remembered that M. Korfanty in the Sejm publicly charged the Wojewoda with bribery and corruption, and with the misappropriation of public funds. It was, again, the budget question which was about to be the subject of enquiry by the Silesian Sejm. As the Wojewoda himself declared on February 13th, this enquiry was one of the prime causes for its dissolution by himself. The Wojewoda has, therefore, achieved the complete disenfranchisement of the Polish Silesians; and with the exception of the Wojewodschaftsrat, which at the moment of writing still exists, Polish Silesia has ceased to have any semblance of autonomous government. As has been noted, also, most of the State officials, including the Wojewoda himself, are not Silesians, but are persons imported from Galicia and from the interior of Poland.

#### SILESIAN AUTONOMY DESTROYED.

The Wojewodschaftsrat is virtually a cabinet of the Sejm, and consists of seven members. These are the Wojewoda himself and his Deputy; one member from the Government list of members in the Sejm; two members of the United German and Polish Socialist Party; one member of the Korfanty Catholic Democratic Party; one member of the National Labour Party, which is Polish. The Cabinet is elected on a basis proportional to party representation in the Sejm; and the Government, within the Cabinet itself, is in a minority of three to four members. The Opposition Parties are absolutely and sharply opposed, not only to the dissolution of the Sejm, but to the Grazyński Dictatorship itself. The dissolution of the Sejm is wholly illegal. The extravagant promises made by the Polish Government at Warsaw and by the Korfanty propaganda during the Plebiscite period have been brought to naught. The Silesians, whether they voted Polish or German, have been wholly deprived of their simple citizen rights; and in place of the autonomy which was pledged, both the

majority and the minority in Polish Silesia have been placed under the heel of a quasi-military dictatorship, whose tyranny exceeds any possible conception within a civilized State.

So this is self-determination as we see it in Silesia—a popinjay turned vulture, picking the bones of the oppressed; while Poland, his master, the product of a Treaty, written in the blood of one million men of British stock and millions of others who fought for liberty, armed with the sword of the swashbuckler, marches east and west sowing the seeds of discord and of new wars.

The time is overdue when the British people should longer remain silent. Great Britain did not enter the Great War, honouring the *Entente*, with the object of enabling a Military Dictatorship in Poland. Great Britain has not only its own interests, but its own aims and ideals. It is high time that we began our own thinking.

The acts of the Polish Government are an insult to the British signature to the Treaty of Versailles. They have made, and are making, the work of the League of Nations ludicrous and abortive.

Is Britain blind?



## CHAPTER VII.

THE BRITISH COAL MINING INDUSTRY  
IN RELATION TO UPPER SILESIA.

## A COAL CRISIS NOT NEW.

**C**RISIS, disturbance, unrest and grave distress in the British coal-mining industry are unfortunately not new. Domestic disputes may have contributed both directly and indirectly to the destitution and loss in the coal-fields; but the fact remains that were it not for unprecedented Government-subsidized charity, the miners and their families would be deprived of even the most meagre necessities of life. To whatever immense proportions that fund, in terms of charitable contributions, may grow, it cannot achieve more than the staving off of the spectre of starvation from tens of thousands of homes over a very short period. The Fund cannot last until prosperity comes again to our mining areas nor until the belated work of Industrial Transference machinery has produced the means of securing a livelihood in fresh avenues of opportunity for tens of thousands of men and their families. But there is, unfortunately, nothing new in the present crisis. The coal-mining industry has played an important part in Parliamentary Debates since the period of the war. It is especially significant that during the debates during May, 1921, in the House of Commons, the problem of Upper Silesia was closely associated with the disturbances in our own mining industry. Now, however, that the sympathy and intelligence of all thinking men has been focussed upon the problem of Coal, and of its consequent unemployment, the Silesian problem, as perhaps one of the chief factors of influence, seems to have been forgotten.

It must always be plain to those who are willing to see, that the ultimate solution of the problem involved in European coal

production will lie in an arrangement between the principal coal-producing countries, for the production, marketing and absorption of all types of coal upon the quota basis. The countries principally concerned are Great Britain, France, Germany, and Poland. The Continental coal-fields are generally so organized that one organization representing capital and one representing labour can speak for the whole industry; whereas in Great Britain, although there are signs of better co-ordination and of a common policy as exemplified by the Five Counties Scheme, or Lord Melchett's combination, the industry, so far as capital interests are concerned, is not organized as a whole. It is difficult, therefore, for a great Continental group to approach British coal-mining interests, as a whole, let alone to negotiate. It is improbable, however, that any definite arrangement can be reached for a further two years; but certainly such must be the final objective. Meanwhile, the distress in British coal-fields is being aggravated by the situation in Polish Silesia. There is nothing new in this; but as time goes on the real issues are being lost beneath an avalanche of artificial, political considerations.

#### THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES.

During the Debates in the House of Commons, authorities of varying political opinion proclaimed, without equivocation, that the French and Polish concurrent action in Upper Silesia during the Plebiscite period constituted a grave infringement of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

It is quite certain, unless I am gravely misled, that we shall not willingly subscribe to any act in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, which, perhaps ingloriously, but at least with intense relief to all nationals, concluded the "War to end Wars." Nevertheless, there seems to be a considerable body of opinion, representing all shades of political opinion, that the Treaty has been violated in respect of Upper Silesia.

#### SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1921.

Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking in the House of Commons on the 13th May, 1921, said:—

There have been three very important speeches made by hon. Members opposite, and they will not accuse me of any discourtesy

or any want of appreciation of the value of what they said if I pass at once to another subject: but let me say this, as I am the first private Member on this side of the House to speak, that I should very much like to see the Prime Minister follow the suggestion that has just been made by the hon. Member opposite that he should take the first opportunity to bring together again the parties in the controversy. Having said that, let me pass at once to the question of Upper Silesia. Fortunately, I need not detain the House for any length of time, as I imagine that by this time they are in general possession of the principal factors of the controversy. Hon. Members will remember that Upper Silesia is the principal coal and industrial district of Central Europe. It is a district of mixed population, and on that account, and I believe mainly due to the Prime Minister's efforts at the Peace Conference, it was settled that the future of the country should be determined after a Plebiscite of the population. The population was to vote, and subsequently an Inter-Allied Commission were to delimit the frontiers on the basis of the voting. Voting took place at the end of February, and since then the Inter-Allied Commission have been sitting at Oppeln to delimit the frontier on the basis of the voting. I understand that during the recent conference at Lympe a request was made to the Inter-Allied Commission to announce their decision without delay. Obviously, if they could have announced their decision during those discussions, it would have facilitated the solution of the whole Reparations problem, but the decision was not ready, and on that account it could not then be adopted.

