

The Indian National Congress 1927

Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All
India Congress Committee and the Working
Committee during the year 1927

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1928

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1927

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay, on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th May, 1927:—

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its great concern at Mahatma Gandhi's ill-health and prays that he will soon be restored to complete health and enabled to resume his great work for the country and the world.

I.—Mahatma Gandhi's ill-health.

The A. I. C. C. approves and adopts the report* of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Moslem question and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the following recommendations carried out :—

II.—Hindu-Moslem Unity.

That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

That with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, such representation of the communities should for the present, and if desired, be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature ;

(1) Joint Electorates.

(2) Reservation of seats.

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces, and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

*Vide Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee, dated 15-5-1927.

That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N.-W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one, and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces.

(1) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Committee is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted by the constitution of the Congress.

(ii) The Committee is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.

(iii) The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces.

That, in the future constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

(4) Liberty of conscience. "Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

That no Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

(5) Inter-communal matters. "Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislatures concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

The All India Congress Committee rejoices at the release, after more than thirty months of incarceration, of the great patriot, Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Committee demands the immediate release of the other Bengal detenus.

The A. I. C. C. calls upon the Working Committee to frame a Swaraj Constitution, based on a declaration of rights, for India in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties, and place the same before a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. with a view to its adoption by the Congress at its next session.

IV.—Constitution for India.
The All India Congress Committee records the report* of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, representative of the Congress at the International Congress against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression and for National Independence, held at Brussels in February last, and expresses its high appreciation of his services at the Congress.

V.—International Congress against Imperialism.
This Committee appreciates the efforts that are being made by the League against Imperialism and for National Independence founded by the said Congress to secure the independence of all suppressed nations in the world and resolves to recommend to the Congress to give support to the League as an associate organisation.

Note:—Under the rules of the League, an associate organisation is an organisation which is not affiliated to the Congress and which need not agree wholly with the programme and activities of the League.

VI.—China.
The All India Congress Committee assures the Chinese people of its fullest sympathy in their struggle for freedom, condemns the action of the Government of India in despatching Indian troops to China and demands their immediate withdrawal.

VII.—Ambulance Corps to China.
The All India Congress Committee appreciates the proposal of the Hindustani Seva Dal to send an Ambulance Corps to China and appeals to the country to give its moral and material support to this humanitarian work—to tend the wounded and the sick.

The A. I. C. C. calls upon the All India Board of the said Dal to take all necessary steps in connection with the despatch of the proposed Ambulance Corps.

VIII.—British Trade Union Bill.
This meeting of the A. I. C. C. views with apprehension the introduction into Parliament of a Trade Dispute and Trade Union Bill, of an extremely reactionary and repressive character. It expresses its opinion that the Bill, while it is an open attack upon the working-class of Great Britain, is only part of a general policy of aggression by British Imperialism against all movements and sections which stand in opposition to its aims of conquest and dominance.

*This report is given as an appendix.

This meeting particularly protests against the attempt to deprive the working-class of their right to declare a general strike.

The All India Congress Committee resolves that the Bengal Congress disputes be referred for final decision to the following arbitrators suggested in the letter, dated 17th May, 1927 addressed by

IX.—Bengal Congress Disputes.

- (1) Mr. Purushottam Roy
- (2) Mr. Surish Chandra Das
- (3) Mr. Rajkumar Chakravarty
- (4) Mr. Basantakumar Mazumdar
- (5) Syta. Hemprova Mazumdar
- (6) Mr. Ghiyas-ud-din Ahmed
- (7) Mr. T. C. Gorwami
- (8) Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy

Arbitrators:—

1. Mr. Amarendranath Ghose, M. L. C.
2. Mr. N. C. Chunder, M. L. A.
3. Maulana Akram Khan

The All India Congress Committee calls upon the Working Committee to organise rural and urban labour in the provinces, to appoint organisers for the purpose and frame general regulations in this behalf.

X.—Organisation of Labour.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. condemns the unjust, inhuman and illegal action of the Burma Oil Company authorities in taking the law into their own hands and shooting on the unarmed workmen on strike, expresses its fullest sympathy with the workmen in their great fight and calls upon the members of the Madras Legislative Council to organise Civil Disobedience at once.

XI.—B. O. C. Shobit-
lag.

This Committee strongly condemns the ill-treatment by the Government, of the Kakori prisoners and demands that they be classified as special political prisoners.

XII.—Kakori Prisoners.

The A. I. C. C. requests the Working Committee to send an accredited representative to Nagpur to inquire into the Satyagraha started there and to make a report as to the facts of the situation and the steps, if any, that may be taken by the Working Committee in furtherance of the object of the movement.

XIII.—Nagpur Satyagraha.

This Committee authorises the Working Committee to call for an explanation from the Madras Council Congress Party for not having voted down the salaries of ministers and refused supplies so as to defeat and overthrow the present ministry and submit the same for the consideration of this house at its next meeting.

XIV.—Madras Council Congress Party.

In view of the fact that all other peaceful efforts on the part of the Indian leaders, inside and outside the legislatures, have failed to secure the release of the political prisoners imprisoned without trial in Bengal

XV. Boycott of British Goods.

[a] This meeting of the A. I. C. C. feels it as its bounden duty to inaugurate a boycott of British goods as a practical protest against the policy of ruthless repression and terrorism followed by the British Government in this country and calls upon all Congressmen and all the Provincial and Subordinate Congress Committees to start forthwith a vigorous campaign of propaganda for the boycott of British goods urging the Indian public to abstain from purchasing British articles (to be specified hereafter) and dissuading Indian merchants from placing their orders for the same with British merchants or British firms. This boycott movement will continue till the political prisoners are released.

[b] This Committee directs the Congress Working Committee to immediately publish a list of British articles which are at present imported into this country in large quantities but which can either be manufactured in India or imported from other foreign countries and which therefore can be boycotted without inconvenience.

[c] This meeting of the A. I. C. C. earnestly appeals to all the political, industrial and other organisations in the country to lend their sympathy and support to this movement of boycott and wholeheartedly co-operate with the Congress to make it effective and successful. This Committee firmly believes that detention in jail without judicial trial is a form of tyranny that no self-respecting Indian organisation, whatever its creed or whatever its principles, is prepared to tolerate without an emphatic protest.

The following Resolutions were adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta, on the 28th, 29th and 30th October, 1927:—

That the consideration of the matter raised in the requisition for this meeting *re* Working Committee's resolution on the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council be dropped.

1.—Requisition *re* Wg. C. Resolution.

The A. I. C. C. condemns the callously minimising attitude of the Government of Bihar and Orissa with regard to the recent flood disaster in the Balasore and Cuttack districts of Orissa. It warmly congratulates the different voluntary societies which have done such splendid service in saving the poorest of the poor in these districts from utter privation. It commends the work of reconstruction on behalf of the

2.—Orissa Flood.

distressed families as a national work of immediate importance notifying the fact that the greatest sufferers have been the families of the depressed classes. It calls public attention to the appeal made by Pandit Gopabandhu Das and by Mr. C. F. Andrews whose services in the cause of the famine-stricken in Orissa it gratefully acknowledges.

The A. I. C. C. expresses its deep sympathy with the Kharagpur strikers in their struggle against the grave injustice that has been done to a considerable section of the employees of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, and asks the whole country to stand by them and help them to vindicate their rights.

This Committee expresses its unqualified condemnation of the murderous assaults and riots that have recently taken place and appeals to Moslem and Hindu leaders to do their utmost to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country.

(i) *Conversion*.—The All India Congress Committee resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or reconversion nor should there be any demonstration of jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion.

Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means; or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations.

(ii) *Cow and Music*.—The A. I. C. C., while approving of the following resolution on the Cow and Music question as a fair settlement of opposite demands and points of view, authorises members of the Congress to carry on propaganda among Hindus and Moslems along the lines indicated in the resolution and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a Committee for the purpose of carrying on such propaganda; and further resolves that the resolution do come up for confirmation at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. and the Congress to be held in Madras:—

A. I. C. C. 1927

"Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality, be guaranteed to every community and person,

Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before any mosque at any time for religious or other purposes but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstrations in front of a mosque nor shall the songs or music sung or played in front of a mosque be such as is calculated to cause annoyance or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosque.

Moslems are at liberty to sacrifice cows or, subject to existing Municipal Laws regulating the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, to slaughter cows, in any town or village, in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a *mandir* nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus.

Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Moslem community is earnestly appealed to, so to conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned".

Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened, it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations and their decision shall be final.

This Committee strongly condemns the continued incarceration
6.—Bengal Detenus. under Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 of the detenus of Bengal.

And in view of the fact that several detenus have been in custody for over four years and are in an alarming state of health—

This Committee resolves that a sub-committee of six members (with power to co-opt) be appointed to devise means for expediting the release of the detenus and that this sub-committee do submit their report in time for the next meeting of the A. I. C. C.—

Members of the Sub-Committee.

Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
Dr. M. A. Ansari
Syt. T. Prakasam

Maulana Akram Khan
Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta
Syt. S. C. Mitra (Convener)

This Committee fully appreciates the services of Syt. Sailendra Nath Ghose and Dr. Sudhindra Bose, the well-known Indian patriot exiles in America and expresses its deep sympathy in their fight to restore the citizenship rights of the Indians which were lost by the judgment of the Supreme Court of America and also conveys hearty gratitude to Senator Copeland for bringing the Hindu Citizenship Bill in the American Senate to remove the disqualification imposed on Indians in America and place them on the same footing with other emigrants in the State. This Committee also appeals to our countrymen and the members of the A. I. C. C. to contribute what they can to the fund started by the Hindu Citizenship Committee of America.

8.—Refusal of Pass-ports. This meeting of the A. I. C. C. condemns the action of British Imperialism in refusing comrade Saklatvala a passport to visit his motherland and also the action of the Indian Government in refusing passports to many Indians, invited by the Society for the Promotion of Cultural Understanding, to attend the 10th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

9.—Nabha. The A. I. C. C. re-affirms the resolution passed at the Delhi Special session of the Congress in 1923 strongly condemning the action of the Government of India in bringing about the enforced abdication of H. H. Guru Charan Singh Malavendra Maharaja of Nabha as being unjust and unconstitutional; and in reaffirming the heart-felt sympathy of the nation with the Maharaja Saheb in the grave wrong that has befallen him, demands that justice be done to the Nabha cause by the restoration of the Maharaja to the *gadi* and in all other respects.

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at Madras in December, 1927:—

December, 24

After transacting formal business the All India Congress Committee resolved itself into the Subjects Committee of the 42nd Session of the Indian National Congress.

December, 29

1.—Late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb. The All India Congress Committee records its most intense grief at the unexpected passing away of one of India's greatest patriots and workers in the cause of unity and a past President of the Congress Masihulmulk Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, and requests the President to convey its respectful sympathies to the members of his family.

Resolved that the following be the elected members of the
2.—Working Com- Working Committee:—
mittee.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mahatma Gandhi | Maulana Abul Kalam Azad |
| Pandit Motilal Nehru | Syt. J. M. Sen-Gupta |
| Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyenger | Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar |
| Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya | Mrs. Sarojini Naidu |
| | Maulana Mohamad Ali |

Note:—The following office-bearers are ex-officio members of the Working Committee:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Dr. M. A. Ansari | President |
| Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru | General Secretaries |
| Mr. Shuaib Qureshi | |
| Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose | |
| Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri | Treasurers |
| Seth Jannalal Bajaj | |

Resolved that the following do constitute the Election Disputes
3.—Election Disputes Panel:—
Panel.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Syt. S. Satyamurti | Dr. Moonje |
| " G. Harisarvottama Rau | Babu Rajendra Prasad |
| " G. B. Deshpande | Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb |
| " D. Y. Gokhale | Dr. Satyapal |
| " Maung Maung Ji | Dr. Murari Lal |
| " R. K. Sidhva | Syt. Kiran Sankar Roy |

Resolved that a committee of the following five gentlemen be appointed to revise the Congress constitution and present their report to the A. I. C. C. not later than 31st March, 1928:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Shri Jawaharlal Nehru | Shri A. Rangaswami Iyengar |
| " Subhas Ch. Bose | " Shuaib Qureshi |
| | Shri Shiva Prasad Gupta |

Resolved that the resolution of the Congress that every member of the A. I. C. C. should pay an annual subscription of ten rupees shall come into operation at the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

5.—A. I. C. C. Membership fee.

The All India Congress Committee is of opinion that the Neill statue on the Mount Road, Madras is a standing insult to the self-respect of the citizens of Madras, the Indian nation and humanity itself inasmuch as he was guilty of many barbarous and blood-thirsty acts of revenge (such as wholesale burning of villages and hanging, shooting and burning alive of thousands of innocent men, women and children), and that the statue should not be allowed to continue to remain within the public view

The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Neill Statue Satyagrahis upon their bold initiative and sacrifice.

This meeting of the All India Congress Committee condemns the action of the British Government in refusing

7.—Refusal of Pass-
ports. passports to the Deputation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee to enable them to go to Shanghai to compose the acute differences amongst the members of the Sikh Community there.

WORKING COMMITTEE 1927

An informal meeting of some of the members of the Committee was held at 50, Haris Mukerjee Road, Bhawani-pur, Calcutta, at 2-30 p. m. on the 1st January, 1927. The following resolutions had been passed at that meeting and were subsequently confirmed by circulation.

I.—Resolved that Sirdar Sardul Singh be requested to send a statement and report on the Nabha question with a view to place the Working Committee in possession of all the relevant facts on the said question for their consideration and necessary action.

II.—It was resolved that the Secretary be authorised to address the Currency League as well as labour organisations individually and through the Press inviting them to express their opinions as to the comparative incidence of the ratios of 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. per rupee on wage-earners, both agricultural and non-agricultural.

It was also resolved that importing firms and merchants and exporting firms and merchants, the Currency League as well as the Chambers of Commerce, the Anglo-Indian and European Associations, be invited to express their opinions on the relative effect on consumers and producers and on Indian industries generally, of the ratio of 1s. 6d. as compared to 1s. 4d. bearing in mind the fact that as a rule India's exports are always much larger than her imports; the opinions to be sent to the Secretary of the Indian National Congress before the 15th inst. to his address in Delhi, with a view to enable the Working Committee, in pursuance of the resolution of the Congress on this question, to go into the whole subject and issue instructions to the Congress members in the Legislative Assembly for the purpose of taking steps to safeguard the interests of the people of India in such manner as it may be advised.

III.—It was resolved, with reference to the resolution of the Congress calling upon the Working Committee to take steps in consultation with Hindu and Muslim leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March, 1927, that the President be authorised to convene a conference of Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi at the earliest opportunity to consider the ways and means of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity.

Summary of proceedings of the Committee held at New Delhi, on the 23rd and 30th January, 5th, 13th and 17th February and 4th and 21st March.

I.—The Committee proceeded to discuss the question of issuing instructions to the Congress members in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the Currency Bill as per resolution X of the Congress at Gauhati. After long discussion, the Committee adjourned further consideration of the matter to the next meeting.

II.—The Committee next passed the following resolution on the developments in the situation in China :—

“The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress assures its Chinese brethren of its fullest sympathy in their struggle for freedom and calls upon the Government in India not to allow Indian troops or resources to be used against China”.

III.—The Committee again discussed the subject of the Currency Bill and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Mr. Saklatvala were both present and took part in the discussions. On Pandit Motilal Nehru's suggestion it was resolved that the Working Committee should confer with the members of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State on the question before finally deciding on the instructions to be issued.

IV.—After a prolonged Conference and discussion with the members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the Committee resolved by a majority that the question of the ratio in the Currency Bill be made a party question and that the ratio to be supported be 1s. 4d.

V.—It was next resolved unanimously that proposals for the establishment of a gold currency should be embodied in the Currency Bill

brought up on the recommendations of the Currency Commission and that it should be supported by the Congress Party.

VI.—The Committee further resolved that instructions be issued in accordance with the foregoing resolution to the Congress Party in the Assembly and the Council of State.

VII.—The Committee then passed the following resolution:—
Resolved that it is not necessary at present to consider the proposals contained in Mr. Qureshi's letter regarding medical mission to China.

VIII.—It was also resolved that the following grants be sanctioned for starting organisation work in the provinces mentioned below:—

					Rs.
United Provinces	..	..	..	..	2,500
Assam	..	..	..	..	1,000
Andhra	..	..	..	..	1,000
Tamil Nadu	..	..	..	..	1,000

IX.—The Committee resolved that with reference to resolution IX of the Gauhati Congress on Hindu-Muslim unity and also to other matters, a meeting of the All India Congress Committee be convened about the first week of March.

X.—The Committee discussed the situation in China and the sending of Indian troops thereto, as well as the cable from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the following effect:—

"Chinese situation developing world crisis. Urgently necessary intensive continuous agitation India displaying solidarity with China and against use Indian troops. British labour unequivocally declared assistance China prevention troops even if war declared. Congress here most representative, powerful; proceeding."

The following resolution was adopted:—

"Resolved that the Working Committee is not satisfied with the arguments used by the British Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister as to the necessity of sending any troops to China and demands that the Indian troops sent there be brought back to India forthwith. It calls upon the country to insist on the Government's compliance with this demand".

XI.—It was also resolved that the President of the Congress be authorised to send a cable to the Secretary of the Congress of Oppressed Nations, Brussels, and also to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the following terms:—

"Greetings. Indian National Congress offers fullest co-operation in world campaign against tyranny of imperialism. All shades Indian opinion unanimously condemn employment Indian troops against China and Viceroy's action preventing Legislative Assembly from discussing subject".

XII.—Resolved further that the meeting of the All India Congress Committee be held in Delhi on Saturday, the 19th and Sunday, the 20th of March, 1927, for considering the report that would be presented by the Committee in accordance with resolution IX of the Congress at Gauhati on Hindu-Muslim unity for the purpose of devising measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and also for the purpose of considering further proposals for the carrying out of the Congress programme in the country and in the legislatures.

XIII.—Resolved that the memorandum sent by Pandit Nilakanthā Das to the Working Committee be printed and circulated to the members of the All India Congress Committee and that the subject be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

XIV.—The Committee discussed the letters and telegrams received from Messrs. Sen-Gupta, Goswami, Nirmal Chunder, Sarat Bose, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Bidhan Roy and Akhil Dutta as also from Messrs. Jitendralal Banerji and Sasmal and others regarding matters relating to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Calcutta Corporation elections. After discussion, the Working Committee resolved as follows:—

“Having regard to the position disclosed by the proceedings of the recent meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the urgency of making arrangements regarding the forthcoming Calcutta Corporation elections, the Working Committee resolves to authorise, as an emergency measure, the formation of an Election Board there consisting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the five District Congress Committees of the city with power to co-opt, and requests the Board so formed to proceed with the selection of Congress candidates and carry out all measures necessary for winning the elections”.

It was resolved to telegraph the resolution of the Working Committee to the committees and members concerned.

XV.—The Committee next considered the following cable received from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:—

“Your cable appreciated. Congress successfully concluded. Permanent world organisation formed. Trust fullest publicity being given India. British labour invited Chinese representatives England. Suggest your doing same behalf Congress educate Indian public opinion. Returning Montana”.

It was resolved that the Chinese representatives to the International Congress of Oppressed Nations be invited to India and that the necessary invitation be communicated to them through the Secretary of the Congress and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

XVI.—Read letter from Mr. Ernest Thurtle to Mr. S. C. Bose, copy of which was sent to Pandit Motilal Nehru by Mr. Bose.

Resolved that the following cable be sent to the Secretary, Parliamentary Party, Commons, London:—

"Working Committee Indian Congress strongly urges Parliamentary Labour Party press for immediate release political detenus, prisoners. Protracted detention incarceration creating grave situation country".

XVII.—Read letter from Mr. Chaman Lal enclosing a representation from some members of the Assembly requesting reconsideration of the decision of the Working Committee re the Currency Bills:

Resolved that this Committee does not see any reason to modify the decision arrived at at its meeting of the 5th February and that members of the Assembly elected on the Congress ticket are therefore bound to vote in accordance with the said decision.

XVIII.—Resolved that an appeal be issued over the names of the members of the Working Committee now in Delhi urging the citizens of Calcutta to vote for the Congress candidates chosen by the Selection Board appointed under resolution 1 passed by the Working Committee on the 17th February, 1927.

XIX.—Seth Osman Sobani's and Prof. Indra's letters acknowledging the condolence resolutions of the Congress were placed before the Committee and noted.

XX.—The following accounts were placed before the Committee:—

(1) A. I. C. C. Office accounts for December, 1926 and January and February, 1927.

(2) Statement of Publicity and Propaganda account from 1st October, 1926 to 31st January, 1927.

(3) Statement of Publicity and Propaganda account in foreign countries from 30th March, 1926 to 31st January, 1927.

(4) Treasurer's office accounts for December, 1926 and January and February, 1927.

XXI.—The Hindustani Seva Dal Secretary's application, dated 14-2-27 for a grant of Rs. 5,000 was considered.

Resolved that Rs. 2,000 be paid as a special case.

XXII.—The following supplementary budget for the A. I. C. C. Office was sanctioned:—

	Rs.
Typewriter	300
Establishment	1,900
Auditor's fee	100

XXIII.—Resolved that the following travelling expenses in con-

WORKING COMMITTEE 1927

nection with the election disputes in C. P. Marathi and Maharashtra be sanctioned :

	Rs.	s.	p.
Syt. D. V. Gokhale	75	0	0
Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb	176	10	0
Syt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi	52	7	0

XXIV.—Resolved that the following printing charges be sanctioned :—Rs. 155 for I. N. C. 1925 and Rs. 53-8 for the Constitution (English).

XXV.—(a) The Punjab P. C. C. Secretary's letter No. 291; dated 14-2-27, recommending further relief for one year to the families of Pandit Jagat Ram and Bhai Bhagwan Singh was placed before the Committee :—

Resolved that the letter be forwarded to the Political Sufferers' Sub-Committee for favourable consideration.

(b) The Committee was informed that Rs. 500 were kept by the Secretary of the Political Sufferers' Sub-Committee out of the donation of Rs. 2,000 paid by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta.

XXVI.—The correspondence re Rs. 73-8 due from the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, on the Delhi Unity Conference account was considered :—

Resolved that the amount being irrecoverable be written off.

XXVII.—Resolved that Rs. 229-12 incurred by the Cocanada Reception Committee on behalf of the A. I. C. C. for which vouchers were missing be adjusted.

XXVIII.—Letter from Mr. Roger Baldwin, regarding assistance to Political Sufferers and their families, was placed before the Committee :—

Resolved that the Secretary do convey the Committee's thanks and apply for the help preferred.

XXIX.—Letters and telegrams from Dr. J. M. Das Gupta and Mr. Sasmal, sending reports of proceedings of the Bengal P. C. C. were taken up :—

Resolved that the Secretary do write to Dr. Das Gupta and Mr. Sasmal respectively referring to the other party's telegrams and letters and ask for explanations from both the disputing parties.

XXX.—Mr. Vishnu Karandikar's letter, dated 22nd February, 1927, suggesting that the Congress should purchase 500 copies of his bulletin for circulation to labour organisations was considered :—

Resolved that the Working Committee regrets it cannot accept the suggestion

XXXI.—Bombay P. C. C. Secretary's letter, dated the 21st February, 1927 *re* the registration of 'Congress House' under the Societies' Registration Act was placed before the Committee :—

Resolved that the President be requested to look into the matter for sending a reply in respect of the proposal.

XXXII.—Behar P. C. C. Assistant Secretary's letter No. 99, dated the 7th March, 1927 for a grant of Rs. 3,300 was considered.

Resolved that the Committee regrets it cannot sanction any grant.

XXXIII.—Letter from Syt. Rohini Kanta Hatibarus, dated 19th March, 1927 *re* help from the A. I. C. C. during his trip to England was taken up :—

Resolved that, in view of the stringent condition of the finances of the A. I. C. C., the Committee expresses its inability to give help.

XXXIV.—The Working Committee considered the report of the informal Conference of Muslim representatives from all parts of India and the proceedings of the meetings of the Hindu members of the Congress party during last week :—

Resolved that the Committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at by the Muslim Conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities and appoints the following Sub-Committee to discuss details with representatives of the Muslim Conference and of the Hindu community :—

SUB-COMMITTEE

Mrs. Sarojini Naidū
Pandit Motilal Nehru

Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
Maulana Mohamad Ali

The Committee trusts that upon this basis a satisfactory settlement of the differences between Hindus and Mussalmans will speedily be effected.

XXXV.—The Working Committee resolves that a meeting of the All India Congress Committee be convened at Bombay in May.

XXXVI.—The Working Committee approves of the President's proposal to convene a Convention Parliament consisting of the elected members of all the legislatures for the purpose of settling a constitution for India, and resolves that the same be placed before the A. I. C. C. at its next meeting.

XXXVII.—Papers relating to old T. S. F. and yarn quotas due from the provinces were placed :—

Resolved that the defaulting Provincial Congress Committees be reminded again of the dues and that they be asked to make no further delay in remitting the T. S. F. and yarn quotas to the Treasurer, A. I. C. C.

The Committee expects that the Provincial Congress Committees will realize that unless they pay up the dues promptly, the work of the A. I. C. C. cannot be done.

XXXVIII.—The Bengal Executive Committee's resolution on Bengal Detenus was placed before the Committee and ordered to be recorded.

XXXIX.—The Committee resolved that Mahatma Gandhi be requested to draft the necessary rules for the proper carrying out of the Gauhati Congress resolution No. XIII, and that the same be placed at the next meeting of the Committee for approval.

XL.—Resolved that the time for Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar to submit the report on Nabha be extended till 30th April, 1927.

XLI.—The Punjab P. C. C's and Central Europe Hindustan Association's resolutions on the despatch of Indian troops and the employment of Indian resources for suppressing the Chinese freedom movement were considered and recorded.

Summary of Proceedings of the Committee held at Bombay, on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th May

I.—(a) The following accounts were passed:—

- (i) A. I. C. C. Office accounts for March and April, 1927;
- (ii) Treasurer's Office accounts up to 30-4-27.

(b) The Committee considered the statement giving details of the ear-marked funds lying with the Treasurer and adopted the following resolution:—

"Resolved that the accounts re ear-marked funds and the purposes for which they were ear-marked be examined and that the President be asked to take necessary action thereon".

II.—The Hindu-Moslem question was then taken up: The suggestions regarding joint electorates, etc. which were made by the Mussalman leaders' meeting at Delhi on the 20th March were considered and the following report and resolutions were eventually adopted by the Committee for being placed before the A. I. C. C:—

Report

At the forty-first session of the Indian National Congress held at Gauhati, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March, 1927.

"And this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to issue necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report".

In pursuance of this resolution, the Working Committee at its informal meeting held in Calcutta on the 1st January resolved that the President be authorised to convene a conference of Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi at the earliest opportunity to consider ways and means of promoting Hindu-Muslim Unity. The President of the Congress, before convening such a conference, put himself in communication with leading members of the Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi as well as other important Congress leaders.

The President found it more feasible to carry on separate consultations and discussions with the Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Central Legislature as a preliminary to a joint consultation and, to that end, he invited Muslim members of the Central Legislature and a few Hindu friends to a social gathering which was responded to very largely by them; and there was a full and frank presentation of the points at issue on behalf of the Mohammedans by Mr. Jinnah and other members of the Assembly and members of the Council of State, based on the resolutions of the Muslim League held at Delhi in December, 1926.

The President of the Congress subsequently attended a gathering of members of the Assembly and other friends who represented the Hindu Sabha point of view and learnt from them the point of view put forward by them. After these preliminary steps, the Working Committee resolved to convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee referred to in the Congress resolution, on the 20th of March, 1927 for the purpose of considering the report that the Working Committee expected to present. It was, however, found that in consequence of the holding of the budget sessions in most of the Provincial Councils, many members of the All India Congress Committee were unable to be in Delhi and as the discussions with the Hindu and Mohammedan leaders continued without any definite conclusions being reached so as to enable the Working Committee to consider the matter and place their proposals before the All India Congress Committee, the meeting had to be postponed until the Working Committee could do so.

In the meantime, there were important informal conferences held of the Hindu members of the Congress party in the Indian Legislature, whose conclusions were communicated to the Working Committee in view of similar conferences held among Mohammedans and the Committee of the Muslim League.

On the 20th March, however, certain important Muslim leaders met and after long and anxious deliberations, decided to put forward specific proposals on the Hindu-Muslim problem for the acceptance of the Hindus and of the country, and communicated their desire through Mr. Jinnah that the Congress should consider and agree to the said proposals.

The Working Committee which met a day after those proposals were made, resolved "that the Committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at by the Muslim Conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities, and appoints the following Sub-Committee to discuss details with representatives of the Muslim Conference and of the Hindu community :—

Sub-Committee:—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Svt. Srinivasa Iyengar and Maulana Mohamed Ali.

The Committee trusts that upon this basis a satisfactory settlement of the differences between Hindus and Mussalmans will speedily be effected".

The Sub-Committee appointed by the resolution subsequently met and had various discussions and it was decided that the A. I. C. C. should be convened to meet in May in Bombay, and that the Working Committee should meet and formulate its conclusions after discussing details with representatives of both communities. The Working Committee has since received communications from several conferences on this matter. Among these are the resolutions of the Hindu Maha Sabha held at Patna and the resolutions of the Maharashtra Congress Committee, which have appeared in the Press.

Many members of the Working Committee had also the benefit of full and frank discussions in an informal conference with important Mohammedan leaders here in Bombay, yesterday, and opinion was generally in favour of the acceptance of the Muslim proposals. After considering all the materials placed before them and after having had discussions with leading members of the Hindu and Mohammedan as well as other communities, the Working Committee resolves to submit the following:—

Resolutions

The Working Committee having considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi on the 20th March last, as well as the opinions of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other Hindu organisations and the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both communities, is of opinion.

(1) That in any future scheme of constitution so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

(2) That, with a view to giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, such representation of the communities should, for the present and if desired, be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature :

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces; and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

(3) *a.*—The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one.

b.—The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted by the constitution of the Congress on the principle of the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to.

(4) That in the future constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

(5) No Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, central or provincial, if a 3/4ths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-Communal Matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a joint Standing Committee of both communities, of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislature concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

Draft Resolution for A. I. C. C.

The A. I. C. C. approves and adopts the Report of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Muslim question and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the said recommendations carried out.

III.—The letters received from the Punjab, Andhra and Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committees expressing inability to pay their quotas to the A. I. C. C. were considered. The Secretary was asked to make a further effort to realise the amounts due from these and also from other provinces.

IV.—The following printing charges were sanctioned :—

	Ru. a. p.
(a) I. N. C. 1926	221 0 0
(b) Constitution (Hindi)	39 6 0

V.—The following matters were placed before the Committee :—

- (i) Mr. Karandikar's cable ;
- (ii) South-African Indian Congress Secretary's letters, dated 27-2-27 and 26-3-27 ;
- (iii) Babu Raghupati Sahai and Syed Abdul Waheed have been paid gratuities of three months' and four months' salary respectively on termination of their services ;
- (iv) Sardar Sardul Singh's letter explaining the delay in sending his report on the Nabha question.

VI.—At this stage a deputation on behalf of the Hindu residents of Sind headed by Seth Naraindas Asamber waited upon the Committee to plead against the separation of Sind as contemplated in the proposals regarding Hindu-Moslem Unity. After hearing the deputation, the President explained how the separation of Sind improved the position of Hindu residents thereof. Thereupon the deputation left.

VII.—The question of framing a constitution for India was taken up and after full discussion the following draft resolution was adopted for being placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

The A. I. C. C. calls upon the Working Committee to frame a constitution for India in consultation with the elected members.

of the central and provincial legislatures and other leaders of political parties, and place the same before a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. with a view to its adoption by the Congress at its next session.

VIII.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's note* on the Congress of Oppressed Nations held at Brussels was next taken up and the following draft resolution for the A. I. C. C. adopted:—

(*Vide Res. V of A. I. C. C. page 3*).

IX.—The Committee discussed the Chinese situation and resolved as follows:—

(*Vide Res. VI of A. I. C. C. page 3*).

X.—At this stage the Committee considered the resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha, notice of which had been given by Mr. B. Raja Rau. The decision of the Committee was that the resolution be not supported in the A. I. C. C.

XI.—The question of labour organisation was discussed at length by the Committee which eventually adopted the following draft resolution to be placed before the A. I. C. C.:—

(*Vide Res. X of A. I. C. C. page 4*).

XII.—The first question discussed was, unity between the different parties in the Congress. Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, Dr. Moonje and Messrs. Bhopatkar and Gokhale attended at the special invitation of the President and participated in the discussion on the subject.

In the course of discussion, Mr. Prakasam's resolution, notice of which had been sent to the A. I. C. C., was considered and the Committee decided not to support it in case it was held to be in order. Similarly it was decided that the resolutions sent in by Messrs. Sambamurti, Pratap Chandra Guha Roy, M. K. Acharya and Annapurna be not supported in case they were held to be in order.

XIII.—The Working Committee passed the following draft resolution to be placed before the A. I. C. C.:—

(*Vide Res. IX of A. I. C. C. page 4*).

XIV.—The following draft resolution was adopted for being moved as an official resolution before the A. I. C. C.:—

(*Vide Res. VII of A. I. C. C. page 3*).

XV.—The application of Pandit Santanam, President of the Punjab P. C. C., for a grant of Rs. 3,000 was considered and it was resolved that Rs. 1,500 be advanced to the Punjab P. C. C. through its President, Pandit Santanam, as a loan on condition that the amount be returned by February next.

*The note is given as an appendix.

XVI.—Babu Rajendra Prasad's application asking for a grant of Rs. 800 to enable him to meet certain outstanding demands in connection with last year's general election expenses in Behar was placed before the Committee: the Committee resolved that the Secretary be authorised to pay the amount, funds permitting, out of the balance of the Central Publicity funds.

XVII.—The draft rules forwarded by Mahatma Gandhi regarding the habitual wear of *Khaddar* were placed before the Committee and it was resolved that the issue of instructions on this matter be postponed till after the President's consultation with Mahatmaji.

XVIII.—The All India Congress Committee's resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha was next taken up and the following resolution adopted:—

Resolved, in pursuance of the A. I. C. C.'s resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha, that Syt. Vallabhbai Patel be deputed to study the situation and submit a report in a fortnight's time.

XIX.—Discussion on the question of unity or co-operation between the parties in the Congress was resumed. Dr. Moonje was specially invited to be present. The following formula was considered as a formula of co-operation, not of unity, between parties to the extent co-operation was possible consistently with the Gauhati resolution:—

"While adhering to the principle of non-acceptance of ministries by Congressmen, the Working Committee recommends that the Congress party in the Council should co-operate to give practical effect to clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of resolution V of the Gauhati Congress, in provincial legislatures where ministries have been or are likely to be formed by Responsivist or Independent Congressmen".

The Committee considered the matter fully and unanimously arrived at the formula contained in the following instructions issued to the Congress party in the several legislatures:—

"The Working Committee hereby instructs the Congress party in the several provincial legislatures that their duty under clause (a) of Resolution V of the Gauhati Congress is to prevent the functioning of dyarchy as such wherever possible and does not impose on them the duty to defeat a ministry if the result of such action is, in the judgment of the party, likely to strengthen the bureaucracy or any anti-national party, and is further of opinion that it is desirable for the Congress party in the several legislatures to co-operate with other parties for the purpose of carrying out the policy and programme laid down in clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of the said resolution".

XX.—The question of the Congress party's conduct in the Madras Legislative Council was then considered as Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty, the leader, had asked for instructions. He and Mr. Satya-murti, deputy leader of the party, were present during the discussion

on this matter. After hearing them, the Committee adopted the following resolution:—

Having heard all that has been said pro and con the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Council the Working Committee is convinced that the party has done nothing inconsistent either with the ultimate object of the Congress, the attainment of Swaraj, or with the spirit and letter of the Gauhati resolution as in its judgment there was no probability of wrecking dyarchy in that province at that time, but that on the other hand it has done all that lay in its power to prevent the strengthening of the bureaucracy by means of an alliance of the bureaucracy with a party whose avowed policy is to promote communalism and to repress nationalism for the purpose of securing office at the hands of, and as a favour from, the bureaucracy. In so far as it has succeeded in doing this, the Madras Council Party deserves the thanks of the Congress and the country. But the Working Committee would at the same time make it perfectly clear that in no case shall the party in the Council resort to such co-operation with the ministers as is not permissible under clauses (c)—(f) of the Gauhati resolution and shall always work for a favourable opportunity of destroying dyarchy.

XXI.—Mr. Shuaib Qureshi's letter, dated the 14th February, 1927 re the Hyderabad Khadi loan was referred to the Secretary for disposal.

XXII.—The C. P. Marathi P. C. C. General Secretary's letter No. 385, dated 25-4-27 re the Wardha Taluk election dispute was placed before the Committee. Resolved that the President and the Working Secretary of the A. I. C. C. do finally dispose of the matter.

XXIII.—The Committee resolved that the President and the Working Secretary be constituted into a Sub-Committee to draft rules governing the procedure at the A. I. C. C. meetings, the introduction of money resolutions, notice of motions by members and other similar matters.

Summary of Proceedings of the Committee held on the 28th October at Calcutta

I.—T. S. F. accounts for May to August and A. I. C. C. office accounts for May to September, 1927 were placed before the Committee.

II.—The Committee was informed that Rs. 2,000 had been paid to the Secretary, Political Sufferers Sub-Committee, out of the fund ear-marked for the purpose.

III.—Resolved that the following be sanctioned :—

	Rs.	s.	p.
(i) Printing charges of Gauhati Congress report (Hindi part)	362	0	0
(ii) Printing charges of Gauhati Congress report (English part)	428	14	0
(iii) Storage charges of old pavilion at Delhi paid to Lala Shankar Lal	449	14	3
(iv) Transfer charges of old records from Allahabad to Madras	154	0	6
(v) Transfer charges of old records from Allahabad to Bombay	110	13	0

IV.—It was resolved that the sum of Rs. 546 received from Sardar Lakshman Singh, Jathadar, Akali Jatha, Stockton, California (America) ear-marked for Akali Political Sufferers' relief, be paid to the Shriomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, for being utilised for the said purpose.

V.—The Committee resolved that the sum of Rs. 2,000 sanctioned under its resolution No. (4), dated 24-8-26 be permitted to be utilised as an additional grant for office expenses during 1926-27.

VI.—The C. P. Marathi P. C. C. General Secretary's report (already circulated) on the Nagpur Satyagraha was recorded.

VII.—The Committee considered the question of Congress elections in the United Provinces and having regard to the emergency that has arisen in that province, adopted the following resolution :—

Resolved that Messrs. T. A. K. Sherwani and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi be appointed officers to conduct and carry out, on behalf of the Working Committee, District, Provincial and A. I. C. C. elections in the U. P. for 1927-28.

VIII.—Consideration of the rules regarding Habitual *Khaddar* wear was postponed.

IX.—The Committee resolved to sanction Rs. 500 as a token of its sympathy with the people of Orissa in their distress caused by the recent floods and regretted its inability to contribute a substantial sum, in view of financial stringency.

X.—The Hindu-Muslim question was then considered and the following draft resolutions were adopted to be placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

- (i) This Committee expresses its unqualified condemnation of the murderous assaults that have recently taken place and appeals to Moslem and Hindu leaders to do their utmost to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country.

- (ii) The All India Congress Committee resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or reconversion, nor should there be any demonstration of jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion.

Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud, or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations.

- (iii) Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community, but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality, be guaranteed to every community and person ;

Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before mosques at any time for religious or other purposes, but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstrations in front of a mosque nor shall the songs or music sung or played in front of a mosque be such as is calculated to cause annoyance or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosque :

Moslems are at liberty to sacrifice or slaughter cows in exercise of their rights in any town or village, in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a *mandir* nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus :

Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter :

Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Moslem community is earnestly appealed to, so to conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.

The following resolutions were passed by circulation in November:—

1. "In pursuance of the resolution of the All India Congress Committee on Hindu-Muslim Unity passed at Calcutta on 29-10-1927, which called upon the Working Committee to appoint a Committee for carrying on propaganda among Hindus and Muslims along the lines

indicated in the resolution, the Working Committee appoints the following Committee :—

Dr. Ansari	Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad	Mr. K. Nagawara Rau
Maulana Mohamad Ali	Pandit Motilal Nehru
Dr. Kitchlew	Mr. M. V. Abhyankar
Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani	Seih Govind Das
Hakim Ajmal Khan	Sardar Sardul Singh Cavceshar
Moulvi Syed Murtuza Saheb	Sardar Kharak Singh
Maulana Shaukat Ali	Lala Dunichand
Moulvi Muhammad Shafee Daudi	Mr. V. Ramadas
Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar	Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar
Babu Bhagavan Das	Babu Rajendra Prasad
Babu Shivaprasad Gupta	Dr. Murari Lal
Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi	Diwan Chaman Lal
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	Pandit Santanam
Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta	Dr. Satyapal

2. "As the British Government has constituted the Statutory Commission in defiance of the national will and rejected the national demand for a round table conference to settle a Swaraj Constitution for India, the Working Committee of the Congress calls upon the people of India and appeals to all political parties to abstain from co-operating with the said Commission either by giving evidence or by voting for or serving on any Select Committee connected therewith".

The following resolution was passed by circulation in December:—

"Having regard to the full and detailed report received from Babu Shivaprasad Gupta as to the Congress elections held in the U. P. in September, October and November, it is resolved that no action be taken on this Committee's resolution No. VII passed in Calcutta on the 28th October, 1927".

The following resolutions of the Andhra and the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee respectively regarding interim vacancies in the list of delegates were approved by the Working Committee, by circulation in December :—

Andhra.

"The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee authorises its Working Committee to fill up the interim vacancies that may arise in the delegates elected to the Congress".

Gujarat.

"If there is any vacancy among the delegates before or after the

elections or if any vacancy occurs afterwards, the Managing Committee is empowered to fill up the vacancy or make such other arrangements as it may think proper".

Summary of proceedings of the Committee held at Madras on the 23rd, 24th and 25th December

I.—The following accounts were placed before the Committee:
A. I. C. C. Office accounts for October and November, 1927.

Provincial Congress Committees' accounts for 1926 and A. I. C. C. Auditors' report thereon.

Audited statements of accounts of the A. I. C. C. Office for 1926-27 including Election Publicity and Foreign Propaganda accounts.

The Committee resolved that the attention of the Provincial Congress Committees be drawn to the Auditors' remarks regarding their accounts.

II.—Resolved that the following budget for the A. I. C. C. Office for 1927-28 be sanctioned:—

	Rs.		Rs.
1. Establishment ..	7,500	5. Rents and taxes ..	1,600
2. Postage and telegrams ..	1,400	6. Miscellaneous ..	500
3. Stationery and printing ..	1,500	7. Furniture ..	200
4. Travelling expenses ..	2,800	8. Library ..	50

Total 15,550

III.—The following payments have been sanctioned:—

(i) Rs. 1,991 to Pandit Motilal Nehru on account of balance due for Election Publicity;

(ii) Rs. 72-4 advanced to the Swarajya Party;

(iii) Gratuity of Rs. 125 to Svt. Sheo Balak Singh, retiring Head Clerk;

(iv) Payment of Rs. 1,000 to Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for publicity work regarding Hindu-Muslim Unity.

IV.—The Committee heard Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the subject of Swaraj Constitution and of Independence.

V.—Pandit Nehru placed before the Committee the following drafts for the Subjects Committee which were accepted, except the one on Independence. The Committee decided not to adopt his draft on Independence formally but to permit members freedom to vote on it in the Subjects Committee:—

1. This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be independence with full control over the defence forces of the country, the financial and economic policy and the relations with foreign

countries. The Congress demands that this right of the people of India should be forthwith recognised and given effect to, in particular by the complete withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

2. This Congress welcomes the formation of the League against Imperialism at the Congress against Imperialism held at Brussels in February, 1927 and approves of the decision of the All India Congress Committee to associate itself with this organisation in the struggle against Imperialism.

3. This Congress sends its warmest greetings to the people of China and its assurances of full sympathy with them in their fight for emancipation and records its condemnation of the action of the Indian Government in refusing passports to the Medical Mission which the All India Congress Committee wanted to send to China. The Congress has noted with deep resentment that Indian troops have again been used by the British Government to further their imperialist designs in China and to hinder and prevent the people of China from gaining their freedom.

The Congress demands that all Indian troops and police forces still in China be recalled immediately and that no Indian should go to China in future as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people who, in the opinion of the Congress, are the comrades of the Indian people in their joint struggle against Imperialism.

The Congress further demands the withdrawal of Indian troops, police and Consulate Guards from Mesopotamia and Persia and from all British Colonies and foreign countries, wheresoever they may be.

4. (i) This Congress condemns the policy of the British Government of refusal to issue passports to some Indians who desire to visit foreign countries and of preventing the entry into India of some Indians and others by the refusal to grant them the necessary visas. The Congress demands that all unnecessary passport formalities be done away with and full freedom of movement to and from India be permitted.

(ii) The Congress particularly condemns the action of the British Government in cancelling the Indian visa of Mr. Shapurji J. Saklatvala, thereby preventing him from visiting his native country and making him an exile. The Congress records its appreciation of the courage with which Mr. Saklatvala has consistently stood for the freedom of India in spite of the opposition and difficulties he has had to face in a hostile chamber where there was often no second person to support him.

5. This Congress has noted with grave concern the extraordinary

and extensive war preparations which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern Seas, specially in the North-West Frontier of India. These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of foreign imperialists.

The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live at peace with them, and asserts their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to; and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever.

The following resolutions were then passed by the Committee to be placed before the Subjects Committee:—

VI.—Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in settling a Swaraj Constitution, and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee, which shall have power to co-opt, to confer with similar Committees to be appointed by other organisations—political, labour, commercial and communal—in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights, and to place the same for consideration and approval before a Special Convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March, consisting of the All India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organisations mentioned above and the elected members of the central and provincial legislatures.

VII.—Whereas the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in violation of India's right of self-determination;

This Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form. In particular

(a) this Congress calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country

(1) to organise mass demonstration on the day of the arrival

of the Commission in India, and similar demonstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit.

(2) to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade Indians of all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission ;

(b) this Congress calls upon non-official members of the Indian legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission nor co-operate with it in any manner, public or private, nor attend social functions given to them ;

(c) this Congress calls upon the non-official members of the Indian legislatures neither to vote for nor serve on Select Committees that may be set up in connection with this Commission ; to throw out any other proposal, motion or demand for grants in connection with the work of the Commission ;

(d) this Congress also calls upon the Congress members of the legislatures not to attend meetings of the legislatures while the Simon Commission is in India, except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant or for the purpose of throwing out a ministry or any of the purposes mentioned in clause (c).

(e) this Congress authorises the Working Committee to confer with and secure the co-operation, wherever possible, of other organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete.

VIII.—This Congress strongly condemns the policy of the India Government and the Bengal Government of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent citizens and Congress workers without trial for indefinite periods under Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925, and sends fraternal greetings to all those who have suffered and are suffering for the cause of their motherland, owing to the above repressive policy of the Government.

(a) This Congress demands the immediate release of all detenus who have been put under restraint without trial and of all political prisoners who have been convicted by Special Tribunals constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 ;

(b) This Congress also strongly condemns the arrest and imprisonment of Sardar Santa Singh under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818.

IX.—With a view to bring about as effective a boycott of British

goods as possible, this Congress calls upon Provincial Congress Committees to organise a boycott of selected British goods having regard to the conditions of each province.

Proceedings held at Madras on the 29th December

I.—The Working Committee resolved to meet at Bombay on the 5th January, 1928 at 2 p.m. at the Congress House, to devise measures for organising the boycott of the Statutory Commission in accordance with the Madras Congress resolution and authorised the Secretary to issue invitations to the various organisations and parties requesting them to appoint their representatives to confer with the Working Committee with a view to making the boycott of the Statutory Commission effective and complete.

II.—The Committee authorised the Secretary to communicate with the various political, labour, commercial and communal organisations in the country, including the All India States' Subjects' Conference, and secure their advice and co-operation in drafting a Swaraj Constitution for India, through Committees appointed by those bodies.

III.—The Committee also asked the Secretary to suggest to the Provincial Congress Committees to appoint deputations who would tour their respective Provinces to educate the people on the Congress resolutions on Hindu-Muslim Unity, Independence, Boycott of the Statutory Commission and War Danger.

IV.—The Committee authorised the Secretary to incur the expenses necessary for the removal of the All India Congress Committee Office to Delhi.

MADRAS CONGRESS SESSIONS—1927

The 42nd Sessions of the Indian National Congress were held at Madras, on December 26th, 27th and 28th, 1927. Svt. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. Ansari was the President. The following resolutions were passed :

This Congress places on record its profound sorrow at the untimely demise of Mr. Prithvis Chander Ray, one of the former Secretaries of the Bengal Congress Committee, and conveys its deep sympathy to his family.

L—Condolence.

This Congress puts on record its sense of deep pain at the callous attitude of Government in not commuting the brutal sentences passed in the Kakori case against Syts. Ram Prasad Bismal, Rajendranath Lahiri, Ashfaqulla and Roshan Singh in spite of the powerful public indignation aroused by the vindictive sentences, and offers its heart-felt sympathy to the families of the victims.

II.—Sympathy for Kakori Victims.

This Congress welcomes the formation of the League against Imperialism at the Congress against Imperialism held at Brussels in February, 1927 and approves of the decision of the All India Congress Committee to associate itself with this organisation in the struggle against Imperialism.

III.—League against Imperialism.

IV.—China.

This Congress sends its warmest greetings to the people of China and its assurances of full sympathy with them in their fight for emancipation and records its condemnation of the action of the Indian Government in refusing passports to the Medical Mission which the All India Congress Committee wanted to send to China. The Congress has noted with deep resentment that Indian troops have again been used by the British Government to further their imperialist designs in China and to hinder and prevent the people of China from gaining their freedom.

The Congress demands that all Indian troops and police forces still in China be recalled immediately and that no Indian should go to China in future as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people who, in the opinion of the Congress, are the comrades of the Indian people in their joint struggle against Imperialism.

The Congress further demands the withdrawal of Indian troops police and Consulate Guards from Mesopotamia and Persia and from all British Colonies and foreign countries, wheresoever they may be.

(i) This Congress condemns the policy of the British Government of refusal to issue passports to some Indians who desire to visit foreign countries and of preventing the entry into India of some Indians and others by the refusal to grant them the necessary visas. The Congress demands that all unnecessary passport formalities be done away with and full freedom of movement to and from India be permitted.

(ii) The Congress particularly condemns the action of the British

Government in cancelling the Indian visa of Mr. Shapurji J. Saklatvala, thereby preventing him from visiting his native country and making him an exile. The Congress records its appreciation of the courage with which Mr. Saklatvala has consistently stood for the freedom of India in spite of the opposition and difficulties he has had to face in a hostile chamber where there was often no second person to support him.

This Congress has noted with grave concern the extraordinary and extensive war preparations which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern Seas, specially in the North-West Frontier of India. These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of foreign imperialists.

The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live at peace with them and asserts their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to ; and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever.

This Congress congratulates General Manchershaw Avari, leader of the Arms Act Satyagraha movement of Nagpur, and his followers on their sturdy patriotism and self-sacrifice and expresses the deepest sympathy of the nation on the 75th day of the hunger-strike of Avari.

This Congress disapproves of all attempts to separate Burma from India and condemns the idea of creating the North-Eastern Frontier Province.

This Congress appeals to the Indians and Burmans in their mutual interests to promote Indo-Burmese *entente* in all possible ways.

This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence.

(i) This Congress strongly condemns the policy of the Indian Government and the Bengal Government of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent citizens and Congress workers without trial for indefinite periods under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925, and sends fraternal greetings to all those who have suffered and are suffering for the cause of their motherland, owing to the above repressive policy of the Government.

This Congress demands the immediate release of all detenus who have been put under restraint without trial and of all political prisoners who have been convicted by Special Tribunals constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925.

(ii) This Congress also strongly condemns the arrest and imprisonment of Sardar Santa Singh under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818.

Whereas the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of India's right of self-determination

XI.—Boycott of the Statutory Commission.

This Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every stage and in every form. In particular

(a) This Congress calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country

(i) to organise mass demonstration on the day of the arrival of the Commission in India, and similar demonstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit,

(ii) to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade Indians of all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission ;

(b) This Congress calls upon non-official members of the Indian legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission nor co-operate with it in any manner, public or private, nor attend or participate in any social functions given to them.

(c) This Congress calls upon the non-official members of the Indian legislatures

(i) neither to vote for nor serve on Select Committees that may be set up in connection with this Commission;

(ii) to throw out every other proposal, motion or demand for

grant that may be moved in connection with the work of the Commission.

(d) This Congress also calls upon the non-official members of the legislatures not to attend meetings of the legislatures except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant or for the purpose of making the boycott effective and successful or for the purpose of throwing out a ministry or of opposing any important measure which, in the opinion of the Working Committee of the Congress, is detrimental to the interests of India.

(e) This Congress authorises the Working Committee to confer with and secure the co-operation, wherever possible, of other organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete.

This Congress while acknowledging the relief received by the Indian settlers in South Africa and regarding the signing of the Indo-Union agreement as a token of the desire of the Union Government to accord better treatment to the Indian settlers, cannot be satisfied till the status of the settlers is brought on a par with that of the enfranchised inhabitants of the Union and appeals to the Union Government to consolidate the goodwill created between the two countries by repealing all class legislation, especially the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Clause in the Liquor Bill of 1927 prohibiting the employment of Indians as waiters in hotels and the Municipal Land Alienation Ordinances of Natal in so far as the latter involve racial segregation.

This Congress places on record its sense of deep gratitude to Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews for his great and humanitarian work in South Africa and East Africa in connection with the status of the Indian settlers in those countries.

This Congress (i) enters its protest against the appointment of the East African Federation Commission without any Indian representative and also against the tendency, under cover of responsible government, to give the European adventurers further powers of exploiting the unsophisticated natives of the soil and of oppressing by harrassing and racial legislation the peaceful Indian settlers who settled in East Africa long before any European ever went there and who have for centuries established and enjoyed friendly commercial relations with the natives;

(ii) calls the attention of the League of Nations to the imminent danger of infringement of the Tanganyika Mandate by opening highlands in that territory exclusively for European settlement;

(iii) condemns the Feetham Report on Kenya Local Self-Government as giving unfair and disproportionate representation to Europeans in Nairobi and Mombasa, and hopes that the Indians in East Africa will continue their struggle for full status.

PART A.—(Political Rights)

This Congress resolves:

1. That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted;

XIV.—Hindu-Muslim Unity.

2. That, with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, such representation of the communities should be secured for the present, and if desired, by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature,

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces, and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces;

In the decision of the reservation of seats for the Punjab, the question of the representation of Sikhs as an important minority will be given full consideration.

3. (a) That the proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Congress, a fair and reasonable one and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reform an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces.

(b) (i) That with regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis—a principle that has been adopted in the Constitution of the Congress.

(ii) This Congress is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly.

(iii) This Congress is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Utkal, Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces.

4. That, in the future Constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

5. That no Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a Joint Standing Committee of both communities—of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislature concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

PART B.—(Religious and other Rights)

This Congress resolves that :

1. Without prejudice to the rights that the Hindus and Mussalman claim, the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please, the Mussalman appeal to the Mussalman to spare Hindu feelings as much as possible in the matter of the cow and the Hindu appeal to the Hindu to spare Mussalman feelings as much as possible in the matter of music before mosque;

And therefore this Congress calls upon both Hindus and Mussalman not to have recourse to violence or to law to prevent the slaughter of a cow or the playing of music before a mosque.

2. This Congress further resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion; but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be

promptly handed over to persons of his own faith? There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or reconversion, nor should there be any demonstration of jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion;

Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations.

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the interests of both the rulers and the people of Indian States they should establish representative institutions and Responsible Government in their states at an early date.

This Congress, while reaffirming the resolution of the All India Congress Committee on the boycott of British goods, resolves that, with a view to make such boycott effective, Provincial Congress Committees be called upon to organise a boycott of selected British Goods, having regard to the conditions of each province.

Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in settling a Swaraj Constitution, and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee, which shall have power to co-opt, to confer with similar Committees to be appointed by other organisations—political, labour, commercial and communal—in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights, and to place the same for consideration and approval before a Special Convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March next, consisting of the All India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organisations mentioned above and the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

This Congress resolves that the following changes be made in the Constitution :—

Art. XIX. Add at the end of para 1

"Every member of the All India Congress Committee, ex-officio or elected, must pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10 payable at or

before the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All India Congress Committee or of the Subjects Committee."

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel as its General Secretaries for 1927.

XIX.—Retiring Secretaries.

This Congress appoints the following office-bearers for the coming year :—

XX.—Office-Bearers for 1928.

• Mr. Shuaib Qureshi	} General Secretaries.
• „ Jawaharlal Nehru	
• „ Subhas Chandra Bose	
• Seth Jammalal Bajaj	} Treasurers.
• „ Reva Shankar Jagjivan Javeri	

XXI.—Next Congress. This Congress resolves that its next session be held in Calcutta.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1927

Presented by the General Secretaries to the All India Congress Committee and subsequently to the Madras Congress

Article XXIII of the Congress Constitution requires the Secretaries to 'prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year'. We have pleasure to submit this report accordingly.

Since the last session of the Congress, there have been three meetings of the All India Congress Committee including the one which was held at Gauhati immediately after the Congress had concluded its proceedings. At this meeting the Committee, in compliance with the statutory provisions, elected members to the Working Committee and to the Election Disputes Panel.

The next meeting was an important one and had a prolonged session at Bombay. The decisions made at this session covered a wide range of subjects—from the International Congress against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression and for National Independence to domestic matters like the Congress Party's conduct in the Councils—and included the despatch of a Medical Mission to China, the framing of a Swaraj Constitution and the solution of the vexed question of Hindu-Muslim differences. The Committee also placed on record its high appreciation of the meritorious services rendered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who represented the Indian National Congress at the International Congress which was organised by the League against Imperialism, and who by his ardent patriotism and untiring energy secured for this country an elevated place in the Councils of the League.

At the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Committee resolved at the Bombay meeting to recommend to the Congress to give support to the League against Imperialism as an associate organisation.

As regards the Swaraj Constitution, the Committee called upon the Working Committee to prepare a draft, based on a Declaration of Rights, in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties.

Accordingly, the office placed itself in communication with present and past members of Legislatures and other prominent persons, a few of whom have sent in some suggestions. Drafts are in course of preparation and will, in due course, come up for discussion.

The Hindu-Muslim differences and the means that have to be devised to establish unity have continued to be the most absorbing subjects before the country and the Congress. Since the last Congress which met under the shadow of a national calamity owing to the brutal assassination of the great Swami Shradhdhananda of revered memory, the tension between the two great communities in the land has grown from bad to worse. Murders and murderous assaults had blackened the fair name of the motherland and the need for a prompt solution of the problem was imperative. The Committee, therefore, addressed itself to the question in a spirit of justice, humanity and true patriotism. The political issues involved were dealt with at the Bombay meeting on the lines of the proposals contained in the report and resolutions of the Working Committee, and the All India Congress Committee re-announced the principle of redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis and recommended, as an initial step, the application of the principle to Andhra, Sind and Karnatak. The system of communal representation was definitely discarded and, instead, joint electorates were substituted, due provision being made for the protection of minorities by way of reservation of seats.

At this meeting, as has been mentioned above, the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council was also discussed and was referred to the Working Committee which was authorized to call for an explanation from the Party and submit the same for consideration at the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee. The resolutions adopted by the Working Committee which met in Bombay immediately after the All India Congress Committee, on this particular matter and on the general policy to be pursued by Congress Parties in the Legislative Councils, led to a difference of opinion among Congressmen as a result of which a requisition signed by over 30 members of the All India Congress Committee calling for a special meeting of the Committee at Calcutta not later than the 15th of July was addressed to the President. For various reasons, including the inconvenience felt by Congressmen engaged in municipal elections in Madras, the sitting of the Madras Legislative Council and the illness of the President, the meeting had to be postponed from time to time and could only be held at Calcutta on the 28th of October.

At this meeting, the other points of dispute involved in the Hindu-Muslim tension, namely social and religious, were taken up for consideration. And a working compromise was reached, owing

to the co-operation of leaders of both the communities from different parts of the country. Prior to the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, a Unity Conference had been convened by the President at Calcutta on the 26th of October. The Conference sat for long hours on the 26th and on the following day and after full and frank discussion, was able to arrive at compromise formulae which were subsequently adopted with suitable alterations by the All India Congress Committee. It must be mentioned here that some of the leaders were obliged to be absent from the Conference and from the All India Congress Committee. It should also be admitted that the compromise resolutions passed at Calcutta have met with adverse criticism in some quarters. Nevertheless, it may be hoped that the terms of agreement will provide the basis on which a *via media* between conflicting points of view can be laid down which will help to restore that peace and goodwill between the two great communities of this ancient land, which is so essential for the early establishment of Swaraj.

Thus the solution of the outstanding political, social and religious problems connected with the Hindu-Muslim differences was sought to be arrived at at the Bombay and Calcutta meetings in a spirit of give and take. Some of the decisions might not be final and may require fuller examination and final decision by the Congress; in fact, the All India Congress Committee itself which arrived at these decisions resolved to bring up some of them before this meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Congress, and we have no doubt that any alterations that will be found necessary to improve upon the terms of compromise and render them more acceptable to all parties concerned will be made at the coming session.

The Bombay meeting of the All India Congress Committee, as has been stated above, resolved to show its sympathy in a practical way with the people of China who were struggling for freedom, and called upon the All India Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal to take all necessary steps in connection with the despatch of an Ambulance Corps to that country. But the British bureaucracy in India would not permit even this humanitarian work to be undertaken by or on behalf of the Congress, and it employed all manner of dilatory tactics in dealing with the Dal President Mr. Goswami's communications on the subject. The Congress and the Dal have thus been prevented from doing their little service to a sister nation who, like ours, is fighting for her freedom.

Another subject of importance which was dealt with by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay was the boycott of British goods, intended as a measure of practical protest against the continued incarceration of Bengal Detenus. We are sorry to say that not much headway has been made in this direction. It will be remembered that in pursuance of the resolution of the Special Session of the Congress held in Delhi in 1923, a report was submitted by the Sub-Committee to the

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Congress at Cocanada giving a list of the articles that could easily be boycotted immediately.

There has been also another movement set on foot to compel the Government to deal justly with the hundreds of patriots whose liberties have been trampled under foot under the lawless law of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and under Regulation III of 1818, namely the Nagpur Satyagraha. It is worthy of note that this movement as well as other movements like the Madura Arms Act and the Madras Neill Statue Satyagraha have been singularly marked by perfect non-violence.

The All India Congress Committee, while in session at Bombay, received the glad tidings of the release of Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose and rejoiced at his restoration to liberty, to take his place again in the fight for the nation's freedom. But there are still a great many more of patriots rotting behind the prison walls and otherwise deprived of their liberties. The Committee, therefore, appointed a Sub-Committee at Calcutta to devise means for expediting the release of the detenus with Syt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, another patriot who had suffered imprisonment, as convener of the Sub-Committee. The report of the Sub-Committee will come up before this meeting and it is hoped that the Committee will address itself to this all important question and resolve upon such a plan of action as will wrest the freedom of the flower of Bengal from an obstinate bureaucracy.

The Working Committee, as usual, has been meeting from time to time. Besides the meeting at Gauhati which was held immediately after the Congress, the Committee informally met at Calcutta soon after *i.e.*, on the 1st January. Meetings of the Committee were frequently held during the pendency of the Assembly session at Delhi in January February and March when the Committee discussed mainly the Hindur Muslim question, the Currency Bill and the Chinese situation. It subsequently met in May last at Bombay and, as has been stated above, went thoroughly into the questions outstanding between Hindus and Musalmans and submitted its report and draft resolutions to the All India Congress Committee under Resolution IX of the Gauhati Congress. The report could not be ready by the 31st March as required under the Gauhati resolution, in view of the fact that the President had to carry on prolonged consultations with leading Hindu and Mohammedan members of the Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi as well as other leaders.

The last meeting of the Working Committee was held in Calcutta on the 28th October, on the eve of the All India Congress Committee. At this meeting the Committee, besides framing draft resolutions for adoption by the All India Congress Committee on the basis of the Hindur Muslim Unity Conference discussions, resolved to sanction Rs. 500 as a

token of its sympathy with the people of Orissa in their distress caused by the recent floods in that unhappy land.

The Working Committee, in accordance with the resolution on Hindu-Muslim Unity adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta, passed by circulation a resolution appointing a Committee representative of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs for the purpose of carrying on propaganda along the lines indicated in the said resolution of the All India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee also considered the situation created by the announcement of the appointment of the Parliamentary Commission and adopted the following resolution by circulation:—

"As the British Government has constituted the Statutory Commission in defiance of the national will and rejected the national demand for a Round Table Conference to settle a Swaraj Constitution for India, the Working Committee of the Congress calls upon the people of India and appeals to all political parties to abstain from co-operating with the said Commission either by giving evidence or by voting for or serving on any Select Committee connected therewith".

The Commission has been universally condemned as a negation of the fundamental right of self-determination which is inherent in every nation. The Congress will, no doubt, devise, in consultation with other organisations in the country, a concerted plan of action with a view to bend the British Government to the nation's will unanimously expressed through the National Congress.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the All India Spinners' Association has, during 1926-27 which is the second year of its existence, made "general progress" which, as the Association's report says, "is marked not so much in the increased figures of khadi production and sale although such progress is to be found in some of the provinces, but rather in the improvement in the quality of yarn and cloth towards which the efforts of many of the organisations in the several provinces were in the main directed during a large part of the year as also in the evolving of disciplined organisations in some of the less organised provinces and the bringing of all their centres under a proper system of business efficiency". The returns received at the Central office of the Association show that *Khaddar* of the value of Rs. 23,59,067 has been produced and the sale-proceeds amount to Rs. 32,52,854 during the year under report. Mahatmaji has undertaken, in spite of serious illness, tours in Karnatak, Tamil Nadu and Ceylon. It is a matter for especial gratification to note that his tour throughout these provinces including the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin has been marked by signal success. The warm and spontaneous reception that greeted him everywhere, the generous response which was made to his appeal for Khadi funds and the unbounded enthusiasm that has been aroused in the hearts of the public for the cause of *Dardra Narayan*, the God in the lowly and the distressed, give the lie direct to the self-complacent

allegation of the enemies of this country that Mahatma's influence over the masses has diminished. In far off Ceylon, all the communities, including the Burghers, vied with one another in according him royal reception and giving of their best to the cause of the down-trodden and the depressed, of which he is the living embodiment. In a poor country like ours, only Mahatma Gandhi could collect spontaneous donations amounting to Rs. 3½ lakhs during a few months' tour.

The Karnatak Board of the Hindustani Seva Dal has good work to its credit during the year under report, having enlisted 6658 Congress members and 91 Dal members.

Reports of work done in all the provinces have not yet been received but so far only Maharashtra, Karnatak, Behar, Gujarat, C. P. Marathi and Bombay have forwarded them. The Maharashtra P. C. C. states that the total number of Congress members in the province is about 2,400. In the Colaba and Bombay suburban districts of this province, vigorous efforts have been made to carry on a campaign against the payment of increased land assessment. It should be noted here that the President, during his extensive tour in Maharashtra in May last, personally studied the movement in Alibag for refusing to pay the enhanced land assessment and after convincing himself of the justice of the movement, gave it every encouragement. Active propaganda work against the drink evil has also been done in these districts. In Karnatak 6658 Congress members were enrolled during the year by the exertions of the Seva Dal mentioned above. The report received from four districts in Behar shows that 2,220 Congress members were registered in those districts. In Gujarat only 270 were enlisted during the current year, as against 651 last year. But this was due to the fact that Gujarat experienced a terrible calamity in the deluge that swept over the province. It is gratifying to note, however, that the Provincial Congress Committee rose to the occasion and put forth almost superhuman effort to bring relief to the flood-stricken and starving millions. The people made a splendid response to the appeal for funds and a sum of Rs. 6,22,982 was collected for flood relief. Relief operations are still being carried on. Rs. 82,440 were collected and ear-marked for the depressed classes in Gujarat. C. P. Marathi reports only 1564 members for this year as against 3610 of last year.

The Bombay province has on its rolls 4248 members including 14 who have enlisted themselves in the A. I. S. A.

We have this year again to advert to the unsatisfactory financial position of the All India Congress Committee, which will be evident from a perusal of the audited statement of T. S. F. accounts annexed hereto. We must also reiterate the urgent need for collecting funds for efficient organization of Congress work and for the upkeep of the Central Office. As we said last year, the amount required for this

purpose will by no means be large, and we earnestly invite the prompt attention of the All India Congress Committee to this vital need of the Congress Secretariat. We suggest, in this connection, that funds should be collected and ear-marked for the purpose and the support of the public enlisted in this behalf.

MADRAS,
15th Dec., 1927.

{ M. A. Ansari
{ Vallabhbhai J. Patel
{ A. Rangaswami Iyengar

[*Note*—As Working General Secretary of the Congress during the last two years who will be vacating his office this year, I may be permitted to say one word as to the need for placing the Congress Secretariat on a permanent footing. The frequent changes in the headquarters of the A. I. C. C. Office, which the present system imposes, involves an amount of expenditure and dislocation of business which may well be avoided. I would suggest that the office may be put in charge of a permanent paid Secretary and be located at some central place where he should carry on the ordinary routine work of the Congress organisation throughout the year, while the General Secretaries annually elected would be placed in a position to guide and control the office and carry out the policy and programme laid down by the Congress at its annual session, as also in accordance with the resolutions and directions of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

I would also once again urge the restoration of the amount of the delegation fee of each delegate to Rs. 10. Its reduction to the nominal figure of Re. 1 has rendered and will render the task of Reception Committees of the less prosperous provinces difficult and hazardous, and accentuate the position of dependence of the A. I. C. C. on the fastly thinning balances of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. It is also necessary, I think, to restore the membership fee of A. I. C. C. members and to give effect to the statutory provision contained in Art. IX of the Congress Constitution and to ask each Provincial Congress Committee to make an annual contribution to the central funds.

A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

APPENDIX
REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST
IMPERIALISM HELD AT BRUSSELS FROM 10th
TO 15th FEBRUARY, 1927, SUBMITTED BY
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
TO
THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

In compliance with the resolution of the National Congress passed at Gaubati, appointing me their representative at the International Congress against Imperialism, I had the honour to attend the sessions of this International Congress and to take part in its proceedings.

The Brussels Congress, regarded from any point of view, was an event of first class importance and it is likely to have far-reaching results. The English press, so far as I am aware, has given little or no publicity to it, with the exception of some labour organs. The continental press gave some more publicity, but even here more or less satisfactory reports were confined to the labour papers. This was not surprising as it is the deliberate policy of the big capitalist newspapers in the West to suppress and ignore such happenings. Quite a large number of press correspondents, including representatives of some important news agencies, were present at the public sessions of the Congress, but either their messages were suppressed or they themselves did not send any proper reports.

The success and the representative character of the Congress reflect great credit on the organisers. It is no easy task to hold the first sessions of any Congress or to start a new organisation. The task becomes far more difficult if the Congress or organisation is meant to be international with world-wide ramifications. But no amount of organisation could have made the Brussels Congress the success it undoubtedly was if it had not supplied a real want. Any one present at the Congress could not help thinking that the Congress was but the outward symbol of the intense desire for mutual co-operation which had taken possession of the oppressed and the exploited all over the world. The idea of the Congress once started was eagerly welcomed and people came long distances to attend it. Many of the delegates from South America and South Africa had, I am told, to raise subscriptions, to which even the poor contributed, to enable them to come to Brussels. This was an impressive fact and it naturally made one feel that whatever the future of the organisation which the Brussels Congress has created might be, some such international organisation is bound to come in the near future.

A popular international Congress has seldom a very representative character, but under the circumstances, the Brussels Congress can be considered to be very representative both of the countries being exploited and oppressed by others and of workers' organisations. The list of organisations and delegates which I attach to this report will give some idea of the representative character of the Congress. This list is not quite correct as some people who are mentioned did not come and others who are not mentioned came. The strongest delegation was that of China, the head of the delegation being a member of the Executive of the Kuo Min Tang, the Chinese National Party, which controls the National Government. Both the northern and southern national armies sent one of their generals, and the Chinese labour organisations had several delegates. There were a number of Indians present representing students or local organisations in Europe, but although some of them were very able and helpful, they could hardly be said to represent India. The fact, however, that the Indian National Congress was officially represented made the Indian representation important and weighty, in spite of failings of the representative in question. Egypt, Persia, Syria, the Dutch East Indies, Annam, Korea, Morocco, French North Africa (both Arab and Negro), South Africa (both Negro and White labour), United States (Negroes and White representatives of the minority movements), Mexico and the States of Central and South America, were some of the countries represented. The European countries sent labour leaders, many of them famous in the ranks of socialism. England sent a number of leaders of the left wing of the labour movement, among them being George Lansbury, M. P., Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, S. O. Davies of the Executive of the Miners' Federation, John Becket, M. P., Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., Harry Pollitt, R. Bridgeman, Arthur McMannus and Helen Crawford. There were, besides, some men of note in literature, like Henri Barbusse and Toller, the German dramatist. Messages of goodwill were received from a large number of people among them being Mr. Gandhi, Einstein and Romain Rolland.

For an Indian it was exceedingly interesting to meet the various types of humanity represented in the Congress. The Chinese were most of them very young and full of energy and enthusiasm, their leading delegate being aptly described by a local paper as possessing "*les yeux joyeux d'un enfant étonné*". The traditional notion of the placid and tranquil Chinese received a rude shock, and one was confronted with a group of persons, with little of the subtleties of the hardened intellectual but with a great deal of driving force and a desire to fill the picture. China, of course, owing to circumstances, did fill the picture. I suppose the Chinese representatives were the natural products of a revolution and I was led regretfully to wish that we in India might also develop some of this energy and driving force, at the expense,

if need be, of some of our intellectuality.

The Indonesians, chiefly from Java, were even more interesting for us. They were Moslems but even their names were partly derived from Sanskrit. Many of them bore a striking resemblance to the higher caste Hindus, and their customs, they told us, were still largely Hindu in origin. There are many Buddhists in Indonesia and we were glad to learn that the relations between the Moslems and the Buddhists were uniformly good and both of them worked together for the independence of their country.

The Negroes present varied from the darkest black to every shade of brown. There were able men among them full of eloquence and energy, but they bore traces of the terrible martyrdom which their race has suffered, more perhaps than any other people. Listening to their harrowing tale of suffering and their present unhappy condition one felt that the obstacles in their way were greater than any which other struggling peoples had to face and that full freedom would come to them only with the emancipation of all the peoples of the world.

The Arabs from Syria and North Africa were very different. Typical fighting men, who understood independence and fighting for it and cared for little else, and were wholly untainted with the slave mentality of more intellectual races.

The people from Latin America, dark as the Northern Indian, were again a different and interesting type. Most of us, specially from Asia, were wholly ignorant of the problems of South America, and of how the rising imperialism of the United States, with its tremendous resources and its immunity from outside attack, is gradually taking a strange hold of Central and South America. But we are not likely to remain ignorant much longer for the great problem of the near future will be American Imperialism, even more than British Imperialism, which appears to have had its day and is crumbling fast. Or, it may be, and all indications point to it, that the two will unite together in an endeavour to create a powerful Anglo-Saxon block to dominate the world.

It was this bogey of the United States and the fear that they might not be able to stand up against them unaided, that drove them to seek for help from outside. So far, the weakness of Latin America has been the want of unity. Each state quarrels with the other and often within the states also there is disunion, usually fomented by the United States. An interesting and instructive outcome of the Brussels Congress was the achievement of unity between the delegates of the various South American States. This unity was on paper only but it is probably the herald of a closer union of the States against their bullying neighbour of the North.

The South African Trade Union Congress of white workers sent a representative and so also did the Natal Native Council—a Negro

organization. In these days of race hatred in South Africa and the ill-treatment of Indians, it was pleasing to hear the representative of white workers giving expression to the most advanced opinions on the equality of races and of workers of all races. The Negro and the white man jointly represented the South African workers and they worked together in the Congress.

The Congress held its sessions in the Egmont Palace in Brussels—a fine old building lent by the Belgian Government. The public sessions began on the 10th February. Preliminary informal meetings of such delegates as had arrived were, however, held on the 7th and 8th February. I arrived in Brussels on the evening of the 6th February and took part in all these informal meetings. On the 9th February representatives of the Belgian and foreign press were invited and a few delegates representing different countries made statements to them about the Congress and what they expected it to do. I am sending separately a copy of the statement I made on this occasion.

I was a member of the Praesidium—the presiding Committee or Subjects Committee of the Congress. This used to meet daily before the Congress and decide on the agenda for the session. I am sending separately a copy of the general agenda from which it will be noticed that there were six main divisions of the work. These were —

1. Opening addresses.
2. Imperialism and its consequences in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.
3. Imperialism and the danger of wars.
4. Co-operation between the national liberation movements in oppressed countries and the labour and anti-imperialist movements in imperialist countries.
5. Co-ordination of the national emancipation movements with the labour movements of all countries, colonial as well as imperialist.
6. Establishment of a permanent world-wide organization linking up all forces against imperialism and colonial oppression.

The word colonial here is used in a wide sense, as is usually done on the continent, and includes India and other countries under alien rule or occupation. It will be noticed that the different heads of the agenda somewhat overlap. The procedure adopted was to have general speeches delivered by prominent people under each head and then to have special resolutions tacked on to them. On the first day I was one of the persons who delivered the opening addresses. The official languages of the Congress were French, English and German. Every speech given in any of these languages was usually translated into the other two, though the German translation was sometimes dispensed with. Among the other languages used were Arabic and

Chinese. An attempt to speak in Hebrew was stopped, partly for lack of time and partly because few, if any, would have understood it. The oral translations were good and rapid and the general arrangements for taking down verbatim reports and reproducing them in three languages were also satisfactory. It must be remembered however in reading the proceedings of the Congress that the translations are not always accurate and many of the resolutions and manifestos were originally drafted in a different language.

Each session of the Congress usually had a different president, supported by two others on either side of him. Most of the heads of delegations had thus a chance of presiding and on one occasion I was the president. The more or less permanent president of the Praesidium and the Congress was Edo Fimmen, a prominent labour leader of Holland and Secretary of the International Transport Workers.

I might mention here that among the flags put up in the hall where the Congress was held was our national flag—white, green and red. The *charkha* could not easily be reproduced in the short time we had. There were also big charts to show the prevalence of famines in India during the last hundred years and more; and a striking one showing the way Indian troops had been used in various parts of the world to conquer or oppress other peoples and fight the battles of British Imperialism.

The principal objects of the Congress, as disclosed in the agenda, were to bring about co-operation between the different national liberation movements and a co-ordination between such movements and the labour movements of various countries. This presupposes that there is a great deal in common not only between the national movements but also between them and the workers' struggle for emancipation. The former appears obvious enough, though it often happens that when an oppressed country achieves freedom it becomes in its turn an aggressor and an oppressor of others. A narrow nationalism frequently fights another narrow nationalism when their interests conflict, but both are of the same genus and equally likely to develop into aggressive imperialism, if an opportunity occurs. But this conflict cannot occur between two oppressed nations, unless one of them is utilised, as India has been so often in the past, by the Imperialist aggressor to oppress another. The second supposition however raises deeper problems. Are the interests of the workers in other countries the same as our national interests?

There is a growing belief in labour circles in England and the rest of the world that the exploitation of a subject people does not greatly benefit the labouring classes of the country which exploits. The only persons who really benefit are a small group of capitalists and but for the system which gives so much power to this little group there would be

very few causes of friction between the workers of different countries. It is not for me to say how far this contention is correct. But there can be no doubt that advanced labour opinion at present is distinctly opposed to the exploitation of another country as it believes that it ultimately results in a reduction in their own wages in the home country and in the lowering of their standards. They feel that the safest way to protect themselves is to try to better the condition of the worker in the exploited country. Obvious possibilities of conflict in interest are when the exploited country boycotts the goods of a country as this necessarily results in increasing the unemployment of workers in the latter country. In regard to this the example of China is instructive and much to the point. The Canton Government, as is well known, carried on an intensive boycott of British goods and with such success that the great British commercial centre of Hongkong was nearly ruined and could only be kept going by means of large grants from the British exchequer. The great strength of China today is this power of economic boycott which has placed the British in an extraordinarily difficult position from which they are unable to extricate themselves. The Chinese boycott has done great injury to British trade and must have added to unemployment in England. But so far as I am aware, no protest has ever been made by British Labour. It is apparently recognised by them that the Chinese, under the circumstances, had a right to boycott. Indeed instead of protesting, British Labour has during the present crisis given a magnificent demonstration of solidarity with the Chinese national movement and has succeeded largely in toning down the aggressive policy of the British Government. Partly this is due to the recognition that the Chinese movement has as its basic programme the emancipation of the peasants and labourers. According to this principle there appears to be no reason why outside labour should have the right to object to a boycott of Lancashire or other British goods which the Indian national movement may carry on. If, however, the Indian movement is run in the interests of vested interests and capitalism only, then of course there is little common ground between it and the workers' movements elsewhere. It might result, indeed, in the achievement of some measure of political liberty and a change in the people who exploit either by themselves or together with foreign exploiters. But if the Indian national movement concerns itself with the economic liberty of the masses as well as political liberty then the causes of friction with similar movements elsewhere ought to be few. As I understand the national movement in India it is essentially one for the emancipation of the masses and I see no difficulty therefore in its co-operating willingly with similar movements in other parts of the world.

The problem of China naturally dominated the Brussels Congress and many of the resolutions were directly or indirectly connected with

it. Next came India. As, owing to lack of time, some resolutions relating to other countries could not be taken up, there were a few protests and it was stated, though with all gentleness, that the Congress was proceeding as if it was almost an Indo-Chinese one. But there was no real objection to the prominence given to China and partly to India as everybody appeared to be convinced that the coming success of China would soon be followed by the success of India and the achievement of full freedom by these two countries would be a very great step forward in the emancipation of all oppressed peoples.

Indians were specially interested in four resolutions of the Congress. The first one related to India alone and was drafted by us. It ran as follows :

"This Congress accords its warm support to the Indian national movement for the complete freedom of India and is of opinion that the liberation of India from foreign domination and all kinds of exploitation is an essential step in the full emancipation of the peoples of the world.

This Congress trusts that the peoples and workers of other countries will fully co-operate in this task and will specially take effective steps to prevent the despatch of foreign troops to India and the retention of an army of occupation in that country.

This Congress further trusts that the Indian national movement will base its programme on the full emancipation of the peasants and workers of India, without which there can be no real freedom, and will co-operate with the movements for emancipation in other parts of the world".

This resolution requires no comment. I may point out however that stress has been laid in it on the necessity for the removal of the British army of occupation. During the Congress frequent mention was made to troops being sent to China and strong objection was taken to it. We pointed out that India had always to put up with an alien army of occupation and fresh contingents were continually being sent. The principle of China applied in its entirety, and in an even stronger measure, to India and similar steps should be taken, wherever possible, for the removal of this army of occupation from India.

Our second resolution was a joint declaration of the Indian and Chinese delegates and formed a kind of introduction to the third. Both the Chinese delegates and we felt it to be fitting to place on record our ancient intimate association from the days when the message of social emancipation which Gautama gave found such a ready welcome in China, and Chinese pilgrims and scholars came to India to learn of her wisdom, to the unhappy interruption of this

intercourse at the beginning of British domination in India. The declaration runs as follows :—

THE INDIAN AND CHINESE DELEGATES MAKE
THE FOLLOWING JOINT DECLARATION:

For more than three thousand years the people of India and China were united by the most intimate cultural ties. From the days of Buddha to the end of the Mughal period and the beginning of British domination in India this friendly intercourse continued uninterrupted.

After the East India Company had by intrigue and force, secured its firm hold on the greater part of India, the English began looking for new sources of revenue and new markets. They not only introduced poppy cultivation into areas where food had previously been grown, but also thrust Indian opium on the unwilling Chinese people by force of arms. Since that infamous Opium War of 1840-1844, Indian mercenary troops have been sent again and again to China in support of British capitalist brigandage in that country. For 87 years Indian troops have been permanently stationed as policemen in Hongkong, Shanghai, etc. Time and again they have been used to shoot down Chinese workers and have thus created illwill in China against the people of India. Even as we make this declaration, Indian troops are again on their way to China in an attempt to crush the Chinese revolution.

With the strengthening of British imperialism, India was cut off more and more from intercourse with China, and in their cultural and intellectual isolation, the Indian people have now become completely ignorant of the condition of China.

It is this extreme ignorance that makes it difficult today to organise effective means of preventing India's money and man-power from being used for the enslavement of the Chinese people. We think it urgent and essential that active propaganda should be carried on in India to educate the people regarding China and to arouse them to the necessity of immediate action. We must now resume the ancient personal, cultural and political relations between the two peoples. British imperialism which in the past has kept us apart and done us so much injury, is now the very force that is uniting us in a common endeavour to overthrow it.

We trust that the leaders of the Indian movement will do all in their power to co-ordinate their struggle with that of the Chinese people so that by simultaneously engaging British imperialism on two of its most vital fronts, China may receive active support in her present struggle and the final victory of both people may be secured.

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The third resolution was a signed declaration of the British, Indian and Chinese delegates. We suggested to the British delegates that as their country was the chief sinner both in regard to India and China it would be desirable if they prepared a statement as to what they proposed doing. They therefore prepared this declaration. It was entirely their draft, except for one or two verbal changes. Both the Chinese and Indian delegates accepted this. It is possible that we might have drafted it in a slightly different way or preferred minor alterations. But we recognised that it was a courageous declaration and that it laid down an effective line of action, even in regard to India, and we decided to leave it in the form given to it by the British delegates. This declaration was signed by all the British delegates present, by H. Liau of the Executive Council of the Kuo Min Tang and by me. It was placed before the Congress by John Becket, M. P. and George Lansbury, M. P. also spoke. The declaration ran as follows :

We, the undersigned, British, Indian and Chinese delegations consider that the task of all working-class forces in Imperialist countries is :

1. To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries, in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire.
2. To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples.
3. To vote against all credits, naval, military and air for the maintenance of armed forces to be used against oppressed nations.
4. To expose the horrors of Imperialism to the civil and military populations.
5. To expose imperialistic policy, in the light of the working-class struggle for freedom.

IN RELATION TO THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION IN CHINA

1. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters.
2. We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India or China and from India to China.
3. That estimates relating either to warlike preparations or to war shall be voted against.
4. That in the event of armed intervention or open war every effort shall be made within the Labour movement to use every weapon possible in the working-class struggle to prevent hostilities.
5. We demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extra-territorial rights and the surrender of foreign concessions.

6 Finally, in the interests of the Trade Union and Labour Movements in Britain, India and China we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate, close and active co-operation.

Signatures :

George Lansbury, M. P.	John Becket, M. P.
A. Fenner Brockway, <i>Secretary, Independent Labour party.</i>	Ellen Wilkinson, M. P.
S. O. Davies, <i>Member of the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.</i>	Harry Pollitt
	R. Bridgeman,
	Arthur McManus
	Helen Crawford
	William Rust
	J. Stokes
	H. Liau
	Jawaharlal Nehru

It will be noticed that the first part of the resolution applies specially to India and clause 2 of the second part has also an important reference to India. The declaration as a whole refers to the duty of "working-class forces in Imperialist countries," which so far as the signatories are concerned, means Great Britain. I should like to draw special attention to clause 1 of the first part in which the signatories declare that they would "fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries, in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire"; to clause 3 "to vote against all credits, military, naval and air for the maintenance of armed forces to be used against oppressed nations"; to clause 4 that they would carry on anti-imperialist propaganda even in the soldiery; and to clause 2 of part 2 where direct action and strikes are recommended to prevent movements of munitions and troops to India and China in case of war.

This declaration was sent by cable, at the special desire of the Congress, by the president, Edo Fimmen, to the president of the Indian National Congress and the National Government of China. I trust the A. I. C. C. will approve of it. The resolution lays down a very clear and definite and advanced policy for British labour and it should be welcomed. But it should be borne in mind that it only binds the signatories and certainly does not yet represent the majority opinion in British Labour.

The fourth resolution in which the Indian delegates were interested was about Mesopotamia. We felt that as no delegate from Mesopotamia was present and as Indian troops had conquered and were stationed in Mesopotamia, and a large number of Indian clerks and employees were taking part in the exploitation of the country, it was up to us to demand the recall of the army of occupation and to say that we

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wished to be no parties to this Imperialist adventure, even though we might profit a little from the drippings of British exploitation.

There were a number of other resolutions not directly concerned with India. Many others could not be considered for lack of time, much to the regret of delegates from the countries concerned. Some long manifestos were hurriedly passed by the Congress at its last sessions when there was little time to consider them in detail.

Finally a permanent organisation was formed. The Praesidium, with some alterations, was made into the General Council of the League. A list of members of this Council is sent separately. There are five honorary presidents of the Council and in order to show honour to India I was included in these five. The others are Einstein, Romain Rolland, Madame Sun Yat Sen and George Lansbury. The Council has an executive of 9 members with four substitute members, who can always attend and advise, and can vote when any of the regular members are absent. It was proposed to have me as one of three secretaries but I pointed out that this was absurd as I could not even attend meetings from India. Thereupon I was not made secretary but in spite of the same objection I was made a member of the Executive Committee. There are three Secretaries; Gibarti, a Hungarian and a capable linguist and organiser, who has so far been in charge of the work; Liau, a Chinaman, usually resident in Berlin; and Senghor, a negro from the French African Colonies but resident in Paris. Lansbury is to be Chairman of the Executive Committee and Edo Fimmen the Vice-Chairman. The office will be in Paris but for some months it will continue in Berlin.

Under the constitution as adopted the organisations that sent delegates can be considered as constituent or associated bodies and they are expected to contribute to the funds of the League having regard to their strength of membership and financial position. It is of course open to any such organisation to refuse to be associated should it so desire. The Indian National Congress can thus for the present be considered an associated body. I trust the A. I. C. C. will continue this association and will take full advantage of it. The advantages of such association appear to me to be great and the disadvantages inconsiderable. Among the advantages are the opportunities to keep in touch with many Asiatic and other countries with problems not dissimilar to ours, and the use of the League as a very efficient organ for giving any publicity that we may desire. During the past few years the Indian Congress and the A. I. C. C. have frequently discussed the question of foreign propaganda and publicity and have expressed a wish that something should be done. But for obvious reasons nothing much has been or could be done. Our resources in men and money are limited and modern publicity requires vast sums which we certainly cannot spare. Our contention has been in the past that the best propaganda outside

is effective action in the country which will compel attention. This holds good today and will continue to hold good. But if we can take advantage of another organisation to do the outside work for us efficiently without our spending much money or energy over it, there seems to be no reason why we should not avail ourselves of it. But apart from the question of publicity, the important consideration is the contacts which we can develop, through the League, with other national movements. There is yet another consideration to be borne in mind. The League against Imperialism is an infant today and its future cannot be prophesied. But it is a sturdy infant with great possibilities of growth. As many speakers at Brussels pointed out it has the germs in it of developing into a real League of Nations or Peoples, a truer one than the League of Governments which sits at Geneva. This may be an exaggerated notion at present but it is not wholly baseless and it is to the interest of the Indian Congress to be associated with an organisation which might play a big role in the future. It is clear of course that any association with the League does not limit in any way the freedom of activity of our Congress.

I feel that whatever our internal politics might be we cannot, in our own interests and in the interests of the rest of the world, afford to remain isolated from the great movements and forces which are shaping the future. Practically our sole contact with the outside world is through England and the English language. This gives us a very one-sided and sometimes a perverted outlook on foreign affairs. We must therefore welcome all opportunities of developing contacts with other countries and movements. We are today facing a crisis in China and it is rumoured that the British Cabinet intends to break off all relations with Russia. I cannot say what the outcome of these crises will be but everyone knows that war is a possibility. A war between England and China must affect India deeply, in more ways than one, and a war between England and Russia will not be a far away affair for us but will be fought at our very doorstep and within sound of our ears, and with Indian blood and treasure. We cannot ignore it or remain aloof, or else our best laid plans for our national betterment will break down and we shall find ourselves suddenly faced with crises for which we are wholly unprepared and stampeded into a war for the support of the very system against which we are contending. If we want to prevent war we cannot wait till it is actually declared. It is very difficult to do much when the fatal plunge has been taken. But it is possible to do a great deal even for a subject country like India if public opinion is educated and made to realise whither the imperialist policy of our rulers is tending. If we want to stop the shameless use of Indian troops against our brethren in China we have to go to our people and tell them about it and raise such a storm of protest that it will be impossible for the Government to send a single Indian soldier abroad. Our people will not gain by the Imperialist adventures of

England or her wars. Why should we not make it clear, with tremendous weight of mass opinion behind us, that we shall not be pawns in the hands of English Imperialists, that we shall not take part in any wars at her bidding, and that above all we shall not permit our fellow-countrymen to be used to crush people for whom we have every feeling of friendship and sympathy. May I draw the attention of the A. I. C. C. to the resolution of the Council of the Independent Labour Party of England—a copy of which I am sending—on the Chinese crisis. British Labour is not as interested in China and her national struggle as India is, and yet it has taken up a most courageous attitude, not merely an expression of sympathy, but a definite line of action along which they are working and intend to work even if unhappily hostilities should break out. The A. I. C. C. can do no less, both for the good name and for the future success of our national movement.

As I have stated above, I had occasion to meet many delegates from Asiatic countries in Brussels. There was a very strong desire amongst them for a closer bond between Asiatic countries. Nothing practicable could be suggested. We felt that for the present the League against Imperialism would offer us a common meeting ground and we could always remain in touch through it. In addition, our national organizations could remain in direct touch with each other and exchange publications and reports. At our Annual Congresses and meetings we should invite and welcome fraternal delegates from the other organizations, and whenever opportunity occurs we might visit the other countries and study the national movement there.

Our Chinese friends were specially eager to welcome Indians in China whether as accredited representatives of the Indian Congress or as students or visitors. Nothing would please them more than to have a visit from representatives of the A. I. C. C. to study the Chinese situation on the spot. For students they are prepared to afford every facility and even now, it is well known, many of the records of ancient Indian culture can only be found in China.

The news that we get in India about China nearly all comes through English official sources and is tainted. We must not base any conclusions on this one-sided and often perverted information. We have had enough experience during the last war of the prostitution of news by the English for the sake of propaganda. The same thing is happening again and we must beware of it. The cry of English lives in danger is raised and 20,000 soldiers and a vast armada is sent ostensibly to protect them. But only a few days ago it was stated in the English House of Commons by one of the Ministers that in China during the last two years three British subjects had lost their lives and during the same period 250 Chinese civilians were killed and 260 Chinese soldiers were killed and wounded by British soldiers. This is the official British estimate—the Chinese estimate which was also largely the

estimate of the British press at the time the occurrences took place, is that during the massacres of Shanghai and Wahnien thousands were killed by the British soldiery. Lives are certainly in danger in China today, but, as has been pertinently asked, whose lives? They are the lives of the Chinese and the danger comes from British guns and unhappily from Indian guns.

It is thus necessary for arrangements to be made for a full and reliable service of news about China. This should not be difficult as there are many Chinese Information Bureaus and I trust the A. I. C. C. Office will take early steps in the matter.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE*Election Publicity and Propaganda Account from 1-10-1926 to 30-9-1927***RECEIPTS**

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
I.—To Opening Balance (Cash at Bank)		12,045 12 3
II.—To advances recovered and accounted for :—		
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar ..	100 0 0	
Syt. B. Raja Rau ..	70 0 0	
III.—To unspent balance of the grant made to Syt. Vasudeorao Joshi, Poona..		170 0 0
IV.—To amount received on account of subscriptions from candidates ..		404 13 0
V.—To amount received on account of subscriptions from Provinces ..		950 0 0
VI.—To interest received		100 0 0
		67 15 0
		13,738 8 3

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Election Publicity and Propaganda Account from 1-10-1926 to 30-9-1927-(concd)

DISBURSEMENTS

VII.—By travelling expenses :—	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Syt. S. Satyamurti	519 0 0	
Syt. A. Rangaswami Iyengar	786 6 6	
Syt. B. Raja Rau	211 0 0	
Syt. M. K. Acharya	506 10 0	
Syt. Mahalinga Sarma	29 8 6	
		2,052 9 0
VIII.—By Grants —		
Syt. T. C. Goswami for election work in Bengal		1,500 0 0
M. Abdul Hameed Khan		700 0 0
Syt. B. J. Marathey		1,600 0 0
Kerala P. C. C.		500 0 0
Bombay P. C. C.		500 0 0
Syt. M. K. Acharya		250 0 0
Babu Rajendra Prasad		800 0 0
Syt. T. R. Phookun (Assam P.C.C.)		500 0 0
Utkal P. C. C.		1,500 0 0
Syt. K. R. Karant		500 0 0
U. P., P. C. C.		1,991 0 0
IX.—By telegrams		
		266 0 0
X.—By miscellaneous		
		10 13 0
XI.—By printing charges of election manifesto		
		822 13 0
XII.—By bonus to Syt. Sheo Balak Singh (Head Clerk)		
		25 0 0
XIII.—Advances :—		
Syt. T. Prakasam		500 0 0
Tamil Nadu Grant account		165 1 6
XIV.—By Balance (Central Bank of India, Ltd.)		
		155 3 9
		13,738 8 3

Examined and found correct.

A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR
General Secretary

M. K. DANDEKER
Auditor

Madras,
22-11-27 }

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant

B. RAJA RAU
Under Secretary

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1926 to 30th September, 1927 in the Office of the General Secretary, Madras

RECEIPTS

	Rs. a. p.	Amount Rs. a. p.
I.—To Opening Balance :—		
(a) Cash in hand	96 15 3	
(b) In bank at Allahabnd	21 8 9	
(c) In bank at Madras	1,539 11 4	
		1,658 3 4
II.—Sale proceeds of Congress publica- tions excluding postage on V. P's :—		
Beigaum Congress reports (given credit to Secretary, Karnatak P. C. C.)		5 8 "
III.—Received from or on behalf of Trea- surer :—		
(a) In repayment of the amounts advanced by this office on his behalf		
In the previous year 857 12 0		
In the current year 3,443 1 9	4,300 13 9	
(b) Towards Budget grant	19,287 5 9	
(c) By sale of Congress publications	441 11 6	
		24,029 15 0
IV.—To advances recovered or accounted for :—		
Syt. Raghupati Sahai	300 0 0	
Syt. Raja Rau (including amount advanced to Syt. Pranes Kumar Mazumdar through him)	385 6 9	
Syt. K. B. Ramakrishnaiah	50 0 0	
Syt. Sheo Balak Singh	50 0 0	
Syt. V. D. Sharma	45 0 0	
Syt. A. S. Ramulu	5 0 0	
		835 6 9
V.—Interest received		70 0 0
		26,599 1 1

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1926 to 30th September, 1927 in the Office of the General Secretary, Madras—(contd.)