In the meanwhile, in the early days of May, Korfanty, the well-known Polish Nationalist, carried out a *coup d'état* under which he has occupied practically the whole of Upper Silesia. That is a very significant and a very serious state of affairs, for I think that if anyone will look with care into the details they will come to the conclusion that that *coup d'état* was not the spontaneous result of a sudden impulse, but that for some months past it had been carefully prepared. If it had not been carefully prepared, we should not have seen the very significant features that have been brought into prominence during the last week. For instance, there was the significant feature of obviously inspired paragraphs in the extreme Nationalist Polish Press stating, what was quite inaccurate, that the Inter-Allied Commission had already decided against the Polish claim and were going to hand over to Poland only two small districts, whilst retaining the rest of Upper Silesia to Germany. It is particularly significant that that report was given great prominence in Korfanty's own papers. Secondly, the insurgents seized, obviously after careful preparation, all the principal industrial districts and at once declared a general strike.

Thirdly, they occupied what is now known as the Korfanty line, namely, the line of the Oder—in other words, practically the whole of Upper Silesia—and proceeded to fortify their position. Fourthly, they destroyed, obviously with a strategic purpose, the bridges over the Oder and a number of the railway bridges connecting Silesia with Germany. Lastly, they have shown during the last few days that they are in possession of very large quantities of ammunition of every kind. In view of these facts, I say that this *coup d'état* must have been prepared for some considerable period of time, and I should therefore like to ask the Prime Minister whether the Allied delegates on the spot at Oppeln were aware of these preparations; if so, whether they reported them to their respective Governments; and, if so, why precautionary action was not taken to stop the *coup d'état* being carried out. The result is that to-day the Allied representatives are undergoing a state of siege in the Plebiscite area. They have, I understand, a force of some 10,000 Allied troops, but even with these troops, tanks, and machine guns, they are quite incapable of coping with Korfanty and his insurgents. Moreover, during the last two days, the report has been published in the Press that the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, the French General Le Rond, has made an armistice with Korfanty, and upon the basis of a *status quo*; in other words, he has left Korfanty in occupation of the district in dispute, practically the whole of Upper Silesia. I would venture to ask the Prime Minister whether that report is correct, for it seems to me to entail a very serious situation if the French General really has recognized this *de facto* occupation by the insurgents of the Plebiscite area, and a great blow is struck at the whole basis of the Peace Treaty. I hope, if he is in a position to make a reply to my question, he will state quite clearly that, whatever may be the present position of affairs in the Plebiscite area, the Allies will on no account allow a repetition of what D'Annunzio did in Fiume, and what Zeligowski did in Vilna, and will insist on the Treaty being carried out in letter and in spirit.

I come to the attitude of the Polish Government. Here let me on no account be misunderstood. I have always sympathized with the national claims of Poland, and I regarded the liberation of Poland as one of the fine achievements of the War. I am also conscious of the fact that the Polish Government, through its Prime Minister and its Foreign Minister, has disowned any connection with Korfanty and the insurgents. I admit also that the Polish Government, like most of the Governments of Central Europe, is in a very weak position in imposing its will upon the people of its country. None the less, I should feel happier if the

Polish Government not only made this disclaimer by word, but also showed by action that it entirely disapproved what Korfanty has done, and that it is prepared to give every assistance in its power to the great Allies in carrying out the Treaty. I therefore make a suggestion to the Prime Minister. I understand Korfanty's headquarters is between Kattowitz and the Polish frontier, quite a short distance from the Polish frontier, and at the present moment the frontier is free, and recruits to the insurgent forces, and supplies, are passing without hindrance from Poland to the insurgent forces. I should like to see the Allies ask the Polish Government to take steps at once to close the frontier; in other words, to assist the great Allies in blockading Korfanty and his force. If the Polish Government did that, then I think there would be no question of their sincerity, and there could be no doubt in this House, or anywhere else, that they genuinely disclaimed Korfanty's *coup d'état*, and that they were determined that the Treaty of Versailles should be carried into effect.

Lastly, it is quite obvious that, upon this question, a certain body of French opinion is very excited. If report is correct, it seems clear that, at any rate, some of the French officials have looked without displeasure at Korfanty's occupation of this territory. If that be so, let me suggest to those of our French friends who hold these extreme views that it is a very dangerous policy for any Frenchman to adopt. Of all countries in the world, France will gain most by the carrying out, in word and in principle, of every detail of the Treaty of Versailles. I would suggest, holding the strong views I do about the need of an Anglo-French Alliance, that any Frenchman who, while demanding the carrying out of the Treaty of Versailles in the matter of Reparations, allows it to be ignored in the matter of Upper Silesia, is doing a great harm to his own country, and is making it more and more difficult for my ideal to be carried into effect, namely, a defensive alliance between the two countries.

Commander Kenworthy, holding very different political views from the former speaker, then said:—

The very valuable contribution of the hon. Baronet requires no justification for intervening as it did in the discussion of the industrial situation, because, after all, this Upper Silesian question is intimately connected with the whole coal situation in Europe, and, furthermore, the dislocation caused to the whole economic system in Europe is reacting on the whole coal situation throughout the world, and therefore on the miners' question in this country. Consequently, the two problems cannot be separated. This matter calls for delicacy in approaching it; nevertheless, I

think it is necessary to use a little plain language. Hon. Members will be aware that in Article 88 of the Treaty of Versailles the matter is very plainly laid down. It says:

“In the portion of Upper Silesia included within the boundaries described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote whether they wish to be attached to Germany or to Poland.”

That vote has been taken, and I ask hon. Members to consider what their feelings would have been if the vote had gone overwhelmingly in favour of Poland, and then, not waiting for the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission, and the Supreme Council, the Germans had raised an insurrection in order to prevent the Treaty being carried out. What would our French friends have said, and what would hon. Members opposite and the public, and, above all, the great newspapers, have said? As it is, the boot is entirely on the other leg, and we have this disgraceful episode of filibustering in Upper Silesia, although the Government of Poland pays lip-service against this crime. British officers have been insulted and imprisoned, and brave Italian soldiers have been killed. I think we ought to pay a tribute to the very fine work of the small Italian force there. There is a continual flow of munitions, motor-lorries, artillery, and recruits, and soldiers in uniform, across the Polish frontier. That is admitted in newspapers in this country, which cannot be accused of being pro-German. I will quote from the *Times*. Their special correspondent, writing from Oppeln, on May 11th, used these words:

“The result of French partiality and unconcealed co-operation with the Polish cause is that any person with a sense of justice is driven to support and defend the Germans, who, in the light of present events, are made to appear innocent victims of a conspiracy, a rôle which they are certainly delighted to fill. This enforced espousal of the German cause is very distasteful to most Englishmen. The Commission has ceased to act as a harmonious body. The British and Italian officers, in the execution of their duty, find themselves compelled to organize Plebiscite police against the insurgents openly backed by the French. French officers in such cases state that they have received orders not to interfere with the insurgent troops.”