DISBURSEMENTS

	Rs. a. p.	Amount Rs. a. p.
VI.—By travelling expenses :—		
(a) to Gauhati Congress ..	1,511 12 3	
(b) on other occasions ..	1,483 10 9	
VII.—Salaries :—		2,995 7 0
At Madras ..	8,163 2 4	
At Allahabad ..	1,995 0 0	
Gratuities :—		
To Syt. Raghupati Sahai ..	750 0 0	
To Abdul Waheed Saheb ..	220 0 0	
VIII.—Postage and Telegrams ..		11,128 2 4
		1,406 7 0
IX.—Printing and Stationery ..		1,520 2 2
X.—Rents and Taxes (including Rs. 218 at Delhi during Assembly sessions) ..		1,648 9 8
XI.—Library (purchase of books) ..		5 8 0
XII.—Furniture purchased ..		384 8 0
XIII.—Miscellaneous payments :—		
Tram and Bus passes ..	85 4 0	
Typewriters-repairing, cleaning, ribbon, etc. ..	47 0 0	
Miscellaneous expenses of General Secretary at the Delhi sessions, 21-1-27 to 28-3-27 ..	156 3 0	
A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay, 12-5-27 to 18-5-27; boarding and other charges of staff ..	114 5 0	
Expenses at Allahabad for packing old records	34 2 0	
Railway freight ..	40 6 0	
Other items ..	345 15 9	
		823 3 9
XIV.—Payments to (i) Treasurer:		
Amounts advanced by this office on his behalf during the year ..		3,443 1 9

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1926 to 30th September, 1927 in the Office of the General Secretary, Madras—(concl'd.)

DISBURSEMENTS

	Rs. a. p.	Amount Rs. a. p.
(ii) Secretary, Assam P. C. C. towards grant (Amount received last year from No. 3 account for the purpose) .. .. .	..	1,000 0 0
XV.—By advances :—		
Secretary, Bombay P. C. C. ..	39 3 0	
Secretary, Congress Party (Swaraj Party)	72 4 0	
Peon Subbayya Pillai ..	16 9 0	
		128 0 0
XVI.—Closing Balances :—		
(a) Cash in hand ..	89 14 6	
(b) In Banks at Madras :—		
Central Bank of India in the name of General Secretary ..	430 2 6	
Central Bank of India in the name of Under Secretary ..	50 11 8	
Imperial Bank of India in the name of General Secretary ..	1,531 2 0	
(c) In Bank at Allahabad ..	14 0 9	
		2,115 15 5
		26,599 1 1

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH **B. RAJA RAU** **A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR**
Accountant *Under Secretary* *General Secretary*

Examined and found correct

M. K. DANDEKER

Auditor

MADRAS,
22-11-27.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Propaganda and Publicity in Foreign Countries Account from 30th March, 1926 to 30th September, 1927

RECEIPTS		DISBURSEMENTS	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
To Treasurer, A. I. C. C.	5,000 0 0	By Cablegrams to Bias (Johannesburg) and Nicely (Durban)	102 14 0
To Interest	81 4 0	By Cablegrams to Capetown, Mombasa and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	227 6 0
To Price of unused cheques	1 2 0	By amount spent by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for Overseas work	777 0 0
		By amount spent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of the Congress of Oppressed Nations and in connection therewith	667 14 0
		By Cheque Book	1 9 0
		By advance to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	120 2 0
		By Balance (Central Bank of India, Ltd.)*	3185 9 0
	5,082 6 0		5,082 6 0

(67)

* An amount of Rs. 1,375-1-9 has since been sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, £ 100 being contribution by the A. I. C. C. to the League against Imperialism and the balance being the amount still due to Pt. J. Nehru as per his bill.

Examined and found correct

<i>Madras,</i> <i>25-11-27</i> }	K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH <i>Accountant</i>	B. RAJA RAU <i>Under Secretary</i>	A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR <i>General Secretary</i>	M. K. DANDEKER <i>Auditor</i>
-------------------------------------	--	--	--	---

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

*Statements of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1926 to
30th September, 1927*

RECEIPTS	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Cash and investment as on 1-10-26	..	1,44,803 11 10
Tilak Swarajya Fund, General ..	..	80 7 0
" " " Earmarked		
Political Sufferers' Fund ..	3,270 0 0	
Help to Akalis	694 6 1	3,964 6 11
Miscellaneous Receipts:—		
Karnatak P. C. C. Quota ..	5 8 0	
Sind " " ..	4 5 9	
Interest	6,111 2 5	
Brokerage	46 1 0	
Sale-proceeds of Congress publica- tions	441 11 6	
Share of delegate fees, Coconada Congress	229 12 0	
Share of delegate fees, Belgaum Congress	209 14 9	
Advances Recovered:—		7,048 7 5
President (Shreemati Naidu) ..	1 300 0 0	
Delhi Unity Conference ..	73 8 0	
Grants paid, refunded and adjusted		373 8 0
		2,004 4 1
Total ..		1,58,274 12 5

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

*Statements of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st October, 1926 to
30th September, 1927*

DISBURSEMENTS	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grants made to:—		
Reception Committee, Gauhati Congress.. ..	10,000 0 0	
Assam Provincial Congress Committee	1,000 0 0	
Andhra	1,000 0 0	
Tamil Nad	1,000 0 0	
U. P.	968 6 0	
Hindustani Seva Dal	2,000 0 0	
Transferred from Political Sufferers Fund	250 0 0	16,218 6 0
Paid out of Political Sufferers Fund	..	592 0 0
Interest on old B.P.C.C. Fund distributed in equal shares among Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra and Karnatak P. C. Cs. .. ..	..	526 15 0
Expenses of Election Sub-Committee	..	304 1 0
President's expenses (Shrimati Naidu)	..	657 12 0
Amounts written off (Unity Conference, Delhi) .. ..	..	73 8 0
Expenses of the General Secretary's Office:—		
Moving of Records	264 13 6	
Expenses as per his annual statement	18,829 12 0	19,094 9 6
Treasurer's Office expenses:—		
Salary, Postage, Hundavan, Miscellaneous Rs. 450. Rs. 15-11. Rs. 13-14-9. Rs. 11-13. Printing and Stationery including Gauhati and Cawnpore Congress reports Rs. 2,526-4. ..	..	3,017 10 9
Rent for storing Congress Pavilion ..	..	449 14 3
Loan:—		
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee .. ..	..	1,500 0 0
Advance paid to:—		
Political Sufferers Sub-Committee..	2,500 0 0	
General Secretary, Madras ..	201 1 4	2,701 1 4
Closing Balance:—		
In fixed deposit	79,055 0 0	
.. current account	34,083 10 4	
.. hand	0 4 3	1,13,138 14 7
Total ..		1,58,274 12 5

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant

REVASHANKAR JAGJIVAN
Hon. Working Treasurer

Examined and found correct.

DALAL & SHAH

70, MEADOWS STREET, FORT, Bombay. *Incorporated Accountants (London),
Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.*

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

The Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1927

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
To Grants	16,218 6 0	By Tilak Swarajya Fund General	80 7 0
.. Expenses of Election Sub-Committee..	304 1 0	.. Miscellaneous receipts	7,048 7 5
.. President's expenses (Mrs. Naidu) ..	657 12 0	.. Grants refunded	2,004 4 1
.. Amounts written off	73 8 0	.. Balance C/d to B/S being the deficit for this year	31,209 10 0
.. Expenses of the General Secretary, Madras	19,094 9 6		
.. Treasurer's Office expenses including rent of storing pavilion and print- ing of Gauhati Congress report ..	3,467 9 0		
.. Interest paid to Provinces on old B. P. C. C. dues.. .. .	526 15 0		
Total ..	40,342 12 6	Total ..	40,342 12 6

(70)

Examined and found correct.

70, MEADOWS STREET,
FORT, Bombay, }

DALAL & SHAH,
*Incorporated Accountants (London),
Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.*

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant

REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN
Hon. Working Treasurer, A.I.C.C.

(71)

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1927

PROPERTY AND ASSETS

Cash and Investments :—

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
In fixed deposits	79,055 0 0	
In current account	34,083 10 4	
On hand	0 4 3	
		1,13,138 14 7

Loans :—

C. P., P. C. C.	35,000 0 0	
Transferred to A. I. S. A. ..		
A. I. S. A. (Tamil Nadu, P. C. C. transfer)	15,000 0 0	
Assam P. C. C. Opium	500 0 0	
Kerala P. C. C.	1,500 0 0	
	52,000 0 0	
Paid during the year to Punjab P. C. C.	1,500 0 0	
	53,500 0 0	
Less A. I. S. A. transfer	50,000 0 0	
		3,500 0 0
Advances to G. S. Madras	553 2 9	
Emigrants' E. C.	37 0 9	
Poli. Suf. S. C.	2,500 0 0	3,090 3 6
Congress Pavillion .. ..	..	4,000 0 0
Dead Stock .. ..	..	282 14 0
Total ..		1,24,012 0 1

We have examined the above balance sheet with the books and vouchers of the All India Treasurer's Office and find same to be correct. We have also verified the investments.

DALAL & SHAH, REVASHANKER JAGJIVAN,
Incorporated Accountants (London). Hon. Working Treasurer, A. I. C. C.
Hon. Auditors, A. I. C. C.

70, MEDOWS STREET,
FORT, Bombay.

M. N. PADWEKAR,
Accountant

THE ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1927

FUNDS AND LIABILITIES

General Fund :—	Rs. a. p.	-Rs. a. p.
Balance as per last year ..	1,62,120 1 0	
<i>Less</i> Amounts transferred to A.I.S.A. ..	50,000 0 0	
Deficit this year ..	31,209 10 0	
	81,209 10 0	80,910 7 0
Earmarked Funds :—		
Last year's Balance ..	15,928 3 0	
Recd. during the year ..	3,964 6 1	
	19,892 9 1	
<i>Less</i> paid and adjusted during the year ..	592 0 0	
	14,220 0 0	19,300 9 1
Civil Disobedience Fund ..	14,220 0 0	
Transferred to permanent Publicity Bureau ..	14,220 0 0	
Permanent Publicity Bureau ..	..	14,220 0 0
Old Bombay P. C. C Fund ..	..	9,581 0 0

1,24,012 0 1

(73)

Earmarked Funds as on 30th September, 1927

				Rs. a. p.
Khaddar Propaganda .. .. .	..	..	..	1,001 0 0
Help to Akalis .. .. .	..	..	..	745 6 1
Untouchability .. .. .	..	..	..	10 0 0
Bengal National Workers .. .. .	..	..	..	10 7 0
Swarajya Party Fund .. .. .	..	..	..	14 12 0
South African Fund .. .. .	..	..	..	200 0 0
Political Sufferers' Fund .. .. .	..	..	..	3,828 0 0
Civil Resister's Family Relief Fund .. .. .	..	..	..	13,491 0 0
				<hr/>
			Total	19,300 9 1

In Fixed Deposits with Banks as on 30th Sept., 1927 :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	9,581 0 0
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	30,000 0 0
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	20,000 0 0
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Lahore .. .. .	..	..	..	19,474 0 0
				<hr/>
			Total	79,055 0 0

In Current accounts with Banks as on 30th Sept., 1927 :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	2,466 3 6
Bank of India Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	1,036 1 9
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	2,110 7 8
Shilohri Bank Ltd., Bombay .. .. .	..	..	..	9 11 4
Allahabad Bank Ltd., Bombay	3 11 1
Punjab National Bank Ltd., Bombay	28,458 7 6
				<hr/>
			Total	34,083 10 4

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VAISHNAVISM (2)
OF THE
GOWD SARASWAT BRAHMINS, Etc.
AND A FEW
KONKANI FOLKLORE TALES

BY
RAO SAHEB DR. V. P. CHAVAN, L.M. & S., J.P.
*(Sometime Vice-President of the Anthropological Society of
Bombay, and a Gold Medallist of the Sassoon
Mechanics' Institute, Bombay)*

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TO

S. T. SHEPPARD, ESQ.,

THE MASTER MIND IN INDIAN JOURNALISM

V. P. CHAVAN.

VAISHNAVISM OF THE GOWD SARASWAT
 BRAHMIN SHAIVITES WITH SOME
 NOTES ON THE TWO SECTS OF
 VAISHNAVISM AND
 SHAIVISM.

India is a land of paradoxes, and Hinduism affords the most noted instance of that phenomenon. The philosophy, as developed in the Upanishads, has been considered the highest mark in hair-splitting logic but it shows us incidentally the powerful brains which threw illuminating light on those mystical problems trying to bring man nearer and nearer to the Almighty God. Why "Self has to die", was the sum total of that philosophy. The philosophers fought against the common idea of "dust to dust, and ashes to ashes." Taking the soul as a spark from the Kindling Light, radiating from the *High above*, these Rishis fought and fought dogmatically to find the means to cross the bridge enabling the soul to get itself finally absorbed in the heavenly Effulgence. But these mighty Rishis wrote and talked over the heads of the common people and naturally lost touch with them. In his "Book of South India" Mr. J. C. Molony, I.C.S. (retired), aptly observes: "The ultimate speculations of the great Hindu thinkers, are interesting to the meta-physician but they are scarcely a guide and support to the average man in the daily perplexities of his life, in this world."

Man hankers after something—something personal, something adorable with a distinct personality, that should bring him in close touch with his God. The Hindu Philosophy soaring high up in the intellectual regions, was nothing but a floating dust with the common run of people. The elaborate and mechanical system of Vedic worship made us go in, in olden times, for all sorts of religious practices—practices which entailed

human sacrifice, practices which made us go in for the serpent worship and the tree worship—practices which made even the intelligentsia bow down before the rituals used in the Tantric worship, which in ignorant hands, lapsed into even obscenities.

Hinduism has never been in the course of its whole history, a single organization. It has been allowed to grow wild like the weeds in jungles with an occasional flower sublime in its beauty and fragrant in its depth of learning, sprouting up here and there. Its philosophy has made it impractical. Hinduism is considered as a combination in fact of animism and pantheism. That is how the religion amongst the Hindus, as a vital force, is dead. The force round which all sorts of activities for the betterment of the masses, for the progressive uplift of the people, ought to have been centred, this vitality, this manifestation of energy, has practically never been born. That is why there is the eternal seeking for the betterment of *Self*, careless of the betterment of others.

That is where the saints came in. These men with super-human energies, with super-human abilities, tried and succeeded in giving a new direction to the worship of God as practised from time to time. The selfless sacred duty voluntarily undertaken, did leave the Indian world better from the religious point of view. They tried to blow that vitality into a flame, and succeeded to a certain extent. But the Boa-constrictor of mechanical rituals and sacrifices has always extinguished the flame and brought things to the dead level of old.

Both the Gods Shiva and Vishnu have excited a peculiar influence on the Hindus from times immemorial. The worship of God Shiva is known as "*Shaivism*". Some go to the extent of considering *Shiva*, not as an Aryan God. He is looked upon as the "*Destroyer*". He is called "*Bhairava*," i.e., the fearful but all the same this deity is the life of the religious Soul of many millions in India. God Shiva is firmly rooted in our

religious faith. He is described as the inconceivable one, who is beyond comprehension of all the Indian Gods.

The worship of God Shiva is considered the most aboriginal of the Indian cults as practised in the south of India where it flourished in about the 4th century B.C.* The worship of Rudra-Shiva was common to all during the Aryan period. But the worship of this deity, especially in the early Aryan period, was carried on with a sentiment of fear at the bottom. As Rudra was considered a terrible God, a wish was expressed in one's prayers that this evil spirit should be far, far away from the man who prayed to Him! The Linga worship had not come in use even at the time of Patanjali but the *Mahabharata* tells us that God Shiva is to be worshipped in the form of Linga, a phallic (B) symbol though usually decent in appearance.

The Vedas did not countenance this sort of worship. There is an allusion, however, in the Vedas (Rigveda) of Shishnadeva whom Indra was asked to destroy. God Shiva is said to batten upon corpses, and to smear his body with ashes from the burning ground.

* Emperor Asoka was a Shaiva (*Vide* Vincent Smith's *Asoka—Rulers of India* Series) and so were also his predecessors. In which case, it must have been a religion in vogue from at least the pre-Buddhistic times, in the North at least. If it had gone to the North, from the South, then it must have been, a living religion in the South, some centuries even earlier. *Vide* also Kalhana's *राजतरंगिणी*: I. verses 101—107.

(B) My friend Mr. M. Govind Pai believes that the Linga is not a phallic symbol but a representation of the digit one, indicative of Monotheism—एकमेवाकित्यम् and the पीठ or the stand on which it rests is not योनि (the female generative organ) but is indicative of Zero. From nothing, i.e., from what can never be known, sprang God. The origin of God is therefore "unknowable." That is why he is called स्वयम्.

Phallic worship was quite in vogue in Canaan (ancient Palestine or the country round about it), Phoenicia, &c. The reference to those whose God is "Shishna" (Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Shaivism, etc.*, p. 115) is perhaps to such people with whom our Vedic forefathers came into contact, but it may be that gradually, the phallic idea infiltrated into our ancient religion too, but in that case, it could only have the metaphorical significance of creative power.

God Shiva haunts mountains and deserted uncanny places. He is the patron of violent lawless men and robbers. In the play "Mrichchakatika" (6th century A.D.) a burglar invokes Kartikeya, the son of Shiva as the patron saint of thieves who is said to have taught different styles of house-breaking. God Shiva's neck is encircled by a serpent and a necklace of skulls.

! The waves of Buddhism and especially Jainism checked the progress of *Shaivism*. The rebellion against ritualistic Hinduism, was carried on by Buddha in the first instance; but after all the victory rested with *Shaivism* on account of the tenets of the latter being regulated and strengthened by the flood of intellectual and philosophical current flowing from the Northern India. The revival of devotion, also due to the aggressive religious war carried on by a band of Sadhus and Acharyas, did away with the gross superstition and the demonolatry that was associated with the worship of God *Rudra-Shiva*. Finally the Shaivite schools of the Tamil country succeeded in rejecting the grosser elements and turned the worship of Shiva into an ecstatic and mystical monotheism.

A pure sincere devotion to God Shiva on the theistic basis took a strong hold on the public. It was about the twelfth century that Shaivism attained its high water mark all over India.

That is how God Shiva becomes the sole redeemer of souls. Redemption or the Moksha is the state of emancipation with a full conscious enjoyment of Shiva's presence. This shows the fervour of devotion leading to the doctrine of Grace. The Grace of God Shiva remains and He is still a personal deity but the individual self attains deliverance by being absorbed into the supreme and selfless one—God Shiva. "

There is, however, some difference of Doctrine on this point. The soul becomes Shiva, equal to the Deity in power and knowledge, but still dependent on Him, rather than identical with Him.

The note of *Shaivism* has always been the unknowableness of God. The Advaita union with Lord Shiva is so complete that to those who obtained release, God Shiva will be all in all.

Shaivism possesses truth and force. The change which is the Law of Nature—produces, and destroys—reproduces and redestroys. This change manifests itself in fact in two aspects—beginning and an end. Shiva the destroyer, is in fact, the real creator of the world. It is on destruction that the process of growth is built up. You destroy the embryo and the child is born. You destroy the child and the man is born. Will there be any progress and improvement in the world inhabited by immortals only ?

THE CULT OF VAISHNAVISM.

The cult of Vaishnavism on the other hand, has a continuous history even from before the beginning of the Christian era. The southern presidency was considered to be the stronghold of Shaivites; but in spite of all that, Vaishnavism managed to establish for itself a strong position there in about the eleventh century. There was not any keen antagonism between the Shaivites and the Vaishnavites at that time. Both the sects had a common basis to work up, i.e., to uproot the prevalent Jainism from that part of the land.

Vaishnavism must be regarded as one of the most important religions of India. It was the religion of the Gupta Emperors, of Ramanuja, of Chaitanya, of Kabir, of Narasimha Mehta of Guzarat, and of our Tukaram also. It is the religion which produced the "Bhagawat Gita", and the songs of Tulsidas. The ideas of "Bhakti" and "Prasad"—²Faith and divine grace—have been attributed to Vaishnavism.

According to Ray Chaudhuri—the well-known professor of the Calcutta University, Vaishnavism is the name given to the Bhakti religion which recognises Vishnu, who is also called Bhagwat, Narayan, Hari as the Sole God. Vishnu-worship is as

old as Rig Veda. Vishnu is considered as one of the Adityas or manifestations of the Sun. He was considered not a great God in the earliest Vedic times. There may be a good deal of truth¹ in Grierson's surmise that the Bhagwat Doctrine was a development of the sun worship that was the common heritage of both branches of the Aryan people—the Iranian and the Indian. There are records testifying to the proselytising zeal of the Bhagwatas in the pre-Christian centuries which show that their religion was excellent and persuasive enough to capture the hearts of cultured Greeks and catholic enough to admit them into its fold. The Greek Heliodoros calls himself a Bhagwata in an inscription recorded on the column found at Besnagar and supposed to date from the first part of the second century B.C. God Vishnu's real claim to reverence is due to the fact that certain popular incarnations and *Krishna* are identified with him. The worship of the ever popular Rama has become a watch-word of Hinduism.

Bhāgavata (possibly from भग्न one of the primitive Aryan deifications) means worshipper of the one Lord. Bhāgawat Dharma was also called "Ekantika Dharma" or the religion with one object, i.e., monotheism.²

1. Later considerations have however, compelled me to change my view. If Mr. Grierson be right, we must expect to find, in that case, something similar to the pure "Bhakti-Marga" in Avestan religion; but is there anything there like the Vaishnava Bhaktimarga? No! For the most religious of the least ritualistic of the Avestan literature, viz., the Gathas have scarcely anything like our Bhakti literature. They are more or less like the Hebrew Psalms of the Old Testament. Nor do their "Nyaishes" containing hymns to "Mithra," &c., disclose anything similar to our Bhakti-marga. (Vide 'Nyaishes' edited by Dr. Dhalla; Gathas with Guzerathi Translation by Kanga and the English translation of the Gathas in the S. B. E. Series, Vol. XXXI, by Mills.)

2. Historically speaking, the Jain Dharma was founded by Mahavir who seems to have died in 527 B.C. Now the Jainism is called the अनेकान्त (anekanta) religion. (अनेकान्तवाचि-आभिधान वितामणि शिखरः p. 3 verse 76 in the work called अभिधानसंग्रह). It goes without saying that there could never be an अनेकान्त unless or until there was an एकान्त (in contradiction to it) flourishing long before it. Wherefore, it follows that the एकान्तिक-मार्गवद् धर्म must have originated at least a century or two before the genesis of Jainism, i.e., before 527 B.C.

VAISHNAVISM OF THE GOWD SABASWAT BRAHMIN:

Bhāgawata from Bhagawān

“Bhag” + wān = Possessing

देवस्यैव्यं ह्यमस्यैव्यं वीर्यस्यैव्यं यज्ञसः प्रियः।।

‘‘शान्तिराग्ययोर्वैद्यं वण्णो ‘‘ भग ’’ इतीरणा ॥

Vaishnavism teaches one to go in for personal devotion rendered to a personal God. The lower classes to whom the ambiguities, of Vedantism and the hair-splitting obscurities, of the theologian and the philosopher, were too much, readily accepted a cult, which opened an easy way of salvation by Bhakti or devotion.

Vaishnavism fought against the spiritual monism and Maya, or the world illusion, that was promulgated by Shree Shankaracharya. Ramanuja unfurled the banner of Bhakti and the battle was carried on by his successor Madhvacharya who brought into prominence God Vishnu as the Supreme God.

My friend, Mr. Govind Pai of South Canara, informs me that he is constrained to differ from this view. He says, the first Shankaracharya was as much devoted to Vishnu as to Shiva, as evidenced by so many of his works. He identified them with one another and took them as only the two different aspects of the same God-head.

Mr. G. Pai further observes that Madhvacharya was never a disciple of, nor even a follower of Ramanuja or his school. He founded quite a different school altogether. His idea of the worship of Vishnu was quite different from that of Ramanuja. According to Madhva, ‘‘Vayu’’ is the mediator between us and God. Whereas according to Ramanuja there is no such mediator and the attainment is direct. Next, Madhva was more attached to Krishna, whereas Ramanuja was to Rama.

Would any body believe that Vaishnavism even in those days spelt democracy pure and simple? The Alvars or the Tamil saints carried on the worship in their temples in the Tamil language. The great Ramanuja was ever alert to unfold to

the common masses in simple language the rudiments of his faith and conviction. Vedic texts were translated into Tamil and were and are still being sung in the Vedic intonation in Ramanuja Temples in the South. This brings to our mind the great and sturdy simplicity of saint Tukaram, who succeeded in a marvellous way like Ramanuja the great, in making the shrine of "Vithoba" of Pandharpur, as the source of salvation not only to the ignorant kunbi, but to the intelligent Brahmin as well. The depressed "Mahar" and the "Moohee" are to be found in the annual crowd who visit the shrine. The Mahar Saint Chokha has a prominent place given to his image in the Temples at Pandharpur. The beauty of saint Tukaram's teaching was such that even a Mahomedan or two were and even now are to be occasionally found in the crowd praying to God Vithoba.

The pure Bhakti of Vithoba is nothing but a local manifestation of the cult of devotion carried on by Ramanuja and his successors, centuries and centuries ago before saint Tukaram was born.

There appears to be a "Pandurang Stotra" by Shankaracharya, and if that be genuinely his, the Vithoba worship must have been in vogue long before Ramanuja. (Shankara 9th century A.C. and Ramanuja *circa* 12th century).

Tukaram prayed to God Vithoba, sang to Vithoba, and dreamt of Vithoba. In fact, such was his religious fervour with which he identified himself with the attributes of God Vithoba that he got himself thoroughly saturated with the unselfish devotion to God Vithoba.

In a letter to Shivaji, who desired to see him, Tukaram wrote "as a chaste wife longs only to see her Lord, such am I to Vithoba. All the world to me is Vithoba and nothing else. Thee also I behold in Him."

The spirit of pure devotion or Bhakti is to be found in the followers of Vaishnavism. The spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu Society has been a distinguishing

feature of Vaishnavism. Ramanuja was noted for his largeness of heart. Ramanuja did away with the caste system by accepting a Non-Brahmin as a Guru. Ramanuja himself treated Tirukka-Cacinambi, a Shudra disciple of Alavandar, as his teacher. After his bath, Ramanuja would invariably take for his support Pillai Urangavalli Desar, a Shudra. Even people belonging to the depressed Panchama caste were not excluded from the religious teaching. But there is one difference between Ramanuja and Ramananda. Ramanuja admitted into his immediate circle, those, who could follow him in his dissertations on Upanishads and Vedanta philosophy, thus limiting the number, especially of the Shudras. While with Ramananda, the case was otherwise, as will be explained later on.

Theism as unfolded by Ramanuja is based on Vedanta Philosophy and relies on pure Bhakti or the loving faith of the worshipper, for one's salvation. Bhakti is also defined as a passionate self-oblivious devotion to a deity. There is no question that Vaishnavism owed its popularity to the emotional warmth which Ramanuja was able to infuse into his doctrines. Vaishnavism is called the Bhāgwat Dharma because it succeeded in completing the work of the Bhagwat Geeta in Indian Theism, under the Great Ramanuja.* This saint was followed by Shree Madhvacharya^(a) about a century later, who established the *Dvaita* system. This insists on Bhakti as the only way of salvation procuring deliverance from the bondage of "Samsara" and endows one with a life of bliss and perfection in the presence of God. God can only be approached through a mediator.† The grace of God is to be had only if there be perfect faith in the follower or seeker.

* It will be interesting to know that the term Bhāgawat was in vogue some fourteen centuries before Ramanuja from the following inscription: " देव देवस्य समुदेवस्य गुरुत्वात् अयं कारिते हेतुर्भेदोरेण भागवतेन."

(a) Shree Madhvacharya was not a follower of Ramanuja, nor a dissenter from the latter but an independent founder of quite a new school.

† In this aspect, it comes closest of all Indian religious systems to Christianity.

Madhvacharya insisted on the sovereignty of God, holding that it is the divine grace that sets men free, so it is the divine will that has cast them into bondage. The saint Madhvacharya was against the sacrifice of animals and recognised the religious rites of all classes of the people. But this Acharya introduced the spirit of intolerance especially against the monistic interpretations of the universe.

Madhvacharya is supposed to have put on a different meaning altogether on a well-known saying in the *Ohhandogya Upanishad* "Sa Atma tat tvam asi". It is said that he forced into this text a sense of an opposite nature, a meaning consistent with his own special doctrine. This Acharya rendered this text into "Sa atma atat tvam asi" meaning "you are not that God. Why be so conceited as to suppose that you are" 1

It is Shree Madhvacharya and his immediate successors that introduced Vaishnavism among the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins. I cannot help mentioning here how Vaishnavism at one time was run on the most broadened democratic basis. Shree Ramananda who flourished at about the beginning of the 15th century went full tilt against the water-tight caste system amongst the Hindus. This saint established a "Matha" (monastery) in Benares on the cosmopolitan principle of "No caste, no creed". "Whosoever adores God, he is God's own". It is no wonder therefore, that he had a Mahomedan weaver, a mochee, a barber, amongst his apostles. The democracy for which the Vaishnavism fought and bled, reached its zenith under the all-pervading influence of Ramananda. Whatever idol was worshipped within the pantheon of Vaishnavism, there flowed around it the continuous stream of the River of Bhakti. The water of *faith and love* is the one and the only one way, by which the inner stain, the sins of omission and commission can ever be effaced.

In the "Rise of the Maratha power", the late Mr. Justice Ranade says:—"The Bhakti of Vithoba modified the

“strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Shudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance almost equal to that of the Brahmin. Mutual toleration was established. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, &c., to the higher excellence of worship by means of *Love* and *Faith*. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and of action”.

In short the idea underlying Vaishnavism is human and emotional. God Vishnu asks for worship through *love*. Shaivism on the other hand makes one tread in the scientific and philosophic currents rather than in the emotional ones. Both the forms of worship seek for deliverance from transmigration. The two forms of worship co-existed in remote periods, not as we find them now. But in their higher phases, both the sects arrive at similarly excellent religious points, though through different channels. Both provide the strength necessary to accomplish self-effacement, and attain renunciation.

A good story is told of Shree Shankaracharya (*) popularly supposed to be the founder of Shaivism. His real religion was

(*) Mr. M. Govind Pai informs me however that Shaivism had long been in existence before the times of Shankaracharya and the latter should not be considered as the founder of it. Shree Shankaracharya is no doubt popularly believed to be the founder of the *Advait* system but here also Mr. Pai rightly insists that one finds the philosophy of *Advait* in the works of Gowd Padacharya, who was the Paramaguru (his teacher's teacher) of Shaikaracharya. The Upanishads such as the *Svetasvatara*, etc. discuss the doctrines of Advaitism. Under historical research, one is sorry to see that “popular idols” are broken. All the same it must never be forgotten that Shankaracharya himself has done so much for the propagation of *Bhakti* too. (Vide so many of his, “*stotras*” especially his very famous

पदपदी—

“सत्यपिभेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मानकीनस्तनम् ।

“सामुद्रो हि तरंगः क्वच न समुद्रो न तारंगः ॥

Vedantism—Advaitism. The legend says that when summoned to his mother's death bed, he spoke to her first of the Vedanta philosophy. But when she bade him give her some consolation which she could understand, he recited a hymn to *Shiva* but when the attendants of that God appeared, she was frightened. Shankaracharya then recited a hymn to Vishnu and when his gentler messengers came to her bedside, the old mother felt a thrill of satisfaction and she blessed her son and her soul wafted away to *Vaikuntha*—the heavenly home of *God Vishnu*!

This looks like a story invented by the intolerant Vaishnavas to ridicule Shankaracharya^(a) but it throws decidedly a strong light on the way, in which an ordinary man with ordinary intelligence goes in for that school of thought or worship which is most understandable, easy to follow and is free of all rituals. I mean the *Bhakti* or the school of personal devotion. The worship of God *Shiva* coupled with Vedantism and with *Smritis* is on the other hand too difficult a nut for the ordinary lay mind to crack. That is why Vaishnavism associated with such eminent names, as *Ramanuja* and *Ramananda*, *Nrisimha Mehta*, *Chaitanya*, *Tukaram*, and *Kabir*, has influenced all India.

THE INTOLERANCE OF THE VAISHNAVAS.

As I have already mentioned both the sects—the followers of *God Shiva* and *God Vishnu*—carried on their activities side by side in a peaceful manner. The common enemy, in the South, the Jainism had to be destroyed. But with the decadence of the latter, the natural animosities burst asunder. A large following especially from the uncultured classes went in for *Vaishnavism*. The Shaivites were up in arms. So much so that one of the kings, called the *Chola* king *Kurattal*, sent an urgent summons to *Ramanuja*, the great apostle of *Vaishnavism*. Apprehending danger to his *Guru*, *Vān* a disciple put on the *Sanyasi's* garb and impersonated his teacher in

^a See footnote (a) in page 11.

the King's presence. On being questioned if he had any objections to subscribe to the faith of *Shaivism*, and to repeat that "There was none superior to *God Shiva*", the *Vaishnavite* disciple replied impertinently that *Drona* was bigger than *Shiva*, playing upon the words *Shiva* and *Drona*—two measures of which *Drona* was bigger.

शिवात्परतरं नास्ति ।

द्रीणमस्ति ततः परम् ॥

For this, that *Vaishnavite* disciple had to suffer—his eyes were put out by the king's orders, then and there.

Perhaps these pinpricks and occasional persecutions must have made the lot of the followers of *Ramanuja*, very hard in the beginning. But as the worship of *God Vishnu* went on gathering strength, not only in numbers but in religious fervour also, a condition grew up which made people look upon the *Shaivites* with no uncertain measure of hatred and enmity. That hatred, that enmity, has been handed down, to the present generations even, after a lapse of so many centuries. The *Shaivites* have now cooled down. They look upon *Vaishnavism* as a necessary evil to be put up with, in silence. But the flame of intolerance burning in the breast of *Vaishnavites*, continues to glow with unabated fury and violence even at the present day.

The first thing that strikes one is the sectarian mark on the forehead. The *Smartas* or the *Shaivites* put the mark with a horizontal line parallel with the eyebrows. The *Vaishnavites* go in for a straight perpendicular mark which ends to a point between the eyebrows. In the case of *Tengalais*,^(a) a sub-sect of *Ramanuja's Vaishnavism*, this straight mark is prolonged down to the tip of the nose. The *Vaishnavites* reject sacrifice in toto,

(a) The *Tengalais* who are Southerners put the mark in a Y-shaped fashion whereas that of the *Vadgalais* (i.e. the Northerners of *Ramanuja* persuasion) is V. shaped.

the basis of salvation in their case being emotional fervour. When bowing before their *Gods*, the Vaishnavites stand straight before their *idol*, join both the hands together, place them before the nose and bow down. As all this means a straight line, the sectarian mark of the followers of *God Vishnu*, the *Shaivite* after joining his hands and placing them before his nose, does not stand straight facing the *Gods*. He turns his face sideways and bows down that way—this pose can easily be interpreted into a horizontal line. Even in scrubbing the dirty pots, the *Vaishnavite* lady does so in an up and down, and up and down manner. The *Shaivite* one scrubs it from side to side and never in an up and down manner. Shaivites will sit for their dinners in a line so that all can face their idols—which means in a line parallel with their idols suggesting the horizontal mark again. The *Vaishnavites*, on the other hand, will arrange and place their plates at right angles to the idol, and this means the straight line. A sub-sect of the *Vaishnavas* called *Kadaka*^(b) *Vaishnavas* carry their intolerance still further. They use a wet cloth when taking their meals. The *Shaivites* along with other Brahmins, are in the habit of changing their cotton Dhotees for those of silk or other material, which are only to be worn at the time of meals, a sort of dinner pants. The *Kadaka Vaishnavas* will not dine off a metal plate but will use plantain or other suitable leaves for the purpose. Some other old orthodox *Kadaka Vaishnavas* go so far as to go to the extent of purifying themselves by a bath, if they happen to come across a *Shaivite Brahmin* especially immediately before their meals. Even the mere sight of *Shaivite Brahmin* is considered impure and lessening one's chances of a *Moksha* salvation.

On the *Maha Shivaratri* day, the day of all the days from the *Shaivite* point of view, when a strict fast is observed in honour of *God Shiva* by his followers, these *Kadaka Vaishnavas* will go

(b) This is not exactly a name but a facetious way of calling them. The correct word is *Kadu Vaishnava*. *Kadu*, a Canarese word, equivalent to Sanskrit word *Ati*, means "hard."

in for full feasting. They will prepare special sweet dishes just to show their malicious neglect and hatred of that deity. On account of inter-marriages between these two sects among the *Gowd Saraswatas*, the Vaishnavite husband is obliged, many a time to fast on a *Maha Shivaratri* and other similar holidays on account of his Shaivite wife going in on a strike, on those days and observing a strict fast. The result being that it is the wife who sets the tune in the family harmonium in such cases. The *Tulsi* plant is supposed to be a favourite plant of *God Vishnu*. On the 12th day of the bright half of Kartika, the *God Vishnu* gets married to the *Tulsi plant*. That is why these Vaishnavites masticate a leaf or two of the *Tulsi* plant before or after their meals. Some of the *Vaishnavites* even wear the leaf rolled up in the lobe of their right ears. The hallmark of *Vaishnavism* is to get oneself branded on the temples and on the different parts of the body with the stamps bearing the impressions of the four weapons of *God Vishnu*, the conchshell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus (*Shankha, Chakra, Gada and Padma*) and a square stamp called *Narayan* so called from its nine squares being fitted with *Narayan Ashtakshar* mantra नमो नारायणाय. The straight mark on the forehead is painted with a bit of charcoal. The *Shaivites* on the other hand, never use a coal but go in for a sandal wood paste. To sew a coat is translated in Marathi as शिवणे but the Vaishnavite is not prepared to use the letters शिव and he asks his tailor therefore to get his coat देवद्वय देणे. The *Smartas* use holy ashes for marking the various parts of the body and their women follow their husbands by putting the 'kunkuma' for their tilak in a horizontal streak along the forehead. The *Vaishnavites* use 'Gopichandan' a sort of white clay instead of ashes for marking the body with the caste sign. Their women mark their heads vertically with kunkuma made of turmeric mixed with chunam. The term of reproach for a *Vaishnavite* on the part of a *Smarta* is that the former is called ते सातको उबो नरे ! meaning that "he is nothing but a bundle of perpendicular and meaningless lines". In certain parts of Karwar,

men and women washing their clothes and beating them on the stones, say "Shau shau" every time the cloth is beaten against the stone, the Vaishnavite thinking that this "Shau shau" approximates in pronunciation to Shiva, particularly avoid saying it, but say Hâ, Hâ!!

After the worship is over, a Vaishnavite will say कृष्णार्पणमस्तु and the Shaivite will give utterance to ब्रह्मार्पणमस्तु.

The Times are changing. There is the idea, the spirit of Nationalism abroad. The intolerant spirit is getting less and less. This is much more true in the case of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins, as may be found later on in this paper.

THE GOWD SARASWAT BRAHMINS.

Before I proceed further I would like to make one thing clear. These Gowd Saraswat Brahmins are termed the *Smartas*. They are not exactly *Shaivites*. As I have already shown that the great Shankaracharya, not only fought for *Advaitism* but went in for *Bhakti* also. His followers, especially those belonging to the G. S. Brahmins, are known as *Smartas*. They pay an equal homage, not only to *Shiva* and *Vishnu* but also to Durga, Ganpati and the Sun, so much so that their worship is called a पंचात्मनः worship—worship of the five Gods. They worship *Shiva* and *Vishnu* with equal devotion but the "Naivedya"—the food offering is performed by them only to the latter, as according to Puranic traditions, on account of a curse from Bhrigu upon *Shiva*, his 'Naivedya' is unacceptable. Shankaracharya himself was called a षण्मतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्यः (the establisher of the six creeds, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Shākta, Gānapatya, Skānda and Saura creeds) and he established temples for all these six creeds at Shringeri in Mysore, where his principal *Math* is still in existence. In every *Smarta* temple, as also in every *Smarta* house, whenever there is a family God, there the Saligram stones, representatives of *Vishnu*, besides a *Linga* of *Siva*, even if there be no images of the former, are to be found. The so-called *Shaiva* section of the Gowd Saraswats,

is really a *Smarta* persuasion. Their Guru, the Kavale-math Swami is a *Smarta* Sanyasi and it is known on reliable authority that among the images of his own every day worship are, not only the Linga of Bhawani Shankar but also the images of Muralidhar, besides the Saligram stones and it is to the Vishnu idols, i.e. the Saligrams, that he offers the daily Naivedya, which he partakes of afterwards. So the appellation *Shaiva* as applied to the *Smartas* or to any other section which plays an equal homage to Vishnu, is quite misleading, if not actually wrong. The *Smarta* in fact looks upon "Hari and Har" with equal devotion and considers them as two different aspects of the same God.

A little account of the history of these decidedly clever and intelligent Gowd Saraswat Brahmins, is necessary to show the place they held, not only as *Vedic* scholars but as Brahmin priests, who were thoroughly conversant with the difficult *Vedic* rituals in the early centuries before the Christian era. It is said (*Vide* Sahyadri-Khand and Sūta Samhita) that *Shree Parashuram*, one of the incarnations in the Hindu Mythology brought from Trihotrapur, Brahmins of ten Gotras belonging to this community and settled them in a province which, is known now as Goa. Other batches followed and a large colony was established. The terrible *Parashuram*, the Brahmin of the Brahmins, who is said to have waged perpetual wars with the *Kshatriyas* for political domination, would have been the last man to select any class of Brahmins who were not considered the best scholars of the times. These *Saraswat Brahmins* migrated in course of time to the fertile lands of Videha in Northern Bihar and settled in Trihotrapur in Mithila. The ancient name of this central part was Gowd and so it followed that they were known as *Gowd Saraswat Brahmins*.

The *Shatapatha Brahman* gives a good account in its 1st Khand, 4th Chapter of one of the earliest migrations of these Brahmins from the banks of the Saraswati river towards the East to Videha. I believe this is the earliest historical migration of the remote ancestors of these Gowd Saraswat Brahmins from their original home towards the East—if one believes,

according to the Puranic traditions, that it was from Tirhut that Parashuram got them to settle down in Goa. The Saraswata-khyan in the Gadaparva of the Maha Bharat gives us, also, an account of another very early migration, which was perhaps directly from the banks of the Sarasvati on to the west coast of the Sahyadris. In that case, this must be another migration—quite a different one from the other migration, described in the Shatapatha.

There is a great probability that these Brahmins had to leave Videha on economic grounds. Mithila became the headquarters of Buddhism by the time, Sanskrit had lost its influence as the *lingua franca* and got broken up into countless Prakrit dialects. The rise of Buddhism moreover considerably loosened the bonds of the old religion of Brahminism with its innumerable rituals, sacrifices, etc. In fact it gave a deadly blow to ritualism. The Saraswat Brahmins were past masters in all these intricate ceremonies and they lived and maintained themselves on that. But the check which the Buddhism gave to Brahminism, especially the principle of *Ahimsa*—“Killing is Sin”—made the great sacrifices fall into disuse. Vedic scholarship which was essentially necessary for the careful performance of the sacrifices, must have got to be a superfluous commodity on the market. Consequently the means of subsistence for these Brahmins was evaporated and that is why the great trek to the fertile fields of the Konkan took place.

That is how these Brahmins, thoroughly saturated with Vedantism looked upon the Vedas as the highest scriptural authority. As already mentioned, the worship of God Shiva was prevalent under one name or other in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is a bold surmise that Buddha and his followers were really responsible for the growth of image worship. Dr. Bhandarkar and Rameshchandra Dutt have been of opinion that the spread of idol worship was due to Buddhism. Sermons and meditation were very well, for the Buddhistic monks, brought

up under strict control but for the ordinary laity, the illiterate masses, it was too indigestible a morsel to swallow. A strong reaction took place and the people went in for some outward form of worship. The worship of God Shiva and the demonolatry with which it was associated at first, captured the imagination of the masses in general. Kalimata with her fearful sacrifices, was nothing but an appetiser to the starved religious minds of the people in those times. The Gowd Saraswat Brahmins had to fall in line and went in for the worship of God Shiva. But the basis of their faith was the recognition of that great body of Indian Traditions known as the Smritis. And this, next to Vedantism was the essence of the great Shankaracharya's teaching. Because they believed in the Smritis, the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins are called the Smartas.

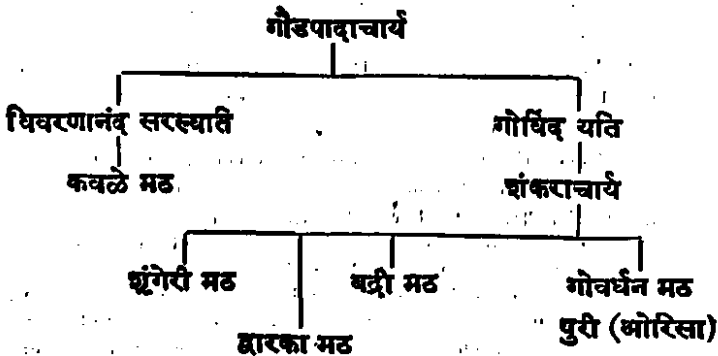
गौर, गौड or गौड though once restricted as the name of a certain district, came gradually to be used for a large provincial tract including वंग, पौण्ड्र, &c., and the designation "Gowd" was perhaps used by the Southerners in an extensive sense, comprising all the Northern Brahmin communities living in those districts. But all the same, it is a wonder how the Saraswats, colonised in Videha (Mithila) came to be known as "Gowd" Saraswata, which is clearly and historically a misnomer. (a) Perhaps they were thought to be closely connected with their Gowd

(a) The northern Brahmins are called Panch-gowdas and the Southerners as Panch-dravids, but both of these names are pure and simple misnomers. The correct way of saying these names is (1) गौडादि पंचविध ब्राह्मणाः and (2) श्राविडादि पंचविध ब्राह्मणाः i. e. (1) the five classes of Brahmins beginning with गौड (i. e., गौड, सारस्वत, काम्यकुन्ज, मैथिल and उत्कल) and (2) the five classes of Southern Brahmins beginning with श्राविड (i. e. श्राविड which is the wrong and corrupt form of श्राविल from तमिलदेश, a Tamil country, Ptolemy's Damuzica, आन्ध्र i. e., Telagu, कर्नाटक, महाराष्ट्र and गुजरात). Now as the name Saraswat, wherever the five Northern Sections are mentioned in Puranas or elsewhere, occurs always next to 'Gowd', it came to be closely and indissolubly associated with it and though history has no warrant for it, came to be known as the Gowd Saraswatas; and also instead of saying गौडादि पंचविध ब्राह्मणाः, all the Northerners came to be called in the South as the Panch Gowds. In Orissa, the Utkal Brahmins, a section of the Panch Gowds, call themselves Utkal Gowd Brahmins! A parallel instance may be quoted. Even now, all the Southern Brahmins are called the Dravidas, though this is the name of only one class of Brahmins known as श्राविडादि पंचविध ब्राह्मणाः (Mr. M. Govind Pai)

bretheren (one of the five divisions of the Gowd Brahmins) than with their Maithila bretheren. One thing is certain, the word Gowd Saraswat must have been applied to them, after their immigration to the South, by the Southerners. For this word "Gowd Saraswat" has never been used or even applied to them in the North. There these Gowd Saraswat Brahmins are known merely as Saraswats, all throughout the Kashmir and the Punjab, the U. P. and the Bengal.

Shree Shankaracharya gave a great impetus to the principles of Vedantism, etc., coupled with the worship of God Shiva. He overthrew the tottering forces of Buddhism and naturally the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins came under his influence and sway. The worship of God Shiva and his various Godlings occupied the chief place in the minds of that community and the use of Vedic rituals gradually fell into decay.

It must be mentioned here, however that so far as traditions can be relied upon, the Kavale math Swami traces his descent from Gowdapada Acharya, who was a Gowd Brahmin and who was the "parama guru" of Shree Shankaracharya. The descent can be summarised as under :—



The Swamis of all the four maths of Shankaracharya, even now add the title "Shree Shankaracharya" to their names; whereas the Kavalemath Swami's standing title is "Gowda

padacharya." So the Advaitism adopted by the ancestors of the Gowd Saraswats must be traced to the source of Gowda padacharya, if not still earlier, though it may have received a large, a very large impetus, later on from Shankaracharya.

That is why Vaishnavism with all its pushfulness, its aggressiveness, its simplicity, has not succeeded in driving away that sense of real comfort, that sense of real peace from the religious and cultured minds of this great community, which they have found in the old worship of their old Gods of the Shaivite sect.

I have already mentioned that Shree Madhvacharya was the first saint who introduced Vaishnavism into the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins. (Vide Madhva-Vijaya Canto X)

The Gowd Saraswat Brahmins had to migrate to the Cochin and Travancore side, during the Portuguese † persecutions, but some of the old and informed leaders of this community assure me that in about the 13th century there was also an influx of Gowd Saraswat Brahmins to this side on account of Mahomedan persecution. Madhvacharya was in the zenith of his fighting power. The Konkani Brahmins as they were called differed naturally from the local Brahmins not only in dress, customs, manner and habits, etc., but what was worse in religion as well. The Konkani Brahmins were Shaivites and the local religion was Vaishnavism in its aggressive mood. These Saraswatas were allowed to stay there only after they had agreed to the conditions laid down by the Travancore authorities. These conditions are humorously described as:—

अन्नस्य पिंडम् । वस्त्रस्य तुंडम् ।
सप्तमि मुंडम् । मल्लार भण्डम् ॥

Our friends, the Parsee community, had to accept similar conditions when they were allowed to settle in India. There

† M. Govind Pai informs me that the last and general exodus of the Gowd Saraswats took place from Goa in and after 1510 A.D. So far it can be ascertained, the earliest Temple, the Gowd Saraswats founded in South Kanara, was at Karkal in 1537 A.D.

was one gentleman called Narayan who was the leader of the Gowd Saraswatas. Madhvacharya worked his persuading powers on him and made him a disciple of his. There is a copper plate of Shaliwahan Shaka 1404, regarding this important conversion. From the Kavya 'Madhva Vijayam,' we understand that the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa were all Smartas before the advent of Shree Madhva and were followers of the Kaivalypura math of the monastic order styled after Gowd Padacharya. The great Shankaracharya was the disciple of Govindayati, the disciple of Gowda Padacharya.

It is said that Narayan was taken by Madhvacharya on a pilgrimage to Badrinath. Narayan got very ill. He was turned into a Sanyasi, more with the idea of saving the botheration of funeral pyre. A sanyasi's body is thrown into the river Ganges after his death and there the matter ends. But strange to relate, Narayan recovered. Fortunately for him, there were no doctors. Narayan was grateful to his Guru. He was asked in return, to go back to Gomantak and work there to spread the knowledge of Vaishnavism amongst his community.

That might be one of the ways, Vaishnavism was introduced but all accounts agree that it was Madhvacharya who spread the worship of God Vishnu among the Gowd Saraswatas. The portions of Goa, known as Bardes and Salcete were converted whole sale to the new sect. The names Sasastikars and Bardeshkars, mean literally the inhabitants of these places; but they have come to mean in popular parlance, those Gowd Saraswat Brahmins who have accepted Vaishnavism.

There is another account. In the year 1475 A.C. (according to the Guru paramparamritam, canto I verses 26-27) a Gowd Saraswat Brahmin named Madhav was initiated and ordained a Sanyasi with the name of Narayanatirtha at Badrinath by a Dravid Swami called Ramachandratirtha of Palimaru Math, one of the eight monasteries established at Udipi in South Canara by Madhvacharya. It is from this Narayanatirtha that

the Swamis of the Gokarna or Partagali math of the G. S. Brahmins, trace their descent and therefore even now these latter Swamis and especially the G. S. Vaishnavas pay some homage to the Swamis of Palimarumath. It is said that Madhvacharya himself never ordained any Sanyasis from the Gowd Saraswatas living in Goa. When he visited Goa, he got a large number of followers there, especially as he was not at all opposed to the worship of Shiva also. That is why the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins never left off their old Shaivite family Gods such as Ramnath, Nagesh, Ravalnath, &c., nor the Shakta Goddess Mhalsa, &c., even when they became Vaishnavas and for the same reason they could and did pay homage to their former Swami of Kavalay Math and were not in need of a separate Math till some 200 years after Madhva's passing away. In fact, it is the Swami Narayanatirtha, who established a separate Math for the Vaishnavas of the Gowd Saraswat Community.

Accounts vary. It is said that there was already Vishnu worship among the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins before the advent of Madhvacharya, who only changed their "Sidhanta"—system of Philosophy—from the Advaita to his own Dvaita. Madhva himself was worshipping Shiva as the very next God to Shri Krishna, in whose—Shri Krishna's—honour he had built one temple. There are two Shiva temples at Udipi, viz., those of Ananteshwar and Chandra Mouliswar. Madhva was very much devoted to Ananteshwar and used to expound his philosophy and give his daily sermons in that Shaiva temple. And the local tradition insists that Shree Madhvacharya became invisible in a particular spot in the temple by quietly transporting himself body and all to his Heavenly Gods.

The Hindus and especially the Brahmins take their religious dogmas very seriously. It depends on the writer therefore to give any colouring to the subject matter he is interested in. That is how these old Saints have been shown to belong to different and warring schools of worship. The story in connection with the death of Shree Shankaracharya's mother as stated before, is a similar case in point.

Vaishnavism after all did not succeed in uprooting the good old Shaiva and Shakta Gods and Goddesses from the Gowd Saraswat Brahmin Community, who managed to retain their own sturdy faith in them in spite of all the aggressive Vaishnava Saints. Shree Madhva was more concerned, they say, with his particular school of philosophy than with the form of worship, but all the same, these Saraswat Brahmins added some Vaishnava Gods to the fold of their family idols and there the matter has ended. It is said that unlike Chaitanya; who was more concerned with the form of worship, Madhva was concerned with the form of philosophy.

There is one peculiarity among the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins. After settling down in Goa, the first thing they did as a religious community highly saturated with Vedantism was to erect their temples. Many of these Gowd Saraswat have spread themselves all over India. A good many have gone so far south as Travancore, etc. They are to be found in Northern India, where they have settled down in various walks of life for generations and generations together. But their Gods in Goa are considered to be the tutelary deities. These family Gods are called Kuladevatas and a Gowd Saraswat Brahmin is bound to come down to Goa, offer his worship and then return back all the distance to the far off place, somewhere in India, where he might be worshipping some local Gods as a temporary measure. In fact these Saraswat Brahmins are very punctilious on the point of visiting their Shrines in Goa, lest their failure to do so, should bring on them the displeasure of their family Gods. This strong affection for their family Gods situate in Goa, carried down from one generation to the other, is a strong communal characteristic of these people. Even the great social reformers amongst them are not above quietly sending some money to these temples and getting some ceremonial worship done in the name of one of their near relations.

This attachment to their family Gods in Goa is very strong among the Gowd Saraswatas. They religiously perform the

worship of their family Gods—the कुलदेवतासना—twice every year in the months of Ashwin and Magh and put some cash in a slip box, which every household keeps for this purpose. All that money is forwarded to the temples of their respective family Gods in Goa when the master of the house goes on a pilgrimage there. It is called the कुलदेव यात्रा. Each G. S. Brahmin must perform two such pilgrimages in his life-time.

This community is bound up together through their connection kept up with their family Gods in Goa.

The chief family deities of the Shaivites are :—

1. Shree Mangesah, 2. Shree Shantadurga, 3. Shree Saptakotishwar.

Those belonging to the Vaishnavite section are :—

1. Shree Nagesah, 2. Shree Ramnath, 3. Shree Mahalaxmi, 4. Shree Mahalsa and 5. Shree Laxmi Narasingh. Kamakshā, Damodar are also among others, well known Vaishnavite Temples. But all the latter deities are Shiva Swarupī. Many of those temples in fact contain Shiva-lingam with the sacred bull in front, practically worshipped as Shiva deities. Their consorts, the Mahalaxmi and Mahalsa are also God Shiva's Shaktis or his consorts. This means that when these people became Vaishnavites they could not give up the original Gods and Goddesses. Besides these temples devoted to the worship of Vaishnava Gods, contain some sort of a minor idol or idols which are exclusively supposed to be the attendant godlings of the great Lord Shiva. A little image of Parvati and the Shivalinga are to be found within the precincts of the temples. Take for instance the Vaishnavite temple of Shree Ramnath. The chief deity is the idol of Shree Ramnath with idols of Laxmi Narayan, Shantadurga, Vetāl Siddhanath, Kamakshā and Kal Bhairao in attendance.

The idol of Laxmi Narayan was put into this temple, some ten years ago or so by the present Swami of Gokarn Math.

According to Sahyadrikhand and other Puranic traditions, the forefathers of the Gowd Saraswatas brought with them from Tirhut into Goa, the deities of Shree Mangesh, Shree Shantadurga, Shree Sapt Kotishwar, Shree Nagesh, Shree Mahalaxmi, Shree Mahalsa and Kamakaha, when they established themselves there, at the request of Parashuram. Narsingh, Damodar and some others were new additions, after their advent into Goa. All the old Gods were Shaivite or Shakta and this clearly proves that when the people left with them for Goa, they were Shaivites and Shaktas and these were the forms of religion in vogue in Videha, Bengal, &c., in those very early times.

Both Narsimha and Damodar, be it noted, are worshipped in Goa—at Velinga and Zambauli respectively—in Linga forms. Shree Mahalaxmi is that aspect of Durga, spoken of in Saptashati, rather than the ocean-born consort of Vishnu (*vide* Madhyam-charita of Durga Saptashati in Markandeya Puran).

Take another temple of the Vaishnavite Goddess Shree Mahalsa. The chief deity in the centre of the temple is Shree Mahalsa, with Shantadurga, Laxmi Narayan, Ganpati, Gram Purush, Bhagawati, Sonal Bhairao, Kala Bhairao in attendance.

A little description of the idol will be interesting, I think. The image of Shree Mahalasa has four hands. The right upper hand holds a Trishul (Trident), the right lower, a sword. The left upper hand has a drinking bowl, which may be called a Pan-patra or perhaps the Surabhajan, alluded to, in the description of some of the forms of Bhagavati, mentioned in the Tantras. The left lower hand holds a severed head. The Goddess stands on a prostrate being whether human or demon, one cannot say. There is an animal like a tiger or a lion, licking the blood from the severed head, held in her hand. There is a necklace on her breast, but it is not clear whether it is made up of skulls. All the Vaishnavas in Goa, South Canara and other places as well belonging to the G. S. Brahmins, look upon this Goddess of Shree Mahalasa, as the Mohini-incarnation of Vishnu, which he

took after the churning of the Ocean, to kill the demons, who had snatched the nectar pot from the Gods. The Goddess Mahalasa is therefore called by the names of Narayani, Rahumathani, Mohini, &c., according to Bhavishya Puran. But looking carefully on the image, its pose, the severed bleeding head and the licking animal at its feet, one is compelled to ponder and cogitate whether one does not see an image of a Shakta Goddess from the Tantras in front of him. The Vaishnavites fully believe it to be an incarnation of Shree Vishnu and let us leave it at that. Scientific research has no business to disturb long established faith in particular sectarian Gods. Similarly Shree Nagesh, a Vaishnavite God in the form of Shivalinga, is attended on by Kala Bhairao, Ganpati, Ravalnath, etc. Some minor Vaishnavite idols, are said to have been very recently introduced by the present incumbent of the Vaishnavite holy Gadi, Shree Swami Indirakant tirtha of Gokarn Math, who is the religious head of the Vaishnavite Gowd Saraswatas in the North Canara and Goa. He has not however succeeded in dethroning the original Shaiva deities though he has introduced new Vaishnavite deities, alongside.

Even the image of this Shree Nagesh is represented as a pure Lingam at Bandivade, worshipped in a Shaivite form, though most of his worshippers are Vaishnavas.

The following verses which are sung before the Vaishnavite Gods are taken from the official books of the temples and show clearly that the so-called worship of God Vishnu is not an honest one from the genuine Vaishnavite point of view.

त्रिनेत्रा तूं कर्पूर भौरा, त्रिशूल उमर दिगंबर।

विभुती नूषण इर मासति हारा, निककंठ तूं नागेश्वरा

मालचंद्र उमा-वल्गुमा भाळे त्रिपुंड नमाये शोभा

नटा मुकूट गंगेसी शोभा, भैरव गण जनमूर्ति उमा ॥

(II)

अङ्गणित लिङ्गं मानी उत्तम । जर्गी प्रसिद्ध रामेश्वर नाम

मत्त मनासी तूं विश्राम । दिव्य स्वल्प तूं परब्रम्ह

त्रिनेत्र तूं कर्पूर गौरा । त्रिशूल हस्त तूं दिगंबर ॥

etc., etc.

These verses are nothing but praise undiluted of the different attributes of God Shiva. This proves—if any proof is wanted—that the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins, who were originally Smartas and followers of God Shiva, would not and cannot cut themselves off altogether from the worship of God Shiva, even when they were converted to Vaishnavism generations and generations ago. Practically there is no difference either in the form of worship or ceremonies performed in the temples connected with both these sects in Goa. All these temples of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins are freely open to the members of the community, irrespective of the sect to which, they may belong. Both the sects, the followers of God Shiva and those of God Vishnu, not only visit their own temples but the temples of the other side as well and take an active part in one another's temple ceremonials. Even the priests offer a combined worship to Gods of these two different sects as

श्री मंगेश महालक्ष्मी देवताभ्योनमः

The followers of Shantadurga—a Shakta Goddess—are bound by usage to perform worship at the shrine of Shree Mahalaxmi a Vaishnavite deity when they go on a pilgrimage there. The inter-marriages between these two sects have practically compelled both the different sectarian temples to merge into one another.

The sects of the Smartas as they are styled, which are within the old fold of the Shiva worship are the Shenvis proper, the Shenaiपाकि, the Kudaldeshkars (?), the Pednekars, the

Bhala-walkars, the Lotlikars, the Dangis, etc., are other divisions. Those belonging to Vaishnavite cult are called the Sasastikars and the Bardeshkars.

There is a very rich temple called Tirumall Dewaswam in Cochin in the Cochin state. It is a Vaishnavite temple but the Smartas too are the devotees of this temple.

Wonders never cease, they say. As described above, the intolerant Vaishnavism is made to hold a second and inferior place in the Gowd Saraswat Community. Strange to relate, the worship of both the Gods, Shiva and Vishnu, is sometimes performed in the same building as at Chidambaram or as at Shreerang also, if I mistake not. In South Canara and Travancore, the two deities are considered to be of equal greatness. And in some places for instance, at Hari-hara in Mysore there are found images representing both these Gods united in one figure. In South Canara there is the famous temple of Shanker-Narayan. But this is a Dravidian Temple, belonging to the Brahmins of that sect.

When the Travancore Kings insisted that Gowd Saraswat Brahmins must go in for the Vaishnavite worship, these people had to agree. But all the same, there was kept concealed in the house a mask either of silver or copper of God Shiva, to whom regular prayers were offered. Even at Belgaum and some of the adjacent places, Gowd Saraswat Vaishnavite Brahmins openly worship these days, the idols of God Shiva.

There is another account which says that when the G. S. Brahmins migrated from Goa into those parts of Cochin and Travancore, they were all Vaishnavas. Further support is given to this by stating that there are no Smarta or Shaiva Temples founded by them, when they settled there. Evidence is forthcoming however that the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins spread themselves all over the Malabar Coast from Goa in the North to Cochin, &c.,

In the South. In fact, if my memory serves me right, there were three migrations from Trihotrapur in Videha (Northern Behar) and other places in Northern India at different times. There is besides a Shaiva temple at Manjeshwar, South Canara. This Temple of Shree Ananteshwar at Manjeshwar belongs to all the G. S. Brahmins residing all along the West Coast. There is a Linga of Ananteshwar and images of Nrisimha and Naga (serpent). These serpent images go also by the name of Subrahmanya, Skanda or Kartikeya. The local car festival comes off every year on Champa-Shasti day, which is however better known there as the Skanda-Shashti day. This falls on the 6th day of the bright half of the month Margashirsha. This Ananteshwar Temple is the most important one on the Malabar Coast. It is supposed to be the only "Kuldeva" i.e. the family or tutelary temple of the Gowd Saraswatas, living so far south as Cochin, Travancore, &c. This temple was built long before the 8th century A.D. Mr. M. Govind Pai considers that this temple must have belonged originally to the Dravidian Brahmins. If that be so, it is a mystery how it came under the full and absolute control of the G. S. Brahmins. The form of worship is pure and simple Vaishnavite. There are five Lingas in all but only one at the back is worshipped by a Vaishnava Brahmin in a Quasi-Shaiva form. This Linga is called Mahadev. The prime Linga of Anant in the forefront, is worshipped as the "Serpent King" incarnation of Vishnu and the "endlessness" form of Shiva, combined in one. There is a serpent's hole in the Sanctum Sanctorium, which is called Vasuki-mandir, and is also worshipped.

On the Madras side, even interdining is not allowed between these two sects but among the Gowd Saraswatas not only they freely dine with each other but they have of late gone in for inter-marriages as well, the prohibition of marriage between the same Gotra and Pravara as well as Sapindas being carefully observed.

When asked why should a Smarta go to the temple of a Vaishnavite, the answer is, Oh they are all one. The same Shakti, the same God-like essence is in them all. We visit our own idols first and we are in duty bound to visit other temples afterwards, irrespective of whether they are Vaishnavites or Shaivites. From the nature of Kuladevatas or the tutelary deities worshiped by these Brahmins and looking to the fact that they were in the older times the priests carefully brought up in Vedic rituals, it is no wonder to see that the later cults of either Gods, Shiva and Vishnu, did not produce that vibration in their minds, as they did in the comparatively uncultured people of later generations. That is why the philosophical doctrines inculcated in the Shrutis and the tenets in the Smritis had a penetrating influence on their minds so much so that they have not been able to shake that off, after centuries and centuries of idol worship. The cult of Shree Shankaracharya being closely connected with the Vedic philosophy superimposed with the worship of God Shiva, has found favour with these people.

The wave of Vaishnavism was not an ordinary placid affair. It broke out in tempestuous currents devouring everything that came in its way. It had a peculiar fascination for the backward Hindu communities. But this fascination, this popularity, this onward rush of pure Bhakti might have shaken the citadel of Shaivism a good deal but all that never succeeded in touching the inner religious consciousness of these Gowd Saraswat Brahmins. They simply bowed down their heads to the wave and allowed it to pass on but after the first onset was over they have come back to the old, old religion of theirs.

Perhaps it may be due to the fact that the Gowd Saraswatas were originally the followers of Bhagawat sect in ages past which made no distinction between Vishnu and Shiva.

The ever popular deity the Vithoba of Pandharpur, the God Narasingh the family God of Vijayanagar dynasty, Shree Venkatramana of Tirupati, a deity popular with the Vaishnavites are some other Gods that are worshipped to a more or less extent by all the Gowd Saraswatas. But no family has denounced or ceased to take an active part or some personal interest in their Kula-devatas which are in Goa. This personal interest may lie dormant for some years and years but all the same, sooner or later something gets awakened in the Gowd Saraswat soul and drives him back to Goa, willy nilly, to prostrate himself before the tutelary deities originally brought from Tirhut.

THE KONKANI FOLK-LORE TALES.

BY RAO SAHEB DR. V. P. CHAVAN, L. M. & S.

THE STORY OF THE JAMBOO FRUIT.

Once upon a time, in a certain state, there lived a Rajah who had a charming daughter. There was also another Rajah in the same territory, the father of a handsome prince. Both the young prince and the pretty princess used to attend the same school. On their way to the Pâtshala, they used to indulge in all sorts of mischievous pranks. On the road to the school, there was a Jamboo tree, loaded with good and luscious fruit. The school children were very fond of climbing the tree and enjoying the fruit. The prince as well as the princess were in no way backward in following their school mates high up the tree. But there was one rule and it was strictly observed. When the princess was the first to arrive at the tree, it was she who should go up the tree and pluck the fruit, which should be gathered together by the prince from the ground below the tree. If the prince came in first, he had to throw down the fruit, which was collected by the princess standing on the ground.

Well, it so happened once that the princess was the first to arrive at the tree when returning from the school. She got up the tree. The prince, who arrived late, had to stand at the foot of the tree. The princess asked the prince what sort of fruit he would like to have. Do you want the hot or the cold fruit? It was a puzzle and the prince could not understand what she meant by hot and cold fruit. The fruit that was on the tree was of the same sort. Some was ripe, some was green. But nothing hot nor cold was to be found on that tree. The prince could not solve the riddle. Come on, said the princess "don't you be standing there like a fool." The prince got annoyed and said, drop both the sorts of fruit, hot and cold. Hurry up.

The princess plucked some fruit, rubbed it nicely between her palms and threw it down. "This is the hot variety," she said. "Go on. Eat it up." The prince could not eat the fruit as it was covered with sand without blowing it away. Then some fruit was thrown down, fresh from the stem without any rubbing. That was cold fruit, which the prince swallowed without wiping or blowing on it.

The school children dispersed as the game was over. But the prince—still puzzled—would not let the princess go home, without her giving him a full explanation of the incident. What was the significance of the words—hot and cold, he asked. The princess laughed at his stupidity and told the prince that she had taken him for a man with some brains. Well, here is the explanation, you dullard, she said. Two sorts of fruit were dropped down. The first *sort* the hot one, which I had rubbed together in my palms, could not be enjoyed by you, without blowing away the sand which would have soiled your mouth. Now put on your cap of wisdom and let us hear when do you blow at a thing before eating? When it is hot, is it not so? The second sort which you swallowed, immediately after picking it up, was the cold variety because you could put it into your mouth without blowing on it. Now, I hope, the princess cried, you understand the significance of the words—hot and cold!

The prince saw red. His face got flushed at being made a fool by the clever princess. He looked at her. The sparkling eyes, the pouting lips and the mischievous look, all captivated the prince. Princess! said he I am going to marry you. I am determined to do so simply to get down your cleverness, a peg or two. Immediately after marriage I am going to confine you in a fortress deep down in the forest, where you will not be able to see anybody except your own maid-servants. That will teach you a lesson. Alone and solitary, you will have plenty of time to grow "hot and cold" as the fancy seizes you.

"Agreed"! said the Princess, who was considerably ruffled. But on one condition! Mind! you will have to come and acknowledge me as your wedded wife and treat me with the respect due to me as such, when you are slapped on your face by your own son born out of our wedlock, with your own shoes. The prince took up the challenge, as there was clearly no possibility of their ever being together.

The prince and the princess took leave of each other and went to their respective places. Their respective parents had already put in their heads together about the union of the two families. And this ripple in the youngsters' amiable relations made them hurry up the marriage. It was celebrated with all the eclat befitting such an auspicious occasion and the princess, in course of time, came to live in the palace of the prince.

But the prince had not forgotten his vow nor the ridicule to which he was subjected by the princess at the Jamboo tree. He had quietly managed to have a fortress ready, deep in the jungles, where he took his wife and her maids and locked them in. The fortress was well supplied with stores. It was also well guarded. There was no marital kiss.

The prince used to go and visit his wife, now and then, just to satisfy himself that his wife, the princess, had no communication whatsoever with the outside world. Several years passed. On account of the cruelty practised on his first and only wife, the prince could not get married again. He was shunned and avoided by the then society. He organised a circus and went all over the country to detract his attention. In course of time, the circus came into a town, close to the fortress. The latter was well looked after, no doubt, but, one way or other, all outside news was conveyed to the inmates of the prison.

The princess came to know of the advent of her husband in the guise of a circus proprietor. She put on a cap of wisdom and considered the ways and means to join her husband. The princess had a Moongoos given to her by her mother, of which

she was fond. She got the Moongoos to burrow a hole through the fortress walls. Seeing that the princess made no effort, whatever, for a good many years, to escape, the discipline had become somewhat lax. The princess saw her way out. She disguised herself thoroughly and went to the circus and offered her services as an acrobat. Her well-developed figure, her charm, her horsemanship all these made her to be engaged on the spot. The prince, under whose superintendence she worked, fell under her smiles. Do the clouds cover up the beauty of the full Moon? Her poor dress, her menial position could not conceal the graceful beauty of her form, nor did the hearts surrounding her, remain unaffected by her glances. The disconsolate prince was the most smitten. These glances rendered him thoroughly uncomfortable and unsettled, harassing his imagination, vexing his conscience and confusing his principles and prejudices in harsh and hopeless discord.

He offered to marry her. "I am already married," the Princess replied but she had no objection to live in his society, provided his signet ring was given to her as a present. After passing sometime in his company, the princess quietly stole back to her prison, where, in course of time, she gave birth to a son.

The prince lost his reason in fact, at the disappearance of his *is amorata*. His condition was pitiable. For him the joy and wonder of youth were over. He was pretty sure that the circus lady had a sincere love for him. The prince had taken to a wandering life to forget his troubles. The lady had appeared to the prince as a drop of water does to the long expectant and thirsty Chatak bird. The prince went away with his circus to countries far away to drown his sorrow in hard work and it was some four years before he returned to his native place.

He went to the fortress to see how his wife was going on. The princess kept her son concealed when the prince came there. After his meals, the prince sat outside in the verandah. She

took the shoes of her husband, which were kept outside, went to her son, and asked him to use those shoes on the face of her husband. The little urchin took the whole thing as a joke and gave a beating to the prince with the shoes. The prince wondered how a male child came into the fortress, caught hold of him and began to ill-use him. Beating a man with a shoe is considered the greatest affront in Indian Society. The princess came running and it came out that the child was her son. The prince's wrath knew no bounds. Calling all sorts of names to his wife for her so-called un-faithfulness to her marriage vows, he made up his mind to have her beheaded.

The princess proud in the glory of her innocence, put before the prince the signet ring and informed him that she was the lady who had joined his circus as an acrobat some four years back. She could easily convince him on that point. The prince had to bow his head in shame. But all the same, he felt proud of his wife, whose cleverness and intellect had surmounted all difficulties and who had managed to fulfill her vow. The light of an absolute adoration shone in his eyes when he embraced them both. There was a grand procession to his palace and they lived ever happily to the end of their days.

THE KONKANI FOLK-LORE TALES.

THE CUPIDITY OF A BRAHMIN.

There used to live in a certain village a very poor Brahmin with his wife and children. He managed to exist by begging from door to door. After a time the villagers got tired of supporting the Brahmin and his increasing family and gave him to understand that he had better move to some other part of the country. On an auspicious day, the Brahmin started with his family to parts un-known. He came into a forest. By the time they had reached the middle part of it, they found that the Sun had set and everything was wrapt up in gloom and darkness. The children were hungry and exhausted. The Brahmin and his wife were also in a similar predicament. They

could hardly move their limbs. The jungle contained a good many briars and some of these got into their soles and feet. What with pain and utter weariness, they all began to bewail their fate. Mid-night approached and there was black pitchy darkness everywhere. There were cries of wild animals, the howling of jackals and the hooting of owls. All this made the night doubly dreadful. The people continued weeping, wailing and praying. They called on their Gods to relieve them of their misery. Was there any chance of their prayers being heard? Hardly any. But they were good Brahmins. In the meanwhile, it so happened that the God Shiva with his consort the Goddess Parvati, was out taking a stroll in the forest. It was Parvati whose heart yearned to relieve the distress of the Brahmin. They disclosed themselves to the Brahmin and his wife and asked them the cause of their bewailing their fate. The Brahmin narrated his life's story, concealing nothing. God Shiva took pity on them and presented them with three cocoanuts informing them that any one of them should concentrate on any one wish and break open the cocoonut and that wish would be fulfilled. With a parting blessing, the Gods had vanished.

The Brahmin took one of the nuts and prayed " Let our pain, hunger and thirst vanish, and let us be taken to the village where we lived." Immediately they found themselves back in the village. Then the Brahmin, concentrating on his desire to have a good many fields and land, broke open nut number two. He became a rich man. Wishing for a mansion etc. the third nut shared the fate of the first two and the Brahmin became the owner of a splendid building. All this meant that the poverty stricken Brahmin became the Kuber—a wealthy man of the village.

The news of the sudden accession to wealth, spread like wild-fire in the neighbouring villages. People from outlying villages came in their tens and hundreds to know, how the Brahmin had managed to become wealthy so easily and quickly.

He told them all that had happened when he got into the forest, after leaving the village, how darkness overtook them, how thorns found resting places in their feet, how they cried and prayed and how the Gods appeared and blessed them and gave them the Coccoanuts etc. The villagers were glad to see the Brahmin family in affluence and went their different ways. But there was one Brahmin avaricious and crafty, who wanted to become as rich as the Brahmin.

So one day the crafty Brahmin sold all what he had, including his house etc. and deposited the money with a local Sowcar. He took his wife and children and went in the evening to the same forest where the original Brahmin had met the Gods. As they, the Brahmins, were well shod, no thorns entered their feet. But the Brahmin's wife had taken some nails with her, which she thrust into the soles of her husband and her children as well. The children had a very exhausting day already and the putting in of the nails into their feet, made them bawl out.

To them also came the God Shiva and his consort the Goddess Parvati.

Before the Gods could ask any questions, the Brahmin's wife called out to Shiva. Oh! Lord! We are very poor people. Give us those coccoanuts which you gave to the other Brahmin a few days back. God Shiva understood their character very well but out of pure greatness of his heart, he gave them three coccoanuts and departed.

But the avaricious Brahmin forgot one thing. He was covetous. His wife was much more so. His children well they were the product—a sort of square root of these two. It never entered into their heads to give up the Jam pot in order to appreciate clean bread and butter. Every body wanted to have his own wish fulfilled by breaking open a cocconut. Besides the coccoanuts contained the milk as they were fresh ones. The thirsty children were clamorous. One of them took up a cocconut and would not listen to any reason. When the

mother found that the child was going to break open the cocoanut without expressing a definite wish; she got excited and uttered the words "Your mother's head." What she wanted to convey was—don't break open the nut. If you do, it will be as bad as breaking open your mother's head. But the result was awful. The child broke open the cocoanut and his mother concentrated on the wish "your mother's head." The process was complete. The poor lady was covered from top to bottom with all sorts of heads. There were numbers of them. There were heads growing from the feet and the legs and the shoulders and the arms, and the back and the front. In fact there was not a single space on her body which did not produce a head big or small. The effect was frightening and hideous. All the heads looked piteously at the Brahmin and began to jabber—Oh! Save me, my lord and husband from these heads. The Brahmin had lost his wits. He caught hold of a cocoanut and dashed it on the ground saying let all the heads go away. Well, the wish was fulfilled. All the heads disappeared including the original one too, of the Brahmin lady. The headless trunk began to dance in front of her husband. The sight was awful. Something had to be done and that too in a hurry. Snatching the remaining cocoanut he prayed for the return of the original head. It came back.

But all the three nuts were done away with and the Brahmin and his family were, where they were before. No—they were in a worse condition in fact. They began to cry and wail again. They did so with a vehemence and enthusiasm unknown before. There were real genuine tears this time. No nails were required to draw those tears out. They waited and waited but waited in vain for the Gods to appear but none appeared. The Saints and the angels who are rightly supposed to look after the holy Brahmin did not have even a twist of a thought for them.

Morning broke. Each hour made their condition uglier and hungrier and more hopeless and they had to return to their village, dejected and starving. But their troubles were not over,

To those who are down, the world is a harsh, hard, cold and a cross sort of a place. The Sowcar with whom they had deposited the sale-proceeds of their property, had made himself scarce. Higher rate of interest had made the avaricious Brahmin, place his money with him. The Brahmin had mixed his life's colours and the final colour in his existence was the dirty black one—that of his begging bowl which he had to carry from door to door to support himself.

THE KONKANI FOLK-LORE TALES.

THE BRAN MAID.

In a certain part of the country, not far off from Mangalore, there lived a rich Zemindar who had seven daughters and as many sons. One day he called his daughters together and asked them, at whose expense they were going to enjoy the sweets of life? "May Bhagwan Krishna give you long life, Oh! father!" The eldest six replied. "We are very happy and comfortable under you. Here the life is following smooth." Their wheedling tongues carried joy to the old man's heart. Turning to the youngest, the father invited her to give her opinion. You will have to support me, father, till I am twelve, the age when I expect to get married. After that I shall have to depend on my own fortune and kismet for my maintenance. This straight-forward answer ruffled the temper of the old man. This youngest daughter was the prettiest of the whole lot. Her charming manners, her graceful behaviour and her cleverness had made her the Beau Ideal in the family. Her elder sisters were naturally jealous of her and took full advantage to fan the flame of the father's anger. He lost his temper. Now that you are so wise as to think of your marriage and independence, the best thing for you would be, you naughty girl, to have a taste of that independence even from now. Get away from my sight.

A small hut was built for her and she was put there. The mother could not help feeling for her and she managed to get

permission from her husband, to supply the little child with some bran at least. That is how, the girl came to be known in the country as the bran maid.

Her brothers were merchants trading with far off countries. Starting on a voyage they took a fancy to ask their sisters, what the latter would like as presents from foreign countries. Some wanted gold Sarees, others jewellery and so on. The poor neglected bran maid was also asked what sort of a present she would like to have. The starved little thing thought that they were making fun of her. She told them therefore to bring her "the life sustaining-substance" meaning thereby that they would bring some substantial sort of food for her.

They prospered on their voyage. It was time for them to return. The brothers bought the various articles asked by their sisters but they clean forgot all about the life sustaining substance, treating it as a joke. They weighed anchor. But the ship would not be moved. They tried various means to sail the ship but it was a fixture. One of the brothers then remembered about the present to his youngest sister—the bran maid. As the ship could not be moved, they had perforce to get down. They inquired at the various places for the substance but they could not come across any. At the last moment however, a merchant who was really a prince, listened to their tale of the strange substance and the history of the bran maid. He promised to supply them with the life sustaining substance if they would wait some time. The prince hurried to his quarters. He filled a small box with different sorts of jewellery, added to it a nice Saree and also a magical mirror. The box was then thickly covered up with clay and small stones, which made it look like a ball of mud and stones and handed it over to the brothers for the small price of Rs. 500.

There was no difficulty this time for the ship to sail. They made a quick journey home and the mud ball was handed in due course to the bran maid. She took it as a huge joke and placed it in front of her hut to be used as a stepping stone.

Some years passed and our bran maid entered into her womanhood. Her beauty, her sympathy with the poor neighbours of hers, her hard life, all these had developed a peculiar fascinating charm in her. The rains had gradually washed off the clayey covering in course of years, exposing the box concealed inside. One day the bran girl stepped on the box, which was broke open. She took it inside the hut and removed the contents. No sooner that was done, her hut got changed into a beautiful place, seven storeyed high. She found herself sitting in a splendid room on the topmost storey. The place was surrounded by seven walls each wall being guarded by armed sentries. She was filled with wonder. She put on the Saree and the ornaments. Woman's curiosity made her look into the mirror to see how she looked and lo! the prince appeared—the very prince who had sent her that box with her brothers. The branmaid's cup of happiness was complete. The glorious sunshine of youth and love lay like a quickening fire on their hearts.

Life is made ugly, vicious and detestable on account of the pestilential temperament known as jealousy. The sisters were furious. They could not see the bran maid happy with the newly awakened light of love in her eyes. They tried her with poisoned sweets. But the bran maid gave them to her dogs and cats, only to find them dead, time after time. The jealous sisters coaxed her into telling them how the prince managed to see her. A particular window was shown through which the prince used to fly to his lady *inamorata*. The sisters quietly arranged to place a sharp sword in the window and departed home. As usual, the bran maid looked into the magic mirror but the prince came not. She looked again into it but still there was no prince. She got alarmed and went to the window to wait for him, only to find the head of the prince lying there, all bloody, separated from the body. There was no trace of the body whatsoever. Her grief knew no bounds. Where could she go for her consolation and sympathy! Poor and neglected as she was, her prayers to Heaven were as simple and as straight as those

of a little child. Life became absolutely impregnated with wretchedness.

The next morning she put the head into a box and disguised herself as a beggar and took to the road. What has become of the prince's body—was the question agitating her mind. In course of time she came to the outskirts of a big town and she laid herself to sleep under a big pipal tree.

The prince had taught her not only the language of love but that of birds as well. There were a good many glow worms there. What about this strange disappearance of the head of our prince, one of them asked of his companion. It is not to be found anywhere. The body is alive. There is life in it. What is this mystery? There is nothing mysterious in this, said the other glow worm. The prince fell in love with a beauteous maid and used to visit her. Her sisters got jealous and managed to have his head cut off. Where is that head please? Look at the maid crying her eyes out here, below our tree. She has got the head and she is in search of the body of her prince. But what would be the use of finding out the body with the head off it? There you are mistaken, said the glow worm. If the maid collects a few pounds of our castings and mixes it up thoroughly with 36 gallons of milk and fixes the head carefully on the trunk with the help of this paste, the prince will get up as sound as a bell. A question of ten minutes only.

The bran maid understood the whole thing clearly. She quickly collected the castings of the glow worm and waited anxiously for the day to break. Love is eternal and it is only pain and grief and sin that can come to an end. The turmoil produced in her heart by the joy that she had come to the end of her quest and she was going to restore her beloved to his full bodily vigour—all these happy and joyous thoughts made the maid look the very essence of a sun-beam. Morning broke. With a palpitating heart and a shaking hand, she collected the castings of the worms and started to the place where the body was kept.

But who would allow a beggar woman clothed in rags to enter the palace and far less to approach the body of the prince surrounded by specialists from all parts of the world. The king was there. The Queen too was there, each supporting the other in their over-powering grief. But the beggar maid was firm. She would not be moved from the palace doors. Here I have come to restore the prince to his life and here I stay till my mission is fulfilled. Her resolute mien, her eyes flashing with the light of determination, her persistence, her woe-begone expression made the court attendants carry the news to the king. Let her have a chance, said the king who had given up all hopes of restoring the prince to life. But one thing I demand, said the maid as the price of my success. I must have the signet ring which the prince is wearing on his finger. Nothing more, nothing less. The king agreed and the body was taken to a room. The maid arranged the head very carefully and smeared the whole part with the paste prepared according to the glow worm's directions. Ten minutes passed. The prince came to life as if awakened from sleep and stretched his legs. He saw the maid clothed in rags and asked his attendants to remove her from his presence. Certainly he did not recognise her. The king explained to him what had happened and asked him to present the maid with his ring. The prince would not part with it. "It is meant for the lady I am going to marry and for no one else," said he. Let the beggar maid have gold, jewels and even a portion of the kingdom but the ring she would not have. The maid too was equally firm. She held the king to his promise and threatened him that her magic would be undone and the head might fly away again. Then and then only, the prince sorrowfully parted with his ring.

The bran-maid, let us give her original name—returned to her palace and looked into the magic mirror one evening invoking her prince to come to her. Ah! The joy of joys! The beloved; the long-lost prince was there, telling her all sorts of love absurdities. Love is the water of Life. It was fascinating. Well, the prince commenced to tell her all that had happened to him and

the maid sat mute. The ring—he did not like to part with it, but that physician woman insisted on having it and so it was lost. The bran maid quietly put her hand before the prince with the ring shining on it. The prince recognised it and there were more explanations. The love that had gone through the fiery ordeal, made both the hearts unite in a firm embrace. And charity which springs out of perfect Love, made them forget the treachery and venom of the sisters. The marriage took place with all the pomp and splendour befitting the occasion and it is needless to say that both the prince and his wife had but one hope, one desire, one course of life and one service of God in common with one another.

THE KONKANI FOLKLORE TALES.

THE CRUEL STEP MOTHER.

Once upon a time there lived a Brahmin who had an only daughter. His wife was a very good woman and both the parents loved their daughter very dearly. Just close to them, there lived an old woman of the same community.

The woman was in straitened circumstances and she was asked to look after the Brahmin girl, dress her hair and send her back when the playtime was over. The girl who was hardly four or five years old, took a natural liking for her nurse. Now the old woman had a daughter of her own and she was growing fast. Hindu Shastras enjoin that girls must be married before they attain puberty. The old woman was a wicked magician. She wanted to marry her daughter to the Brahmin but that was not possible during the lifetime of the wife. So she began to cast her magical charms on the little Brahmin girl and poison her mind against her own mother. She said to the little girl, "I take so much care of you, dress you properly, give you a nice bath that I have come to love you, as my own child. My daughter too loves you. While your cruel hearted mother scolds you if you are late, does not allow you to eat sweets as much

as you would like to have and punishes you in season and out of season. What is the use of having such a mother? We both alave all the day looking after you and we have been taking every possible care of you." Day by day the same poison was instilled into the baby's mind and she began to look on her mother as a sort of demon. The wicked woman went a step further. She succeeded in persuading the little child to plant an open knife just near where the ladder was placed to go up to the attic. The wife of the Brahmin was in the habit of keeping sweet stuff high up in the attic with a view to prevent her daughter from eating too much. The wicked woman had turned the little child's mind like wax and had asked her to remove the ladder when her mother was trying to climb down. The poor-poor child had no idea of what she was doing and shoved aside the ladder when the mother was coming down, with the result that the poor lady fell down on the open knife and breathed her last. The funeral rites were performed in the usual manner and the Brahmin was left to mourn the loss of his wife. But from that moment, happiness fled from that house.

The wicked woman now had her chance. She began to minister to the wants of the lone Brahmin. Her daughter too took an interest in the household affairs. The little orphan was made much off. She was made to call the wicked woman's daughter by the name of mother. Sometimes, the household work was purposely neglected and the father and his small daughter had to look after themselves. The little girl was again taken in hand. Oh! My beloved darling, why does not your father marry my daughter? She is full grown and I shall have to get her married soon. And when she is married, I go with her to pass the few days that are left to me. In that case, there will not be anybody here to look after you and your good father. The Brahmin who was considerably shaken at the death of his wife and who was a simple straightforward man, fell into the snare and married the wicked woman's daughter.

A few weeks passed away and both the old lady as well as the new step-mother began to exert their authority against the poor waif. The latter became the drudge of the house. The step mother used to take her ease and roll about, making the little step daughter work her bones off. There was not much food given to her and what little she got, was of the coarse variety. Misery ripened her intelligence and she knew that she was made a tool of, by these wicked women. Her prayers to her dead mother were incessant. All the drudgery she had to undergo, all the semi-starvation she had to suffer, did not break her spirit. Her full faith in her idols, her remembrance of her mother's sweet face, put new courage in her soul. "Bless me" Oh! my mother and give me strength to bear up with the tribulations. One night her mother approached her in her dream, blessed her and assured her that sooner or later her troubles would be over. Even the gold had to pass through the fire to be worthy of being turned into ornaments which even a Queen would be proud to wear round her neck. But one thing, my child, you must be careful of. Do all the work your stepmother asks you to do. But beware of eating anything that she may place before you. If you feel hungry, go to the south wall of our house and ask for Chappaties and shut your eyes and the Chappaties will be placed before you. If you want butter, go to the pond and stir the water with your fingers and you may find butter there. Ask the cows for some milk. The cocoanut tree will supply you with the nuts. The dream was vivid and it left a tranquillity and a calm peace in the poor girl's heart, unknown there before. The walls gave her the Chappaties, the pond the butter, the cows the milk. And she was happy in her own small way.

In the meanwhile, the step mother had a daughter who was growing up. When she was 4 or 5 years old, the baby used to accompany the Brahmin girl. This little cousin came to know how her cousin the Brahmin girl used to get her food. Being of obstinate nature she wanted to get the food herself. So the step-mother's daughter asked the wall to serve her with Chappaties.

But instead, a stone came rushing and broke one of her legs. She did manage to crawl to the pond, which was near by and stirred the water asking for butter. But a fish quietly took her thumb off. The cocconut threw a nut on her head when she begged for one. Thinking that the cow would at least supply her with milk, she went to the animal and got a good kick on one of her eyes. The Brahmin girl took her cousin in that state to her mother. When the latter saw her child's condition, she pommelled severely her step-daughter and looked her up in a room. How to get rid of her, became the burning question with her.

There was a powerful King in a neighbouring town. It seems that he had fallen under a curse of a Holy Rishi, who had turned the King's poor son into an alligator, who had to be fed daily with a virgin girl. As the girls became scarcer, the Rajah's servants began to score the country from one end to the other; buying girls at the rate of one thousand rupees each. One of those servants came to the house of this step-mother, who found a golden opportunity of not only getting rid of her step-daughter but getting good money as well. She quietly pocketed the money, handing over the girl to her terrible fate without the least pity or mercy.

The Brahmin-girl was confined in a cage and there she came to know that she was to be thrown into the pond to the alligator. She called on her mother to receive her. She prayed to her gods to take her unto them as she was tired of life. Kicked and starved, death was preferable to the existence she had carried. Mother! Oh! Mother darling, keep me with you ever long now. I am not afraid of the alligator. He is simply the means—a sort of horse that will convey me quickly to you, Oh! Mother mine! The Lord Parameshwar and his divine Goddess Parvati heard the wailing of the poor girl. They came down to her and got the whole story of her life from her. Devi Parvati pitied the poor waif. She blessed her and gave her some "Akshata"—rice grains—flowers and a cane and told her to

throw some of the rice grains and flowers on the alligator when he came to devour her. Give him a cut also with the cane. He will turn back and then will come again rushing at you. Do the whole process again. The third time he comes at you, throw all the rice and flowers on his head and let him have five cuts with the cane on the head. This will destroy the magic of the holy Brahmin and the alligator will be turned into a handsome prince, whom you will marry.

The girl was thrown into the pit, the next day. But she was bold enough to do all the things desired by the Gods and succeeded in turning the beast into a handsome prince. There were great rejoicings in the country and the Prince could not but love and marry the Brahmin-girl.

But it seems that the girl had to undergo some more trials before she was completely purified of her share of putting an end to her own mother's life. The step-mother came to know that the Brahmin girl had become a princess by marriage and she set her brain working again to destroy her. Some time passed and the princess was now in the family way. It is a custom with the Hindoos that the first confinement must take place at her mother's place. The step-mother insisted that her daughter must come to her for her confinement. She was all smiles. She stood on her rights as the mother who had brought up that orphan girl after the death of her mother and as one belonging to a poor but noble family, she insisted that nobody, be he a prince or a common man should dare to come in her way of getting her daughter to her father's place for her first delivery. She succeeded in getting the princess back to her home.

On an auspicious day, the princess gave birth to a son. The villagers made grand preparations to celebrate the event. The Prince hurried down. On the tenth day after delivery—this side of Konkan we give the bath on the eleventh day—the usual oil bath was given to the lady. The step-mother was very busy in getting ready hot water, the various perfumed oils, and

the various fragrant spices to be used as dusting powders. But the step-mother had not lost the least bit of her venom against the poor princess. She got a deep pit dug up and some open knives were placed therein. The pit was covered up with rotten planks. The Princess was placed on them and very hot water was poured over her head. She could not bear that and she struggled naturally. The planks gave way throwing the princess down on the open knives where she breathed her last as her own mother had done some years ago. The cries of the princess could not be heard outside, where the Prince her husband and other notabilities were sitting, on account of the beating of tom-tom.

Having fully expiated her sin, the princess joined her mother in Swargalok (heaven) where the celestial nymphs lived.

The step-mother made all hurry to put the special dress on her own daughter and passed her off as the Princess. Things went on smoothly for some time. The prince had his doubts about his wife but he attributed all those to a change in her disposition on account of the confinement and the trouble of the baby, whose cries could not be stopped.

There is a custom with us that the wife should present her husband with a small packet—called *Vida*—made up of betel leaves, betel-nut and spices etc. and keep a supply of these materials by the bed side of her husband. But the prince always found his silver-pot empty, which was regularly filled up at bed time. He asked his wife what became of all those betel-leaves and other chewing materials?

The supposed wife pleaded ignorance and brought to the notice of the Prince another strange incident. "Some ghosts in the shape of celestial nymphs," said she, "come every night to my room, take up the baby, put him to the breast, play with him and then put him to bed and go away."

But before they disappear, they spit at me the red saliva which is formed in the mouth after chewing the pan supari.

"What a strange story you tell me," exclaimed the prince ! The prince did not go to sleep that night but kept himself awake in his bed watching and watching what would happen. Midnight passed. Nothing happened. He waited anxiously. After some time he heard musical jingling of silver anklets. There was a sensation of a cool breeze passing over him, loaded with a pleasing scent. He found some nymphs, quietly helping themselves to betel leaves etc. The prince kept quiet and awaited further developments. The ladies then went into the room where the baby was kept. One of them took it up and put it to the breast. The other nymphs began to dance round it. Tickling the baby's feet, kissing it, putting flowers on its head and other gambols took up their time. The step-mother's daughter the false wife—was thoroughly frightened. The nymphs began to spit the betel nut juice on the wife's person. She fainted. The baby was then put to sleep again and the nymphs began to walk away. The prince who was watching all their play, stepped forth and caught hold of the lady who had suckled the baby and asked her the reason why she was so kind to his child. The lady hung down her head and kept quiet. Her companions however, chided the prince for not recognising his own true wife and explained to him all the incidents that led to the murder. The prince was awe-struck. His rage caused him to tremble and quake. But the ladies quieted him and made him promise to keep quiet a few weeks more. The "Anna-prashan" or Ushtavan day is fast approaching and many a learned Shastri and Pundit would be attending the ceremony and you better leave the punishment to them. When a baby gets a tooth or two, the putting in, of some food-boiled rice etc. into his mouth is called the Anna-prashan ceremony. We would be there too, Oh ! Prince, with your wife. So keep your soul in patience and go out on a pilgrimage till then. The day arrived. The prince was there too. Holy Brahmins were there. A good many Shastris and Nyayis were there too. The Apsarás were present also. The prince called in the learned men into the room, where his false wife was present

and put his case before them. The guilty woman acknowledged her share in the murder of the real princess but the story of her grand mother's wickedness as well as that of her mother also came out. The pundits decided that these three generations of women were nothing but personification of Evil. The grand-mother is dead. The mother and this her daughter—the false wife are adjudged guilty. As a Brahmin male or female cannot be decapitated, we sentence this girl as well as her mother. The false wife is to be tied hand and foot and should be placed in the basket kept in a privy. And we assure you that the Fates would overtake her mother also.

The step-mother did not know of what had happened to her daughter. She was giving herself grand airs that her dastardly plot had succeeded. And that her own daughter would reign as a queen in course of time. She was busy with her preparations of the grand feast. The real princess, the real wife quietly took her place by the side of her husband, when the Anna-prashan ceremony was performed. The next morning when the step-mother went to answer the call of nature, she found her daughter there in the basket covered with filth, on the point of death. The daughter abused her mother and told her plainly that all her scheming, all her wickedness had resulted in this sort of abominable death. The step-mother got a shock and fell down dead by the side of her dead daughter.

The Konkani proverb says "Bin takit bhât" i.e., as is the seed, so is the paddy. Nothing but evil comes out of evil. The prince returned to his palace with his wife and his darling baby. And they lived ever happily afterwards.

THE KONKANI FOLK LORE TALES.

THE TALE OF THE WAX-DOLL AND THE

COW-DUNG DOLL.