On the 9th, writing from Beuthen, the same gentleman says, and I think these are the most significant words of all:

“The Italians, who have lost 30 or 40 dead, are not likely to remain indifferent. At any rate, in justice to the officers and officials who have been humiliated, and who now feel

themselves caught like rats in a trap, these things ought to be known. Otherwise the Treaty of Versailles may find an unhonoured grave in the coal mines of Silesia."

The Prime Minister and you, Mr. Speaker, know I have no love for the Treaty of Versailles. I have always maintained that it is impossible of execution, and that it will have to be modified, and recent events have proved that I was right, because it is being modified; but I want it modified by reason, by negotiation, by agreement, not torn up by force with the resultant anarchy that will follow. The Prime Minister is well aware of the immense importance of this subject. Speaking at that box on the 21st July of last year, in answer to a question by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Paisley (Mr. Asquith), who was taking part in a Debate on this matter, the Prime Minister said, with reference to the amount of reparation that was going to be fixed at Geneva:

"Whether the final figure will be fixed is very doubtful until the decision about Upper Silesia is announced. Obviously that will make a very great difference. If that important coal-field is torn out of Germany and handed over to Poland, it will make a very considerable difference to the capacity of Germany."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 21st July, 1920, cols. 502-3; Vol. 132.]

We all know the immense importance of this matter. I am raising it, not from the pro-German point of view, but solely from the pro-British point of view, and I respectfully suggest it is high time the real interests of this country were considered. The Plebiscite has taken place, and I do not think anyone will hold there was any interference with the Polish voters. In fact, the accusations are all in the other direction, and the result has been that only the *Kreise* of Pless and the *Kreise* of Rybnik and some of the districts round Tarnowitz have voted to remain with Poland. I am going to suggest some solution of this problem, because this is one of the few opportunities one will have of referring to this vital matter. There seem to be three possibilities. One is for Upper Silesia to be handed over entirely to Poland. That would be unjust and I do not think should be considered. The second would be to partition it and, as I believe is suggested, to hand over the *Kreise* of Pless and the *Kreises* of Rybnik and Tarnowitz to Poland. That would be in accordance with the principle of self-determination, but it would partition the economic structure of Silesia hopelessly. It would mean you would have an underground frontier as well as an above-ground frontier. In some of the mines the men would come up one shaft on the German territory, while others would come up another shaft on

the Polish territory. The German experts declare they will not work with the Poles. I do not know if that is propaganda, bluff, or not, but at any rate there is bound to be dislocation. The French say they can supply the necessary experts. Therefore you would have French experts working one half a mine and German experts the other. The position as far as the German workmen and the Polish workmen are concerned, from the economic point of view, would be a failure. I know perfectly well, under Article 90 of the Peace Treaty, that for 15 years there shall be ready export of coal from any areas handed over from Poland to Germany, but with such a state of affairs there is bound to be tremendous confusion.

This district produced 13,000,000 tons of coal before the War. It is not yet fully developed, and if we are going to get anything like an indemnity, or even the interest on those bonds that are to be issued, the supply of coal to the Germans must be ensured. Therefore I suggest that there is a third way out of the difficulty. This may be rather a rash suggestion, and will give openings to people who wish to criticize me, but I suggest that the whole of Upper Silesia should be retained by Germany. If the majority had gone to Poland as it has gone to Germany, undoubtedly the whole of Upper Silesia would have been handed over to Poland. That is well within the terms of the Treaty, and after all, Poland has not been in possession of Silesia for 600 years, and has no more claim to it than we have to Calais. I am quite aware that strong nationalist sentiments have been stirred up in Poland, but from the pro-British point of view it would be very much better if the whole of Upper Silesia went to Germany, because if these coal-fields go to Poland it really means that French capitalists and French experts will have to work them. That will give the French control of yet one more great coal-field in Europe. It will probably mean default by Germany in the payment of interest on the bonds, and that will mean the French will occupy the Ruhr Valley. They already have the Saar, they are controlling the Czech coal-fields, and it is going to give them a tremendous control over the production of coal, produced, let it be noted, by sweated labour and with a collapsed exchange.

It is going to be most serious for our export trade in coal, and it is really time, in my opinion, that this pro-British commercial point of view was stressed, and I make no apology for possibly giving offence to our friends on the other side of the Channel. The Prime Minister will say: "What do you suggest? Do you suggest sending troops?" No, but we should make it quite clear we are not going to stand any nonsense. We showed plenty of vigour towards the Moscow Government when they



were in power in Poland. It is high time the Polish Government was brought up with a round turn, if I may use the expression. I make that practical suggestion, and if the Poles will not listen to reason I am quite satisfied we can come to an agreement with the Allies. After all, it is German territory. It is more than human nature can stand to see this rule of force applied to them, by which they are kept strictly to the other terms of the Treaty, and not to Poland, and I think a mandate should be given to the Germans to clear the Poles out if the Poles do not listen to reason.

Other speakers, representing both the Coalition and the Labour Parties, who followed in debate closely related the difficulties and unrest within our own coal-mining industry with the events in Upper Silesia.

#### THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH.

The Prime Minister then summed up the Debate in an important speech :—

Now I come to the consideration of two problems that have been raised in this House to-day, and very important ones they are. One is Silesia and the other is the mining strike and industrial unrest. They may appear to be very incongruous and irrelevant but they are not so far removed as one would imagine, because the problem of Silesia is the problem of peace in Europe ; and the problem of peace in Europe is the problem of unrest in England, and therefore I am very concerned from the industrial point of view that there should be removed all these elements that create discord and conflict and consequently unrest and loss of credit and confidence throughout the world. That is one of the reasons why I deplore deeply what has happened in Silesia. As my hon. friend who introduced the subject pointed out, Silesia has certainly not been Polish for hundreds of years—600 years. That is a long time. If you go a little beyond that we were French and France was English and therefore you cannot go back 600 years and begin to claim. There is a limit to the absolute title of races in these problems.

The old lawyers, in the interests, I have no doubt, of justice, justice developing very often in a bill of costs, traced abstracts of title to very remote origins. The common sense of the community at last cut that down, and they have come somewhere within reasonable reach of modern times. The same thing applies to all these remote claims to property, and Poland has certainly no right to Silesia historically. The only claim that Poland can have, either to Silesia as a whole or to part of it, is the fact that

there is an overwhelming Polish population which has come there for the purpose of working in the mines or otherwise in comparatively recent times. Now I come to what was done by the Treaty of Versailles. By that Treaty it was provided that there should be a Plebiscite of Upper Silesia in order to determine the wishes of the population. That Plebiscite has taken place. The result has been, for Upper Silesia as a whole, that there has been a majority in favour of the German claim of something like six to four. But, as has been pointed out, there are communes in Upper Silesia that have voted in favour of Poland. There are other communes where the population outside the towns have voted Polish, while the population in the towns in the centre of those areas have voted German.