Once upon a time, a wax doll and a cowdung doll went on a pilgrimage to the sea. The tide was coming in and the two

companions stood on the shore close to the sea, gazing with wondrous eyes at the beauty of the waves and the noise and the foam which they produced. A wave larger than the rest, came dashing along and covered up both the dolls and retreated. The cow-dung doll was dissolved by the action of the water. The grief of the wax doll knew no bounds. It stood there, planting its feet firmly on the ground and began to ask of the sea to restore its friend, the cow-dung doll back to her. Its cries became insistence. But the sea could not bring the cow-dung doll to life again and it was arranged that the wax doll should be given a cot in exchange, that was floating in the sea just close by. The wax doll put the cot on its head and began to travel to some other holy shrine. It came to a fence and feeling tired, placed the cot by the fence and went out for a bath. By the time it returned, the cot had disappeared. The doll got excited and turned on the fence threatening it with all sorts of dire consequences, unless the cot was returned. The fence could not do that but humbly requested the doll to take away any two poles supple and strong and forgive it. The doll shouldered the two poles and came in course of time to a cottage, where an old woman was engaged in baking Chapatties. It kept the poles near the woman's door and went out for a wash. After its return, it was found that the old woman had quietly used those poles for lighting her kitchen-fire. The wax-doll managed to get two good Chapatties, out of the old woman and walked proudly away. It was very careful of those Chapatties and found out a house—a dilapidated building where no human being was likely to come and kept those Chapatties inside and went out for a sniff of fresh breeze but the wax-doll had forgotten about the rats, that were there, which made a clean sweep of the Chapatties in no time: The doll returned and had a good tussle with the house before the latter agreed to part with a drum that was lying hanging in a corner.

Tying the drum around its neck, the doll began to beat it before a Rajah's palace and sing a ditty as follows :—

“ A cot I got for the cow-dung doll,

“ And exchanged it with the fence for poles.

- "The old woman gave me Chapatties two
 "For the poles. What else could I do?
 "The Chapatties I kept in a ruined house.
 "To feed only the dog, the cat and the mouse.
 "I cried and cried and got this drum
 "Happy, happy I am! Dum, dum, dum!!!

THE KONKANI FOLK-LORE TALES.
 RAVALO SHENAI AND HIS SHREW
 OF A WIFE.

Nobody considers himself happy all the time. There is always more or less a big fly in life's ointment. Ravallo Shenai had the misfortune to have the biggest fly. His wife was that fly that drove away all thoughts of a happy comfortable existence. Ravallo Shenai considered himself the most wretched man in this world. All that because his wife was a shrew of first water. If the lady—her name was Indiri was asked to do one thing, she was sure to do something quite opposite. She used to take particular delight in going against her husband in season and out of season. Nothing abashed her. No wonder that none of her neighbours loved her. And she returned the compliment. Indiri regarded her husband as a sort of black beetle and despised him.

Ravallo Shenai had a sweet tooth. His wife was fully cognisant of it. That is why he could not get any sweet dishes from one year's end to the other. Ravallo developed a desire for custard. But to desire one thing and to get it, were two different things. Once or twice, he tried to turn the talk to custard, jellies and so on. But the wife stopped all that non-sense and asked her husband to think of his work and the shortness in money for household expenses. "You are a worm, a loafer, a shiftless back-boneless disgrace to humanity," cried the irate wife to her husband. "You think of custard, while I have been working my bones off, from morn till night to feed you—you brute." Bai Indiri turned perfectly pale with rage

and it was only the exhaustion that stopped that torrent of invectives against her husband.

The desire grew. The hankering got intense. Ravalo dreamt of that custard. He slept over the thought of that custard—only to awaken when he found that even in his dreams that dish of custard was snatched away by some-body who looked like his better half. Ravalo lost all reason. He gave up his work. He had a vision of big dishes of custard floating before him. He lost his taste for food. His condition was made worse because he dared not open his lips for that custard. His wife's strident notes vibrated like a streak of lightning through his brain. He lost sleep. His ribs asserted themselves into prominence.

Ravalo came across one day, his neighbour's wife who was a kindly old soul. What is the matter with you, my old friend Ravalo? What has squeezed out your bowels, you scare-crow? The kindly touch, the sympathetic voice, acted as a sort of Bromide and made Ravalo open his heart to the old lady. Custard or rather the want of it, has been the disease that has been sapping my strength. You know the tragedy of my life. "I want that custard. There is the ache of emptiness all throughout me for that custard." "Don't you lose heart—you great baby. There is a way and a simple way of getting that custard. Don't you be down-hearted. Invite your brother-in-law, your wife's brother for dinner one day. But see that you insist that your wife should prepare every sweet dish except that custard. Tell her that since the last talk, you had become nauseated with the very name of that custard. So pray to her, not to go in for custard. And you will have that custard." Well, the plot succeeded. The brother-in-law turned up. And Indirabai went out of her way to cook a good sized dish of custard, simply because her "Lord and Master" had shown an abhorrence for it. Both the husband and her brother sat down to their meals. Good orthodox Brahmins are always careful to recite their prayers before partaking of their meals. And

Ravalo and his brother-in-law were no exceptions. The wife served a good dishful to her brother and was going to put in, a good quantity before her husband, simply because he did not like it. But the sight of that sweet custard, filling his eyes and his nostrils spread a joyous blaze in his features. The wife marked it and understood it and quietly turned away putting a spoonful or two before her husband. But the latter was equal to the occasion. He asked his brother-in-law to throw away carefully the water with which the prayers were performed into the pot in which a Tulsi plant was planted and during his temporary absence, he changed the dishes quietly putting before himself the dish which contained a good substantial quantity of the custard. His wife saw too late what had happened but could not help it. She went into a side room and showed a good sized stick to her husband which told him what to expect. The dinner went on and the husband was actually starved. It was bed-time. The wife prepared a nice soft bedding for her brother and asked her husband to make himself comfortable on a rough blanket or two. The brother-in-law was restless and could not get any sleep. His stomach was too full. Ravalo asked him to come down to his rough bed as the special bedding was too full of bugs. So they changed beds. Ravalo made himself comfortable on the soft cushions and waited developments. After an hour or so, the brother-in-law got up howling. There was a noise of a good sized stick falling on his body. His cries were terrible. He ran away and the noise suddenly ceased. Ravalo went to his brother-in-law, quieted him and asked him why he groaned like that. I was thrashed with a lathi, articulated the poor brother-in-law. "Bosh"! said Ravalo. "Your heavy stomach must have caused you to go in for dreams. You better come back to your soft bed." "My body is aching" exclaimed the brother-in-law. No more sleep for me. Don't you be nervous, you fool! Let me massage your body and you will feel comfortable. In a few minutes, the brother-in-law fell into a disturbed sleep and Ravalo laid himself down on the blankets.

Bai Indirabai was simply blazing with anger. The castigation which she wanted to administer to her beloved spouse, had fallen on wrong shoulders. Her eyes simply burnt with hatred. She trembled with passion. My husband's turn now, she said to herself. An hour passed. She did not know that they had changed beds again. Thinking that her husband was lying on the soft bed, she used the stick with such a concentrated hatred as to break a good many bones of her own brother. There was a terrible howling but the beating went on till the poor helpless brother-in-law became unconscious. Indirabai quietly stole back to her inner room. She went to sleep with an easy mind, fully believing that she had laid her husband low for some months to come. What a happy wife!

The hubbub, the cries had disturbed the neighbours. They came flocking in. Lamps were lighted and the poor brother-in-law was brought back to consciousness by the unremitting efforts of the neighbours, especially the old lady, who had advised Ravalo on the first occasion. Bai Indirabai had to come out of her room and fell down into a swoon when she found that on both the occasions, she had beaten her own brother. Nobody attended to her.

Who gave the beating—was the question asked on all sides. No satisfactory answer was forthcoming. As no sacrificial offerings were made, for some time past, to the ghosts living in the big peepal tree in the compound, it was thought that the ghosts must have exercised their vengeance on the guest of the day. The old lady winked. She was too clever for this sort of superstition. She called Ravalo on one side and advised him to take his brother-in-law to his village straight off. She asked him particularly to stay there, at his brother-in-law's house till his wounds got well. Even then, it was a question whether Ravalo should or should not come back to his wife. Had I been in your position, my friend Ravalo, said the wise lady, I would have started on a long pilgrimage to the Holy places. That would wash away the sins committed by you, in your

former lives. These sins alone must have made it possible for the Goddess Fate to entangle your life's destiny to this virago Indirabai of yours. Wherever you go and stay, that is your home. Wherever you find peace and tranquillity, rest assured that is the home and *that* will be blessed by our Gods. The Sanskrit poet says :—

इत्थं मूर्खितं दिशोऽपि वसनं ज्ञानाद्भूतं मौजन ।

मेते यस्व कुटुम्बिनो षट् सखे कस्माद् भयं योगिनः ॥

One does not know whether the wise old lady had read her Emerson, who repeats in similar strains.

“ Go where he will, the wise man is at home,

“ His hearth, the earth ; his hall, the azure dome.

“ Where his clear spirit leads him, there's his road,

“ By God's own light illumined and fore-shadowed.

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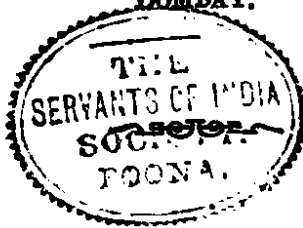
THE KONKAN

AND THE

KONKANI LANGUAGE

BY

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Respectfully Dedicated

TO

G. V. PANANDIKAR Esq.,
RETIRED DEPUTY EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR,

*Who brought me up
after the death of my father
and taught me that*

**"The Road to the Beautiful Heavenly Regions
lies ever through Duty's hard way."**

V. P. CHAVAN.

FOREWORD

This is a reprint of the series of lectures I delivered on the subject "The Konkani and the Konkani Language" under the auspices of Anthropological Society of Bombay, towards the close of the last year. In the ordinary course, these have appeared in Volume XII of the Society's Journal, but at the pressing request of some of my friends I have published them separately in a pamphlet form.

The use of Konkani as a mother-tongue prevails not only among the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins of Goa, Kanara, Cochin, etc., but also among a large number of Goan Christians. But this dialect, spoken by over a million and a half of people, stands neglected and uncared for. It has no written characters of its own, nor any literature worth mentioning. In spite of all that, its pristine beauty, its melliflence, its picturesqueness, its natural sweetness, all these produce a homely sort of feeling. These characteristics perhaps have given it a vigour to withstand the onslaughts of more powerful and classical languages in its neighbourhood.

A spoken language is a live one. It goes through all the different stages of existence like a human being. Nay it has its tempers, its factions, and even its racial feelings. The conservative forces aim always to keep a language together in purity but the alterative forces do rush past the conservative guards and

introduce variations in the language increasing its beauty of expression and shades of meaning. These new words thrive while the old ones, which have served their purpose, are weaned out. Just like families, the languages have their ups and downs. A language may be rich or poor in refinement, nicety, elasticity, and so on. It is open to all the ills, that affect a human being. In course of time, it dies a natural death, being then known as a dead language.

The Konkani dialect affords a fine example of the different stages of existence through which, a merely spoken but not written language passes in its evolution.

In their struggle for existence people do adopt a language which has the greatest utilitarian value. There is the present tendency to bring up children in a more refined language that will enable them to fight the battle of life and to make both ends meet. This economic factor is causing the greatest rot in the life-history of the Konkani language.

Things animate and inanimate, great and small, have to follow the inviolable laws of Nature and have to make room for others, good or bad. Progress of the world invariably depends on this. How can we dare say then, that the Konkani language will be an exception to this universal Law. But all the same, Human Love teaches us to do our utmost in order to have the final dissolution postponed as long as practicable. Hence this attempt.

I must acknowledge my sincere thanks to all those

friends of mine, who have facilitated my task by suggesting to me not only the several sources—many a time scanty—from which I could gather the necessary material for the lectures but by their going through with me, critically in certain debatable portions of this pamphlet.

These lectures have evoked a great interest, I am glad to see, especially in those who speak Konkani and are proud of their mother-tongue. Even the Press, including the "Times of India," "The Bombay Chronicle," etc., had a line of appreciation for my lectures.

Go, little book from this my solitude ;
 I cast thee on the water, go thy ways,
 And, if as I believe, thy tone be good,
 The World will find thee, after many days.

(SOUTHEY.)

V. P. CHAVAN.

SANDHURST ROAD, BOMBAY.

May 1924.

THE KONKAN AND THE KONKANI LANGUAGE.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay deals in subjects of anthropological interest. Lectures and papers dealing with those subjects are the main source of our activities. We look to the Press to give us all sorts of news from all parts of the world. But the influence of the Press is not limited to being what is called "Newsy." The Press has a higher function to do, *i.e.* to educate the people and direct its intelligence to higher and nobler things of life. In the same way I would like to see our Society go in, for some educative activities.

The study of the Konkani language and the various problems connected with it, have proved very interesting at least in my own case. I am afraid, Konkani is dying a slow death. To quote the words of Father Maffei :—

The slow death
of Konkani.

" Konkani itself is a beautiful language but is reduced to servitude. It can become or can be shown to be a beautiful language if taking pity on it, we deliver it from slavery."

Our worthy and erudite president, Mr. Saldanha observes :—

" In it are hidden powers and beauties which will make our hearts throb with pride and excite the admiration of the world."

2. These quotations show, with what loving regard the language Konkani is held by its votaries. But in the absence

of any home in the shape of literature, Konkani stands neglected, starved, nay even suffocated. It may dillydally with Devanagari characters or may put on the Roman gown or have a Jazz dance in a Kanarese saree, but this flirting does not make up for the want of home, for the want of unalloyed married love.

3. Signs of disintegration are proceeding apace, and it seems to be a foregone conclusion that the language may die from inanition in the near future.

4. Let us provoke discussion, keep attention fixed on it, invite criticism, invite suggestions, but let us keep the ball rolling on and on. Something good, something tangible is sure to bud forth and prevent decay.

PART I.

Geographical and Historical.

The derivation of the word Konkani is beset with difficulties.

The derivation of the word Konkani.

The Imperial Gazetteer says that the term is of Dravidian origin and has not, so far been satisfactorily explained. In old writings Konkani appears as Kunkana * कुकुकाण विषयात् पूरुण वनवासो विषयः (Kāmsutrā commentaries) or even Kunkuna. It is said that Mahomedan writers call it Kemkem, Kankan or Komkam.

2. Various speculations are current about the origin of the word Konkani. Some say that it is derived from the Canarese word Konku ಕುಕು meaning uneven ground. But Konku means also not straight or crooked. If unevenness is to give a name to a tract of land, then any tract can be called Konkani because the contour of a land, generally is everywhere not plain but uneven or crooked.

3. In the first half of the sixth century, after Christ, i.e., during the times of Varāhamihir, the word **Konkan** was well-established and in common use before any of the Kanarese kings turned his attention to the conquest of Konkan.

4. The Chalukyas under the leadership of King Kirtivarmā, overran Konkan in the latter half of the sixth century. It would therefore be wrong to assume that the Dravidians gave the name of Konkan to the country. Even supposing that they did so to the part, which came in, under their sway, how is it to be accounted for, that the name Konkan should have been in use in the Northern parts such as Sourashtra, Barbar, etc., which never formed part of the dominions of the Kadambās or the Chalukyas ?

In fact the Northern Konkan was under the successive rules of the Mauryas, the Āndhra-bhrityas, the Kshatrapās and so on, upto the seventh century A.D.

5. Aparanta was the first name given to Konkan and its use is found in the records, epigraphic or otherwise so late as the second or the third century after Christ.

Kalidas makes use of the word "Aparanta" in Raghuvansh. The fifth century after Christ is the period generally supposed, when Kalidas wrote his poems. True to life these poems must have portrayed the local names, local surroundings and the local traditions as well. This goes to show that the word Konkan must have come in general use after the fifth century.

In fact a copper-plate of 584 A.D., vide Mr. Kane's excellent monograph on ancient history of Konkan, distinctly refers to Puri, the capital of the Konkan. The importance of this plate consists in furnishing us with the first irrefutable evidence of the word Konkan, to be seen in official records. This

narrows down the time, after the passing away of Kalidas and the grant of the copper plate to a period not more than a hundred years in which the word Konkan got into general use.

6. Some say that the word Konkan may have been derived from the Persian word "Koh" which means a mountain and "Kund" which means a ditch. So the word "Koh-Kund" should be taken to mean a ditch or a low ground below a mountain.

The Persian derivation.

There is no question that Konkan ports were the outlets for the products of the whole of India since a very early period. Even Solomon (1016-976 B.C.), they say, used to get things from India which were shipped at the Konkan ports. This was some three thousand years ago or more. Aparanta was the name, by which Konkan was known then. There is no doubt that this name was in current use till the beginning of the Christian era.

As Maritime communications increased and grew in volume, the general name of Aparanta was represented by particular names of the ports, from which ships sailed, such as Nausaripa (Navasari), Sopara, Borugaza (Broach), Chaul and Kalyan, etc.

It is hardly possible therefore that the Persians would be in a position to give currency to a name for the whole of the province. They were neither the conquerors nor had they any political influence whatsoever in the country. The Persians were simply the traders, along with many others, whose ships touched the Konkan coast—not even half a dozen times—during the year.

There was a considerable trade with Greece, Rome, Egypt, etc. Even embassies were sent to Rome and Syria. Large finds of Roman coins show that there was a large volume of

trade in the first century upto the time of the Emperor Nero. Ophir mentioned in the Bible as a well-known maritime port in India, is identified with Sopars. The commerce in fact with other countries was so much developed as to make it necessary to have a regular tariff of customs duties. गौतम-धर्मसूत्र and बौधायन धर्मसूत्र give schedules of rates payable on merchandise.

All this plainly shows that the part played by Persian merchants, even in the commercial development of the country, was negligible.

7. I would like to put forward another theory in connection with the derivation of the word Konkan. A new theory. At least, this theory claims attention on the ground that it is put forward seriously for the first time—so far I know.

As one passes along on board a ship, by the Konkan coast, the latter is hardly to be seen on account of the luxurious growth of the palm-trees. From one end to the other, the coast presents a beautifully marked sight with the great palm-leaves, fanning the sea-breezes and occasionally dipping into the sea to refresh themselves.

The number of these trees was at one time, simply immense before the colonisers cut them down to make room for themselves.

These palm-trees even now, are known as toddy-trees.

The Konkan being a mountainous and rocky country with shallow and short rivers, is hardly a province to support its own population.

The same story, you find, is repeated even now in the build of a Konkani Mill-hand—the story of chronic starvation and miserable existence.

That refreshing toddy, when fresh, has got a nourishing sustaining property of its own. When kept for some time, it ferments and can be used as an ordinary intoxicating beverage

Now there is a Sanskrit word किण्वन् which means a drug or seed used to cause fermentation in the manufacture of spirits.

When the Aryan colonizers came down to Konkan or Aparanta as it was then known, their first question, when studying the habits of the aborigines was किम् किण्वन् ? What is this intoxicating drug ? By natural phonetic decay किण्वन् became in turn किम् किण्, then कोकिण् and finally कोकण्-कोंकण्.

The soil being poor, fish from the sea and toddy from the palm-trees, with a little rice thrown in, made up the staple diet of the people inhabiting Konkan.

Some support is given to my theory that the palm-trees were considered a valuable property in those days. A Traikutak king gave over a village to one Nana Swami living in Kapur, a district on the Konkan coast. Mention is also made of a grant of a thousand cocconut trees from the same district. The Nasik inscriptions mention another grant of 8,000 cocconut trees in the village of Chikhalapadra.

8. There are students of ancient history who think that the word Konkan must have been derived from Kong plus Vana कोंग+वन meaning the forest tract of land inhabited by the then aboriginal tribes, known as "Kongs." There is however, no evidence to show that at any period in history, there were a people known as Kongs, monopolising this territory for their habitation, as to deserve a name after them, for this large tract of land.

Another derivation.

9. In the Southernmost portion of Goa territory, there is a Taluka or sub-division called Kan Kon—कण कोण. It is difficult to say exactly why this name was bestowed on that particular part of the country. Far less to say that this village-name gave birth to the larger denomination the word Konkani.

All attempts, therefore, to fix up the precise meaning of Konkani, must be more or less of a speculative nature and it is also a question whether the word Konkani has at all a Sanskrit source or is purely a local word, come out of Prakrats, the origin of which cannot be traced.

10 Konkani is an ancient name of the western coast territory. If we turn to the pages of ancient history of India, we find evidence to show that the whole of the western coast from Kathiawar in the North to Cape Comorin in the south was at one time called Konkani, and this perhaps on linguistic basis was divided into seven parts. Hence the whole Konkani was called *Sapta* Konkani or seven Konkani. The present Konkani language may have been to a certain extent influenced by the languages and dialects in vogue in this larger Konkani, and it would therefore be interesting to know the seven territorial divisions. The Sahyadri Khand, a chapter of Skand Purana, mentions the following seven parts of Konkani.

Description of
Konkani.

- (1) Barbar बर्बर, (2) Sourashtra सौराष्ट्र, (3) Konkani (proper);
- (4) Karhat कर्हाट, (5) Karnat कर्नाट, (6) Tulang तुलंग, and
- (7) Keral कर्नालम्.

Barbar was the name given to the wooden tracts lying on the northern and western boundary of the present Kathiawar, and this was inhabited by the aboriginal tribes called Barbar originally coming from the hilly region near Hastinapur or the present Delhi.

Sourastra or Surastra, meaning a good country, was the name given to the present Kathiawar. This latter name came into vogue during the Maratha period. In ancient writings Sourastra is extolled as a region known for good government and for plenty and prosperity.

Karhat, Tulang, Karnat, and Keral may be indentified with the present Karhad, Andhra, Karnatak, and Malabar respectively.

Almost in the middle of this long strip of habitable land on the western coast lies the Konkan proper which has an interesting history of its own.

11. In the present paper it is enough to touch the broad outlines just to show how Konkan has asserted itself, notwithstanding many political upheavals, and how it has given a distinct dialect that has influenced the recognised language of Maharashtra, namely Marathi.

12. Now a word about Maharashtra. Explorers of ancient stone inscriptions have come to the conclusion that the Deccan, which is termed as *दक्षिणपथ* or the southward route, meaning thereby the territory colonised by Aryans, was made up of several small colonies, such as कर्नराट्, नोपरराट् supposed to be Nasik, पांडुराट्, नळराट्, देवराट्, पूर्वराट्, काराट्, सोराट्, etc., this is the part of India to the south of Vindhya range; all these colonies were included in one big tract known as Maharashtra. Naturally Maharashtra must at one time have enjoyed co-operative and corporate life and the influence of such corporate life must have been great on the modes, social habits and customs and language and religious life of the people inhabiting there.

13. The mention of Sapta Konkan is made in an inscription of the Shaka year 956 corresponding with A.D. 1034 in which the Chalukya

King, Jaya Sinha the third, says that he obtained a victory over Sapt Konkan. Mr. Fleet gives a list of the countries subjugated by the said king and these correspond with those mentioned in the Puran. The Chinese traveller Yu-an-ching mentions in his book of travels, a country known as "Kong-kina-pulo" and the description applies to Sopara or the Shur-parak Kshetra mentioned in Puranas. "Kong-kina-pulo" may correspond with Konkampur. Alberuni, the Mahomedan traveller who visited this country in the tenth century, has referred to Konkani and mentions that Thana was the capital thereof. Konkani is known as अपरांत, meaning the country near the western end. The portion between Prabhas Pattan on the north and Gokarn near the Gangavali river in the South is named अपरांत (*vide* Matsya-purana)

माद कच्छः समोहयाः सह वारस्ततास्तथा ।

काच्छिकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्रः आवर्ताः अर्जुदेः सह ॥

इत्येते अपरांतास्तु भ्रुणुये विन्ध्यवासिनः ॥

In Raghuvansha the portion of the territory lying between the sea and Sahya mountain is named अपरांत.

अवकाशं किञ्चिदन्वान् रामायाभ्यर्षितो ददौ । अपरान्त महीपाठ न्याजेन
रघवेक्षरम् ॥

14. Konkani as described in the ancient writings was that tract of land lying between Vaitarni river near Sopara on the North and Gangavali river in the South, which divides the North Canara District, a few miles north of the taluka town Kumta.

15. This territory again can be divided into North Konkani, central Konkani and South Konkani.
Divisions of Konkani. If it be divided into two parts there would be North Konkani from Sopara to Rajapur river and the South Konkani from this river to the Gangavali

river. But when Konkan is divided into three parts the middle portion would be that territory which lies between Kharapatān in Rajapur Taluka and Shiveshwar near Karwar, the boundary line of Goa territory.

16. Considering all these facts, it is plain that the territory from Sopara in the Thana District to Gokarn in the south is Konkan proper according to ancient distribution. For the present administrative purposes the name Konkan is applied to the tract of the country below the Western Ghats, south of the Damanganga river and includes the districts of Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, the coast strip of North Canara, the Indian states of Jawhar, Janjira and Sawantwadi and the Portuguese territory of Goa. It contains a population of nearly five millions. This is the portion described in the Puranas as the Parashuram Kshetra, being the lands acquired by the Brahmin warrior Parashuram, driving the sea back.

17. Several castes and clans are described as having been brought down from the north by Parashuram and assisted in colonising the territory. The formation of the land shows that at one time it was covered with sea, and it is possible that the territory should have been fit for habitation owing to the receding of the ocean due to volcanic actions and earthquakes at an ancient period. It is also possible that the immigrants came down from the North, as the language, mode of life, social usages and customs exhibit in the case of certain castes a great resemblance to the North India people—especially those living in Bengal side. It is difficult to say definitely at what particular period of history, this colonisation commenced. It may have been approximately the seventh century B.C. according to Dr. Bhandarkar. I am inclined to think on reference to old Puranic writings that such colonisation continued for several centuries, say upto the seventh century after Christ.

Because mention is made of several castes and clans in the Sahyadri Khand, which is considered to have been written about that period.

18. The people residing in the Konkan are of different castes and creeds and some of these have appropriated a name for the caste itself, from the territorial nomenclature. For instance, the Chitpavan Brahmins originally from the Ratnagiri District who have now spread themselves over a great part of India, call themselves Konkanasthas as distinguished from the Brahmins belonging to the upcountry places in the Deccan, who are known as Deshasthas. The Gowd Saraswat Brahmins who migrated to the Karnatak and even as far south as Cochin, from Goa during the days of Portuguese Inquisition, are designated Konkānes, because of their original home. Nay, there are communities like Kunbis (agriculturists), Kumbhars (potters), Marathas and others who have made their home in the Canarese districts and are termed the Konkan Kunbis, the Konkan Kumbhars, Konkan Marathas, and so on, on the ground that their original home is in the Konkan, where their family deities are still in existence and to which they pay their homage by making pilgrimage oftentimes.

19. But it is only the people now residing in Goa and the Northern part of the North Canara district that speak a dialect known as Konkani. Naturally those who have migrated from Goa to countries beyond, have carried their mother tongue with them, and so we come across a number of people speaking Konkani in the north and south, of Canara, Cochin, Dharwar, Hubli and Bombay and even Northwards in Indore and Gwalior to which places the Gowd Saraswat migrated at the period when the Peshwas held sway over the Maharashtra.

The ever-enterprising Goan has carried the Konkani dialect to all parts of the world. It does not matter to him the least bit how hard, how dangerous his work may be. He is even prepared to go to Antipodes but his heart yearns for his home in Goa. And his greatest ambition is to die at home repeating his prayers in Konkani to his God. The Goan Christian shows a wonderful love for his Konkani language and has grown a special literature of his own, in that dialect.

20. The Navāyats—meaning the new-comers of Bhatkal, which is the southernmost part of North Canara District—are said to have come down from Kufa at the head of the Persian Gulf, to escape from the cruelty of Hujaz Ibn Yusuf, who was Governor of Irak about the close of the seventh century. Like the Parsees of Iran, who adopted the Indian dress and language of Gujarat where they first settled, the Navāyats adopted both the Hindu dress as well as the Hindu dialect—Konkani. Some of these Navāyats settled themselves in Gujarat and are known as Naisatās.

21. It can safely be said that there are at least a million and a half people who either speak or understand Konkani, of whom at least one-third, if not more, use this as their mother tongue.

22. The study of a dialect is as important as the study of a recognised language because, as Prof. Max Muller has said:—

“Dialects according to some are the descendants of one uniform language; according to others they are the feeders of the classical language and exist not only before a common language can be framed but continue to influence its later development by constant intercommunication.”

Looked at from this standpoint, the Konkani has a peculiarity and worth of its own, and though it is not the recognised court language, it is undoubtedly a dialect which has fed

Konkani as a feeder of classical language.

the classical language and influenced its later development by constant intercommunication. It is a mistake to suppose that such a dialect is a corrupt form of the polished or recognised classical language and it would be more correct to say that the latter is rather the outcome of the former in its more polished and approved form. The process of development is not the work of lexicographers, nor can it be said that the classical language attains the recognised standard in a short period. It is the work of centuries, some times accentuated by political influence. In the case of Konkani, the political influence was not conducive to its growth, because the territory in which this dialect was in vogue came under different rules.

The Mahomedan kings and the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar were followed by the Portuguese and the British.

23. The zeal of the Portuguese missionaries not only caused the Hindu temples to be burnt, but at the same time destroyed the old literature which the temples contained. They even tried to exterminate the language, and in 1684 a royal Portuguese proclamation was issued forbidding the use of Konkani among the natives.

Naturally the Konkani dialect could not assert its right to be a written or court language. Marathi, Gujarati and other current languages do absorb a number of foreign words, but not to such an extent as found in the Konkani. In Goa the language is largely mixed up with Portuguese words. Monsenhor Dalgado estimates the amount of such loan words at about one-tenth of the whole vocabulary. In Kanara, the influence of Dravidian words is great. The Konkani, which is of Indo-Aryan descent, puts on a Dravidian accent as we go further South.

24. Thus a Kanarese verb has been sometimes used as if it was a word legitimately belonging to the original Konkani. For instance, it is common to hear a Mangalorian saying

नंनु नाका or हांव ताका नंनुना, meaning "don't believe" or "I don't believe him." Here नंनु, meaning "believe," is a pure Kanarese word, used with Konkani prefixes. Again, one would say कूड्ले बी, meaning "come at once." Here कूड्ले is a pure Kanarese adverb meaning 'at once.' In this way we find that several nouns have also become incorporated in the Konkani vocabulary. This shows how a process of mixing goes on in a language, as much as in a race.

The Konkani language was at one time known as Lingua Canarim or Canarina. Whatever may be the considerations that led the early Portuguese to call it Lingua Canarim, the following comparative table from Mr. Saldanha's notes on Goan language will show at a glance that Kanarese or any of the Dravidian languages had no hand whatsoever in the building up of the Konkani dialect. The latter in fact shows a special affinity not only for Marathi and Sanskrit but also for Latin. There is another difference as well, which will be fully gone into, in my third paper of the series, and which shows that the Kanarese along with other Dravidian tongues does not come up to the high standard of development of the dialects of Sanskritic origin.

Konkani.	Marathi.	Sanskrit.	Latin.	English.	Kanarese.
Don	Don	Dvi	Duo	Two	Aradu
Main	Mai	Matra	Mater	Mother	Tâi
Pai	Pai	Pad	Pes	Foot	Kâlu
Naum	Naum	Nam	Nomen	Name	Hésaru
Gai	Gai	Gai	Vacca	Cow	Âkalu
Vair	Var	Var	Super	Over	Méle

25. The early Portuguese gave the name of Canarin to the Konkani language and some interesting light is shed, as to why this dialect was termed *Lingua Canarina*.

The use of the word *Lingua Canarina*.

There is a book published in 1824 by the then Goa High Court Judge Goncalo Teixeira Pinto in connection with the same question. This book is named "Memorias sobre as possessoes Portuguesas na Asia" (i.e., a treatise on the Portuguese possessions in Asia).

"In Goa" writes he "the Portuguese arriving from Europe are called Fringis (Franks). Their sons who are born in India, but of pure Portuguese blood are called Castisos. The sons born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers are called Mesticos. The Christians born of Indian parents are called Canarins and the Gentiles are called Concanos."

The terms Castisos, Mesticos, etc.

If this be the case and the Indian Christians were called at one time by the Portuguese as Canarins, it is no wonder that the language spoken of by these Canarins should be dubbed as *Lingua Canarina*.

26. This explanation seems more or less plausible. The bold and adventurous Portuguese was not lacking in intelligence. He was followed up immediately after the conquering of Goa territory by the learned missionaries. That means that there was hardly any likelihood on the part of the Portuguese, laymen or missionary, to confuse the dialect of Goa with that spoken in the adjacent Canarese districts.

27. My second paper is intended to show that Konkani has got all sorts of relationship with Prakrits and other dialects, now in current use, all over India, that claim the Sanskrit language as their common ancestor. At the time, when the Portuguese invaded Goa, Konkani was written in Marathi or Deonagari characters. The use of Roman characters came in, a good many years afterwards.

Nothing in common with Canarese language.

28. Some interesting correspondence by one Mr. Stuart's Gomes, in connection with this very question, has appeared in a Portuguese paper published in Goa, *The Herald*, in its issue number 4451. From the time of the Portuguese domination of Goa, the writer says, the Goan Christians are dubbed as "Canarins." And this term is, at present considered offensive. The fact is, the writer continues, that the Goans have nothing in common with the Kanarese or Kanarese speaking people. This term is only known in the districts, where there is a nucleus of the descendants of the Portuguese, i.e., the island of Goa. It is not in use in Bardez or Salcote.

29. There is another explanation. The Kadambas and other Kanarese kings who ruled over Goa before the advent of the Portuguese must have made the latter to think that Goa and the adjacent districts of North and South Kanara were all speaking the Kanarese language.

30. The territory of Goa is divided by a good many broad and deep rivers. Intercommunication, especially towards the south, i.e., the North Canara district was not so easy as it was with the country situated towards the North. Besides North Canara, or Karwar as it is known, is a Marathi speaking district in the upper part, i.e., the part adjoining Goa territory. This shows that the Konkani speaking people of Goa had hardly any opportunity to come across Canarese speaking people. When people began to emigrate after the Inquisition to the Canarese districts in the South, then and then only the Konkani dialect began to come in contact with the Canarese.

31. The term *lingua canarina* for the Konkani language was in use before the Konkani, as has been shown above, ever came into contact with the Canarese.

There is another thing. Supposing that Konkani is derived from Canarese, one would meet many a Canarese word interwoven with the Konkani dialect, close relationship is bound to show itself in various ways. The expressions, the idioms, the grammar, all these things are sure to be tinged with Canarese extracts. But such is not the case.

The Konkani dialect does not boast of many Canarese words.

And the last but not the least, the development of Konkani language has gone on to the highest or the inflexional stage while that of the Dravidian languages such as Telugu, Canarese, etc., has stopped at the lower or agglutinative stage.

32. All these points show plainly that Canarese had no influence whatsoever in the development or in the growth of the Konkani language. The only plausible explanation, so far one can find out, is the one given by Signor Pinto in his treatise on the Portuguese possessions in India, as above mentioned.

33. Konkani is not a written language, and thus it has no characters of its own. But the dialect has been made much use of in writings by missionaries and humorous writers, nay even by the Press. According to the convenience of the writers and the locality, Devanagari, Kanarese and Roman characters have been employed. The missionaries have several religious tracts written and published in Konkani with Devanagari or Kanarese characters. Some of the Goans carry on their private correspondence in Konkani using the Roman characters, print and publish papers and books in the same alphabet with a definite spelling. Perhaps this is an effective way of carrying home the ideas and thoughts. One Mr. Wamanrao Walawalkar of Goa, an enthusiastic writer, has written in lucid Konkani several

booklets in Devanagari character and has proved by his writings that Konkani can stand on equal footing with any of the recognised vernaculars in point of force of expression and impression as well.

34. The Goan Christians whose mother tongue is Konkani, write that dialect in Roman characters, Konkani dekon- but the construction of sentences awk- kanised. wardly follows the Portuguese style of sentences. For instance, the following passages from the Goa Mail and O Aviso will explain my point.

"Vortouta tumcho chodd gorgecho anim bari caido diunchao bori dek tumcheam burgueano astanam tim lanam. Avoi Bapui sabar pautim khens cortat aplim burguim aiconant vo bezearmai cortat mun aplea sangneano."—(The Goa Mail, Bombay. 8th July 1923).

The same passage if written in pure Konkani would be—

तुमगेलीं चोरडां ल्हान आसताना तांकां बरें शिक्षण दिवचें हो तुमगेल्या मारी गरजेचो आनि महत्वाचो नियम आसा (आसच्याक जाय). आपलीं चोरडां आयकनास आनि आपल्या सांगण्याचो अपमान करतात म्हण आवय बापूय पुष्कळ पावटी (तगेल्या) आंगार वतात (खेस करतात).

'Paticon amcheam dhezbavancher amim fuddem sorloaum hem potr tumche mucar ghaluno.

Kiteao—goddiek voddilano anim authoridad asoleanc so- gleam ostumoho ugdas zainam anim assonam to amim quelea bogor. —(O Aviso, dated 14th July 1923).

The same passage if written in pure Konkani would be—

आमगेल्या देवांतल्या मावडांचेर पार्योन्न हें पत्र तुमच्या प्रकार चाल्ल्याक आमी पुढें सरश्यांव (आयल्यांव), पुष्कळ पावटी, बडिल्लेंक आनि अधिकार आशिल्ल्यांक आमी केल्वाशिनाय सगळ्या गोष्टींची याद जायना किंवा उरना.

'Amim zobor khosi zaleum tuzem "O Aviso." potratim gheun magtaum Devan sucegado chollouncheac anim amcam diuncheac bori khobor.'—(O Aviso, dated 14th July 1923).

In pure Konkani the passage will read :—

तुजें O' Avizo पत्र मेळून आमकां मारी खानंद जाली. आनि देवा-
कडेन मागतां की तें बऱ्याप्रमाणें चलूं आनि आमकां बरी खबर दिवूं.

It will be seen from the above instances that the oriental way of subject, predicate and object and qualifying sentences is given up and the Portuguese grammatical method is adopted. To a lover of Konkani this method acts as a repellent. This sort of style, with good many Portuguese words preponderating, deprives the dialect of its natural sweetness and makes one feel that, like the user of the dialect, the dialect is also converted.

35. It would perhaps be interesting to know under what influence the Konkani came from ancient times. Because such influence must have to some extent moulded the manners, the religion and language of the people residing in this territory. Asoka, the great Buddhist patron, brought under his sway the whole of the Konkani. Western India was placed by him under the Prince Governor of Ujjain and there were local chiefs at important centres. Buddhism and Jainism made great progress during the Hindu period from 325 B.C. to 1300 A.D.

36. Many of the Konkani speaking people betray even to-day their Buddhistic or Jain influence in their worship of deities. In naked Vetal, Ravalnath and other male and female deities and the stone paved temples and idols, one finds the Buddhistic style in Konkani, and all these exhibit the influence of Buddhism though it cannot be said that the latter religion ever succeeded in discouraging the caste system or fish or flesh eating.

There are deities called Nirankār or Nirākār in Kanara, meaning formless. They were originally Jain deities but assumed the form of the Hindu God Siva, when the Jain influence was wiped off.

Some of the religious observances even at the present day prove their ancient Jain source. The Kshatrapa King Nahapana, a Saka King, established his sway over a great part of the western coast and Konkan for about two centuries—say upto about 300 A.D. It was during this period that the Brahmins and the Buddhists shared the Royal bounty and a number of Hindu temples and monasteries came to be built on all the main roads to the coast.

37. Next to the Kshatrap Kings, the Guptas and then the Northern tribes called Abbiras seem to have exercised their sway over the Western Coast territory upto the close of the 5th century. Then we read of the Mauryas and the Kadambas, who controlled for a time, the destinies of the people. The Gujars and the Rastra Kutas held power between the 8th and the 10th centuries. The Chalukyas of Kalyan were rulers of the Deccan from 973 to 1156 and their encouragement to the Musalman settlers on the coast, must have gone a great way, in creating a taste for trade amongst the sea-faring and other castes inhabiting the Konkan. The Yadav Kings had a short rule and in the early part of the 14th century, the Deccan became a Mahomedan province. The Moslems invaded the Konkan in 1429 and it was not until 1470 that they scored a real success and occupied Goa. But their success was short. The Portuguese took Goa in 1510 and they extended their sovereignty practically from the South of Vengorla to Sadasivgad in Karwar. The terrors of the Inquisition however alienated not only the Hindus but others as well. It was not exactly mild persuasion that introduced Christianity in a great part of Goa. All the same, one does come across a few instances of the descendants of these Chris-

tion converts, secretly paying homage to some of the Hindu Deities. Equally do we find that the Hindus who were first compelled to observe Christian holidays, pay voluntary homage to the Christian saints and observe some of the Christian holidays with almost religious fervour.

38. It will be seen thus that the change in the rule which has gone on, for centuries in Konkani, has left an influence at every period of history on the life and habits of the people and it is no wonder that this influence has permeated their dialect or language.

39. To trace the origin of the Konkani is not an easy task.

Origin of Kon- Opinion is divided as to whether it is the
kani. predecessor or successor of the Marathi
the recognised *lingua franca* of the Maharashtra, which was
nothing but a conglomeration of several small colonies. It
is possible that the Marathi language was the outcome of
several Aryan Prakrits that were in vogue in all these different
tracts of land.

40. Konkani had no recognised status. Even that eminent Padre, Father Thomas Stephens,

Konkani known
as Brahmia lan-
guage. author of the first Konkani Grammar,
distinguishes it from Marathi by calling

it "Brahmanaohi Bhasha." "A perfect
master as he was of both Marathi and Konkani, as well as
Sanskrit and Prakrit," as President Saldanha observes in his
lecture on the origin of the Konkani language, "he must have
known the origin of Konkani and deliberately called it
the Brahmins' language. Father Stephens, I need not say,
was the author of that epitome of elegant Marathi, known as
Christian Purana.

41. The Konkani dialect however continued to live and
grow thriving on new words and new thoughts imported by
the various rulers. It must be said however that the Konkani
speaking people stuck fast to their own mode of expression

chiefly because, even before the advent of these foreign influences, they had a perfect dialect of their own, quite fit for the purpose of communication of thought.

42. I cannot but refer to the pertinent observations of the Growth of language revered Dr. Bhandarkar :—
age.

“Phonetic decay or corruption,” he says, “is a process that is constantly going on in a living language. At some stages of its history, it is very rapid and at others slow. It sometimes wholly transforms words. Its causes are deeply ingrained in human nature itself. Language is not the end and aim of human life. It is simply an instrument of communicating thought. And the matter of thought is always more important than the expression. The last phenomenon in the growth of a language is the gradual disappearance of words. As men advance in knowledge and civilization, new ideas and modes of thinking arise and the old ones fall into disuse. And since words are the representatives of ideas, new words always come in and old go out.”

43. Konkani like other languages has not escaped this influence. It is very difficult therefore to give a correct historical survey of the stages by which the process of formation and change goes on, with respect to any language. And it is much more difficult with respect to a dialect like Konkani.

44. The following extracts from Grierson's linguistic survey support my views, that both the Konkani and Marathi have branched off from the common parent Prakrit. Mr. Grierson says :—

Both Marathi and Konkani are derived from the same Prakrit.

Konkani is a Marathi dialect having branched off from the common parent Prakrit at a relatively early period. This fact accounts for the many apparent divergencies between the two forms of speech. Kon-

"kani has in many respects preserved an older stage of phonetical development and shows a greater variety of verbal forms than standard Marathi. Several forms are peculiar to the dialect and others have come to be used in a different way from what is the case in standard Marathi."

The same author adds further :—

"The line between dialects and languages is of course difficult to draw but in the case of Marathi and Konkani, there cannot be any doubt. They are both derived from the same Prakrit and are both dialects of the same form of speech."

Referring to Konkani Dr. Wilson writes :—The speech of this (Konkan) district differs from Marathi as much as Gujarathi differs from Marathi. It is manifestly in the main formed on the basis of Sanskrit.

45. In fact, Gerson da Cunha, Dr. Wilson and Father Maffei, all agree that both Marathi and Konkani have grown side by side from the same stem. It will be my aim to prove in the succeeding papers that Konkani is in many respects older than Marathi and has followed an independent course during its formation.

PART II.

(THE DEVELOPMENT AND GRAMMAR.)

The Aryans as they marched Southwards from their homes in the cold North, developed certain peculiarities, in their methods of colonization, which are hardly to be met with, in any nation of the present day.

The English are known to be the best and successful colonizers. They wrench the best that mother Earth has to give to them

from the virgin forests and wild un-peopled countries. But they carry their home-made laws and their standard of Civilization on their backs, along with their pick-axe. The result is that they are not one, nor can they ever be one, with the people they associate themselves with. Their broad minded spirit, their high sense of duty, all these go for nothing.

It is one of those Psychological points that requires elucidation at the hands of the future historian.

But the Aryan Civilisation, however rude and uncultured may be at the time when the Aryans started from their homes and when their worship was limited to the forces of nature and the elements, this Civilisation carried them on and on, some four thousand years ago. It made them cross the continents, subjugate the races and establish themselves.

Perhaps their contact with various nations, their boldness in carrying out all these enterprises amidst the innumerable difficulties of the times, must have broadened out their mental horizon and made them capable of writing the books on Hindu Philosophy—known as the Upanishadas. These books contain the last word—to say the least—on our philosophical speculations.

In spite of all this high mental calibre, the Aryans carried on their colonisation by mixing themselves thoroughly with the local aborigines, whenever circumstances permitted. In spite of the fact, that the latter were decidedly on a lower plane in intelligence, in standard of living, in religious rituals, etc., the Aryans were always ready to intermarry and mix themselves freely with the local population. No wonder then, that in course of time, the Aryans coalesced practically with the original tribes and became one with them.

The Sanskrit, the Language of the Aryans, had to follow the same processes of mixing, intermarrying and finally coalescing with the local original dialects.

The result of this free and full intercourse was that the various Prakrits came into being—Sourseni, Magadhi, Ardha-Magadh, Maharastri and so on. These, in their turn, got fructified in course of time and gave birth to the various languages—broadly speaking—that are to be found in India except those spoken in the Madras Presidency such as Canarese, Tamil, Telagu, Malayalam, etc., which belong to the Dravidian group.

Regarding the Konkani Dialect, it is generally believed that it must have been introduced by the Aryan colonisers of the proper Konkani territory, especially by those called Gowd Saraswats, who colonised the portion known as Goman-tak in Puranic writings, now known as Goa. There are others who think that the dialect must have been in vogue long before the said Saraswats inhabited the portion of the Konkani territory, though it may be that they introduced a number of words which were not in common use in Marathi and which were directly descended from the Bâl Bhasha forms of Sanskrit.

It is accepted on all hands that intelligent and pushing colonisers of a new territory infuse new life, in all matters social and political, and it is therefore possible that the Gowd Saraswats may have given their own vocabulary, while accepting the new language of the country they occupied as a new home.

2. The late Dr. Bhau Daji puts the date of the colonisation some eight centuries back and looking to the Puranic story of this particular community, as given in the Sahyadri-Khand of the Skand Purana, the date of the colonisation cannot be considered so late as that, and it may be placed at the 8th century after Christ when such Puranas are considered to have been written. About this time, the Sanskrit language had ceased to be the speaking medium of the people and already the Prakrits had fully established themselves, in different garbs all over India.

The Prakrat adopted by Konkani was undoubtedly the Marathi which came out of Maharashtra referred to, in the previous paper, but even then, Konkani as such preserved certain characteristics of its own while drawing mainly, life and vigour from Marathi, which held its sway over the adjacent territory. Though it is difficult to prove by historical data, in the absence of Konkani writings, that Konkani must have preceded Marathi, the vocabulary and grammatical forms do induce one to think that Konkani had an independent origin and growth, until it was subordinated by Marathi, which in due course became a court language and was cultivated by poets and philosophers, who flourished in the 17th century and thereafter. Even to-day, we find that while Marathi has well established itself in the Thana and Colaba and a portion of the Ratnagiri Districts in Konkani territory, the Southern portion of Ratnagiri as far as the boundary line of Goa, has a language which is Konkani-Marathi or Kudnli-Marathi, as officially called, and when this boundary line is crossed, we come to the District which uses the Konkani dialect for all purposes except for writing in which case, it has taken up Marathi, this being the nearest language, it could adopt.

3. The peculiar ending of a short अ (O) at the end of Konkani words common to the Gowdi section of Prakrats such as Bengali and Gujarathi, leads one to think that the introducers of this dialect must have deserted their Northern-most part of the Puranic Sapta-Konkan and colonised the Southern-most portion but all the while retained the influence of their original home and language. This influence was to a certain extent visible in the old Marathi writings, but in course of time, a reform set in, which eliminated the influence and the peculiar short O (अ) and its near vowel ऌ were dropped altogether.