The Commissioners met to consider what is to be done in face of these facts. The British and Italian Commissioners took one view and, unfortunately, the French Commissioners took a different view. The majority of the Commissioners, that is the British and Italian, were in favour of giving the quarters which were overwhelmingly Polish to Poland, and the areas where, taking the towns and country districts together, the majority was German, to Germany. That was the finding of the officers representing Britain and Italy, and the French took a different view. We were to consider this Report in London, but unfortunately the Report did not arrive in time for the Conference in London. But we were about to consider it when, without waiting for that consideration, without waiting for discussion between the Governments, the Polish population, under the leadership of M. Korfanty, raised an insurrection, tried to rush the position, and put us in the position of having to deal with a *fait accompli*.

That is the state of the case. It is a complete defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. I think it right to speak quite plainly, because if these things are to happen and no notice is taken of them, and we do not deal with them with that stern justice which, I think, has generally characterized the attitude of this country in all its dealings abroad, it is going to be fatal to the peace of Europe. And if the peace of Europe is disturbed I cannot see what is going to happen to the world, and I am alarmed—I use the phrase deliberately—I am frightened. Unless there is some confidence restored to the world and it feels that it can begin to work again, the consequences must be of the most terrible character, because the whole industrial world is so built up on credit and confidence that once they are shaken I do not see how you can rebuild it. Therefore I think it is essential in the interest of the nations that whatever our prejudices may be, whatever our

predilections may be, whether we like this man or dislike the other—justice has nothing to do with likes or dislikes in this matter—we must decide fairly, sternly, according to the pact we ourselves have signed. Take this position: the Treaty of Versailles is the charter of Polish freedom. The freedom of Poland is based on the Treaty of Versailles. It may be a bad Treaty and it may be a harsh Treaty, but the last country in Europe that has a right to complain is Poland.

Who won the Treaty of Versailles? Not Poland. Poland was by a cruel fate—I am not criticizing her—divided in the War. Half her sons were fighting for the Allies under the banner of Russia and half were fighting against the Allies, but the Poles did not win the War. The half fighting for the Allies were beaten with the armies with which they were associated, broken, scattered, driven like cattle. Poland fell, and if we had depended upon the armies of Poland that were fighting for the Allies, Poland to-day would have been either a German or an Austrian province. The half that were fighting against the Allies fought to the end. Polish troops in German uniforms were shooting down Frenchmen and British and Italians who were fighting for Poland's freedom. The liberty of Poland is due to Italy, Britain, and France. There is not a letter in the Treaty of Versailles that does not mean a young British life, not a letter that does not mean nearly two French lives, and there were hundreds of thousands of Italians. Poland above all ought to respect every comma in the Treaty of Versailles, and now that Germany is disarmed, when Germany is helpless through the action of the Allies, Poland says she will fight even against the Treaty of Versailles for Silesia.

I see M. Korfanty says that all the Poles in Silesia will die rather than surrender. If they had thought that earlier, when the battle for Polish freedom was being fought, there would have been fewer British, French, and Italian lives lost. But they have thought of it only when Germany is disarmed and helpless. The Polish Government repudiates responsibility. One is bound to accept the statement as representing their view, but it has happened once too often. Lithuania, by a settlement to which America was a party, and France and Italy and Britain, was given Vilna. Vilna was occupied by regular Polish troops in defiance of the Allies. They were asked to retire. The Polish Government said she had no responsibility—"They went there without our wish." They are still there. The same thing is happening now, and there is the same disclaimer of responsibility. But there are arms passing from Poland; Polish officers are crossing the frontier. All this makes it very difficult to feel that these repudiations of responsibility are anything but purely verbal. Signor

D'Annunzio seized Fiume in defiance of the Italian Government. The Italian nation felt that its honour was involved. Signor D'Annunzio and his men are out of Fiume. The Italian Government took steps, even to the point of forcible action, for they felt that the honour of a great nation was involved. I commend that fine example to Poland.

May I say just this word from the point of view of the Allies? It is our supreme interest to respect the Treaty of Versailles. For the moment we have overwhelming force on our side, and Germany must submit. The future is dark and uncertain. No one can tell with what it is charged. The only thing I venture to predict at this Box is this—that force will count less and less with the Treaty of Versailles, and the honour and credit of Germany, her signature to her bond, will count more and more. But if circumstances change, and if the power of these 60,000,000 people, very powerful, as we know too well from experience, able, courageous and resourceful, is, I will not say regained, but becomes more vital because of the changed circumstances, it ought and it will count more and more. Then it will be a bad thing in the reckoning if Germany can say, "You are asking us to honour our bond. What did you do with yours? When it was against us, whether it was for reparation or disarmament, you insisted, you threatened to blockade us, you were prepared to take over the coal mines which are the essence of the life of Germany, because you wanted to compel us to carry out the Treaty of Versailles. What did you do when Poland defied you over Silesia? Were you then equally insistent?" I am entitled to say that, and I say it solemnly to Britain and to the Allies. It is not merely a matter of honour—and that surely is not to be despised—it is a matter of safety, it is a matter of security, that we should show that we must adhere to that Treaty when it is for us—yes, and when it is against us! I dislike and I fear more than I can tell, this sort of trifling with this Treaty, this sort of playing with it, and saying, "After all, they are only Germans." They are entitled to abide by everything which that bond either imposes upon them or takes from them, or gives to them, and we ought to judge impartially, with a stern sense of justice, whether it is for us or whether it is against us.

There are two ways of dealing with this situation. One is that the Allied troops should insist upon restoring order. It is not for me to express a military opinion, but I should be rather surprised if it could not be done. I have this further difficulty however in expressing an opinion. We have been obliged to

withdraw our troops and therefore our Allies are entitled to say to us: "It is not for you to insist upon the lives of our soldiers being put in jeopardy." I therefore do not insist upon that part of the argument. But I am entitled to insist upon the alternative. Either the Allies ought to insist upon the Treaty being respected, or they ought to allow the Germans to do it. Not merely to disarm Germany, but to say that such troops as she has got, are not to be permitted to take part in restoring order in what, until the decision comes, is their own province—that is not fair. Fair play is what Britain stands for, and I hope she will stand for it to the end. A great name in the world is associated with that word, and I hope, although they are Germans, that we will show all the more that we stand for fair play. Our authority will be all the greater for it. Are we to say to Germany: Here is your province, here is something which has to be decided by the Treaty of Versailles either for or against you, but the Poles are to be allowed in defiance of that Treaty to take it and you are not to be allowed to defend yourselves in a province which has been yours for 200 years and which certainly has not been Polish for 600 years. You are not to be allowed to defend yourselves there, you cannot arm or protect yourselves and yet we are not to interfere by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles. That is discreditable. It is cowardly. It is not worthy of the honour of any land and I am perfectly certain it would not be the attitude that the Allies would take up.

The only thing I should like to say on behalf of the Government in conclusion is this. Whatever happens we cannot accept a *fait accompli*. That would be to permit a defiance which might lead to consequences of the most disastrous kind and we do not accept it. I venture to call attention to the fact that there are possibilities in Europe which render it essential that we should all stand by the arrangement which is involved in this Treaty. Russia is now a broken Power, exhausted and in the hands, as I think, of a hopeless despotism which is running the country upon impossible principles, but it is a great country, it is a gigantic country, it is a country of almost inexhaustible resources, and it is peopled by a very gallant race. Anyone who reads the history of the War, before their defeat, will see how gallant they were when they fought even without rifles and simply presented their bare breasts to an enemy that was armed with the most powerful equipment that had ever gone into a field of battle. That country is not going to remain as it is. Can anyone here tell me what it is going to be? It will not be what it is now for long. That it

is going to be a powerful country, that it is going to be a dominant country, that it is going to have a say in the future of Europe and of the world, everybody knows. What view will it take, on what side will it be, and who will be its partners in the game of nations? Will it be here or will it be there? I ask those who tear up the Treaty of Versailles when it does not suit them to think of that, and of the possibilities of the rest of Central Europe, and in all solemnity, with an earnest desire to see peace restored in Europe, knowing that peace cannot be restored anywhere except on the basis of stern justice, I from here make an appeal to all concerned to do what is right, to do what is fair, to dismiss prejudices, to be upright and fear not."

#### BRITAIN REMAINS SILENT.

Without the necessity of going further, it would seem obvious from the foregoing that, firstly, leading authorities from three political parties held the view, as we do ourselves, that the dismemberment of Upper Silesia was a breach of the Treaty of Versailles; secondly, that a situation favourable to such a breach was promoted by the Polish *coups d'état* with the connivance of the French Government; and thirdly, that responsible public men with a knowledge of the coal-mining industry have related the impoverishment and distress of British coal-fields with the question of Silesia.

If the partition of Silesia by force of arms was a grave breach of the Treaty of Versailles in 1921, as has been declared, for example, by the Prime Minister of the day, by a member of the present British Cabinet, and by prominent members of the Labour Party, then, since the Partition, as has been shown, was contrived by force, without either an honourable or courageous regard for the Treaty of Versailles, it remains in 1929, also, a breach of the terms of the Treaty. As has been shown, also, the policy of disregarding the contractual terms of Treaties and Agreements has been pursued since 1921, by that Party which owed its very existence to the Treaty itself, namely, Poland. While the Polish Administration, aided and abetted by France, piles breach upon breach of the Geneva Agreement, upon the initial breach of the Treaty of Versailles, thousands of British miners, and indirectly the whole of Great Britain, suffer, directly and indirectly, from the outrage. And Britain remains silent.

## COMPARATIVE WAGES.

We will now proceed to an examination of comparative wages. We already know that the International Labour Office in Geneva has stated that standard of life in the Polish coal-fields is the lowest in Europe. The figures contributed by the Ministry of Mines for the quarter ending September, 1928, state:—

				<i>Average cash earnings per shift.</i>	
				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Great Britain ...	...	...	...	9	3½
Germany ...	...	...	...	8	7
Poland ...	...	...	...	3	11

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that, whatever else it may have done, rightly or wrongly, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has fought consistently for a higher standard of life, through higher real wages, for the miner; and that now, with national sympathy aroused, whatever may be the destiny of the coal-mining industry, we shall not permit wages and the standard of life to fall to the level of degradation which characterizes that of the Polish miner working in pits under Polish control.

#### CONTRASTING THE STANDARD OF LIFE OF POLISH AND GERMAN MINE WORKERS.

The contrast between the working conditions and standard of life of the German and Polish miners is illuminating. Not only have I studied the statistics from our own Government Departmental Offices, but I have also secured the official statistics and evidence in Upper Silesia itself. I have, too, tested the evidence from conversations with working miners, both German and Polish, by personal visits to their homes and to the coal face, and in conversation with the best of all statisticians, the woman responsible for the monthly and weekly budget in the home.

In German Silesia a hewer of coal obtains an average net weekly wage, without deductions, of 56s. There is a minimum basic wage and he can increase this by increased production. In addition to the net cash wage he receives insurance and medical benefits, free medical and dental treatment for his children, and free facilities for washing of clothes and household linen for his

wife also at the pithead. He receives also at the pithead a free lock-up for his own clothes and every day a free hot bath. This care of clothes and washing facilities constitute a very considerable economy in the household budget, saving clothing itself, and the dirt which comes to a British miner's house with its concomitant of disease. He receives also a cottage at a purely nominal rent, provided and built either from the capital of the mine organization, by the State, or by Building Societies. The average rent of such houses is 10s. per week; they are well built, with water, central heating, and electric light laid on; and consist of a kitchen with an admirable range, a parlour and two bedrooms, one for children and one for adults, the average size of the rooms being 16 feet by 12 feet. Like British and Polish miners, also, a coal allowance amounting in the case of German miners to seven tons a year is made. That the standard of life among the German miners is a high one is demonstrated by the admirable furnishings of the cottages, cleanliness of the linen, good clothing and boots, the dress and cleanliness of the women and children and the evidence of the larders.

There is considerable unemployment in German Upper Silesia, amounting to 140,000 persons in the current month. This is due to the economic disturbances within the territory itself. It may seem strange at first sight that with this large burden of unemployment in German Upper Silesia some thousands of workmen from Polish Silesia are prompted by the German Authorities daily to cross the frontier for work in the German Silesian mines and works. The chief reason for this is that these workmen, though for the most part not actively so, due to pressure, are part of the German-feeling Minority in Polish Silesia, and it would not be fair to deprive them of their livelihood, now that they suffer the misfortune and oppression of politically being citizens of the Polish State.

Incidentally, those responsible for the British Miners' Welfare Fund, and for the administration of British mines in general, could not do better than to observe for themselves the administration in the German Silesian coal-fields, the admirable example of good sense and paternal administration, industrial efficiency and humanitarianism going hand in hand.



The contrast of the conditions in what is now Polish Silesia, after so short a period as seven years, is pitiable. With the exception of that small percentage of miners who are able to cross the frontier the average cash weekly wages of the hewer of coal for the same week as the German miners, that is, 48 hours, is 24s. This is 57 per cent. less than the German miner's wage. Official British figures show it in comparison to be even more unfavourable. From observation in the retail stores and markets, the cost of living in German and Polish Silesia is about the same, though, due to immensely high tariffs, such essentials to working-class diet, due to their high vitamin content, as fruit, cost 800 per cent. to 1,200 per cent. more in Polish Silesia than in the German territory across the frontier. In order to equip himself with a new pair of boots, the Polish Silesian workman must contribute the whole of one week's net wages.