4. The reason why I am led to believe that Konkani must have had an independent origin and growth is that while Konkani has been influenced by the phonetic and other changes in
 Independent origin,

THE KONKAN AND THE KONKANI LANGUAGE

several instances, Marathi has progressed on different lines-as will be seen from the following instances :—

Sanskrit.	Prakrit.	Konkani.	Marathi.
अन्तर inside		नितर	आंत
सेवक attendant		सेवा	दासी
शीर्ष head	शीर्ष	शीस	डोकें
आह्वय call		आपव	बोलविणे
कृण debt	रिण	रीण	कृण
देवर husband's brother.	देवर	देर	डीर
औषध medicine		(ओ) वीकव (वोखव)	औषध
ललाट forehead	विडाल	निवळ	कपाळ
माञ्जर cat	मञ्जर	माञ्जर	माञ्जर
नदी river	नदी	नदा	नदी
तस्मिन् there	तस्मीं	थंय	तातेथें
अस्मिन् here	अस्मीं	(हांगा)	यायेथें
दिवस day		रीस	दिवस
दधि cords	दधी	धंय	दधी
कृषिः skin	कृषि	काव	कातडे
दृष्टिः sight	दृष्टी	दृष्ट	दृष्टि
कूर्पर elbow	कौपरौ	कोपर	कोपर
मूढ foolish	मोघ	मोग	मपता
भगिनी sister	भर्गनी	भर्ग	भरीण
महिषी she-buffalo	महीसी	महस	महेंस

Sanakrit.	Prakrit.	Konkani.	Marathi.
नधु honey	नधु	नधोव	नध
धवल white	धवल	धवें	पांढरा
हरिद्रा yellow	हरिद्रा	दळदुवें	पिचळें
कवाळ् door	कवाळ	कचर्	घार from द्वार
क्षण moment	क्षण	खिण्	क्षण
समान equal .. ..	..	समा	सारखें
उपर fever .. ..	..	जीर्	ताप
उज्जाल light	उज्जाल	उजवाळ	उजेड
वृक्ष creeper	वृक्ष	वालू	वेल
कुमारिका virgin	कुमारी	आंकवार	कुमारी
वृषी hedge	वृष	वृश्	कुपण
वात wind	वात or वाय	वाव्	वात
शाकः vegetables .. ..	..	शाक्	भाजी
वापी a well	वापी	वाव्	विरीर
गुड jaggery	गुड	गोव्	गुळ
भाषमन wash .. ..	..	आंवाय	आंवावियें
चामर a sort of fan .. ..	..	चंवर्	चोरी
कुलागार mother's house. .. ..	..	कळार	माहेर
निद्रा sleep .. ..	..	नीव्	निज
प्रत्तर stone	प्रत्तर	फातर	दगड
उष्ण hot	उष्ण	डूव्	उन्ह-गरम
स्नान to bathe	स्नान	न्वा	आंघोळ करणे; स्नाने
शुभ fight	शुभ	शुज	लडाई
उर take away .. ..	..	उवर्	नेवें
आहर to bring .. ..	..	हार	आणवें

It will be seen from these instances that Konkani has not followed the same rules of change from the original Sanskrit as Marathi and the transformations are more allied to Sanskrit than the Marathi words. In some cases नेणे, माहेर, etc., the Sanskrit word which gave these forms, namely, नी to carry and मादगृह are different from those followed by Konkani for conveying the same sense.

To make it more plain, compare हर from which we have Konkani हर and in Marathi नेणे from नी, नव to take away. Also from मादगृह Marathi gets the word माहेर. But the Konkani word कुळार is derived from the Sanskrit कुलाचार, literally meaning the home of the clan or कुल from which the bride comes.

5. The ओ of Konkani endings which is also to be seen in Gujarati and Bengali and the अनुस्वार, etc., at the end of nouns, are undoubtedly the relics of the अव्यय form of Sanskrit as the following words show. And this proves that Konkani has followed its own line of formation independently of Marathi.

Sanskrit.	Prakrit.	Konkani.	Marathi.
कण्टकः thorn	कण्टको	कांटो	कांटा
दीपकः lamp	दीपको	दिपो	दिवा
मस्तकम् head	मस्तकम्	मास्त	माथा
कट् wristlet	कट्	काड	काडे
कीटकः worm	कीटको	किटो	किडा
मन्चक bedstead .. ..	..	मांचो	मांचा
नव new	नवओ	नवो	नवा
घोटकः horse	घोटको	घोटो	घोडा
आमलक a sour fruit ..	आम्लाकओ	आंवाडो	आंवाडा

Compare the following Konkani and Gujarati forms, which show an interesting familiarity:—

Sanskrit.	Gujarati.	Konkani.
चेदः attendant	शेली	शल्लो
पुटः small bundle	पुडो-पुडो	पुडो
कायः decoction	काडी-उकाळो	कावो
नीलः blue	नीलो	निळो

Change is another inviolable Law of Nature. You may call it by the name of progress, but whether it be good, or otherwise all that depends on the times, the surrounding conditions and other considerations. It also depends on civilising factors. The higher the grade in civilization—the higher the development in a language. Progress is also much more possible in times of peace than in times of war or epidemics.

The literature of a language, also helps in elucidating certain points in history. When England settled down after the wiping off, of the Spanish Armada, and when she could breathe in peace after all that political turmoil, which shook England to its very foundations, an impetus was given to the English literature, out of all proportion to what happened before. In fact the Elizabethan period has become one of the prominent landmarks in English Literature.

6. The primitive Sanskrit Language in course of time underwent many changes and a number of dialects came into being, which are all classed under the denomination-Prákrat. There exist some six treatises on Prákrat Grammar and it is very interesting to follow the process by which the original Sanskrit words have undergone a change according to set rules, though it is very difficult to trace the causes that led to such drastic changes. Taking Konkani itself while we can at once know that words

like रज्जु (rope), शुनक (dog), कपोल (Cheek), वृक्ष (tree) वृद्ध (old) and शीतल (summer) have been transformed into राज्जु, सुन, पाला, कक, च्छद् and गीम respectively, we will have to assign in each case different causes for the change. Some words have, however, retained their original form, while others have been imported from alien languages. It is believed that the present dialects such as Gujerati, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Konkani have come out of the Prākṛats known as Maharashtri, Sauraseni, Magadhi and Paisachi. This Maharashtri, however, is not the Marathi of to-day, though there is reason to think that the latter has drawn its life and inspiration from the old Maharashtri and its original source, namely, the Sanskrit.

7. A classification of the vocabulary of Konkani would show that it can be divided into five groups called Classification. सत्सम; सङ्भव, देव, अन्वदेव and मान्द. सत्सम are the words which have retained their original Sanskrit form, while सङ्भव are those, which have undergone a change. देव are the words locally in use, while अन्वदेव are those which have been adopted from a foreign language. मान्द words are those which have a vulgar use.

8. There are a number of सत्सम words in use in Konkani and these are understood without difficulty by the high and low classes as well. For instance (God) देव, (Religion) धर्म, (Action) कर्म, (Happiness) सुख, (Misery) दुःख, (Serpent) सर्प, etc.

9. There are सङ्भव words which are in common use and in form they have greater resemblance to the original Sanskrit than even Marathi, for instance.

Sanskrit.	Konkani.	Marathi.
दुहित daughter	धूव	दुलगी
पुत्र son	पुत	दुलगा
अम्बा mother	वा, आमा, आवय	आई

Sanskrit.	Konkani.	Marathi.
I अक्षर - I ..	हांव	मी
उपकम् water	उपाक	पाणी
शीघ्र summer	शीम	उन्हाळा
बहु much	भीव	पुष्कळ
वापी a well	वांय	विहीर
पिशाचः a fool	पिसो	वेडा
दीपः a lamp	दिवली	समई
भायतन ¹ pot	भायतन	भांडे
उचर fever	जोड	ताप
गुर्विणी pregnant	गुर्बाण	गरवार
भृंगार gold	भांगर	सोने
कवाड door	कवड	दार
ह्य grass	तण	गवत
कुक्कुट cock	कुक्कुड	कोंबडा
तू ² to mow the grass ..	तू	कापणे
दूर्वा spoon	दुव	पळी
प्राशन ³	प्राश्मण	नवरा
उन्दुरु rat	उन्दुरु	उंदीर
कीर parrot	कीर	पीपट
अंगनं (अंघा) thigh ..	आंग	मांडी
कांकण bangle	कांकण	वांगडी
मंडूक frog	मांडकी	वेडूक

¹ This word is found in old Sanskrit literature—भायतनवान् भवति

² Another old Vedic word.

³ This word is used by Brahmins as well as by Non-Brahmins.

I would like to draw your attention to the Konkani word ब्रह्मण्य which means a husband, which is no doubt, derived from the Sanskrit word Brahmin.

Instances of words can be multiplied which would prove that Konkani has preserved several words as originally derived from and nearer to Sanskrit than Marathi itself, which is generally held to be the purer form of the Prákrat, having a greater claim to respect.

10. Coming to the Deshya words, I give a few instances. They are so styled because of their indigenous growth and nature of origin.

Deshya.	Konkani.
भक्ता sister	भाका-भाक elder-sister
कोट town	कोट a fort
कोलित a fire brand ..	कोलती
गोहो a man	घोव a husband
पोहें belly	पोट
बाकळी doll	बावलें
बाप्यो father	बाप्या
बोळ्ण speak	उळ्ण

11. It would be interesting to mark also that the अपभ्रंश or vulgarised form of Sanskrit has found its way in Konkani and the instances quoted below show how this अपभ्रंश

Classification—
continued.

dialect has given new words, which are in vogue only in Konkani :—

Sanskrit.	Apa-bhranaha.	Konkani.
अत्र here	एचरे	हेत्तां; हांगा
तत्र there	तेचहे	तेत्तां; थंय
द्वार door	वार	बारी; वार
भ्रमर knat	भंवक	भोंबरो
पक्षुनि bird	सडभि	सवणें (सुकणें)
अहम् I	हउं	हांव
वृत्ति hedge	वइ	वय
नदी river	नई	न्हव

12. Now I mention अन्य शब्द, *i.e.*, foreign words.

The following words from the Persian Language will prove interesting.

Gunhegâr, Subhedâr, Nâlband, Umedvâr, Hindustân, Durbin, Sarkâr, &c.

The Arabic language also furnishes us with the following words.

Hukum, Lâyak, &c.

12. Now I come to the अन्य शब्द, *i.e.*, foreign words adopted into the Konkani from Kanarese.

Kanarese	Konkani.
बरी to write	बरय
पुडु money	पुड
वेग early	वेगगी
बाल tail	बाल

13. Coming to the grammatical forms also, we find that Konkani has not followed the same process as has been followed by Marathi. While in some respects, it follows the other Prakrats as Hindi, Sindhi, Guzerati and Bengali, in others it has evolved its own method, for instance we say **मी काम करतां** (I do the work) in Marathi. It would be **हूँ काम करूं** in Guzerathi, it would be **आमि काम करिते छि** in Bengali. It would be **मैं काम करतां हूँ** in Hindi, and it would be **आंव क्रमु थो कर्यां** in Sindhi and our Konkani form would be **हांव काम करतां**. This comes close to the Sindhi, Guzerathi and the Hindi way of expression.

14. The nominative plural **आ** or **इ** of feminine nouns ending in **आ** or **ई** is preserved in Konkani, while the rule followed in Marathi is different. For instance.

Sanskrit.	Marathi plural.	Konkani plural.
जिष्ठा	जिभा	जिभो
शाटिका	साड्या	साड्यो
घोटिका	घोटया	घोट्यो

15. As in Marathi, the original ending **इ** in some of the Sanskrit words is dropped in the singulars while it appears in the plurals.

Sanskrit.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Marathi.	Konkani.	Marathi.	Konkani.
कहली ..	केळ	केळ	केळी	केळी
भगिनी ..	बहिण	भैण	बहिणी	भैणी
बाली ..	बेल	वाल	बेली	वाली

16. From the following it will be seen that the Konkani does not attend to genders and the form used is the same for all genders, whereas it differs in Marathi. In Sanskrit, the forms are the same for all genders of the present tense, singular and plural as in Konkani and vary with the person. In Marathi, three different forms have to be used, according to the gender while in Konkani and Sanskrit, the forms are the same.

	Marathi singular.	Konkani singular.	Guzerathi singular.
First person मी	करतो-र्यें-में	हांव करतां	हूं कहं छूं
Second person तू	करतोस-र्येस-मेंस	तूं करता	तूं करे छे
Third person ती ती तें	करतो, करर्ये करतें	ती, ती, तें करता	ते करे छे
		Guzerathi also follows the same process as in Konkani.*	

	Marathi plural.	Konkani plural.
We	आम्ही करतो	आमी करतांव
You ..	तुम्ही करतां	तुमी करतात
They ..	ते-व्या-तीं करतात	ते, र्यो, तीं करतात

* The same form being used for all genders.

17. Coming to cases we find that the inflexions in Grammatical Konkani do not follow the Marathi, as forms—continued. for instance.

	Marathi.	Konkani.	Hindi.
Nominative	घर	घर	घर
Accusative	घरास	घराक्	घरको
Instrumental	घरानें	घरान्	घरनें
Dative	घराला	घराक्	घरको
Ablative	घराहून	घरच्यान	घरसे
Genitive	घराचा	घरचो	घरका
Locative	घरीं	घरांत	घरमें

18. The Genitive termination of the pronouns, singular “जो” agrees with the Sindhi termination for example माजो-मुजो-ताजो meaning mine, thine and his, respectively. This जो is derived from ईव the Sanskrit termination, expressive of relation as महीव, स्वहीव and तहीव meaning mine, thine and his, respectively.

19. The nouns take the genitive terminations लो, ली, लें instead of चा, ची, चें in Marathi. The following forms show how Marathi forms differ from Konkani.

Konkani.	Marathi.	English.
रामालो चलो	रामाचा मुलगा	Rama's son.
रामाली चली	रामाची मुलगी	Rama's daughter.
रामालें पुस्तक	रामाचें पुस्तक	Rama's book.

This ल termination comes near नो-नी-नु of Guzerathi terminations. Compare रामानो सीकरो, रामानो सीकरी, रामानु पुस्तक And from the vulgar way of interchanging ल for न and न for ल in Konkani as in नकोडो for लखोडो (envelope) नाक for लाक (lac), नाय for लाय (apply), it is possible that the Guzerathi terminations have undergone the change.

20. Another peculiarity of Konkani is that there are two terminal affixes in the genitive चो and लो. चो is used in the case of inanimate things and लो for animate. Thus it would be correct to say

रामालो चलो Rama's son.

शाडाचो खांदी twig of a tree.

नो in fact gives the sense of 's in English. Such distinction is not observable in Marathi.

21. Take again the infinitive form in Konkani. It is quite different from Marathi and the termination is more allied to Hindi than Marathi as for instance

To do करणे, करण्याला in Marathi, करचें, करच्याक् in Konkani.

The क in करच्याक् would be करनेको in Hindi. But the present participle forms in Marathi and Konkani are almost similar as:—

Doing करून (Marathi), करन (Konkani).

Drinking पिकून (Marathi), पीवून (Konkani).

Sleeping निवून (Marathi), निवून (Konkani).

22. These terminations in Marathi and Konkani have no Grammatical bearing with Sanskrit which are totally forms—continued. different as:—

To do, करुं doing करुवा.

To drink, पीतुं drinking. पीखा.

The peculiar way, the negative verb is formed in Konkani, deserves mention. This is done by adding the various forms

of the negative verb to the base in the present and imperfect tenses. Such as :—

बस ना Does not sit.

बस नात् Do not sit.

बस नासलों I was not sitting.

While the same meaning is conveyed in Marathi by the following :—

बसत-नाहीं Does not sit.

बसत नाहीत Do not sit.

बसत नव्हती I was not sitting.

The past tense in the negative is often formed from the present by adding the termination जालो. Also it is formed by adding the present tense of the verb—substantive to the Infinitive in ऊक् or ओक् or ऊ or ओ.

As कर्ना जालो Did not do.

बसूंक नात Did not sit.

बसूंक नाव Did not go.

Mr. Grierson says in his linguistic survey, Volume VII, that aspirated letters in Konkani have a strong tendency to lose their aspiration, just like the languages in the North-West. He states that people say "boin" instead of the standard word "Bhain," also "Bav" for standard "Bhau" also "ame" and "anv" for the standard "amhi" and "Hanve" respectively.

But this is not a general characteristic of the Konkani speaking people. It is only in rare cases, generally in very low strata of society, quite foreign to higher literary influences and association that we find such tendency to omit the aspirants. It cannot therefore be accepted as a rule.

23. There is also another peculiarity to be marked with regard to irregular verbs, while the root verbs are different, the forms of the past tense are almost same in Marathi and Konkani.

To go—वच (Konkani) To go—जा (Marathi)

हांव वचो I go मी जावों

हांव गेलों I went मी गेलों

To come बी (Konkani) To come येणे (Marathi)

हांव येतां I come मी येवों. हांव आयलों I came मी आयलों

24. There are also a number of instances to show that there are marked similarities as well as dissimilarities between Konkani and Marathi and these conclusively prove that these languages have sometimes common and sometimes independent sources from which they have drawn their life and being. It would therefore be a mistake to assert that Konkani as such is a dialect of Marathi. It would be more correct to say that each language has come into existence independently. There is no doubt that at a later date, the more vigorous of the two, has made its influence felt, Konkani has receded into the background and Marathi has come to the front.

V Similarities and dissimilarities with Marathi.

25. Turning to old writers like Dniñeshwar we find that he drew largely upon vocabulary which is even now Konkani in form and difficult for Marathi readers and writers to follow. This is sufficient to prove that at Dniñeshwar's time at least, i.e., about 650 years back the Konkani vocabulary was considered to be fit for use in classical writings.

From Dniñeshwari.	Konkani.	Present Marathi.
इंगळ	इंगळो	मिखारी
केतुलें	कितुलें	किती
तिख	तीक	तिखट
केतुलें	कितुलें	तितकें

From Dniśnoahwari.	Konkani.	Present Marathi.
दुणे	दुणी	दुण्ट
निघुत	निघुत	चांगल्या रीतीने
पाहलें	कालें	पहाट 9
भंव (वे)	भोंव (वें)	फिरवें
वाड	होडू	मोडा
बोखद	भोकर	भोषध
बोवरी	होवरी	खोली 31/1/41
सखाल	सकल	खाली
सांडुक (वे)	सानकु (वें)	विस्तव पेटविणें
भंतराळ	भंतराळ	आकाश
आंगी	आंगी	अंगरखा 31/1/41
आसुड	आसुड	पाखडणें
उंडी	उंडी	मास
कळास (वें)	कळासवें	कासावीस होणें
कावी	काती	कोवसा
कांडुर (वें)	कांडुर (वें)	पांडुरणें
चाम	चाम (वें)	कातळें
सोण	सोणू	होडी
सण	सण	गवत
दीस	दीस	दिवस
भिग	भिग	कांच

From Dakṣiṇahvari.	Konkani.	Present Marathi.
ने	ने	भय
निबर	निबर	कडक
बरचिल	बरचिल	बाकी
विदळ	विदळ	धान्य रहित कणसें, चिद
साद	साद	शब्द
सवता	सवता	स्वतः
सवास	सवास	सहवास
सांत	सांत	बाजार-पेट
हरळ	हरळ	खडा
खोंप	खोंप	खोंपटी

Many of these words are directly derived from Sanskrit, while some are common to Guzerathi. The present Marathi writers find it difficult to know the meaning of some of these words while every person knowing Konkani can easily understand their import.

PART III.

Inter-territorial and foreign influence.

It would be interesting to know that Konkani has drawn some words from Guzerathi and other languages, which do not belong to Maharashtra. Take for instance the words:—

बाप, चली, चली, मोवळां, बोळय, कुमक, खेळवण, चेंडी, चेंडी, फातर, शाक. पीक, पूत, पासळी, उचापत, &c.

बाबू is an honorific term, used by the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa and conveys exactly the sense which the word " Baboo " carries in Bengali. Thus a gentleman of position will be addressed as Pandu-Báb, Shanku Báb, &c.

बलो and बली or बेल्लो and बेल्ली meaning son and daughter, are in common use amongst these Brahmins. The Hindu " Chela " meaning a disciple, is undoubtedly the word from which बेल्लो and बेल्ली or बलो and बली are directly derived.

मवाळां is a word used for hair by Guzerathi speaking people in Kathiawar. The Konkani has Guzerathi words. गोटा मवाळां meaning ladies' "soft hair."

भांगमोवळां is the ornament which is used just above the forehead and on the border-line of the hair. It is still in use.

बोळय in Konkani is बौळय, (हो) भोळय in Guzerathi, meaning to comb the hair. The Marathi equivalent is बिचरणे.

रुपक meaning help is equally in use in Konkani and Guzerathi.

It carries the same meaning in Marathi also.

केळवण in Guzerathi means education or learning. When a Brahmin boy is about to be initiated into Brahminism, at the Munj or Thread ceremony—which means the commencement of education as in old times, the boy is invited by relations and is sumptuously fed and presented with cash or valuables. This is called in Konkani केळवण and corresponds with the Guzerathi केळवण, showing that the custom is closely allied to an educational episode in the life of a boy.

In the case of a girl, the same sort of entertainment is given when she is about to be married and the same term is used.

बेटो is used by the Konkani speaking high-class people in the same sense as बेटः in Sanskrit, meaning an attendant, while the lower classes use it to mean a son. The Marathi

speaking Brahmins in Ratnagiri, such as Chitpavanas and Karhadas use चैडी to mean a son. Thus it will be seen that the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa, look upon their son as चैला or disciple, while those who use the term चैडी look upon him as an attendant. Possibly this term चैला is in use because the father is to initiate his son to the use of Gayatri Mantra at the time of Munj ceremony.

कातर meaning a stone is the outcome of प्रस्तरः in Sanskrit.

In the Hindi word कत्तर (कत्तर) and the Konkani word कातर there is a close similarity. चाक meaning cooked vegetables, is used equally in Guzerathi and Bengali, while the word भाजी is used in Marathi for the same thing and चाक भाजी means uncooked vegetables only. पीक is the red coloured sputum, which is thrown out after eating or chewing Betel-leaves. In Bengali and Konkani and even in Hindi, the same sense is carried by the word पीक. In Marathi, this word is not in use though पीकपाणी is the word used for the pot intended for spitting, in Marathi, Guzerathi and Hindi. पुत्र from पुत्र meaning son is in common use in Konkani. The word पसळी in Konkani and पंसळी in Guzerathi, meaning a rib, have a common source. पालळ means back, behind, in Guzerathi and rib is the backside portion of the body.

उचापत is used in Konkani to denote buying on credit as from a grocer or merchant. The Marathi equivalent is उधार. Now उचापत is purely a Guzerathi word but it sometimes means "mis-use the credit" or "misappropriate" also.

Primarily, the word denoting transactions on credit, has been used in Konkani to show that the credit is still existing to enable a person to buy on credit as a customer, while in Guzerathi, it means that the faith placed in the debtor is abused. The term in both languages relates to transactions of a commercial nature.

These instances have been given just to show that Konkani has had an influence of Guzerathi and other North India

dialects. It has not depended on Marathi alone in its growth and development.

2. In my preceding two papers I have endeavoured to show that Konkani has in it, some traits and characteristics which distinctly show that the dialect has grown independently of any other Prakrits like Marathi and Guzerathi and that it has traces of its own which clearly show that it is older in form than even Marathi which is often wrongly believed to be the mother source of this dialect.

3. At the most, it can be said that Konkani and Marathi are sister languages, originating from the same source, namely Sanskrit. I have shown how Konkani, like other Prakrits in common use, now in different parts of the country, has five different groups of words coming under क्त्वन्, क्त्वं, क्त्वं, अन्वत्त्वं and क्त्वं. It was also shown that the group of क्त्वं words which is large enough in Konkani is enough to prove that this dialect has drawn its life and being from the ancient Sanskrit and has even surpassed Marathi, in many instances.

4. I will now come to the अन्वत्त्वं or foreign influences on the dialect, as Portuguese, Canarese and English and inter-territorial influence like that of Guzerathi and Hindi, just to show that like others, this dialect also has not escaped the dominating influence of foreigners, with whom it came in contact.

5. Now take its connection with the Portuguese. I have shown in the extracts, taken from the current Goan Newspapers, which I read in my first paper that a Konkani sentence as at present written is not happy unless it contains a Portuguese word.

6. It is an admitted fact that political influence has much to do with the moulding of thought and also in adding to the store of words in the language used by the people. When this influence is direct, the impress left on the thoughts and language of the governed is all the greater. History tells us that the Portuguese rule over Goa began before the advent of the English in India and that the devotees of Trade and the Cross, namely Portuguese traders and missionaries carried on their respective campaigns all over India and in Ceylon, with the result that Portuguese was known to several people all along the coasts and even in the interior of India. The sixteenth century was a period, in which the Portuguese enterprise and power was in the zenith and all those parts of Asia where the trade was carried on, were influenced more or less by the language and religion of this nation.

7. It is believed that at least in 56 of the important languages of the world, one can trace the Portuguese origin to several words.

8. Naturally as Goa was the principal place from which Portuguese activities emanated, it is this territory which was the first to succumb to its influence and we find the dialect of this small island colony, supplying a number of words to the Marathi, Hindi and even Kanarese speaking people, who came to be associated with the Konkani people.

9. It is the tendency in a people to take up those words, which are wanting in their own language or which convey the sense more quickly. Moreover, foreigners introduce foreign articles in a country and naturally foreign names are accepted. For instance we have fruits,

Influence of Portuguese language on Konkani.

Introduction of Portuguese words in Konkani.

like the following, introduced by the Portuguese in India. -

Portuguese.	Konkani.	English.
Afonso	भापोस	A mango of that name.
Bilimbim	बिबलां (बिबलां)	A fruit (<i>Averrahoca, bilimbi.</i>)
Ananaz	अनास-अनस	Pine apple.*
Papaia	पोपस-पोपस	A kind of fruit.*
Pera	पेर	Guava.*

10. Then we have words relating to dress, &c., such as

Portuguese.	Konkani.	English equivalents.
Botao	बुतांव	Button.
Casa	काज	Button-hole.
Chapeo	चेपे	Hat.
Fita	फीत	Ribbon.
Estirar	इस्तिर	Ironing instruments for clothes.*
Popuses	पापासे	Shoes (Poona Shoes).

11. Artisans have also given us peculiar foreign words which are now a part of the Konkani language.

Portuguese.	Konkani.	English.
Balde	बालरी	Bucket.
Banco	बांक	Bench.
Bucha	बूच	Cork.
Contrato	कंन्नाट	Contract.
Gamella	घनेल	Shallow vessel used by a mason.
Prato	परात	Dish.
Ripa :	रीप्	Ribs for roofing.
Vara	वार्	Measuring rod.
Visagra	विशागर	Hinges.
Bomba	बोंब	Water-pump.*
Buraco	बुराक-बुराक	Hole.*
Chave	चावी	Key.*
Pipa	पीप्	Cask.*

12. The sea-faring people who joined in the trade activities after the advent of the Portuguese have given us the following words :—

Portuguese.	Konkani.	English.
Barcaca	बारकस्	A country-craft.
Batel	बतेली	Do.
Arrear	आर्वा	To lower (goods from a ship).
Alar	आला	To hoist or to raise (goods into a ship).

13. A few other words :—

Portuguese.	Konkani.	English.
Aia	आया	Ayah.
Pão	पाव-बंडो	Bread.
Palangana	पिंगणे	China-dish.
Pistol	पिस्तूल-फेस्तूल	Pistol.
Cartucho	कार्टुस-कार्टुस	Cartridge.
Sorte	सोर्टन-सोर्टे	Lottery.
Jogar	जुगार	Gambling.*
Leilão	लिलांव	Auction.*
Sabão	साबू-साबू	Soap.*
Boião	बुयांव	A jar.
Falto	फाल्तू	Extra.
Natal	नाताळ	X'mas.
Pagar	पाग	Pay (salary).*
Passear	पासेर	To walk.
Prove	पुरावी	Evidence.

The words marked * are to be found in Marathi, Gujerathi, Kanarese and Hindustani as well. The rest have been taken over by one or more of the four languages mentioned above.

14. It is but natural that in districts where Kanarese is prevalent, the Konkani adopted some new

Adoption of Kanarese intonation.

words and what is more important, it went in for the Kanarese tone in the speech.

The natural Konkani tonation is a bit long, i.e., the words and sentences are a bit elongated in voice.

In Kanarese, there are sharp outs and shorts. Accentuation is also found in it, for instance a man in Karwar would say कॅलि meaning "what," while in Kanarese districts, it is transformed into कल्ले. In Karwar, one would say वचला (does not go). In Mangalore, it would spell वचना, खै वतारे where do you go, is transformed into खै वतारे in Mangalore.

15. Some of the words are directly borrowed from Kanarese and are regularly Konkaniised by adding Kanarese words. Konkani terminations.

For instance, the Kanarese word कूरिसु which means "to add together" is used as a Konkani word, in south Canara, while the correct word is मैळय so also

नंहु to believe,
 हगेवरह the writing of Destiny on the forehead,
 बरेसु to write,
 अप्पट्या an honorific term,

all these are changed into नंहु, हगेवरप, बरय, and वे respectively.

16. Nor has Konkani escaped from the influence of English, Introduction of the language of the rulers of the present English words. day, as the following words show, such as:—

इस्कूल from School
 मास्तर from Master
 जज from Judge
 कौर्ट from Court
 आस्पती from Hospital
 दाक्टर from Doctor
 किलेट from Slate
 and so on.

17. The following words show the intrusion of Hindi word
Introduction of Hindi and Persian words into the Konkani dialect :—

Konkani.	Hindi.	English.
भांगारो	from अंगार	Fire.
खून	” खून	Blood.
चुडी	” चुडी	Bangles.
जोते	” जूता	Shoes.
जोर	” जोर	Force.
इरकार	” इरकार	Need.
दुबार	” दोबार	Twice.
दुस्मान्	” दुस्मन्	Enemy.
फातर	” फातर	Stone.

18. From Persian, we have the following words which are used without any change :—

इसबार	Confidence.
क्रिस्त	The instalment of land cess to Government.
गुलजार	Beautiful.
जबर	Mighty.

19. From what has been stated so far, it will be plain that Konkani has not much depended upon Marathi but that the Marathi of the 17th century and before that, had much in common with the present neglected Konkani. To have an idea, as to how far, Konkani words were used even by Marathi writers, one need only go to old writers like Dniāne-
Its independent development.

shwar. Father Thomas Stephen's Christian Puran, written in the 17th century contains a number of words, which are familiar to the Konkani speaking people. It is a pity that this Puran has been printed in Roman Character which is not at all congenial to the kind of subject treated therein. It is said that there is a copy of the Puran in Devanagari Characters found in Paris. Our Christian brothers must join hands to publish the book in a character that will facilitate its use amongst a greater number of people. Some of the verses in the said Puran are so sweet that it seems to be a work of inspiration.

20; That a Christian missionary of Europe, quite foreign to the land, should be able to enter into the religious spirit of the people of this country and write and sing in the best style of any of the great Hindu Puran writers of old, is itself a matter of wonder.

Lines like the following are bound to do credit to any writer,

ॐ नमो विश्वभरिता ।

देवा बापा सर्व समर्था ॥

परमेश्वरा सत्यवंता ।

स्वर्ग पृथ्वीच्या रचणारा ॥

तूं ऋद्धि सिद्धीचा दातारू ।

कृपानिधि करुणाकरू ॥

तूं सर्व सुखाचा सागरू ।

आदि अंत ना तोडे ॥

तू परमानंदु सर्व स्वयू ।

त्रियेपकू ज्ञानदीपू ॥

तू सर्व गुणी निर्लेपू ।

निर्मंतू निर्विकारु स्वामिया ॥

These verses literally translated mean—

“ Bow to thee! occupier of the Universe,

“ Father, Omnipotent,

“ Oh ! Great God, Truthful

“ The creator of Heaven and Earth !

“ Thou art the giver of all desires !

“ The Ocean of mercy and kindness.

“ Thou art the ocean of Happiness,

“ Without beginning or end

“ Thou art the highest bliss itself

“ The all pervader of the Universe

“ And Light of knowledge

“ Thou art all virtue and blemish-less

“ Thou are clean, ever calm Oh ! Lord !!

21. This Christian Puran furnishes ample work for intelligent labour. One can pick out a number of words, which are yet in common use in Konkani but which are not intelligible to the Marathi reader.

22. I have tried to show by genealogical classification that Konkani has an independent origin. We go on tracing the remote ancestors of a language, to enable us to fix its parentage. The evidence we adduce, is dependable on the root of the words. The roots being the corner stones of a language, are the least

susceptible to any outside influence. So also we depend on those words which are in common use in our daily life, such as God, mother, father, and so on.

These words are kept together by a force known as the conservative force. This conservative force is strong enough to preserve the purity, not only of the language but of its grammar as well. It allows occasionally any outside influences to break into the purity of a language only under the stress of circumstances. This outside influence is known by the name of alterative forces, which allow healthy variations in a language.

23. Both the conservative and alterative forces are necessary for the growth of a language.

Does Konkani show higher development.

The healthy nourishment from outside in the shape of new expressions, new ideas, new shades of meaning is as necessary to a language as are the cod liver oil preparations to a man. It also adds beauty, refinement and delicacy to the dialect.

The evidence which I have adduced in my second paper on the subject, shows fully well, I hope that Konkani meets the conditions laid above.

24. There is another condition, which goes by the name of morphological classification. This is a test that determines the different stages in development of a language. The Sanskrit and Latin satisfy the highest test—known as the inflexional. The less developed Arabic passes only through the lesser or the second standard known as the Agglutinative and the Chinese language furnishes us with the lowest standard in development, termed mono-syllabic, when judged by these morphological tests.

25. "The higher the development in the composition of roots" as Mr. Saldanha pertinently observes in his notes on Goan language "towards the completely inflexional stage, the greater

President Saldanha's observations.

si the scope afforded for a variety in the modes of expression. "Regarding from the high standard of Inflections," Mr Saldanha continues, "their wealth, i.e., the wealth of Marathi, Guzerathi as well as of Konkani, their complexity, their refinement, their niceties, are so remarkable that all these languages must be placed very high among the languages of the world, higher even than Latin and other European languages except Greek."

26. The Konkani language is rich in folklore, which compares well with the Bengali folk-tales. Some Konkani Proverbs It has its own proverbs and it would be interesting to mention a few examples of these.

(1) विडूर मलकाक वचून भाबला. A mouse has returned from a journey to the Molacca Islands. This means that in the hold of a ship, even the mouse can have an accidental trip to a distant place like the Molaccas. But that does not necessarily mean that the mouse can claim any experience of travelling or a wider-mental horizon.

This proverb shows that the Konkani speaking people had some trade connections with the Molacca Islands.

(2) पानवेची-निमित्तान् मसका शाराक उदक. Because there is the betel-leaf creeper at the foot of a shegli tree, this tree gets water, meaning insignificant persons by association with the more useful and popular, receive attention.

(3) काण येने बोटे उरले. The ornament called काण used in the lower part of the ear, is lost but the holes in the ear are left. This means that while prosperity is lost, the delapidated marks of past affluence, which are often an eyesore, are left.

(4) मुण्णक मन काण सोलाकक मन. The dog is respected because it belongs to the Saint or Gosavi, meaning that in-

significant beings are respected only because they are in the service of eminent people.

(5) भरिहवा नामनाक धंव करकरी. A Brahmin who is sumptuously fed and has no appetite, thinks that curds when offered to him is hard and unpalatable, meaning that those whose heart's desires are fulfilled, find fault with everything however good it may be.

(6) होकलेलीं चिन्हा सव्यार कळतात. The bride's culture can be judged by her conduct at the marriage ceremony.

(7) बोदी गोड ना जात्यार गोडसारकें उत्तर ना ? Well, sir ! If you have no molasses to sell, have you no sweet words to say no ? This means that in dealing with others, if we cannot meet their wishes, we should at least treat them sweetly and with respect.

27. Before summing up my conclusions, I cannot help bringing to your notice one important point. As has been already noticed Konkani has been flirting with anything and everything that came in contact with it. How to catch it pure and uncontaminated by any outside influence was a great desideratum. After all I have chosen the form of the dialect as spoken by the Goud Saraswat Brahmins, residing in the upper part of the North Kanara district. All throughout Goa, the Portuguese influence has preponderated. The lower parts of the North Kanara and beyond upto Mangalore, Konkani has been more or less subjected to the Kanarese penetration. In far off Cochin, it is profusely mixed with Malayalam, while in Bombay and several towns of the Southern Maratha territory, it is dominated by Marathi. At Indore, it comes under the Hindustani influence. All this has left me the upper portion of the Karwar district, especially the villages where the Konkani dialect has been preserved in its pure and standard form.

The difficulty of finding Konkani pure and uncontaminated.

28. The language which has a hold over a million and a half of the people inhabiting Konkan—the language which sways the literary destinies of Goud Saraswat Brahmins and the Christians from Mangalore and Goa, ought to have a worthy place in the Indian languages.

Its use by the intelligent Goud Saraswats and the shrewd Mangalorian Christians.

I need not point out, I hope, that both the Goud Saraswats and the Mangalorian Christians contain names, of which any country may be proud. Both these communities are decidedly high up in intelligence and shrewd reasoning.

29. It is true Konkani as such has not been preserved in writings of note but it is a fact that there are many songs, which are purely Konkani and which can be sung to the Indian Scientific tunes. The credit of preserving them belongs to the women. The folklore is also preserved intact and it is interesting to hear the oldest lady of the house, telling stories to her grand-children, for days together, stories which are full of mirth, interest, curiosity, fun and pleasure.

30. In all Konkani writings, whether by the Christians or Hindus, we come across a number of words which can be traced to the ancient Sanskrit and the Prakrits, derived therefrom, and in many cases they are distinctly superior to the Marathi derivations, insomuch as they are directly derived from Sanskrit sources.

31. It would be difficult to foretell whether Konkani will survive the shock or the succession of shocks it has received owing to the great changes that are taking place in the social, economic and political condition of the Konkani speaking people. The need of one national language throughout the length and the breadth of India is appealing to the sentiment of the people. Falling short of this ideal, there is a national effort to encourage the principal territorial languages. All

this is bound to tell on the minor dialects which are naturally neglected and locally discarded. Konkani in its pure form, Konkani in all its pristine beauty, in its quaint humour, this Konkani is hardly to be met with, except in a few villages in the upper portion of the North Canara district.

32. But the present tendency seems to bring up children in a more refined language that will enable them to fight the battle of life and to make both ends meet. The struggle for existence is getting more and more severe day by day, and this economic factor is causing the greatest rot in the continuation of the Konkani language.

Economic factor going against.

We find that even in Goa territory, young men carry on even their usual conversation in Portuguese. The Goans, who have settled in British territory, are striving hard to adopt English as their mother-tongue, just as they have anglicised themselves in dress and customs. The Konkani speaking Hindu families residing in Bombay and elsewhere in Maharashtra are slowly introducing Marathi in their family circle. Those from Sawantwadi and Malwan, speaking Marathi-Konkani find it decent and easy to give up their old ways of speaking.

This shows that there is an attempt—however unconscious it may be—to dethrone the dialect from within and without. That axe which goes by the name of Economic factor, is getting very busy with the roots and branches of the Konkani tree. We hardly expect whether the latter will survive for a century more, the various onslaughts to which it has been subjected.

33. In spite of the inroads made into the dialect by the various predominating territorial languages, the Konkani dialect has shown a wonderful vitality so far.

Its wonderful vitality so far.

It is on account of these conditions producing decay and neglect, that it is necessary from the anthropological point

of view to put on record the part played by this dialect and to note how it has managed to survive all these centuries, in spite of the terrible straits to which the Konkani speaking people were reduced owing to repeated political, social and economic changes.

34. It has been my aim and ambition to prove during these lectures that Konkani has had no connection whatsoever with Marathi except as a twin sister on the following amongst other grounds. This view is supported by several philologists of note such as Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Dr. Wilson and Father Maffie, etc.

Summing up to show the independent growth of Konkani.

- (1) Konkani has got its own Grammar and Phraseology.
- (2) Both the Marathi and Konkani languages have sought different sources in Sanskrit for the creation of words.
- (3) The old classic Marathi writings contain words, which are now in common use in Konkani and not in Marathi.
- (4) It would thus be wrong to hold that Marathi was formed prior to Konkani and it is more apparent that Konkani is more ancient in its form and grammar than Marathi.
- (5) A good many words from other languages say Guzerathi have found their way into the Konkani dialect and have become household words. So far our knowledge goes at present, there was absolutely no connection with the Guzerathi speaking people either territorially or politically on the part of the Konkani speaking people. As none of these words are to be found in Marathi, the only explanation seems to be that the Konkani dialect must have come in contact with Guzerathi and other dialects in its early development in ancient times, or subsequently owing to trade relations and repeated commercial inter-communication.

Reviews from the Papers, Etc.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA."

Friday, September 7, 1923.

Dr. Chavan's Lecture.

It is often said that nobody in Bombay takes any interest in anything but politics and money-making, and that learned societies here have little chance of attracting notice or support. That may be so, but on occasions Bombay is prepared to sit up and take notice of learned disquisitions. The audience at the meeting of the Anthropological Society on Wednesday night, to hear the second part of a paper on the Konkani language by Rao Saheb Dr. Chavan, was nearly fifty strong and listened with great appreciation to the paper and to the discussion which followed it. That fact surely shows that Bombay is not quite so heedless of things of the mind as it is supposed to be.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA."

October 5, 1923.

Dr. Chavan's Lecture.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

Sir,—With the third lecture that was delivered last Wednesday by Rao Sahib Dr. Chavan the present series of lectures on Konkani and Konkani language have come to an end.

Rao Bahadur Joshi, the well-known scholar and Anthropologist, who presided on the occasion, thanked the lecturer in very flattering terms. Dr. Chavan claims to belong to a backward

community, he said, but the way he has tackled his subject, shows that he has the culture of a Brahmin.

The Brahmins are supposed to acquire learning, i.e., Adhyayan, and Dr. Chavan has proved himself to be a learned scholar. But the higher duty of a Brahmin is to educate others, i.e., Adhyapan and the Doctor's giving these lectures is nothing but a sort of Adhyapan.

Another thing that is typical of these lectures, which completes the circle of Brahmanism is the time—three months taken by the lecturer to finish his lectures. In olden times, the Rishis used to take three months to complete Yajna or the sacrificial ceremony—which said period of three months was mostly reserved for elaborate discourses of the learned Vedantists.

Rao Bahadur Joshi's remarks were nothing but appropriate. Those who had the fortune to listen to these lectures, enjoyed a literary treat which is hardly to be met with in scientific associations these days. Those lectures revealed a depth of knowledge, considerable accuracy, high culture and hard work in the absence of any available literature.

People from Poona, Thana and other places had come down to attend this lecture. This itself shows the appreciative interest taken by the public in Dr. Chavan's papers.

Bombay, October 4.

S. V. K.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA."

Thursday, October 11, 1923.

The Future of Konkani.

The interesting series of lectures on the Konkani language which Rao Sahab V. P. Chavan has recently delivered before the Anthropological Society of Bombay appears to us to be of value in several distinct ways. The lectures in the first place serve as a timely reminder that learning is not the monopoly of the Brahmin.

and the extent of the audience at the lectures may, we imagine, be regarded as an appreciation of that circumstance as well as a sign of the considerable interest aroused by this inquiry into an obscure linguistic subject. Dr. Chavan aimed at showing that Konkani has had no connection whatever with Marathi, that it has had an independent growth. The general opinion of those competent to judge appears to support that view which was carefully elaborated in the lectures, but we doubt whether students of the history of language would be equally confident in predicting the future of the Konkani language. According to Dr. Chavan, pure Konkani is scarcely to be met with to-day except in a few villages in the upper portion of the North Kanara District, and it seems that the dialect is doomed by that form of economic pressure which leads a people in its struggle for existence to adopt the language which has the greatest utilitarian value. The only thing likely to arrest the decay of Konkani would be a revival of that peculiar kind of local patriotism which has emerged as a political phenomenon in more than one part of the world! Something of that kind may well be possible in the self-governing India of the future.

“THE PRAJAMITRA AND THE PARSEE.”

Friday, November 9, 1923.

Dr. Chavan on Konkani.

It is very long since Bombay had a piece of original literary research such as was presented at the last sitting of the Anthropological Society of Bombay by Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan. He delivered three remarkable learned lectures on the Konkani language, which is to a large extent still virgin soil. Dr. Chavan had to break his own ground inasmuch as there was next to no previous guide. The elementary grammar published several decades ago by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha was not available to him. He describes Konkani, traces its relation to Maharashtra, defines its

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geographical limits, for a moment turns aside to dilate on the castes and creeds of Konkani, establishes the proposition of Konkani as a feeder of the classical language, refers to the destructive activity of the Portuguese, comes down to the number of Portuguese words, and discusses its relation with Kanarese. Some people will be specially interested in Dr. Chavan's views on the characters in which Konkani is committed to writing, while others will be attracted by the extracts he makes from Goa journal. The Konkani is one of the dialects which is supposed to be situated on the border land between the Aryan and the Dravidian groups and Dr. Chavan traces a large number of its vocables to Persian. How completely the original of the name Konkani is forgotten ! Situated geographically as they are, Konkani-speaking people came in close touch with Gujratis and Mahrattas and the influence of the latter is patiently expounded. Some words which Dr. Chavan regards as Gujarati are ultimately derivable from Persian. An incidental glimpse is afforded of the widespread influence of Portuguese, which was the linguistic emporium and medium in the middle ages between the East and West. It absorbed a number of oriental terms, especially names of varieties of fruits, and in its turn enriched the vocabularies of our vernaculars. One cannot but admire Dr. Chavan's concentration which helps to reveal the unknown depths of the Konkani, which one would otherwise have regarded as a negligible patois. The masters of Aryan tongues alone will not be interested in this authoritative dissertation. For the frequent analogies to Kanarese will afford much welcome light. Dr. Chavan's claims that the morphology and original structure of Konkani has nothing of the Dravidian in it will evoke perhaps healthy controversy.

One would fain linger over the very carefully compiled paragraphs but for the severe limitations imposed by the exigencies of journalism on writers susceptible to the charms of philology as handled by Dr. Chavan.

— "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE,"

Thursday, February 21, 1924.

Konkani Language.

The Konkani and Konkani Language. By Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S.—Though at present the sentiment in favour of the adoption of a common medium of expression is running strong in the country and there is a tendency to submerge the minor dialects into the major languages to which they are closely allied, it appears certain that it will take a few generations at least for the people of India to discard the use of the thousand and one different languages and dialects at present in vogue among them and to adopt in their place one universal medium of communication. The innate conservatism of the people of India has given a vitality to some of the dialects which is truly wonderful. Take, for example, the Konkani dialect which is spoken at present by at least a million and a half people in Western India. Though it has had no alphabet of its own and no literature worth mentioning, it has continued to live, even in a vigorous condition at times, for nearly 1500 years, and this, in spite of the fact that a sister language very closely allied to it, namely Marathi, with an alphabet and a literature of its own, has been in existence side by side with it in the same field and has been trying to crush it out of existence by the sheer force of its wider popularity with the governing classes. The study of the origin, growth and vicissitudes of such a dialect, therefore, cannot be lacking in interest to the students of anthropology and Indian history. Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan of Bombay, has laid these students under a deep debt of gratitude by his close investigation of the origin of the Konkani and the publication in a pamphlet form of the results of his research, which he first disclosed to the members of the local Anthropological Society in a paper read by him in the latter half of last year.

The use of Konkani as a mother-tongue prevails not only among the Hindus but also among a large number of Christians of Western India, who are mostly the descendants of Hindu converts. The Indian Christians of Goa—the Goanese, so-called—as well as the Mangalorean Christians, use Konkani as their mother-tongue, though through the advance of modern education among these communities the Portuguese and English languages are slowly coming to supplant Konkani both at home and outside. There are also a few Mahomedans like the Navayats of North and South Kanara who speak the Konkani dialect. Among Hindus, the use of the dialect as a mother-tongue is confined in the main to the Gowd, Saraswats of Kanara, Malabar, Cochin, and the Karnatak. There are a few other sub-castes whose mother-tongue is either a pure corruption of Konkani or an admixture of Konkani and Marathi. There has been a difference of opinion regarding the exact relation subsisting between Konkani and Marathi. Dr. Chavan, however, has succeeded in clearing the air a good deal. He has shown in a very convincing manner that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi at all, as suggested by even such an authority on Indian languages as Dr. Grierson. Dr. Orierson's view is that "Konkani is a Marathi dialect having branched off from the common parent Prakrit at a relatively early period." Dr. Chavan, on the other, has succeeded in proving that Konkani has to the most part grown independently of Marathi and is in many respects even older than Marathi. The only thing that can be safely asserted is that Konkani and Marathi had sometimes common and sometimes independent sources from which they have drawn their sustenance. Dr. Chavan has quoted innumerable parallel words in Konkani and Marathi to show the great divergence between them not only in inflectional and grammatical forms but even in vocabulary. Konkani words and forms can be shown to approximate more to Sanskrit than Marathi words and forms do. There is the further strange fact observable in the case of Konkani, that it possesses some words and verbal forms which are peculiar to Gujerati, Hindi and other northern Indian dialects but not to Marathi. Dr. Chavan puts himself the

question whether Konkani which has shown such vitality and survived the impact of more vigorous languages like Marathi and Kanarese for nearly fifteen hundred years, will survive the new onslaughts to which it is being subjected at the hands of not only these two languages, but also of English and Portuguese. He does not expect that Konkani will survive a century more. Apart from political considerations, the disappearance of this picturesque and mellifluous dialect will be viewed with regret by not a few philologists and anthropologists.

"ADVOCATE OF INDIA."

Wednesday Evening, February 27, 1924.

• The "Konkani" Language.

Not many of the readers of this journal, unless they speak the tongue, will be able to tell what exactly is "Konkani." But, if you tell them that it is the "patois" of the Goan "chokras" in their employ, they will at once tell you, "Oh! we know it! we have heard it spoken, though we could not make head or tail of it!" But it is not generally known that over a million and a half Indians use this dialect as their mother-tongue or in conversation. It is not the language of the Goan Christians only, but a far larger number of Hindus of the Western Coast of India, from Cochin in the south to Bombay in the north use it at home. Moreover, the dialect is at least fifteen hundred years old and can claim as direct a descent from Sanskrit as Marathi, Gujerati or Hindi. Indeed, according to Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan, who read a learned paper about it before the Bombay Anthropological Society some time ago, in some respects Konkani is even older than Marathi and had quite an independent existence, though both of them have continued to live side by side like two sisters.

No Alphabet.

One thing surprising about Konkani is that it has no alphabet of its own and no literature worth mentioning. It is only since the advent of the Portuguese in India, that some attempts have been made to cultivate the use of Konkani as a written language, by dressing it up either in Roman or Nagri (Marathi) characters. The most notable product of these labours is Father Stephen's "Puran," written over three centuries ago, in which this Jesuit missionary has essayed to convey the story and message of the Gospel to the Konkani speaking Hindu converts to Christianity in a way that is very captivating. Though the dialect has held the field for fifteen hundred years Dr. Chavan is not sure that it will survive a century more, since Konkani-speaking Christians are taking more and more to the use of English or Portuguese even at home; and among Konkani-speaking Hindus the use of Marathi is coming into greater and greater vogue year by year. Still, to philologists the charm of this dialect, which has shown such a wonderful vitality for a thousand years and more will never cease. Those who wish to know everything about this language cannot do better than go through Dr. Chavan's scholarly paper, which he has had reprinted in a pamphlet form.

"THE VOICE OF INDIA."

Tuesday, March 4, 1924.

Dr. Chavan on Konkani.

It has been my aim and ambition to prove during these lectures that Konkani has had no connection whatsoever with Marathi except as a twin sister. This view is supported by several philologists of note, such as Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Dr. Wilson and Father Maffie, etc."

We believe Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L. M. & S., has established this thesis of his in the three lectures delivered before Anthropological Society which are here brought together in a handy booklet. More often than not, the level of Bombay's learned societies does not rise above copious extracts from books and magazines supposed to be inaccessible to their members. It is the usual fifth form school boys' "Macaulay says" and "Burke argues" which do not relieve the interminable loquacity of pretenders to scholarship. There is no tawdry exterior betokening laboured vacuity in Dr. Chavan's studies. The disciplined thinking of a scientific man, this—he imports into the lectures. Not, however, that Dr. Chavan does not possess a brilliant diction or that he is not at home in nervous and sparkling English. Unless we are greatly mistaken this scholar and medicine man, in more senses than one, is the author of those enlivening letters contributed to the "Times of India" under the "nom-de-plume" of "Kunbi."

It will be a revelation to many who regard Konkani only as a corrupt patois to learn for the first time from Dr. Chavan that old Marathi writers like Gnaneshwar drew largely upon the vocabulary of Konkani, so hard to-day for purely Marathi readers and writers to follow. It establishes that six hundred and fifty years ago Konkani words were considered suitable for works which have become classics in Marathi. Dr. Chavan has cast his philological net wide. In Europe especially his studies will be highly appreciated. The relation which he establishes even if that of a lender and borrower between Portuguese and Konkani, and the connection with the prime parent Sanskrit through the immediate progenitor, a Prakrit, and the curious and interesting co-ordination with Gujarathi and Persian, the comparative tables, all these have the twin merit of solidity and condensation. Dr. Chavan's ounce of solid gold in other hands would be beaten into perishable tenuity of gold-leaf good enough to cover a thousand *pans*. The Christian missionaries so long as they observe an attitude of detachment in politics are a superior asset of this country. If their ulterior

aim is to win converts to Christianity, the path they go along in pursuit of their object leads their followers through fields of knowledge and opens up lengthening vistas of science otherwise so many sealed books to us. This broad-minded appreciation is reflected in Dr. Chavan's pages, which give ample evidence of how the apparently insipid pursuit of antiquated dialects can be transmuted into refreshing studies infusing in the reader a desire to hear more of and from the author.

"THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL."

Thursday, March 20, 1924.

The Konkani Language.

It is quite natural that all people should be proud of their mother-tongue, whether it is a major or a minor language. There are a thousand and one languages spoken by the people of this country, and it is not an easy matter to choose one from among them as the best that could be utilised as a common language. These numerous languages cannot therefore easily cease to exist. Among these languages the Konkani language is not an unimportant one. It is in use as their mother-tongue among the Goud Saraswat Brahmins of Goa, Kanara and Cochin and also among a large number of Goan Christians. The language is peculiar in that it has no script of its own, and the interesting series of lectures delivered by Dr. V. P. Chavan of Bombay before the Anthropological Society (and these are now being issued in the form of a booklet) show that the "Konkani dialect affords a fine example of the different stages of existence through which, a merely spoken but not written language, passes in its evolution." Dr. Chavan has made a deep study of the whole subject and has clearly explained in his lectures the various characteristics of this language—its beauty, its picturesqueness and natural sweetness—which have enabled it to withstand the onslaughts of more

powerful and classical languages in its neighbourhood. People in these days are inclined more or less to adopt a language which has the greatest utilitarian value, and it is therefore a significant feature of the Konkani language that, in spite of its not being a written language, it is still a live one. Students of philology will find Dr. Chavan's lectures very interesting and instructive.

"THE ALL INDIA SARASWAT."

April, 1924.

Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan has laid the Konkani-speaking Gowd Saraswats of Western India under a deep debt of gratitude by his scholarly researches into the origin and development of this dialect, which is a direct descendant of Sanskrit. The dialect in its purity is to be found spoken in the two districts of Kanara, particularly the Northern one. By a careful comparison between Konkani words and their Marathi equivalents, Dr. Chavan is able to demonstrate conclusively that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi, as is commonly supposed even by some Scholars, but a sister language which had an independent origin and growth, though living in close proximity to Marathi.

At times they have sustained each other, at others they have thrived apart. To show how the Marathi language had at one time borrowed considerably from Konkani, Dr. Chavan has quoted words from Jnaneshwari, which are distinctly of Konkani origin and which will not be properly understood by anyone who is not conversant with Konkani. In some directions Konkani shows a more ancient origin and higher development than Marathi.

But for his intimate knowledge of Sanskrit and especially Prakrit grammar and philology, Dr. Chavan would have found it difficult to assign to Konkani its proper place among the dialects of Sanskrit. Dr. Chavan has an interesting

explanation to offer regarding the origin of the words "Konkan" and "Canarin." He suggests that the former is derived from क्विन् क्विन्वन्—what is this drug?—the drug being the intoxicating beverage derived from palm trees abundant on the West Coast. As to the latter word, Dr. Chavan shows that it has no connection with Kanarese language as such. The expression "Lingua Canarina" used by the Portuguese to denote Konkani, was only meant to suggest that it was the language of the "Canarins" or Christians born of Indian parents.

Dr. Chavan deserves to be congratulated on his valuable contribution to Indian philology. We hope he will continue his labours and enrich our knowledge of Konkani still further.

THE DAILY DNYAN PRAKASH.

Thursday, March 13, 1924.

कोंकणी भाषा.

राज्यदारेष डाक्टर व्ही. पी. चव्हाण यांची मुंबई वैथील एन्थ्रोपॉलॉजिकल संस्थेपुढे "कोंकण व कोंकणी भाषा" या विषयावर तीन व्याख्याने झालीं. हीं व्याख्याने माहितीपूर्ण अर्शीं झालीं. डॉ. जर्सेन डाकुन्हा यांनीं कोंकणी भाषेचें व्याकरण लिहिलें आहे. परंतु तो ग्रंथ छापल्याला बरींच वर्षे झाल्यामुळें तो आतां दुर्माल आहे. व डाक्टर साहेबांस तो, प्रयत्न करूनही पहावयास मिळाला नाही. कोंकण कशाका झणतात, त्याचा महाराष्ट्राशीं संबंध काय येतो, त्या भागाची भुगोल-रचना कशी आहे कोंकणातीक लोकांच्या जाती व धर्म इत्यादि विषयांचें त्यांनीं आपल्या व्याख्यानंत मोठोरेक रीतीनें निरूपण केलें. ह्या प्रचलीत असलेल्या भाषेचें परिपोषण कोंकणी भाषेनेच केलें आहे असें व्याख्यात्यांचें म्हणणें आहे. पोर्तुगीज भाषेच्या योगानें कोंकणी भाषेवर घडलेल्या घातुक परिणामांचें दोडेंतें दिग्दर्शन त्यांनीं केलें.

कोंकणी भाषेचा दर्जा जायते व द्विविधीयन भाषेच्या दर्ज्यात आहे. कोंकणी याच बोलचाराचे संघटन गुजराती व मराठी यांच्यापेक्षा फार कसे. मराठी भाषेचा परिषदाय कोंकणी भाषेवर होऊन मराठीतले पुष्कळ शब्द कोंकणीत कसे नेले गेले याचे साक्षिदार कर्नाट व्याख्यात्यांनी केले. व्याख्यानातून 'कोंकणी' ही एक पोटभाषा नसून मराठी, गुजराती प्रमाणे मुख्य भाषा आहे. व ती टाकून नसून तिचे कवचन करणे आवश्यक आहे कधी प्रत्येकाची छात्री छात्री आहे. कोंकणी भाषा स्वतंत्र आहे. तिची शब्दरचना निर्मळ आहे त्यांत द्विविधी भाषेची मिसळ छात्री नाही असे व्याख्याते म्हणतात. परंतु हा प्रश्न वादग्रस्त असून गार चर्चा यांमधी रंगेळ यांत संभव नाही. कोंकणी भाषेचा भाषा शब्द अर्थ वोग्य आहे की नाही हा विषय आज करेच कसे कानाकोऱ्यांत फडकेल होता. ती या व्याख्याने फुडे जाऊ आहे व त्याची छात्री उत्तम छात्री आहे. हा भाषेचे स्वतंत्र आहे तसेच कायम राहील. व दुसऱ्या कोकणाही भाषेत ही मिसळ जाण्वर नाही असे व्याख्यात्यांचे मत आहे. परंतु याचद भाषाकोविदांना संभव आहे. जिन्य सुद्ध कोंकणी बोळां येईल कधी भाषा, उत्तरकानडाभाषीक बोळा यांवांतच येईल गेते, असे व्याख्यातेच म्हणतात. कर्नाट कव्हांत, व व्यापाराचे घडामोडीत वा भाषेचा उपयोग होणासारखा नसल्यामुळे ही भाषा नामनेचे होण्याची शंती आहे. वा भाषेतच बोलण्याचे जसा पूर्वे निव्वय केल्य तो छत्रे कव्हांत आपल्याखेरीज ही भाषा जित्त राहणे कव्कय आहे. पश्चिम हिंदुस्थानांत ही भाषा बोलचाराची संस्था कवक कवक १५ लख आहे. जरी वा भाषेचा स्वतंत्र मुद्राकरे नाहीत व वा भाषेत वाङ्मय मुख्यच नाही तरी आज कवक कवक १५०० वे ही भाषा जीव घेल्य आहे. हिच्या बोळांची मराठी भाषा, हिच्या इतरकीच जूनी असून तिच्या स्वतंत्र मुद्राकरे आहेत. व हा भाषेत प्रचलनाही विपुल आहे. कोंकणी भाषेचे हाणून पाहण्याचे प्रचल ही भाषा करित असून तिच्या यज्ञ वाठे नाही. कोंकणी भाषा बोळ्यारे लोक हिंदूच नसून मोमंतक व मंगळोरकडील कव्कट्या खिस्तावांचीही हीच भाषा आहे. कानडा, मलबार, कोचीन व कर्नाटक येथील थोडे सारलतांची मातृभाषा कोंकणीच आहे. डॉक्टर ब्रासनचे मत असे आहे की 'कोंकणी व मराठी वा दोन्ही भाषा प्राकृत भाषेपासून निघाल्या. व दोघींचा एकमेकांच्या फार निकट संबंध आहे.' परंतु दोन्ही भाषांतील समान दिसणाऱ्या शब्दांच्या पृष्क जुराति असून डॉक्टर साहेबांनी ब्रासनचे मत फोड टाकिले आहे. उत्तर हिंदुस्थानांत चालू असलेल्या भाषांतील कोही शब्द कोंकणी भाषेत आढळतात. मराठी भाषेची दीड हजार वेळ टार देऊन जरी कोंकणी भाषा आज जित्त दिसत आहे तरी इंग्रजी व पोर्तुगीज या भाषाजुडे ही भाषा मागे पडत जाऊची आहे. व निव्वयतीचा प्रचल व ज्ञात्यास ही भाषा शंभर वर्षांत नामनेचे होण्याची शीति आहे. आज डॉक्टर साहेबांचा अभिप्राय आहे.

THE GOAN WORLD.

May 1924.

The Konkani and the Konkani Language.

The readers of the *Goan World* are by this time quite familiar with the name of Dr. Chavan, whose articles dealing with the present position of our mother tongue honoured the pages of our two successive issues. Dr. Chavan has already built up for himself the reputation of a scholar and philologist, and his patient researches into the origin and development of the Konkani language, as can be seen from the series of lectures delivered by him at the Anthropological Society in Bombay, and now published in the form of a brochure, entitle him to the respect and gratitude of those who are interested in the revival and progress of the language. As Goans, we consider it to be our duty to convey to Dr. Chavan our deep sense of indebtedness for the invaluable work he has done on behalf of the language of our fathers, and we feel sure that the highly appreciative words in which the leading news and political organs of this city have spoken of his scholarly achievements, will encourage him to carry on the task he has undertaken in the service of a great and noble cause.

The present awakening of India to the call of her national self-consciousness has given rise to a wide-spread desire to work out the regeneration of the country from all points of view on purely national lines ; and it is but natural that in the circumstances the attention of all responsible men be directed to the development and revival of the languages, which have suffered considerably due to the domination of India by foreigners. We as Goans have it in our hands to contribute something to the great national movement, that is now being spiritedly carried on, by cultivating our purely Indian tradition and by making

an organised effort to save our mother-tongue from its present state of stagnation. This task can certainly be realised, provided we only have the will to do so. Eminent men like Mgr. Dalgado, Dr. Costa Alvares, and Mr. Cristovam Pinto have laid down the lines along which we have to work, if we really mean to show our devotion to the one language that ought to be the very pivot of our culture; and should we make an earnest effort in this direction, we are sure that Dr. Chavan will be happy to place his valuable advice and services at our disposal.

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Educational Pamphlets, No. 37.

REPORT
ON THE TEACHING OF
HISTORY.

By F. S. Marvin and others.

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LONDON:
PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S
STATIONERY OFFICE.

1923.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In February 1921, the President of the Board, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, appointed a small Committee, consisting of H.M. Inspectors, Messrs. F. S. Marvin, G. H. F. Cookson, T. W. Phillips and T. A. Stephens, together with Mr. J. W. Headlam Morley, C.B.E., Historical Advisor to the Foreign Office, to enquire into and report upon the Teaching of History in Grant-aided Schools in England. The results of the Committee's investigations are contained in the following Report.

As the Committee state, the Report is not a handbook of method and "no subject seems less suitable than History for any rigid, mechanical and uniform method of teaching." But the criticisms and suggestions contained in the Report appear to the Board to merit the careful consideration of school authorities and teachers, and the Board have accordingly decided to publish it.

Mr. Fisher has been kind enough to write an Introductory Note to the Report.

Office of Special Enquiries and Reports,
June, 1923.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE
BY THE RIGHT HON. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14/5/23.

Dear Mr. President,

You have been good enough to invite my observations upon the Report of the Departmental Committee, which I set up last year to advise upon the Teaching of History in our Grant-aided Secondary Schools. Let me say at once that I regard the Report not only as a reassuring survey of the present position of Historical Teaching in these schools, but also as a magazine of useful and practical suggestions.

One observation occurs to me by way not of correction, but of supplement. It is greatly to be desired that young people should be given some general notion of World History and that they should throughout be invited to consider the History of their native country, which will naturally claim the prerogative share of attention, as part of a larger whole. This general proposition meets with the approval of the Committee, who not only draw attention to the importance of linking the study of British History with that of contemporary European movements (as already emphasised in the Board's Circular on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools, No. 599), but would be glad to see a course of special lessons or lectures on World History provided for the benefit of the older students. The Committee say that the following plan would be "practical and advantageous in many places."

"Let some early lessons of a simple kind be given on the Ancient World, both in the preparatory stage and either in the thirteenth or fourteenth year. Then the ordinary course of English History, with its concurrent stream of European, would follow, down to modern times. Between fifteen and eighteen, for everyone, a series of special lessons or lectures on World History might be arranged, three or four a term, not for examination, but made as interesting as possible, by good preparation, abundant illustration and so forth."

And in another place they observe that there is no reason why "a biographical knowledge of some of the greatest figures in antiquity should not be included in the curriculum of all."

I wish here only to emphasise the importance of "these early lessons of a simple kind on the Ancient World," to the possibility of which the Committee draw attention. I should like such early lessons to be universal. I should be glad if every child in the country could begin History with the Cave Men and receive "early lessons of a simple kind" about the Babylonians and Egyptians, the Jews and the Arabs, the Greeks and the Romans before the study of British History is begun about the eleventh or twelfth year. Let no one suppose that such lessons cannot interest children or that the impressions of oriental and classical antiquity, received in childhood, necessarily fade away without leaving a trace behind them. On the contrary they supply a very necessary background to subsequent study and may be made more exciting to the imagination than the most carefully prepared lessons on the Anglo-Saxon age. Let the children hear about Abraham and Homer and Alexander the Great before they are introduced to Ethelred the Unready and the Danegeld. By illustrations and stories, by a skilful use of the Old Testament and fragments of classical authors, much that is valuable may be conveyed even to very tender minds.

The observations in the Report with reference to the importance of a well-planned course of instruction covering the whole school life are of obvious value. So, too, is the recommendation that every pupil in a Secondary School, if possible, but more particularly those who make a specialty of Science, should learn something of the history of scientific discovery.

H. A. L. FISHER.

To the Right Hon. E. F. L. WOOD,
President of the Board of Education.

REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

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I.—INTRODUCTORY—RECENT PROGRESS.

Early in the thirties, soon after his appointment as Head Master of Rugby, Dr. Arnold began the practice of a weekly lesson to his Sixth Form on Modern History. It was perhaps the first regular teaching of Modern History in an English school; certainly it was the example which has had most influence upon us ever since. He used, he tells us, Russell's *History of Europe*, which he had read as a boy at Winchester. He was not satisfied with it, and it was partly this dissatisfaction which led him to give his own exposition to the Form. But it was more than that; he was moved by an intense desire to make his teaching an active force in the lives of the scholars, for, as he said himself, "it is clear that in whatever it is our duty to act, those matters also it is our duty to study."

Dr. Arnold was thus the founder of the modern teaching of History in English schools, and the spirit in which he began the work has always remained with us as part of our inspiration. He initiated the systematic teaching of Modern History, and he used the Ancient History of Greece and Rome, the Thucydides, the Livy, etc., which had always been studied, in Western Europe since the Renaissance, for the purpose of drawing practical lessons for guidance in the present. The time at which he began this work was favourable to it for two main reasons. The modern scientific study of History which is a marked feature of the 19th century was arising; and it was the beginning also in our political evolution of the rise of democracy to power which makes the sound teaching of History to every citizen a matter of such urgent importance at the present day. As he began his lessons on Modern History, the first Reform Bill was passing through the Houses of Parliament. It was the first and most important step in the process which, after 1867, 1884 and 1918, has made "the governing class" coterminous with the nation. The old

governing class had no doubt learnt History by various and unsystematic channels. Young Whigs and Tories had learnt it in the family library, at the family dining table, by family tradition and social intercourse; and on the whole they used their knowledge well.

Much more than this was needed for the coming age. The whole population had ultimately to share the knowledge and responsibility of the hitherto governing few, and for this a general and ever-deepening study of the past was needed. The story of our educational progress in the century succeeding Dr. Arnold's efforts would show that, though the results are still imperfect, we have not been unmindful of the urgency of the task, and have done something, not inconsiderable, towards accomplishing it. It may be said on a broad view that while Arnold gave the first impulse in our higher schools for boys, the girls' schools in the sixties and seventies took up the work with increased vigour and enthusiasm, and the general organisation of Secondary Schools under the State at the end of the century finally established History as an essential part of the school curriculum.

It is probable that the last quarter of a century has seen more progress achieved in the effective teaching of History in schools than all the rest of the hundred years since Dr. Arnold began. This demonstrable progress, and the much greater public interest in the subject, make it opportune to survey the whole situation, to estimate our advance, examine our defects, and suggest some practicable means by which the desires of every enlightened citizen in the matter may be more fully realised in the future. We shall be concerned in this Report primarily with the state of History teaching in the public Secondary Schools; but some allusion will be necessary to the state of the subject in the elementary schools as a whole and the preparatory schools which deal with pupils under the age of 14.

When regular inspection of Secondary Schools began some twenty or thirty years ago the History teaching was in the majority of cases at very low level. It was taken by the Form Master, often with little interest in or knowledge of the subject; the teaching was confined to one text-book, generally of the most unsatisfying kind. The usual method pursued

was that the pupils were given two or three pages to learn and were then examined on it by a series of questions which could be answered in monosyllables. There was little real teaching or interest, and still less encouragement for wider reading. Many schools had no libraries at all; maps were little used, and seldom or never did one see a historical atlas in the school. We shall have later on to consider the present effect of External Examinations upon the character of the History teaching; whatever the present position may be, there can be no doubt that there were serious evils in the past. Then, in the great majority of schools, the work was completely controlled by the Local Examinations, and there was no general syllabus for the teaching of the subject. While admitting the value of External Examinations in building up a standard of real knowledge and accuracy in the schools, one cannot doubt that in History, as perhaps also in some cognate subjects, their value as the main guide to study is limited and open to serious drawbacks. But in the earlier days of the system the evils were exaggerated, partly by the multiplicity of the examinations, partly by their limited scope. Pupils used often to take first the Preliminary, then the Junior, then the Senior; so that for three years running the sole object was passing the examination which took place at the end of that year, and the same period was often studied in consecutive years and there was no attempt at covering even the whole of English History. Pupils on entering the school would sometimes begin with the period from 1689-1815, and then in their next year go back to the earliest period. A boy could get a certificate, and even a distinction in the Senior Local Examinations, without any knowledge of any part of History outside a comparatively brief period, and the questions in these examinations were generally so set as to be purely a test of memory and without any recognition of History outside that of England, except so far as there had been battles between England and other countries. Now, as we shall see, there is nearly always in the larger, and often in the smaller schools, one member of the staff who is especially interested in, and generally made responsible for, the History teaching throughout the School. There is a regular course, which though often open to criticism in detail,

shows a real attempt at a connected scheme of work running on from year to year. At least an outline of the whole of English History is an ideal recognised in every school. Most schools have now a library with a considerable section devoted to History; many of them have a special collection of historical works kept in a particular room. The pupils are encouraged to attempt, and often carry out, quite wide reading outside the text-books. The text-books themselves are very much improved, and are generally supplemented by historical atlases and the drawing of historical maps by the pupils for their own use.

The causes of this improvement are varied. We would put first, in the sphere of work with which we are specially concerned, the fact of the State organisation of Secondary Education, so long and so fervently advocated in the seventies and eighties by Matthew Arnold and others, and at last made possible by the Act of 1902. The old evils were so obvious that they could not escape the attention of any outside visitor, and a general improvement has followed the institution of inspection. Financial aid was also essential. In the earlier unaided period of Secondary Education the generality of schools were under-staffed and the masters underpaid. Another and very important factor in securing improvement has been the action of the newer Universities which have grown up within the last half-century, and the provision of History Faculties in the senior Universities, which have sent out a growing stream of keen students and teachers during the period in which the greatest progress has been made. We hope for the maintenance and strengthening of this source of supply. A third and more recent agency than either the Board or the Universities is the Historical Association* founded in 1905, which embraces practically all the professors and the bulk of the teachers of the subject, and has worked steadily to increase the opportunities for historical research, to assist and stimulate the teachers, and to spread in a wider circle among the general public a sense of the profound and increasing importance of History in national life.

It has been noted both in England and elsewhere, and especially in the United States of America, that a deeper

* Offices, 22 Russell Square, W.C.1.

interest in History has appeared as a result of the Great War.* The fact is undoubted, and the causes are not far to seek. We believe that every year will make them more widely operative. Every civilised community will recognise with increasing clearness that its own social order and unity and the harmonious progress of the whole world demand a general and more thorough study of History, both national and international. The last decade, with the War and its sequel, has brought this point into tragic prominence. We are now all of us, from statesman to schoolboy, perforce made acquainted with the affairs and history of other countries as well as our own.

The same decade has seen the franchise extended almost to its farthest point, and the whole working class of the country interested in local government and the administration of justice as they have never been before. All this activity also demands for its wise direction a knowledge of the historical basis of our institutions. It is, in short, a period in which the arguments for studying History, both on the civic and the international side, have been brought home to us and intensified in a way never possible before.

II.—THE TEACHING STAFF.

We have noted the great increase in the supply of History teachers and the improvement in their qualifications in recent years. It is increasingly rare to find any Secondary School without one or more teachers who have made some special study of History in their University course. This is due mainly to the larger number of Graduates in History and Modern Studies turned out by the Universities in the last forty or fifty years. Many of these continue their studies while teaching; some do pieces of definite research, but it would be well, no doubt, if more were able to do it, for nothing makes a fresher or more effective teacher than serious and progressive study connected with the subject which he has to teach. In fact it is not too much to say that the teacher who has ceased to read History should cease to teach it. The

* It was noticed, both during the War and after the Armistice, that the troops took an extraordinary interest in historical lectures, *e.g.*, on the origins of the War, the growth of the German Empire, etc.

Board's Short Courses in History and other similar opportunities are always eagerly sought after, and the evidence is universal that attendance at such meetings is both stimulating and corrective. It stimulates to wider views and new experiments, it corrects the narrowing effect of a small and isolated routine. Some school authorities, especially in London, are now beginning to allow what is called the "Grace Term." This is generally used for foreign travel, and is especially wholesome in emphasising the need of other sources beside books for gaining the width, freshness and reality of view which make all the difference in teaching History between a live and dead presentation of the subject.

The advantages of the specialist teacher are so obvious that they need not be emphasised in detail. He brings the spirit of the scholar to his work, he knows the meaning of historical study, the nature and the scientific treatment of its matter. He is, or ought to be, able to see historical events and figures in their right position and proportion. Some such specialist knowledge there should be in every school, for the want of proportion is a very prevalent fault in History teaching. But specialism in itself has dangers, and we have often thought it a useful thing when the "History Specialist" has something else to teach as well as History. It widens his view and leads him better to appreciate the comprehensive nature of his own subject.

Most of the larger schools have Chief History Teachers whose duty it is to draw up the syllabus, choose the text-books and generally supervise the teaching and examine the results in conjunction with the Head Master or Mistress. The extent of the powers of such a teacher varies very widely. One of his most obvious functions, that of actually supervising the work of the other teachers, is least well discharged. The Chief History Teacher is often a younger man or woman, fresh from the University, who cannot with ease direct the work of colleagues senior to himself. Some form of supervision, or at least of friendly interchange of view and method, between those engaged in the same work in the same school is obviously desirable. A feasible and useful method followed in some schools is to have a panel, or committee, of the teachers most interested and concerned in the work.

meeting regularly with definite agenda, under the chairmanship either of the Head Master or of the Chief History Teacher. It would compare notes as to methods and results—discuss new books and possible changes in the syllabus; and it would conduct periodical school examinations of the subject. Such committees often exist for Science, Mathematics or Modern Languages, and History certainly deserves one for itself, though care should be taken to call into counsel wherever possible the teachers of other subjects, especially of Geography, Literature and Science, for, as we shall see, the comprehensive and connecting quality of History is one of the most important parts of its discipline.

Nothing more promotes this synoptical treatment of the History teaching, or lays more obvious stress on its importance, than the active support and interest of the Head Master or Head Mistress in the subject. The tradition of Dr. Arnold is again suggested here, and we were frequently struck in our visits by the similar effect at the present day of an active Head who realises the importance and possibilities of History in the school curriculum. It is not only the expert Historian who as Head Master may exercise this influence; any cultivated and public-spirited Head may thus stimulate the teaching of his specialist assistants. Many Masters and Mistresses who might do this unnecessarily refrain from applying their own standards of good judgment to the work of the specialist, whether in History or other subjects, and in History there are special reasons and special opportunities.

III.—THE PREPARATORY STAGE.

We mean by "The Preparatory Stage" the years up to about 12, which are spent by children in various ways. The great majority of them are in those years at Public Elementary Schools. Others are in Preparatory Schools or Preparatory Departments attached to Secondary Schools; a minority are taught at home either by their parents or by governesses. But in all these cases the History teaching should be, in this early stage, similar and suited to their age—simple, interesting and preliminary; and in all of these cases there seems no reason why about the end of the twelfth year a first sketch

should not have been imparted to the scholars of the outstanding figures and events, primarily, but not exclusively, drawn from their own national history. This first connected sketch should, we think, follow on a course of general stories drawn from all countries by which the first interest in History will be inspired.

We do not overlook the inevitable differences in the rate of progress due to the better opportunities of certain children. Some will have from the first much more familiarity with interesting books; some, of course, gain far more than others from stimulating conversation at home. But the general fact remains that all children, especially in the earlier years, respond to similar treatment, and need a similar approach to more systematic History; and the fact that the age of transfer from Elementary to Secondary Schools corresponds roughly with that of the passage from the Preparatory to the main part of the Secondary School, should make it less difficult to secure some unity of aim in the different systems.

The fundamental conditions of the earlier years of childhood are now much better and more generally recognised in our schools. Especially in girls' schools much more attention has recently been paid to psychological considerations in introducing the pupils to the subject. The work is made more interesting and attractive to childish instincts. The stories are chosen especially for their value from this point of view, and scope is given in a large number of schools to the constructive and expressive aptitude of the children in making models, drawing pictures, or acting the lives of which they hear in their lessons.

There is now an abundance of good books on the Tale of Troy, the Odyssey, the Romans, the Voyages of the Vikings, the Crusades, the discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, which enable such material to be introduced, whether we call it "Literature" or "History."

This new development is altogether admirable. It should prevent that too-frequent feeling of dulness which many of us still retain from our History lessons; but it should not, and need not, impede the acquisition of what is even more important for the later study of History, that is, the definite first consecutive outline of the outstanding figures and events,

at least of our own national story. Now on this point there can be no difference of opinion. Evidence is overwhelming that our children do not acquire by the age of 12 or 13 this simple foundation, which it is quite feasible to give by that time, and which is so desirable for the building of a satisfactory structure of History later on. We do not lay too much stress here on the judgment of those teachers who are receiving scholars transferred to them from another school, for we are all apt to believe that we must start from the beginning of any piece of work which we have to do ourselves.

Any simple test applied to boys and girls of about 12 in the lower Forms in the Secondary Schools shows that they have not acquired, when they might, this valuable groundwork. One reason for this defect is the increasing tendency of late to depreciate the value of the accurate fact and still more of the date in the teaching of History. "I thought dates were quite out of date," is not an uncommon remark from a teacher of the recent generation. It is a reaction from the dry and excessive drill in dates and names, especially of kings and battles, which distinguished the History methods of our grandparents. Another swing of the pendulum seems now overdue, though no one would dream of teaching lists of dates without their natural setting in the lessons, or without a well-considered reason in the teacher's mind for insisting on them. But it is necessary to recognise that there is no conflict between this accurate framework of events and the right desire to make History a living, social and interesting thing. In this preparatory stage one may fairly expect, in the years from 9 to 12 or 13, a deliberate attempt to develop some sense of sequence in History, by giving the children an idea of the main landmarks in History as they stand out on a simple time chart or line of time. Such a programme, including, say, a dozen great figures and a score or thirty important dates, is quite practicable for the middle classes of Elementary or for Preparatory Schools as a whole. The Germans a few years back went much further than this.* In the Berlin course of study 63 dates were required to be taught in the second class of the Elementary Schools and 53 in the first class, *i.e.*, 116 in all, or about six new dates a month.

* See Dr. Hinsdale's *How to study History*, Appleton & Co., 1901.

We certainly shall never be as precise as that, nor need we be so extensive. It would be more useful for us in this first stage to think of the object to be attained rather as an Alphabet of History*, a complete whole to be kept together as one, and not forgetting A, B, C because we are this term learning X, Y, Z, above all remembering that quite a small number of cardinal dates or leading figures are sufficient, if wisely used, to sustain the whole thread.

One or two obvious means for better securing this object may be usefully noted here. The teachers in schools of different grades should meet together, compare their notes and difficulties, and concert common modes of action. We found that such meetings had been specially convened in various places, but it is clearly a matter for regular consultation rather than for debating once and then leaving alone. The Historical Association in its local branches affords admirable machinery for doing this work regularly, and as History is an infinite and ever-growing thing, the need for such consultation and reconsideration is permanent.

Again, within the Secondary School itself, where junior classes are included, there is too often a tendency to treat the latter as an independent unity, not regarded as an essential part of the complete course. Such a want of connection within the same school is open to all the objections we have seen arise from the break in methods between the Elementary and Secondary Schools as a whole. And in the one school it is of course quite easy to avoid. The more lively personal methods employed with juniors might often be applied to seniors, and in the junior classes care should be taken to gain the necessary foundation of simple facts and dates needed for the seniors to assume and build upon in the middle Forms.

IV.—THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE ORDINARY COURSE.

We noted above that there is now in practically all Secondary Schools an unbroken course in English History from the twelfth year onward to the First School Examination. This is one of the main improvements achieved in recent years, and is due mainly to greater care in organising the subject as a whole, and to the absence of the disturbing effects of Preliminary and Junior Local Examinations, which have now

* See Appendix I.

been discontinued in grant-earning schools. The period of this unbroken course in History will vary from four to five years, according to the entrance age of the free place pupils and junior scholars, and with the age at which the first examination is taken. As the earlier age tends to be between 11 and 12, and the later, especially in girls' schools, is often postponed until after 16, the period should be treated as one of four years, inclining to be longer rather than less. This is the time in which the bulk of the History teaching is given to the large majority of the pupils; and the time per week is something less than an average of two hours in class, with one or two periods of home-work. We have these conditions in view in all that follows. In most Secondary Schools the work in these years has been planned on lines following generally the Board's Circular* on the teaching of History in Secondary Schools, No. 599 of 1908. This advocated giving a complete survey of English History, with European History as ancillary to it; and, if carried out in the spirit of that Circular, it is an admirable introduction to the study of other History in later years, and indicates the advance which has taken place in the state of things described in Section I.

Since that date the institution of Advanced Courses in 1917 has had two important results. In the first place European History has gained a position of its own in all the schools—now 186—taking an approved course in Modern studies, and these studies are correspondingly reflected in the History papers of the second examination. In the second place the institution of this course has had a considerable effect on the scope and quality of the History studied throughout the schools: the teachers are better read in History and the school libraries are far better equipped.

It will be noticed that this advance in History in the schools has to some extent kept pace with the recent public desire to study the History of other countries which has been stimulated by the Great War.

This tendency has been combined with a general inclination to devote more attention to modern developments, and especially to the 19th century in European History. It is a wholesome relief from the old days, when it was rare in

* See Appendix IV.

schools to find any History studied subsequent to 1815; for History should be realised as a living thing, in touch with problems of to-day. But the stress on recent History has brought with it a comparative neglect of the earlier, and especially the mediaeval period, when, in our own country and Europe generally, the foundations of political liberty were being laid and modern nations were beginning to arise. We regard this as a matter of the first importance, and trust that in the new effort to gain a more complete conspectus of History in the schools, the Middle Ages will receive their due.

The same effort to give a more complete outline at least of the History of Western civilisation has led to various experiments, especially in girls' schools, of which we recognise the admirable purpose, and on which we do not wish to pronounce in any final way. The difficulties are many and obvious. We will notice them briefly, and then give a few suggestions of a practical kind which may tend by various courses to the same end.

It is not difficult, as Circular 599 suggests, to trace the concurrent streams of European History as we are teaching our own: it is, in fact, impossible to present English History truly without them. But it is another matter to go further back and give an adequate picture of the antecedents from which we and all other Western peoples have sprung. Yet a knowledge of the roots of Western civilisation in the Greco-Roman world has been recognised as an essential part of a liberal education since the Renaissance. It is still more important now, when the number of pupils studying Greek is becoming smaller and so few people know either Latin or Greek. We all enjoy the fruits of ancient wisdom and civilisation in the settled society, the art, the literature, the philosophy and religion which surround us. Is it not essential to intelligent enjoyment that we know something of how these things have come to be?

Some teachers, with these thoughts in mind, have introduced at an early stage—the thirteenth or fourteenth year—a preliminary course on the Ancient World, including Greece and Rome, with reference to the Egyptian and Babylonian civilisations which preceded them. This may form a useful

and interesting background, if given in a simple and concrete form. But it is obviously impossible, at this stage and within these narrow limits, to teach such things adequately or to bring out their true historical relations. For this we must look to other sources of enlightenment in later years.

The primary object of our main course must be to give the pupils a clear outline of the History of their own country. With a subject so vast as History it is necessary to select, and the right principles of selection are of the first importance. The theme is nothing less than the building up of mankind into a stable and progressive society, based on nations. But as Englishmen, or the members of any other nation, our first concern will be with those conditions which immediately surround us. These must come first in our serious historical thinking, but we cannot understand them fully unless we extend our view both to what went before and to what accompanies them in the larger world. This is obvious in all the greater movements to which we have contributed—the Crusades, the Reformation, the Renaissance, the discoveries and science of the 17th century, the industry and international relations of the 18th and 19th: it is even true of the constitutional and political development which is most our own.

How much of the main historical course—the four or five years between the twelfth and seventeenth years—should be given to more strictly English History, it is impossible to define accurately for all cases alike. The preparation of the pupils, their time in school and their antecedents and opportunities differ so widely. Our first endeavour should be to get clearly in our own minds the practicable ideal to aim at, and then in carrying it out to make every effort, not only to implant firmly in their minds what we consider the fundamental outline, but also to extend their range of ideas, enrich their minds and give them a world-wide interest.

We noticed above the experiment of introducing at an early stage a course of six or twelve months on the Ancient World; there are various other lines of approach which might be more generally followed than they are.

In all schools where Latin is taught the teaching of some Roman History should be regarded as essential. To realise

that the language was a living thing, spoken by men who did more than any others to give us the civilisation which we enjoy, is a necessity which we all recognise in theory, but too often neglect in practice. At present Julius Caesar is the only name of classical antiquity about whom any definite information could be gained from nine-tenths of the pupils in our Secondary Schools. But as men, the heroes of Greece and Rome are just as intelligible and sometimes more attractive to the young than are our own Alfred and Edward. Some knowledge of the History of Rome leads inevitably to that of Greece, and while in schools with a Classical bias we may fairly look for a more general knowledge of Ancient History than we find at present, there is no reason why a biographical knowledge of some of the greatest figures should not be included in the curriculum of all.

We notice in a later section the use of the Bible for historical purposes. This method also is of universal application, for happily the Bible remains with us as the greatest ancient document in general use in schools. By tracing its connections with other History, by filling up the gap between the two Testaments, the expert teacher could make the Bible supply that outline of ancient civilisation which is so much to be desired; and in particular would give a fresh point of view for approaching the History of Rome.

As History is in itself a vast and infinite thing, our methods of approach in school must be many and varied. The main thread in the Secondary School course will be, for reasons we have stated, the outlines of English History. But this study should be extended and deepened by channels in all directions, by reading, by lectures, by pictures, by historical monuments, above all by the presence of the historical spirit not only in the mind of the specialist, but also of those who have to teach contributory subjects in the curriculum, Literature, Art, Mathematics and Science.

One plan on these lines has been suggested which would be practicable and advantageous in many places.

Let some early lessons of a simple kind be given on the Ancient World, both in the preparatory stage and either in the thirteenth or fourteenth year. Then the ordinary course of English History, with its concurrent stream of European,

would follow, down to modern times. Between 15 and 18, for every one, a series of special lessons, or lectures, on World History might be arranged, three or four a term, not for examination, but made as interesting as possible by good preparation, abundant illustrations and so forth. This, enforcing the earlier lessons and bringing together the various threads gathered in reading and other lessons, would have a lifelong effect.

V.—ADVANCED COURSES AND HIGHER CERTIFICATES.

We noticed above the impetus given to historical studies by the establishment of Advanced Courses in Secondary Schools in the last few years. History has probably profited most from this development and the increased financial aid which accompanied it. This is especially the case in the Advanced Courses in Modern Studies, where History occupies a leading place. In all these cases a detailed syllabus has to be approved by the Board for the History in conjunction with the literature of the period. A period of English History and a corresponding period of European History are the main object of study, and to these is sometimes added, as a result of the examinations,* the more particular study of some special topic. The pupils have as a rule passed their first examination, and are generally between the ages of 16 and 18. Their work is naturally of a more scholarly and individual type than that of the other Forms, and work of this kind—advanced work in History—necessitates the employment of a teacher who has made some special study of History. It is in this part of the school that most use is made of the school library, which has been in many cases built up out of the Advanced Courses grant.

In many, perhaps the majority, of Advanced Courses in Modern Studies at present the period of History selected covers also a period of English and French Literature. The period of the French Revolution and the Romantic Period of Modern Literature are favourite topics. In some schools the History includes Economic History, and in this case the

* Examples of these may be found in the Syllabus of the Higher Certificate of the London University. See also the Board's Regulations for Advanced Courses.

last 150 years are usually taken for the special period of History. Often a special aspect of English History, the Constitutional, the Social or Economic, is offered, or a survey of British Colonisation, and occasionally, but too rarely, a course in American History. The latter point—the absence of any reference to American History either in Advanced Courses or elsewhere—has frequently struck us as a special defect in view of our kinship and common interests with the United States. Such reference as occurs is almost exclusively to the War of Independence, while the American Civil War, an admirable special topic, certainly does not receive the attention which it deserves. Nor, to take another example from our own History, is sufficient attention directed to the History of India, about which Macaulay's dictum might still be repeated.

In schools taking the Advanced Course in Classical Studies or the newly instituted Course D. History is also essential, though it might be suggested that more works of an historical kind might be studied as a part of these courses, and in the History taught more effort might be made to dwell on the wider aspect and to connect the special period of Classical History under review with its antecedents and with the History of other countries. The tradition still persists too widely that Ancient History consists exclusively of those more familiar books in Greek and Latin which have been usually studied in Universities, and in particular of the History of about 150 years for Greece and 200 years for Rome before the establishment of the Empire.

If such a panel of History teachers as we suggested in Section II could be set up in all the larger schools, it would help to bring the Classical and Modern teaching of History together, and provide such general courses of lessons as we suggest in Section IV. It is not unusual in Public Schools to find some lessons on Economics and Modern problems being given to the older boys, especially on the Classical side. But these are matters in which the interests of all departments are at one, and such lessons and discussions should be given to *all* and given in an historical spirit.

In Advanced Courses in Science and Mathematics General History does not as a rule find a place. It might well be

done in such an incidental way as we have just suggested, and it would be an admirable subsidiary subject. But when it is done, it is most desirable that the work should have a fresh and inherent interest of its own and not appear to the pupils merely a perfunctory continuation of the History work which has been done, largely for the examinations, in previous years. Some book of outstanding literary merit, some great biographies, are obvious examples of the right line of approach.

But there is also a distinct movement to be recorded in the direction of introducing the historical spirit into the study of Science and Mathematics themselves. This was specially recommended by a committee appointed under the auspices of the British Association, and it has been followed in a few schools by special courses on the History of Scientific Ideas, while in others the Science teachers prefer to deal with the History of Science incidentally in their teaching of the subject itself. In one case the boys on the Science side had been induced by their Master to get up M. Guitry's play on Pasteur, in French, and they acted it with the greatest gusto, though the action itself is slight and the dialogue consists mainly of explanations by the great scientist of his views and achievements. The boys, in fact, were so enthusiastic about it that they proceeded on their own account to write and produce another play on the work of Leonardo da Vinci.

The best approach to History for the Science boy is an exceedingly interesting and important subject. Many of them, finding their chief interest in Chemistry or Physics, would have another side of their intellectual life awakened if they knew that Priestley, who played so great a part in building up their own Science, was also interested in the Revolutionary movement of the 18th century, and that Galileo, the founder of modern Physics, was visited in his blind old age by the English Poet of Puritanism, the Latin secretary of Oliver Cromwell.

The need of a continued and increasing stream of Graduates well qualified to teach History in the schools is so great that we may express the hope that there will be no diminution of the inducement for some of the best scholars to obtain

History scholarships, and continue the study of History at the University level. But it should not be the exclusive subject for the award of any scholarships.

We were much struck by the example of one of the older Public Schools, where a whole class (16 boys) had asked to be transferred from the Classical side to a special class in History. At the inspection they were doing very interesting and promising work, and, since that time, several have obtained scholarships and exhibitions at Oxford and elsewhere.

Such work may, of course, easily be combined in grant-earning schools with work done under the Advanced Courses Regulations.

VI.—SPECIAL ASPECTS AND TOPICS.

Social History and Civics.—One of the most striking recent developments in all classes of schools is the greater attention now given to what is called "Social History." Numerous text-books have recently appeared dealing with the social aspect of History, portraying the daily life, occupation, trades and amusements, especially of our own forefathers in this country. It is largely the fruit of the work which J. R. Green commenced nearly fifty years ago in his *Short History of the English People*, and it is a movement in the right direction. It emphasises the fact that History is an account of the developing life of the whole people, and not merely of the greater figures which led or dominated the evolution from time to time. It allows for a fairer treatment of the part played by women in the historical process than is possible with the ordinary political outline. It connects admirably, as we shall see, with the increased attention to Local History which is another growing feature in our present practice, and it gives ample opportunity to the scholars to study and represent in various ways the details of life which they thus feel to be continuous with their own. We have noted, however, that this line of approach tends somewhat to obliterate the great landmarks in History, which are clearly important for building up a sound and more extensive knowledge later on. If we start to study History in this more popular social spirit,

it becomes still more important to choose and make clear great events from which important changes and developments have flowed.

But while we in England have taken readily to the social idea in teaching History, we have not adopted to the same extent as some other nations the idea of teaching "Civics" as a definite subject. Most of our teachers, unlike those of the United States, prefer to allow the lessons which Civics would impart to flow naturally from the ordinary Historical Course; and if this is done deliberately and with due consciousness of the end to be attained, it may prove to be the better way. There is now a general opinion among teachers and others who have considered the question, that some teaching of Modern History and modern problems should be given to as many pupils as possible in the last year or two of their time at school. A conference at the Board of Education three years ago endorsed this opinion, and a good deal is being done in the schools to carry it into effect. If well done, such a course of lessons should convey the right attitude towards Civic problems to the pupils without the definite teaching of Civics as a separate subject, for it is this recent period which contains the greatest expansion of the Empire, the development of Local Government at home, the change of our social order due to the Industrial Revolution. What is most needed in this, as in most of our historical teaching, is the readiness on the part of the teacher to make the natural application of what he is teaching to the problems of the day; and this, in spite of a considerable awakening, is still very difficult to secure, sometimes even in the most obvious cases. It was only the other day that we found a young ex-officer home from Palestine dealing with the Crusades without making, or thinking it useful to make, any reference to General Allenby's advance over the historic ground in which he had himself just taken part. But on the whole it must be said that History teaching is now a much more live thing than it was a few years ago. Current events are now much more frequently dealt with, newspaper extracts are often posted on the wall, discussions are sometimes organised in class or take place in the school debating societies after school hours.

Local History.—In the Board's Circular 599 a whole section is devoted to Local History, and considerable advance has taken place in this matter during the fourteen years since the Circular was written. Next, perhaps, to the extension of Modern and Social History, increased interest in Local History is the most notable special aspect of the subject which has received attention. There are few schools which do not admit an interest in the subject, and the majority pay some serious attention to it. London deserves in this respect particular mention, for London has in this period opened the most attractive and comprehensive Museum for Local History to be seen anywhere except, perhaps, in Paris, and the London schools, both Secondary and Elementary, are awakening to a keen interest in the large store of historical monuments and memories which lie near their doors. Several schools have special courses for Local History, and borrow books out of the local and other libraries for the purpose. One school which we visited had made a historical and literary survey of its own district. It might be suggested that the matter of Local History is a very suitable one for what is called "research work," and might be encouraged by the offer of prizes. One branch of the Historical Association, we noticed, had recently offered prizes in two classes for all the schools in its area for Illustrated Note Books of Local History. The competitors were to be judged in two divisions, the juniors up to the age of 15 and the seniors above that age. There are many archaeological societies which would be glad to do the same—collectively or through their individual members—if the schools appealed to them. Nor is such encouragement at all unnecessary, for in spite of the improvement there are still a multitude of places where the scholars could give no account of the origin or history of their most noted buildings or of any event with which the place is connected in History, but with a slight encouragement they are eager to work and to enquire for themselves. Examples of such work were shown to us in several places done by boys who had themselves set out to visit and make sketches of notable places in their own neighbourhood, and it is a matter in which specialisation is as easy as it is profitable. The London boy, given sufficient time, could make an

admirable and complete study of the Tower, the Yorkshire boy of the battlefield of Marston Moor, and so on. Much help could be obtained in most districts from local antiquarians, and more use should be made of such authorities as the Victoria History of the Counties and the various guide books.

Connection with Geography.—We have not found, nor have we thought it desirable to recommend, any forced or artificial relation between the History taught and the other subjects in the curriculum. Of all these subjects Geography is clearly the closest and offers the most fruitful ground for interesting matter, sometimes introductory, sometimes complementary to the History lessons. The connection is by no means always overlooked, but we have often noticed that the History work would be much improved by a better grounding in Geography. This connection has received more attention in French schools than in our own, and, among ourselves, recent attempts at promoting "Regional Surveys" are a move in the right direction. To those teachers who are specially interested in World History, the connection with Geography offers special attractions, for in Geography we have always aimed in our schools at some knowledge of the whole world, and if the History, as we found in one case, is more closely connected with the Geography, it tends also to become the History of the World. In this case the work in the two lowest Forms was introductory to a systematic treatment both of general World History and World Geography. In the middle Forms the History was dealt with in chronological periods, English and General History receiving parallel treatment, and a two years' course on the History of Exploration was given to the third and fourth Forms with a fortnightly lesson. This aspect of History offers a valuable link between the two subjects, and in the school referred to the work was completed in the Upper Forms by essays of considerable scope on topics of present interest.