The former excellent houses for the workers constructed by German mine administration and by the State of course remain. But while numbers of new houses, equipped with every modern convenience, have been built in German Silesia since 1922, there are very few new buildings, other than lavish State offices, for the purpose of impressing the population, in Polish Silesia. The miners' houses are becoming dilapidated; bare woodwork shows through the paint; while within, the furnishings are of the most meagre and haphazard description. Children are emaciated, anaemic, and ill-nourished in comparison with those of the German miner. The clothing of the men, and usually of the women, too, consists of rags, and it is often the custom of women, in order to allow the children to go to school during the bitter cold winter months, to deprive themselves of their own underclothing and provide some covering for their offspring. The Polish Silesian miners, of course, still receive the bath benefit organized by the old German administration and still carried on either by German, American or French-Polish administration, while in the case of the old German-administered pits, and the American too, every attempt is still made to maintain the efficiency and spirits of the workmen through welfare work.

Despite the disabilities which the Polish Silesian workers now suffer, they still maintain themselves with admirable fortitude.

But there is grave unrest and the threat of strike among them. Characteristically, the Polish administration seeks to intervene in what is a simple economic issue. The Wojewoda, himself, is attempting by pressure to impose a new political Trade Union upon the mine workers, known as the Federacja Pracy. It must be plain that the Polish Silesian mining industry can contribute higher wages. Dumping at Gdingen is bolstered up both by railway freight subsidy and by raising prices of coal in the domestic market; but this artificial trade does not reflect itself in the miners' wages. The vote of thousands of Silesian miners was obtained for Poland during the Plebiscite by extravagant promises in the economic field. Korfanty to-day must be disillusioned emotionally, though his interests never coincided with those of the miners. He is in violent opposition to the Polish Silesian administration under the Wojewoda. The Polish Silesian miners, too, are now disillusioned. In order to win the miners to the Pan-Polish cause, the Polish administration is about to offer a very small rise in wages, while the unions are demanding thirty per cent. increase. The intention of the Wojewoda for political purposes is to break the unions. If the Wojewoda had any sincere interest in the welfare of the workers he possessed the power long ago to raise the standard of the Polish Silesian miners' level from that of virtual slavery. But that the Polish administration in the past has not been so interested is demonstrated by the conditions, for example, at Dombrowa, where even housing conditions are miserable and mean beyond description.

It is scarcely surprising that Polish miners prefer the happier conditions of employment within German-owned pits in German Silesia; nor is it surprising also, incidentally, that Wasser-Polnisch Silesian women in the cottages which I have visited prefer German conditions for their men and the German schools for their children. There is abundant proof everywhere of this fact.

#### A COAL CARTEL FOR THE BALTIC.

Poland is quite fully determined to make the utmost of her newly-acquired coal-mining industry. Great Britain must realize what this means. The Silesian coal-fields are abundantly fortunate: coal, zinc, lead can be mined as one industrial unit, com-

pleted by works, rolling mills and factories at the pithead. Recent Polish railway development is proposed primarily to serve the Silesian coal-fields. Poland's objective is the Baltic market. It is evident that it matters not in how far, or by what measures, British producers may reduce the price of export coal, the Polish producers will remain in a privileged position, and "dumping" will continue. The present pithead price of coal is under 5s. per ton, taking into account all charges. Even supposing that miners' strikes, by advancing wages, secure a considerably higher pithead price, it does not seem possible that the British mining industry can hope to secure more than a small percentage of the future Baltic market. All the desiderata point the other way. It must be remembered, too, that under German administration freights on the German State Railways were controlled by the Dawes Plan, whereas to-day Silesian coal is transported upon the subsidized and uncontrolled State Railways of Poland.

It would, however, seem to be wisdom for all parties interested in the Baltic market to co-operate in a cartel, to fix a quota for production and export and to maintain prices which will not only ensure a satisfying standard of living for the hewer of coal, but which will, also, force Scandinavia to pay a fair and economic price for the product. The Scandinavian countries to-day are enabled to purchase coal at dumping prices, and indirectly, therefore, the Scandinavian industries which live upon coal, especially steel and engineering, are also placed in a favourable position when tendering in world markets. The present policy of indirect subsidy and of price-cutting must be disastrous not only to the coal-mining industry as a whole, but, also, to the basic industries founded upon coal and its by-products.

It may be repeated that 40,000 Polish workmen have been transferred to the French coal-fields in the neighbourhood of Lille. In 1913 the number of men employed in the French coal-mining industry was 203,208 and the average daily output of coal was 136,147 tons. The figures for November last year, respectively, were 295,369 men and 179,081 tons. There is no unemployment in France; and these workmen, as is well known, exist with a deplorably low standard of life. There are constant references to their unhappy condition in the Polish Socialist and

Trade Union Press, while protests through Polish Consuls in France come to naught. The trade balance has moved very strongly in favour of France; and it is not unfair to say that the reason for such movement is in part due to coal dumping on the back of what is virtually the enslavement of mine workers.

#### EXPORT TO SCANDINAVIA.

The Report of the Royal Commission in the Coal Industry (1925) provides the following statement:—

Since the transfer from Germany of the mines in Polish Upper Silesia, the fourth place in the world's exporting countries is held by Poland. Her exports are at the rate of about 11 million tons a year. Her markets are in the neighbouring central European states, and she is not at present a serious rival in the British export trade. It is true that since her natural market in Germany has been closed, she has been trying to find fresh outlets in places (*e.g.*, Scandinavia and Italy) that we normally supply. But it is not likely that it will prove economically possible for her to gain a permanent footing in these countries, though we may suffer indirectly from her increased exports elsewhere.

It is shown clearly from the trade figures published in this monograph that the supposition expressed has not been fulfilled. With extraordinary activity since 1925, Poland has been exerting her energy in the Baltic market with the initial advantage of a wage standard less than half that of British miners. To Great Britain, Scandinavia is a declining market, due directly to Polish competition. Prior to the separation of Silesia this coal, now dumped in the Baltic, was absorbed within German industries, while we were able favourably to compete with German exports, owing to our natural advantage of seaports and comparatively low freight charges, while the level of British and German wages was almost equal. To-day, under the new regime, Poland, without the domestic industries capable of absorbing the output of her newly-acquired coal-fields, and with the German market closed, has become Britain's most serious competitor. The total average British coal exports to Scandinavia for the years 1909-13 amounted to 9,917,900 tons. For the quarter ended 30th September, 1928, the total tonnage of British coal raised amounted to 53,552,053, of which 49,460,446 tons was available for commercial disposal. The total wages paid for the quarter was £23,491,618 and the total number of workpeople employed was 859,259, the average

## REPARATION COAL

earning per shift being 9s. 3½d. and the average output per man shift being 21·13 cwts. The wage charge represents almost 70% of the total charge, and provides if averaged an earning for those actually engaged in the industry, of about two pounds per week, granting consistent employment and a full working week. No one can suggest that a wage of forty shillings for a forty-eight hour week of arduous and dangerous toil is excessive, yet we have already seen that the Polish miners receive only twenty-four shillings for a similar working week.

Of the total output, 16,645,000 tons were shipped during the same quarter for export and foreign bunkers. This total is about one-third of the total output. The output per man shift is approximately one ton, producing an average wage of 9s. 3½d. Every additional ton sold for export would bring into British homes, therefore, an additional 9s. 3½d. The Scandinavian market is capable of absorbing a stupendous tonnage. From the Report of the Royal Commission on Coal (1925), Sweden, Norway and Denmark alone absorbed in the June quarter, 1925, 1,685,129 tons at average declared value per ton F.O.B. of 17s. 6d., and in the December quarter of the same year 2,142,461 tons valued at 16s. 3d. In recent years, however, British exports in the Baltic have been declining, being unable to compete with Polish Silesian coal at the new wage rates since the Plebiscite; and since Poland, backed by French finance, has attacked the British market.

## REPARATION COAL.

It should again be emphasized that since 1923 British coal exports have sustained a loss amounting to 29,000,000 tons, a loss in money values of £54,000,000. This sum represents approximately £40,000,000 in wages; and on the average wage for consistent labour, it is plain that if we could regain the whole of our export trade, the additional tonnage would employ additionally between 150,000 and 200,000 men at present unemployed. We have consistently held the view that, quite apart from the Silesian question, the Treaty of Versailles, also, embodied principles which imposed upon Germany conditions which would ruin both our coal trade and our shipping yards. Previously we were exporting coal from, for example, South Wales to both France

and Belgium at £4 10s. and £5 per ton. Under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Germany had to supply France and Belgium with free Reparation coal. In consequence our own market was closed down. The Treaty imposed conditions upon Germany, also, which took her shipping from her, and there were so many ships in our yards that the British ship-building industry, as everyone now knows, practically came to a standstill. France has utilized the free Reparation coal for the support of her own manufacturing industries, while her financiers have profited from the export of other coal, much of which is produced by Polish "slave" labour, in customary British markets. Especially so is this, as has been demonstrated, with Silesian coal. Whatever changes may be made in the organization, administration or control of British coal-fields, we can see no hope for reviving any trade until disastrous economic policies, morally wrong, also, have been reversed.

#### POLITICS AND THE MINING INDUSTRY.

The British coal-mining industry has suffered from the interference and intrusions of politics. Whatever may be said to the contrary, British miners are firmly convinced that the Government of the day fully supported the coal-miners at the time of the lock-out, or strike, and of the General Strike itself. Similarly, British owners feel that the miners themselves, through the instrument of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, alone are responsible for the disasters to the industry.

Whatever may be the truth—and it is no purpose of this monograph to take part in the controversy—it is certainly true that most of the ills from which we suffer in the body politic have their source in the minds of our own citizens. No one who has visited British mining villages can fail to be appalled at their squalor, at the lack of simple sanitation, good housing and facilities for the conduct of cultured life. British miners' wages may, in the past, have been comparatively high, but low as are the wages of the Polish Silesian miners since the Partition, the workers themselves have been very well cared for by the old German administration; while, also, the German Silesian miner enjoys a

standard of life of which British miners would be envious. It is quite certain, therefore, that had British mining administration introduced similar benefits in the past at the time when the industry was prosperous, there would be a far greater willingness to co-operate to-day. At least, squalor, dirt and disease would have been replaced by comfort, cleanliness and good health. From these latter sources spring the contented mind. These benefits in Silesia were of German origin, and while cash wages in German Silesia remain at an average of 7s. per shift, the cash wages in Polish Silesia have fallen nearly 60 per cent.

With the exception of the purely economic question, the present turmoil in Polish Upper Silesia is wholly artificial, manufactured with the Chauvinist objective of forcing the German minority wholly out of Polish Silesia. Sight must not, therefore, be lost of the two wholly separate issues, political and economic. Workers' interests are being subordinated to political projects; and so far as the workers are concerned the pity of this is profound.

For political objects, almost wholly misunderstood, under the stress of virulent propaganda, the Polish Silesian population has already contributed immense economic sacrifices as the comparative wage levels in Polish and German Silesia demonstrate. Yet, even so, the truest friendship between the old type of German director and foreman and the Silesian worker is invariably to be found underground and in the workshop. The miners in no way seek the expulsion of the traditional paternal administration, which has provided, not only comfortable homes and satisfactory conditions of work, but also higher wages. Testimony as to such satisfaction is to be found from men with wider horizons and more ample experience, now in the Silesian pits, who have worked in British, French, and American coal-mines. The present unrest, threatening strikes in the Kattowitz area, is due to the very low cash wages in Polish Silesia. By subtle propaganda, it is suggested by agents of the Wojewoda's administration that the expulsion of German directorship and management will supply the wage deficiency, while a Pan-Polish industrial union would secure such a result. The unrest, therefore, due to economic causes is now embroiled in the general political whirlpool. The

miners are being thrust into strikes, with the most slender resources, to serve a subtle political project.

Thus are the methods of brute force being marshalled by the Polish State in place of the newer and happier conceptions of right and of justice.

#### THE REPARATION ISSUE.

It seems a poor argument, indeed, advanced from some quarters, that, ten years after the conclusion of peace, German standards of life should be penalized in order to provide higher and more speedy Reparation payments. Even were such a policy enabled, by international agreement and by pressure, it is difficult to see how the British coal-mining industry would be advantaged, or how, by this method, the British taxpayer would be relieved of even a fraction of his burden, due to unemployment contributions. The argument is as short-sighted, or self-interested, as it is absurd. Taxation may be, as it is, three times as heavy per head in Britain as it is in Germany. Mr. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparation Payments, may, in his recent report, have stressed the high standard of living in Germany, as he did, as "an impressive indication of the improved standard of living." But, as everyone, who pauses to consider, realizes, high standards of living imply a high level of consumption, and this condition means busy factories and busy people, less unemployment, less industrial strife, less misery, less taxation. Great Britain must seek further, probe deeper, if the key to the problem is to be found. Even so, as economists insisted eight years ago, and as has been herein demonstrated, the dismemberment of Silesia, with its consequent economic disturbances, not a little also affect the general question of Reparations, as it does that, also, of unemployment in Great Britain.

#### HONESTY THE BEST POLICY.

Any competent business man knows perfectly well that a business policy which invites forceful measures and harsh terms between buyer and seller is sooner or later doomed to failure. In the prosperous United States, there is a wholesome platitude which runs, "The next best man to yourself is your competitor—get to know him." What is true of trade, must be true also



of political co-operation, since the politics of our age rest almost entirely upon economic or business considerations. So long as Great Britain is a party to the harsh measures determined by the Treaty of Versailles, so long will British trade continue to suffer.

No one, but a partisan who has permitted Germophobia to become a dominant passion, could reasonably support the view advanced in some quarters that any change in Germany's eastern frontier will be provocative of a war condition. The history of Silesia demonstrates centuries of peaceful rule and ever-growing prosperity under German rule. To-day, under the new regime, passions are aroused, the atmosphere is charged with revolutionary tendencies, while a vigorous irridenta has been created, dangerous to the ultimate peace of Europe.

We must emphasize again the fact that Polish coal exports to Scandinavia from January to September, 1928, amounted to 4,830,856 tons, whereas the import from England decreased by 1,583,000 tons, approximating to a wage bill at current rates of £700,000, or the annual additional permanent employment of between six and seven thousand British miners. And instead of increasing, the British export market in the Baltic is declining, due to quite unnecessary and to artificially-created and stimulated wrong Polish competition.

#### THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION, COAL, AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

The problem of the British coal industry remains with us insistent and unsolved. We are now upon the eve of a General Election, the issues of which will be of far greater importance, both in the fields of domestic and international politics, than any other, certainly since 1918, probably since 1906. There is the ever-present danger that national good sense will be stampeded by the shrill propaganda of the robust Press; that the clamour of the hustings will obscure real vital issues in the dust of personal abuse, local jealousies and personal rivalries; while party passions will blind all but the most logical and far-sighted to those profound truths which alone should guide the electorate.

We are convinced, however, that the only problem which merits serious discussion is that of Unemployment. The problem

itself accounts for the total non-employment of about one million able-bodied men, half a million women and tens of thousands of juveniles. These are registered unemployed. The figures, including unregistered adults and juveniles and those working on short time, would reach an estimate of, we suggest, some three million persons.

Quite apart from the appalling waste in human productive capacity, and the ghastly physical and mental deterioration of those subjected to unemployment, we are spending as a nation some thirty-six million pounds sterling on unemployment pay, millions upon out-relief, and enormous sums in charity, services and grants. It may be supposed that the total sum expended annually in sustaining our unemployed at bare subsistence level amounts to not less than fifty millions a year. This colossal sum constitutes an overhead charge upon every industrial undertaking, great and small, and upon every single home in the land. It is a direct charge upon every product of British mines, workshops and factories, which must be paid both by the consumer at home and in foreign markets. So long as this burden exists, spending power will be restricted at home, while competitors in foreign markets possess the initial advantage of being able to undercut British prices by the amount of this taxation.

At the back of the problem remains that of our own Coal Industry, responsible directly for the greatest number of unemployed, and indirectly for nearly the whole.

This problem, we suggest, is the only one which demands any serious consideration by the electorate. Every scheme for reform and raising of the standard of life rests ultimately, if not immediately, upon its solution. This monograph is not concerned with the projects, or panaceas, put forward by the rival political parties, though obviously they all merit full and weighty consideration, in their economic, social and, not least, in their psychological aspects. But we suggest that no scheme for domestic re-organization of the coal-mining industry, whether it seeks to provide better methods for grading, or a more efficient system of grouping the fields and marketing the products; or whether it be calculated to remove grievances from the minds of the miners themselves, or be devised to eliminate waste, providing

by-products, and new types of coal, can solve the problem alone.

The world is one economic unit. Tariffs in export markets, comparative wages in sterling values in coal-producing countries, capacity for domestic coal consumption among our competitors, credits, among other factors, are desiderata as important as any of the previous considerations.

#### COAL EXPORTS LOST.

In 1913 the total exports of British coal amounted to seventy-three million tons; in 1923 they assumed a total of seventy-nine million tons. At the present date exports have fallen to fifty millions. In monetary terms British coal exports are worth only forty-five million pounds to-day as compared with ninety-nine millions paid in 1923, a loss of fifty-four million pounds. Yet even to-day we are exporting more coal to Africa, Asia, South America, South and Central Europe than we were during 1923, the record exporting year.

The reason for our loss is not far to seek. The bulk of our Baltic trade has gone to Poland, while the terms of the Treaty deprived us also of a vast export market.

According to the Swedish technical paper, *Kolmarknaden*, the Polish exports to Scandinavia from January to September, 1928, amounted to 4,830,956 tons, whereas imports from England decreased by 1,583,000 tons.

It should be noted that the International Labour Office at Geneva sets down the standard of living in Poland as the lowest in Europe, a fact of peculiar significance to British labour. And the standard of living remains the lowest in Europe, while vast numbers of Polish miners have migrated to enjoy the higher standards enjoyed by workers in other lands, including Germany.

Nor did Poland, a country almost wholly agricultural, being in fact an essential granary for Western European industrial civilization, possess the industries and organization capable of absorbing the output of these mines up till 1921 within German economic structure. Poland is now delivering coal up to the point of straining its transport facilities in delivery. The new railway from Kattowitz to Gdynia will probably be completed

by 1930, and with this extension Polish coal exports can be further increased up to fifty per cent.

#### THE BRITISH HOME CONSUMER ALSO PAYS.

The policy of the British coal owners to meet this competition has been to subsidize export coal at the expense of the home consumer, and by restriction of output. The theory upon which this policy was based is of course obvious, namely, to reduce supplies and re-win the export market with the object of reaching a point at which prices could be raised to an economic level against foreign consumption. The result, however, has been both an immense fall in the output of British coal-fields and a steady decline in export prices. The Polish producers, with an ample margin for profit, taking into consideration both the low wage level of real wages and the favourable rate of exchange, met reduction by reduction. The British consumer, already burdened with an unbearable load of taxation, due in large measure to the deep depression and incidence of unemployment in the mining industry, was unable to purchase usual, even necessary, supplies in the home market, while he was asked to carry also the burden of the export subsidy, which as a policy also, for the resuscitation of the export market, hopelessly failed.

Every voter, every sane man and woman, with the plain facts before them, should therefore consider this problem in all its aspects. Each has a duty towards his fellow-men in this country, especially to the mining community, and a wider one to humanity. In laying the facts before the public I am making my contribution towards a solution of the problem. I should stand ashamed of my own generation if I had not attempted to provide facts which may help to guide public opinion.

#### BRITAIN'S MORAL OBLIGATION.

It is, perhaps, one of the strange phenomena of life that success does not proceed from wrong; in a platitude, "honesty is the best policy." The British coal industry may perhaps, therefore, by some inscrutable law of Providence, have suffered ill from the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles, when Wilson's Fourteen Points were accepted, unconditionally, as the foundation

of world peace. The Supreme Council in Paris, modifying the recommendations of the Plebiscite Commission, bargaining together, made a travesty of the principle of self-determination and begged the Treaty of Versailles. The Partition was sprung upon the world, supported by special pleading and specious propaganda. The result has proved to be as disastrous to our own coal-mining industry, as it has to the Silesian people.

And the Problem of Coal remains with us insistent and unsolved. We suggest that the solution lies very largely in Upper Silesia.

It is indisputable, therefore, that quite apart from the very serious consideration which the British people must give to the moral issues involved in the Silesian problem, as they may taint the British signature to the Treaty of Versailles and qualify British sincerity in the work of the League, Great Britain is menaced in the Baltic with a serious new rival, namely, Poland, whose export power is based upon the lowest wage rates in Europe, and a consequent standard of life at a deplorably low level. Is Britain blind?

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