The influence of Geography on History is, of course, a matter of profound and constantly recurring importance, and should receive more attention than it often does. Trade routes and naval and military history are obvious examples.

The fact that Geography too often disappears from the curriculum of our Secondary Schools before the later years of the Historical Course is from this point of view a disadvantage. On the other hand the use both of historical wall maps and hand-atlases has become more frequent, and there is an abundant supply of good ones.

A hint or two, based on our experience, may be added, as to the sort of map most useful for historical teaching. Too much time should not be spent on the actual drawing of the maps, for they can be very well traced by means of transparent and carbon paper. It is better that each map of such a series should deal with only one event or movement, and that it should be built up in class as the lesson proceeds. For example, if the coming of William of Normandy is to be the subject of a lesson, an outline map of England with the Thames and the Ouse might be drawn in preparation before the lesson, and Stamford Bridge, Hastings, Dover, Southwark, Wallingford and Berkhamstead would be entered on the map as each place was reached in the course of the lesson. The essential is that this map should contain no entry that had no connection with the events of 1066. Other maps would be drawn and similarly filled-in in subsequent lessons. For example, France for Henry II's possessions: Palestine to illustrate the Crusades: Scotland for the Scotch Wars of Edward I. If such maps were drawn in a book specially kept for the purpose they would ultimately form a historical atlas of special value to the pupil, as it would be of his own making and would illustrate directly his course of reading.

Connection with Literature.—Here, also, the two subjects should stand on their own merits, though it often seemed to us possible that more might be done by including books of distinct historical value in the Literature Course. Many books have equal value for both, and might be introduced from the junior stage upwards. Comparatively few schools utilise as they might such an admirable instrument of historical teaching as Macaulay's *Lays*. Everyone should know by heart at least a great part of these, as well as many shorter national poems such as the *Marseillaise*, the *Wacht am Rhein*, *John Brown's Body* and so on. They are easily learnt and give more than the facts—the spirit and the

movement which appeal especially to the young. The greatest of all English writers, Shakespeare himself, exhibits these fully in the historical plays.

A good deal of historical reading is done in books such as Hakluyt, North's *Plutarch*, and, in the higher classes, Burke's *Speeches*. In French a translated Froissart is sometimes used in the lower Forms, but some reading of History in French might well be included in the general French work, even in the Middle Forms. In the Advanced Courses standard writers such as De Tocqueville, Guizot, Michelet, Thiers and others find their place, and occasionally, when German is taken, some of Schiller's historical writings and plays.

The Bible.—One of the great and obvious sources of historical information, the Bible, remains to be noted. Here, as might be expected, the views both of teachers, parents and pupils differ widely and deserve all respect. Some teachers with a strong historical leaning make the Bible their main source for Ancient History. We found in certain girls' schools the regular introduction of what was called an "Inter-Testament Course," which by filling up the gap of four or five hundred years between the Old and New Testaments succeeded in making the Bible provide a continuous outline of ancient civilisation. It is clear, at any rate, that the pupil may get from that source a picture of nomadic and pastoral life, an idea of the patriarchal family and the tribe, the government of the Jewish kingdoms and the rise and spread of Christianity, with some understanding of the meaning of the Roman Empire; and to gain this would be no mean equipment for historical study. But, on the other hand, teachers and even scholars were not infrequent who thought that to use the Bible mainly for this purpose was diverting it from its proper use and taking from the short time allotted to the subject some of the higher values which it is introduced to supply. In the one hour usually assigned to Bible teaching it would clearly be impossible to do full justice to all the aspects of the subject, but in any school where an attempt to treat of the ancient world is made, the lessons of the Bible should be put to full use as historical material, and we endorse heartily the recommendation of the Committee on the

Teaching of English that the Bible deserves increased attention, not only for religious, but also for literary and historical reasons.

General Characteristics and Omissions.—It is no doubt still true that our History teaching, as compared with that of other European and Western nations, does, on the whole, lean strongly to the political side. Where we have recently made additions it has been chiefly on the Social and Economic side. This general colouring of our historical teaching reflects, no doubt, our bent as a nation and therefore has a historical justification. Our political achievement has been our most characteristic and most successful effort as a nation, and, as we were the leaders in the Industrial Revolution, we are now beginning to take special interest in the history of that movement also. It is somewhat strange that the one other leading achievement of the English nation, our power at sea, especially in its connection with the building-up of the Empire, has always received so little attention in the school teaching of History. We cannot recall a single school in which this aspect of English History receives adequate attention, though the Naval Colleges have, of course, always studied it.

But there are indications of movement towards a wider view of History. Besides the increased attention to social life, which is very marked, we note the freer introduction of Literature as part of History, some teaching of History in connection with scientific studies, and in the sphere of Art a certain use of architecture as historical material. The latter point is an altogether admirable one, for nothing can be more easily studied in the concrete, nothing gives better evidence of the corporate spirit of an age than the buildings which it has produced.

As the most recent example of the spread of a wider view in the teaching of History, it is interesting to note the new Syllabus for Training Colleges. Two of the four alternative syllabuses—those in Mediaeval and Modern History—include the relevant European History, and a third syllabus provides for the first time a scheme of General History, the story of civilisation as a basis for the understanding of the modern world.

VII.—METHODS OF TEACHING

It will be understood that this Report does not aim at being a volume of suggestions on method. What we have to say under this heading will arise from what we have actually seen in the schools. Moreover, in the teaching of History it would be bad advice to urge any one way of doing work which must necessarily be approached from so many angles. Perhaps no one lesson would be more useful for all engaged in it than to realise from how many different sources light may come upon problems of History, from how many quarries material may be extracted to build up its structure. As History is the most comprehensive of all subjects with which we have to deal in school, so the methods of dealing with it will vary almost indefinitely with the opportunity and capacity of pupil, teacher and place.

But it may be useful to consider in a little detail some questions of method which have been forced upon us in our visits. To see the obviously faulty, to appreciate the obviously good, are perhaps the most useful functions of any critic, and we will therefore begin on the credit side by setting down a few points on which satisfaction may be felt with recent progress and actual endeavour.

The most striking advance is to be found, no doubt, in a great increase in the interest taken in the subject, a desire to improve both methods and results. Connected with this is the marked increase in knowledge on the part of the teachers. They are, as a whole, a much more expert body. A large proportion of them have now made some systematic study of History at the University or elsewhere. Many are increasing their knowledge and fitness by further reading, by attendance at short courses, lectures and classes.

In the schools we have noted much better keeping of notes, both by teachers and taught. There are also far more essays now written on historical topics, and in the pupils' notes and essay-books more illustrative maps are to be found. The blackboard, though by no means used so generally as is desirable, is now recognised as an important agent in making the lesson effective.

Another point on the credit side, almost entirely new since the Circular of 1906, is the use of so-called "Source

Books " to stimulate intellectual curiosity on the part of the pupils themselves and for illustration by the teacher ; and in the junior classes, as we noted above, an increasing number of schools encourage their pupils to draw, model and describe objects, scenes and figures arising out of their lessons. This constructive and illustrative work, as well as the use of what is called " the dramatic method," are all recent developments of the last few years and all must be counted to the good, though their value may be set too high.

When we turn now to the other side of the account and consider those aspects of the work which are most open to criticism, it is possible to dismiss at once the cases of obvious negligence and want of any thought about the matter to be taught. Old and faulty practices no doubt still exist here and there, but they are rapidly on the decrease. Here and there classes have been found where, clearly without any preparation on the part of the teacher, the scholars have been called upon to read aloud the text-book, with an occasional question, generally in explanation of a word. It would not be fair to represent such instances as typical of what is going on in the bulk of the schools, but, on the other hand, there is still, in a large number of cases, insufficient preparation on the part of the teacher of what he and the scholars are to do in the History lessons. It will be understood that such preparation is something quite apart from the necessary knowledge of the subject. The preparation here implied is that needed for the best presentation of the subject matter. The work would undoubtedly be immensely strengthened and accelerated if teachers gave more foresight regularly to planning out their work and devising methods by which the best use of the time spent with the class could be secured. Methods will naturally vary in detail, but there can be no question of the gain in thinking out what we are going to do, why we are going to do it and how we can best obtain our results.

This intelligent planning of the work involves what is so often forgotten—a consideration by the teacher of what the class already knows and what it does not. The need for this revision and prevision met us at every turn. It is seen when the teacher first meets a class of newcomers, mostly provided

with mere scraps of information and without any conception of general sequence or purpose in the whole. It is found in nearly every class when it goes from one teacher to another or one period to the next. Find out the material already acquired and build upon it. Show them a plan of the house beforehand, it will make the subsequent process more interesting and intelligible.

More thought, too, should be given to the best use which may be made of the text-book, the best correlation possible between the teacher's spoken word and the printed words of the author; for on the right combination of these and the pupils' assimilation of them success depends. Given the two sources of information, the work must be based partly on the reading, either before or after the lesson, of a portion of the text-book, and partly on the exposition and explanation of the matter by the teacher himself. We are convinced that in each part of this process it would be possible, with a little more thought and a good deal more insistency, very largely to raise the average product. On the side of the book the scholars are not often enough required to show that they have actually mastered the main facts which they have read. On the side of the teacher's lesson there is rarely the carefully articulated outline, with its headings set out on the black-board, and its main points brought home by frequent question and recapitulation. In both these matters there is much to seek, and we would put the importance of thoroughness in dealing with them far above the details of what sort of notes to take, at what age the children ought to take notes, and so on.

The need of regular and intelligent revision is constantly apparent. Some might be inclined to rank this defect as the most serious of all, because to it is due more than to anything else the general failing of classes as they go up the school to retain and enlarge the elementary outline of which we spoke above. The tendency in each class to concentrate on the period then being studied, to the neglect of what has gone before and its connection with other and larger issues, is still a very striking and prevalent evil.

It is rare to find the treatment of a new period or subject introduced by questioning the class either about what they

have already studied or what they know about the new topic. Both are obvious and useful forms of revision, which may, and should, be of many other kinds as well. Facts and dates once learnt should be frequently recalled in other connections, and in teaching new matter reference should constantly be made to other events connected with it. Any topic in English political History would furnish examples of how this should be done. The growth of Parliament—By what steps did it begin to exercise control independent of the Sovereign? How did the House of Commons acquire supreme power in matters of finance? Henry VIII as candidate for the Empire—What was this Empire? How did a certain dynasty acquire the presumptive right of succeeding to it? And so on. The very essence of History is this habit of "looking before and after"—the special purpose which our species was born to achieve. In fact revision, rightly understood, is not so much one item of intelligent method in teaching History as the root of the whole matter.

We have referred already to the disparagement and neglect which have for some time reigned on the subject of dates and of accuracy in facts. But the question is so fundamental that it is necessary to allude to it again and give a little more detail and illustration.

Our knowledge of History must be based on the right correlation of a multitude of facts. Interest is essential, and the power of inference should be gradually trained; but the indispensable basis is the fact, and it is a fatal error to assume that even a young child is incapable of learning and retaining the facts that he will need when he begins to build up and comprehend the structure of History as a whole. "The When, the Where, and the Why" are the essential points in our study of History, and we may connect them in that order with "the Who," which should take a leading place in the earliest stage.

We did not notice in our visits much systematic development of the time-sense, or, indeed, much inquiry into the interesting questions which this problem arouses. Man is, we have been told by a recent writer, essentially the "time-binding animal"* and there is so much truth in this that it behoves

* *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1922.

us most carefully to study the possibilities of building up and strengthening the time-sense in the young. So little experiment has been hitherto made in this matter, at least in England, that it will be dangerous to dogmatise upon the question, but there seems no reason to doubt that at any rate from the ninth to the twelfth year the first idea of order might be built up. The first step is to get into their right order the facts taught, *e.g.*, that Queen Anne came before Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth before Queen Anne. Next, and not very difficult, is to realise, by spatial illustration, that the death of Queen Anne is rather more than twice as far remote from us as the accession of Queen Victoria, that King Alfred comes half-way between the Roman Invasion and our own time, and so on. When we are once convinced that the thing is right and necessary it is not so difficult to do; but there is unfortunately a certain prejudice in the minds of some people at the present time against this; it is thought "mechanical"; they fear that it may kill the interest, they look for the joy of the child in living again the life of our ancestors, they wish to stimulate as far as possible the scholar's own researches and deprecate the provision by the teacher of any formal or mechanical aids at all. But this is a grave mistake. The astronomer might as well lose himself on the glories of the starry heaven or attempt to trace the history of the spiral nebulae without the mathematical exactness required in his science, as the teacher of History to dispense with the measured framework by the aid of which mankind has built up his ordered conception of the past, and without which the student in the present will lose himself in a maze of personal impressions and vague generalisation. This is the special purpose of the simple time-chart or time-line, which should be much more employed than it generally is.* The fault of most charts in use is that they are too complicated and do not make a sufficiently simple and striking impression upon the brain.

The question how far the pupil should depend upon his book and how far upon his teacher is one on which no hard and fast line can possibly be laid down. The answer must differ accordingly to the quality of the book and of the teacher

* Pamphlets on time-charts, Miss Madeley, published by the Historical Association.

in every case. The fault on the one side is now happily disappearing, of letting the scholar read aloud the text-book in class with verbal comments; but it is necessary to refer to the opposite mistake in method, which is much more prevalent, viz., the lesson which takes the form of a mere lecture, often inferior to the book. There is too much of this; many lessons which we heard were hardly broken at all by any interchange of questions and answers between the teacher and the class. It was in fact rare to hear a lesson which fairly fulfilled the conditions of goodness which common-sense suggests and any text-book on school method would enforce. A good lesson should be clearly thought out in its parts, make frequent appeal to the pupil's own previous knowledge, test his attention and comprehension as it goes on by well-directed questions, and conclude by a recapitulation of the ground covered. This last part may best be done by the summing-up of the main points by the pupil himself in his own words. Where, as is frequently the case in senior classes, the teacher is talking and the pupils writing hard throughout the lesson, all this valuable work is lost and the mental effect of the spoken word is obscured in the haste to get it down correctly.

The effect of good History teaching on the English composition came frequently to our notice, and it appears conspicuously in the second of the cases of special method which we give in detail below. The reasons are obvious. The pupil has something definite to write about. If a biography, it is always interesting, and grows in interest and detail as we continue our research; and to convey our own interest and information to others, we must write clearly, connectedly and without padding and flourish.

Two examples of well-thought-out method of different kind may be given in conclusion, one going back to Mr. Townsend Warner at Harrow and based on the orderly co-operation of teacher and pupil—preparation by both, oral exposition by the teacher, and subsequent summary in the pupil's note—the other a recent experiment on the lines of more complete self-help by the pupil.

In Mr. Warner's case the boys were required to read in preparation a chapter in their book bearing on the subject

of the next lesson. Before he met the class the master had put on the blackboard brief headings of his main points. He would then in the course of conversation elicit what they had learnt, criticise them, supplement their knowledge by his own, and, at the end, the whole class would themselves make a summary under the headings that he had provided, but filled out with the additional matter which he had gone over in his lesson.

An adaptation and extension of this plan was found in some other cases where the summary, such as Mr. Warner's lesson would lead to, was given on one side of the scholars' notebooks and the other was left blank for subsequent notes on their own reading. Such work as this, calling for careful revision by the pupil and additional matter sought out by him, is strongly to be commended as combining the merit of the old system of learning accurately and repeating what the pupils have been taught and the new spirit of independent inquiry on the pupil's own initiative.

Of the latter type, it may be interesting to give in some detail an example which we found in force in one of the larger and older Secondary Schools in London. There for the past ten years they have employed to an increasing extent in the highest Forms what they have always called the "Research Method" for teaching History. The fundamental idea was that interest in historical studies would be stimulated by the encouragement of special and additional work of the pupil's own choice. This was not to take the place of the ordinary class teaching, though it gradually came to permeate it. Twice a year, at Christmas and Midsummer, pupils were allowed to choose for themselves a subject in History or Literature in which they felt some special interest and in which they could set out the results of their study in essay form. This Form usually works in three sections:—

- (a) Boys about 18 preparing for University Scholarships ;
- (b) Boys about 17 preparing for the Intermediate Arts, now the Higher Certificate Examination for Honours in History and English ;
- (c) Boys about 16 preparing for the General Schools Examination.

In the youngest set discussions of subjects and books to be read took place before they arrived at a choice, and brief notes of the matter were handed to the teacher and further advice received from him. When this first sketch had been sanctioned the essays were written at home in the boys' own time. They were always encouraged to rewrite their work several times, and this proved a most valuable method of improving their style. It was, in fact, held by the masters responsible for this work that the effort of writing again the same essay, even six times over, when interest was so far excited as to lead the boy to want to set out his thought in a worthy manner, achieved far more in point of composition than the writing of, say, six different essays without this sustained interest and painstaking effort. The boys were encouraged to set up their matter, as though for the Press, with foot-notes, illustrations, maps and bibliographies. Some remarkable illustrated work was done and careful mapping. In the compilation of the bibliographies short descriptions with critical notes were expected, and thus a test was obtained that the reading of the books named was thorough and the work as a whole genuine. In the middle set there was by design much less supervision, and among these boys a sense of literary form and an individuality of style began to appear. The oldest boys were left entirely free, both as to choice of subject and method of presentation. Among the oldest originality was now frequently evident, and always received special praise. These essays were usually only seen by the teacher in their finished form. The master considered that the chief educational result of this method was to develop a higher type of work than that needed for the ordinary preparation for examination. This was due to the encouragement given to the pupil's own personality, his taste and talent, and any special feature in his life or environment—even his embryo politics—was allowed full scope. When finished, the essays were passed round the class, and one pupil learned from another with great rapidity and a healthy emulation was brought into play. Once a week all three sets came together for mutual criticism, and at these meetings the boys were trained to speak directly, readily and fully upon outstanding points of matter or style without

looking at their notes. Similar work on a more limited scale has been seen at a few other schools in different parts of the country, and it should be noted generally how well History thus taught subserves the purpose of good English teaching, and especially what a good topic for such treatment a full-length biography may be. This may fairly be called "Research," but, on the other hand, we felt somewhat sceptical as to the value of what is called "work on original sources" in the case of junior classes. Here the main object must be the arousing of an initial interest in the subject and the accumulation of the necessary facts. But reference to contemporary literature and, in suitable cases, to documents of recognised interest, telling their own story with sufficient clearness, is always excellent. Chaucer's *Prologue* is good even for a middle form. Stories from Bede and the Chronicles, extracts from letters and diaries, are other obvious examples.

But we are not writing a handbook of method, and only noting some conspicuous failings and some outstanding examples of success which must be taken as representative of others. No subject seems to us less suitable for any rigid, mechanical and uniform method of teaching. Interest, spontaneous work of every kind and the orderly record of results should be the main objects in view for the teacher of History.

VIII.—EXAMINATIONS.

History is an important subject in all the Approved Examinations. In the First Examinations it is one of the subjects of Group I, the other subjects in the group including English, Geography and Scripture. To obtain a certificate a candidate has to pass in each group and in five, or in the case of the London University First Examination, in six subjects, Arithmetic being a compulsory subject. Inasmuch as a pass in Group I is obtained by passing in a single subject of the group, and as the minimum number of subjects can, in each examination, be made up without including History, it follows that for the purpose of obtaining a school certificate History is an optional subject. This policy has clearly been deliberately adopted so as to free teachers from the necessity of bringing every pupil up to the pass standard in each subject taught.

For all the First Examinations* periods of English History are prescribed. In all, except that of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, Greek or Roman History, and in all, except that of Bristol University, Modern European History are included as alternatives.

English History occupies the most prominent position in these examinations. It is divided, as a rule, into periods ending, for example, at 1495, 1688, 1815 and 1914, one or two periods being expected from each candidate. In only one case—the Oxford Local—has the general course of English History, 55 B.C.—A.D. 1880, been included as an alternative. For this examination the periods hitherto allowed have now been abandoned, and only the general course of English History is prescribed.

The First and Second Examinations have been fully investigated, and we append the recommendations made by the History investigators. With those recommendations we are in general agreement. There is, however, a further matter that calls for notice. The traditional practice of limiting the examination to comparatively short periods means in effect that the examination test is restricted to the work done in the school year in which the examination falls, and that no account is taken of what a candidate has done in preceding years. The actual state of things is in some cases even narrower than this, for the questions set are often so restricted in scope that they call for knowledge of only one king, one incident, one statesman, one movement, and as more questions are set than have to be answered, it is possible for a candidate to pass by giving evidence of a knowledge of only one half of the period offered.

Since the war there has been an increasing tendency for candidates to offer the later periods for examination, and one result of limiting the questions in the way indicated has been that the mediaeval period is in danger of receiving scant attention in the later years of school life. This is unfortunate, for not only is the mediaeval period in itself worthy of careful study but, without an adequate knowledge of it, the great developments of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries cannot be appreciated at their full value, and, vice versa, a knowledge

* See Appendix II.

of later times enables us rightly to appraise the mediaeval period. For these reasons, if for no other, it would be an advantage if the examinations were such as to induce candidates to keep under review those portions of their History course that lie outside the periods they offer for examination. This result might be secured in either of two ways. For example, all candidates might be required to attempt one of a number of questions so framed that they could not be answered without a general knowledge of English History. Or, alternatively, some of the questions on the prescribed period might be so framed as to enable candidates to make appropriate reference to incidents in other periods. It is, moreover, important that examinations should discourage an insular treatment of the subject and encourage teachers to deal, whenever possible, with the relevant portions of European History of the period studied. This means that examination papers are not really satisfactory unless they contain some questions that would test such knowledge.

The Second Examination comes normally two years after the First Examination and represents work of a much more advanced character. The nature of the test that is appropriate to this later stage is very clearly indicated in the report of the investigators. We wish to draw special attention to that report, for it deals with the matter very fully. The main principle is that the test should be on a course of work comprising a period of English History, the corresponding period of European History, and the particular study of a special subject that should be either closely related to one of the periods chosen or of a more general character.

Internal Examinations are a matter of considerable importance. In some schools they are held every term, and in every school at least once a year. They are naturally graded according to age, as they are directly based upon the year's work in each Form. The teacher of the class has, of course, a great deal to do with the drafting of the questions, but it is always an advantage if the paper is submitted to the criticism of either the chief history teacher or the panel of history teachers. It is no less desirable in internal examinations than in external examinations that there should be questions testing accuracy of knowledge, power of thought and generalisation,

and the extent to which the work of previous years has been kept up. In the case of very young pupils an oral examination may be the most suitable form, and in the case of the older pupils there seems no reason why there should not be an oral test in addition to the written examination.

The Common Entrance Examination for Public Schools.— We visited a certain number of Public and Preparatory Schools in the course of this enquiry, but with respect to the latter feel that we have not sufficient knowledge for a sound general judgment. It may, however, be of some use to express a tentative opinion based on the study by one of our number of the papers on History set for the common entrance examination. It would seem from them that a wider scope, greater variety in the type of question and generally questions of a more interesting nature would do much to improve the preparation in History for those taking this examination. Moreover the time allowed for the paper, forty-five minutes for several questions, is likely to encourage the acquisition of information of a skeleton kind.

IX.—BOOKS, LIBRARIES, ETC.

We have already noticed the great general improvement in recent school text-books on History. It is probably greater than in any other class of school book. There is now a large choice of fairly well-written and attractively illustrated text-books of English History, nor is there any reason why every school should not in this respect be well equipped, except the want of money. In European History the choice is not so great, and the teacher is therefore more apt to indulge in an undue amount of lecturing and the pupil to excessive taking of notes. This will, no doubt, be gradually remedied as the teaching of European History extends, but there is one danger which was often present in our minds and seems less easy to correct. By all means let us improve our text-books, as happily they are improving, but do not let us forget that, however good they may become, or however good the teacher, the best teachers of all will always remain the great masters of History, from the Greeks to modern times, who have written the works which permanently embody man's reasoned account of his actions from age to age. These

books, unfortunately, are not now in such general use among educated people as they once were. Even an excellent text-book such as J. R. Green's *Short History* is falling into comparative disuse in favour of the modern and popular text-book. Green is a conspicuous case, but some of Macaulay's and Froude's *Essays* might well be more generally read and find a place as part of the course in History as well as Literature. Some of the great books, for instance, Gibbon, are obviously too long for school use, and it would be a useful task for competent scholars to issue more selections from the great historians of all ages suitable for the purpose.

It would be useful, also, if more reference were made in the ordinary school text-books to the passages in the larger works suitable for further study. This is much more generally done in American books than in our own. Good bibliographies are now available for most departments of History, and the teacher should consult these and put the pupil on the track of wider reading even when the text-book fails to do it for him.

A Word for Prizes.—Special work, of a more or less voluntary kind, such as we specified in Section VII, is very suitable for special prizes for History, which would naturally take the form of books on History. Work of this sort avoids the common objection to prizes, that they stimulate an unhealthy competition; and the prize winner gains something of which he has already shown his appreciation. Give him some good books, for he has already shown that he knows how to use them.

Historical Novels.—Much has been said about the use of historical novels as part of the History teaching, and some schools put up a list on the classroom wall of such books available in the school or other libraries and bearing on the period being studied. But it cannot be said that their use is as wide or as intelligent as it might be. One rarely heard during a lesson any reference to the pupils' reading of an historical novel, and more stress should certainly be laid in such lists on the really first-rate books which everyone should read. The admirable pamphlet by Sir Charles Firth recently issued by the Historical Association supplies this guidance.

School Libraries.—Some of the larger schools are now well supplied, and in the Public Schools generally the library is an important part of the general equipment. The libraries are now increasingly well used, and we noticed in several cases the influence that an active librarian, in touch perhaps with a committee of the boys, may have in promoting reading. In the grant-earning Secondary Schools the main improvement in school libraries on the historical side is due to the special grant paid by the Board for Advanced Courses including History. Those schools are worst off which, without the resources of the great Public Schools or the public money given for Advanced Courses, have yet somehow to make provision for libraries. Very few indeed have no library at all, but in a great many the supply of historical books is quite inadequate, and the contrast between the best and the worst equipped is striking and deplorable. In all cases better results might be obtained by a careful consideration beforehand of the best books to buy, and such consideration would be a very proper subject for the panels of History teachers proposed in Section II.

Public Libraries.—We found that the Public Libraries were generally very anxious to assist the wider reading of History in the schools by any possible use of their own resources. London is in this matter especially fortunate. It might often be an advantage to make some arrangement between the school and the Public Library by which the school should acquire ordinary books of reference constantly needed by teachers and pupils, as well as the more popular standard works, while the larger and more special books might be provided by the Public Library, which would also include the chief books on local history.

Atlases, Pictures, Slides, etc.—Atlases and pictures are now also much more generally provided, but the schools might do more than they usually do, in making, with the help of the pupils, special maps and charts for classroom purposes, and much more use might be made of prints and other reproductions of pictures and historical documents, which may now be had in abundance from the London Art Galleries or the British and other museums. Each school should gradually get its own supply of such things and think out its own plan of storing

and using them. The expense would not be great, and from such sources a supply of magic lantern slides might ultimately be made. The lantern is occasionally in use, but not so often as it is in teaching Geography, and the supply of suitable slides for illustrating History is much less abundant.

History Rooms.—In a few schools specially favoured in their buildings special rooms have been provided for historical material and for giving at least a part of the History lessons ; but it is more rarely the case than for Geography. In so far as the subject is left to Form Masters the work must as a rule be carried on in the ordinary Form room, nor, in any case, is the need or the advantage of such special rooms for History so great as in the case of Geography or, still more, Science ; yet, given favourable conditions, one can see much scope for creating a congenial atmosphere and exhibiting a variety of suggestive illustrations in a special room. Good wall space would naturally be provided ; pictures, charts, busts, models of typical buildings could be well displayed, and a frieze might run round the wall such as the recently drawn Procession of Scottish History, setting out the chief periods with their leading figures and typical symbols. Such a drawing, whether shown round a room or along a corridor, is an excellent example of a chart of time, but these cases will be at the best exceptional, and we shall do well to remember always that the real picture to be aimed at in History is in the mind. Books must remain the chief instrument for the History teacher, and if we give him a History Room, its chief use would be as a convenient place where he might have the books he most needed ready to hand.

Historical and Ethnographical Museums.—But though few schools will have either a special History Room or an Historical Museum of their own, there are a good many of the latter both in London and in the provinces. We have nothing perhaps to equal in their completeness and good arrangement the best to be seen abroad. The Historical Museums in Munich and Lübeck—to take two of the best in Germany—would make our teachers of History envious indeed. But the London Museum is now not a bad counterpart of the Musée Carnavalet in Paris, and in Cardiff, Dorchester, Reading and Salisbury there are excellent collections available for

school pupils as well as the general public. In the last of these cases special arrangements are made to bring the museum and the schools into close relations.

The best of all museums—those, for instance, which we have selected from Germany—trace the evolution of the local civilisation from the earliest prehistoric times down to quite recent days. With us there are a considerable number of collections of Roman objects in public museums which might be better used, and also numerous prehistoric collections. In one remarkable case in South London the Head Master of an Elementary School had, by assiduous personal search for over twenty years, acquired a unique collection of curios of artistic and sociological value—vases, weapons, idols, etc.—which were being used to the best effect in the school lessons. As to pre-history, whatever we may think of the comparative importance of this aspect of historical study, there can be no doubt that the most effective way to commence or to enforce such study is to see and handle the objects—tools, bones, ornaments, etc.—on which our still scanty knowledge is based.

Special Lectures.—Every museum needs an interesting and competent living guide to make it effective for the average visitor and, above all, for the child. We heard occasionally an illustrated lecture of an historical kind, but there might be many more, both in museums and in schools, to exhibit the fascinating reality of History. To take two obvious examples, nothing would do more to widen and make real the pupils' knowledge of Ancient Greece than illustrated lectures on Greek Art, and especially on a great typical building such as the Parthenon, or in the case of Mediaeval History similar lectures showing the evolution and decay of Gothic Architecture. For the former subject the Hellenic Society has a large and excellent supply of slides for loan; but it is well worth while, and would cost but little, for any school to acquire for itself a sufficient collection of these and other slides.

Historical Societies and Debates.—A few schools have regular historical societies, which depend for their success almost entirely on the stimulus of an active and interested teacher. We found one such school archaeological society which seemed to be arousing quite as much interest as the school natural

history society. No doubt also in many cases occasional debates on historical topics form a part of the programme of the ordinary school debating society. But we should expect a great increase in the living interest of school History if more were done in this direction. If subjects are chosen for debate on which opinion has always been keenly divided, *e.g.*, the Execution of Charles I, the War with France at the time of the Revolution, etc., we do something to put ourselves in the position of those who fought out the questions and, in doing so, train our power of expression in a natural and lively way. In this matter we join hands heartily with the authors of the recent report on *The Teaching of English in England*, in believing that the free, articulate and connected expression of one's knowledge and thought is as important a part of historical and all other teaching as the actual acquirement of the knowledge itself. One case might be mentioned where the experiment had been for years successfully carried out—where we heard a debate carried on with the utmost vigour on the acceptance of the Union with England by the Scottish Parliament. The protagonists had arrayed themselves in something suggesting the dress of the time, and expressed suitable opinions with abundant flow of language and emphatic gesture. The combination in this school of a Jewish with a non-Jewish element among the pupils was said to have been largely responsible for the result. The historical pageants which have been organised in many places in recent years are instances of the same idea more elaborately carried out, and bear witness to the growth of interest in History, especially in the last quarter of a century.

School Journeys, Visits to Churches, etc.—The School Journey, which was an increasing activity before the war, gives ample scope for historical and geographical study. Many schools, more perhaps Elementary than Secondary, have organised these, and we have seen admirable examples of note-books showing drawings of historical buildings and other matter. There are few schools in the country from which, within a day's tramp, visits might not be paid to dozens of ancient sites and buildings, not only the churches and castles, but the old houses, the old mills, the walls, the field-boundaries, and so on.

The schools of Wales have recently added fresh interest to such excursions by a systematic enquiry into the origin and meaning of their place-names, and the same thing is now being attempted in several parts of England.

X.—GENERAL AIM OF HISTORY TEACHING AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

We have been speaking so far of the practical work of the teacher of History. He is also necessarily a student of the subject, and will have been led in his reading to views of History wider than those needed for the daily work of the class-room. Such philosophic views have latterly become increasingly prominent in the world of thought, and they have their inspiration for the teacher, even though they contain a speculative element which may not command universal consent. To their applications in practice we shall return later.

On one point of theory, perhaps the most important, there is now happily complete unanimity—that is, as to the meaning of "History." What is History? Looking away from the class-room and reflecting on the nature of the subject itself, there can be only one answer which comprehends all parts of it and is satisfying to our reason. History must be defined as the reasoned account of man's evolution on earth; it is nothing less than this, and the small fractions of the process which can come under our review, whether in school teaching or in private study, will gain from a more philosophical grasp of the real nature of the subject as a whole.

We are living in an age which has been recently and rapidly acquiring this idea. In Dr. Arnold's day scientific history was beginning to be written by Niebuhr, Mommsen and the modern school; we have now reached a point where the real nature of the subject-matter is more fully apprehended. We can realise, in a way not realised before, that the living world-society of which we form a part is the embodiment of an infinite process of earlier happenings, that all sides of human nature and all parts of the human species show us something of the past, have made something in the present. These things are now the commonplaces of serious thought on History

how far are they being realised in practice, and how far is it possible to go further in their realisation ?

The conception which we have just sketched of history, is, it will be seen at once, of the idealist rather than of the materialist order. The story of man's evolution on earth is essentially the story of the growth of the human spirit. This spirit is conditioned by its material environment but not made by it ; it uses the means and the obstacles of Nature for its own ends ; on them and through them it rises to greater power and fuller consciousness of itself. So far as this is true—and it cannot in general be questioned—it is of the first importance in our study and teaching of History to keep its spiritual aspect in due prominence. We must not neglect or under-rate the influence of natural conditions, or what is wrongly called the "Geographical control," but far worse than under-rating them would be to give them the undue predominance which some schools of geographers, and even of historians, are inclined to do. Just in so far as the human race has progressed, so it has become superior to its material surroundings. The early man struggled long and, it would seem, desperately, against overwhelming odds. With the growing triumph of man's science and his increased accessions of power, he can now deal more easily with the forces that beset him, and make his life more independent of its material environment. This process comes more and more into the foreground as History proceeds and makes both its matter and its appeal increasingly universal.

We have noted some of the workings of this tendency in earlier sections of our Report. We have no doubt that it will go forward and become more prominent in all forms of History teaching in the near future. This does not imply any depreciation of the national spirit, for an international spirit, as the word implies, can only arise from converging nations ; the nation, its growth and its constituent factors, will always be of primary importance. These things we must learn, and yet not leave the others unlearned. But it will be noticed that in recent years, since, one may say, the publication of Green's *Short History*, the scope of the popular teaching and writing of history has been widened in a twofold way, it is more international in spirit and it is less exclusively political

in subject-matter. These two movements are closely connected. In the national sphere the political element, though by no means the sole factor, is far more predominant than it is in the building up of a world-society. In the latter the other sides of man's activity—Art, Science, Philosophy and Religion—bulk more largely. World History therefore becomes the History of Civilisation, while National History is primarily political. The reconciliation of these two aspects in our History teaching—both essential—is one of the most difficult problems which it presents.

This complete ideal of what History must contain seems to us the end to be reached in the more mature years of the student's thought, as it has arisen in the maturity of the race. It is important for us to secure it as a foundation of our own view, but not to seek prematurely to introduce it in our dealings with the young. For them the full light will break more slowly. It comes from varied and often unexpected angles, and the two first essentials seem to be—one, to arouse a wide and lively interest in the subject; second, to give a firm grasp of the essential turning-points in the process.

We have dwelt above in some detail on the means of securing these, and it is good to recognise that the first of the two points, the need of interest, is now being increasingly recognised in all the early teaching of History. The second point, the need of a first sure outline, though less well achieved at the present time, is not at all difficult to attain. We have given in early chapters some suggestions on it; the essential matters are a sound judgment as to what are the most important turning-points and thoroughness in impressing them on the minds of the pupils.

In the History class-room there is good reason for making the first serious sketch relate mainly to the History of our own nation, the place of England in the World. If this is given by the teacher with the fuller conception in his mind, it will serve as the best possible introduction to the later and more comprehensive view of the whole. The pupil is the citizen *in posse* of one of the greatest and noblest nations in the world, and a due consciousness of the value of this citizenship is an essential ingredient in the making of the full citizen of the world-unity of nations later on.

He has, in the History of England, the best example of the continuous development of a self-governing community, less broken in its internal evolution by revolutions than any other, more than any other able to extend its ideal of self-government round the world. It has founded more daughter nations, living like itself, than any other people, and its example has been followed more widely than that of any other nation by peoples of foreign blood and alien traditions. It has also, especially in the last three centuries, taken its full share in the intellectual development of the human race. For all these reasons, and many more, we would not see a pure internationalism in History teaching take the place even of the too exclusive nationalism which has prevailed in the past; but there is no real contradiction between the two ideas; one, rightly applied, leads necessarily to the other. We welcome, therefore, the evidence, of which there is much, that the History of other nations besides our own is being introduced where possible, and that History is being more and more regarded as belonging to all subjects in the curriculum and not merely to politics. The leading thread in the ordinary History course will still remain political, but this should not exclude relevant digressions and illustrations from other sides, and such enlargements of the original theme become the more necessary as History proceeds. The History teacher arriving, for instance, at the Industrial Revolution, will be led at once, if he wishes to do his work intelligently, into the sphere of scientific discovery and invention as well as of social reform. He cannot avoid seeing in the steam engine the symbol of one of the greatest changes in History, and to understand the steam engine leads him at once to the alliance between Watt and Black, and through Black, the Professor of Chemistry, to the beginning of modern science with Pascal, Torricelli and Galileo. It is an example, the clearest perhaps among many, of the way in which all aspects of human change are interwoven, and the supreme greatness of History lies in the fact that it brings all these aspects together, explains one by its connection with the others in the past, and gives a converging purpose to all in the future. But clearly few teachers, if any, could cover the whole ground of such connections, nor can the work be done in the History class-room

alone. We should not, and cannot, exclude the co-operation of all branches of human life; they affect, of course, the conditions of political association also. But we would not suggest that the History teacher alone should attempt to achieve it; a co-operation in itself, it involves the co-operation of all the staff, and the details can only be worked out in practice. What we find is that the History teacher is inevitably compelled to include within his survey those developments and inventions which have had an immediate effect upon political and social life. In the study of the ancient world the historian is, for instance, forced to call attention to the practical importance of the first introduction of agriculture, because that produced the change from the nomadic tribal community to the settled territorial state. In modern times he will have to deal with changes in the methods of agriculture resulting from scientific discoveries and their effect upon social conditions. Similarly inventions such as the introduction of coined money, gunpowder, the mariners' compass, the steam engine and electricity have always occupied a prominent place in historical work in the narrower sense.

How large this place will be must depend partly on the nature of the topic itself, partly on the special interest and knowledge of the History teacher. The origins of mathematical science, the introduction of the Arabic notation, the discoveries of Newton, and the later development in mathematics, are obviously matters of special study in the department of the mathematical teacher, though the ordinary History teacher may quite well make allusion to them. So in the History of Art. The History teacher will naturally and spontaneously direct the attention of his class to the great and typical expressions of the artistic sense in churches, castles and domestic architecture. The art teacher will develop these in detail. To the History teacher proper belong rather the social results of the development in each case than the details of the evolution. The distinction obviously cannot be sharply drawn, but it is easily grasped in principle and capable of giving real help and guidance. The case of the steam engine is here again a most enlightening one. Indispensable in general History from its social consequences, it belongs clearly to a special branch of study when we trace the steps which brought

it to perfection from the beginning with the Greeks, through the experiments of the 17th century, the gradual improvements of the 18th, down to the small but decisive inventions of Watt. A similar distinction might equally well be drawn in the history of chemistry.

But, while accepting this enlarged view of the meaning of History, it is of the first importance not to lose sight of the essential truth in the older conception. For if in the past we had asked of the great historians what was the real value of History, they would have answered that it was from the study of History that men have learned political wisdom ; and political wisdom in the larger sense includes the whole art of what we may call either government or human co-operation. It is only in society that man can live at all ; still more, it is only in ordered societies that man can enjoy the fruits of intellectual progress.

However fully, therefore, the wide scope of History may be recognised, politics, in the wider sense also, will remain one of its most essential parts, and to the History teacher proper will fall the duty of giving that positive training in political and social matters which is an increasing necessity in the modern state of millions of legally equal citizens.

The modern curriculum of our schools has dethroned the classics from the privileged and dominating position which they have held since the Renaissance. The vast expansion of physical science is mainly responsible for this ; the growth of our knowledge of the world, the increased need of communication with other nations, have also added largely and rightly to the studies which our pupils must pursue. But the unity of the old system has disappeared, and something also which the classical discipline, limited as it was, was well fitted to supply—an inspiration and a sense of human dignity, an appreciation of the greatness of Greece and Rome and, through them, of the immortal and growing past. We need, therefore, and shall need still more in the future, some compensating element, a link between our studies, a thread of continuity and of general human interest in the welter of modern life and of a modern school curriculum. Where can we look for this ? The element we need must touch the natural sciences, mathematics and the crafts, which,

though superior in discipline and objectivity, are not sufficiently comprehensive or human to unify the whole curriculum. It must touch literature and art, which, though they supply, better than any other study, a humane ideal and inspiration, yet are too far removed from the systematic knowledge and methods of science to act as the link. Cannot this new unity and new inspiration be sought in History?

The foregoing discussion and the possibilities which it suggests may serve to open up to the teacher and student of History the increasingly important future of his subject; it leaves untouched the mass of solid grounds for its study which the professional historian may put still higher. These wider and more philosophic views can only partially, and often incidentally, affect the teacher's work; they may even endanger it, if not wisely guarded. He has, before all things, to interest his pupils in the subject and put them in the way of acquiring the nearest approach to truth. For this purpose he may, in any part of the field, lead his pupils to weigh evidence and opinion for themselves, and gain some power of arriving at impartial conclusions on doubtful and disputed questions of the past. This mental training is of the highest value, and it will appear more clearly in later stages of school work, especially where the pupils follow such methods as are described in Section VII.

In History, as in no other study, the pupil learns, in dealing with the past, to judge of the truth in questions similar to those presented to us every day in the newspaper, in social intercourse, in the actions and characters of others. It is at its best a training of inestimable value both on the intellectual and the moral side. The power of testing evidence, of sifting the fact from gossip, of allowing for prejudice, was never more needed than at the present day. Nor was there ever an age when, in the multiplicity of issues and of interests, it was so necessary as now to be able to take one's stand in an impartial position, and, while allowing the fullest weight to opposing views, to hold the balance fairly in the interest of the whole. This is the temper which the study of History tends to foster, and our teachers do almost without exception strive to attain it. Justice to all and veneration or the great are two indispensable conditions for its

successful pursuit. Both of them are qualities eminently called for in a democratic age. If these are secured, there is no objection to a teacher stating his own view strongly, and allowing, or even provoking, difference of opinion and debate. If he has these, the main purpose of History as a moral discipline will be secured ; and from the earliest years onwards the whole story of mankind, worthily unfolded before the pupil, will stir his imagination and enlarge his spirit as no other school study can do. Only thus can he enter into his heritage as the child of the ages.

There is one point more which History alone of all the subjects is specially qualified to impress, and that is the essential principle of continuity in human affairs. The student learns in History, as he can learn nowhere else, that the present is entirely conditioned by the past, that there is no break in cause and effect in human actions. This is in fact the essence of the historical spirit, and it was expressed in a way which serious thinkers of all schools would accept by a philosopher writing at the moment when the school of scientific history began its work in the 19th century.

“Continuity, even more than solidarity, is the great moving force of man’s destinies, especially in our modern times. The present is but a vague and fleeting span which fills the interval between two immensities of duration and binds them one to the other. To live only, or even chiefly, in the present would be as irrational in philosophy as it is depraved in morality, and it must issue in interminable scepticism.”

F. S. MARVIN.

G. H. F. COOKSON.

J. HEADLAM MORLEY,

T. W. PHILLIPS.

T. A. STEPHENS.

25th November, 1922.

APPENDIX I

A SUGGESTED ALPHABET OF HISTORY.

- B.C. 100. *Julius Caesar born.
 A.D. 410. Romans leave Britain.
 597. Landing of Augustine. Mahomet.
 800. Charlemagne Crowned.
 901. Death of Alfred.
 1066. Norman Conquest.
 1096. First Crusade.
 1215. Magna Carta.
 1265. First Complete Parliament.
 1348. The Black Death.
 1415. Agincourt.
 1453. Capture of Constantinople. Printing Press.
 1485. Tudors.
 1492. Columbus discovered America.
 1519. Luther defies the Pope.
 1558. Queen Elizabeth { 1577-1580. 'Drake's Voyage.
 1588. Spanish Armada.
 1600. East India Company.
 1602. Shakespare--*Hamlet*.
 1620. The Voyage of the Mayflower.
 1649. Execution of Charles I.
 1686. Great Plague. Newton. Milton.
 1689. The Revolution.
 1707. Union of English and Scottish Parliaments.
 1759. Taking of Quebec. Clive in India.
 1776. Independence of U.S.A.
 1789. French Revolution. First Manchester Steam Mill.
 1801. Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
 1805. Trafalgar.
 1815. Waterloo.
 1832. Reform Bill.
 1859. Darwin--*Origin of Species*.
 1870. Franco-Prussian War. Opening of Japan.
 1901. Boer War. Death of Queen Victoria.
 1914-1918. Great War.

*N.B.—By taking the birth of Julius Caesar we gain a period of two complete millennia for English History to the death of Queen Victoria.

This list is probably best fitted for Middle Forms. Variations will suggest themselves for other ages.

APPENDIX III.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INVESTIGATORS IN HISTORY IN THE FIRST AND SECOND EXAMINATIONS.

FIRST EXAMINATION.

The Investigators in History arrived at the following conclusions :—

A. Relation of History to other Subjects.

1. The knowledge of Geography necessary for an intelligent study of History should always be tested in the paper, but this could be done by various methods.

2. Knowledge of Literature should not be directly tested by questions in a History paper, but it should be taken into favourable account when relevantly shown.

B. Relations of English, European and Ancient History.

1. English History should always be studied in relation to contemporary events and movements on the Continent. If Foreign History be taken in addition to English, the periods should, as far as possible, coincide chronologically. If it be taken as an alternative to English History, care should be taken that no candidate be admitted who has not been shown, by school record or in other ways, to have had an adequate training in English History.

It is also most desirable that the lines on which European History should be studied be indicated in a syllabus, *s.g.* the questions might be confined to International relations and to the internal affairs of two (or three) countries.

2. Ancient History should be allowed as a subject in Group I; but it was felt that the period offered in one of the Examinations investigated was quite inadequate in length.

3. It is undesirable that very modern History should be offered for examination; it is suggested that 1801 should be the latest possible date for the end of the period.

4. It is not thought desirable that special papers should be set on History in particular aspects; *s.g.* Economic or Constitutional. Special questions, however, should be inserted on such aspects. The questions should serve rather to stimulate interest and to show the importance of different aspects of History. There was a difference of opinion among the investigators as to whether papers on a Special Period were desirable.

5. They agreed generally that English History is most conveniently divided into three periods. A candidate should be allowed to offer either one or two of these, as preferred.

C. Character of Questions.

1. It is considered most important that questions should be set testing both accurate knowledge and power of thought and generalisation. The method of dividing the paper into two parts for this end has not proved altogether successful so far, but has not yet been sufficiently tested for a definite judgment.

2. There is always a danger of too great credit being given for the mere reproduction of good notes. This danger should, as far as possible, be guarded against in the setting of questions.

3. In papers on the later periods of English History there should always be one question at least on the British Empire, and one as a rule on Military (including Naval) History.

SECOND EXAMINATION.

The Investigators in History report as follows:—

I. Character of the Examination.

It is important that teachers and examiners should bear in mind the distinctive character of the Second as contrasted with the First Examination in History. The Second Examination is designed to test the results of an intensive course of study pursued for a period of two years. Teachers and examiners should do their utmost to ensure that the prescribed periods are studied, at least to some extent, in histories of a considerable scale written by authors of repute; and in this connection it may be remarked that a classic work by a man of genius (a Gibbon, a Macaulay, a Hallam, a Froude), even though in some of its details it may be antiquated, is of greater educational value than the most up-to-date handbook written for the use of examination students or for purposes of ready reference. Examiners should endeavour to make their questions of such a character that no candidate can obtain high marks unless he combines with exact knowledge some power of interpretation and some ability to reconsider familiar facts and conclusions in the light of a new and even a paradoxical suggestion.

The Investigators have found in some quarters a predilection for the policy of issuing to schools a detailed syllabus, showing what aspects of each prescribed period are to be studied. They consider that, on the whole, the disadvantages of this policy outweigh the possible advantage which inexperienced teachers may derive from guidance of this kind. The best teachers are likely to find themselves hampered and disheartened by a syllabus for which they are not responsible, and which at some point or other is certain to contradict their own views as to the proper perspective of the period. The inferior teachers will tend to assume that every part of the official syllabus must be covered in class work, without regard to the special interests or special difficulties of their pupils.

The Investigators do not for a moment wish to encourage the idea that a prescribed period should not be methodically studied. But they think that a properly qualified teacher should be free to follow his own method, and that the rest should in no way be absolved from the responsibility of thinking out a method for themselves.

It appears that Examining Authorities, in their desire "to see the ground properly covered," have been insisting too rigidly upon a fixed number of answers from each candidate in each paper, and that the number required (six) is too large to give the candidate opportunity of treating at least some portion of his subject exhaustively. Special credit should always be given for any answer of outstanding quality, and while five answers may not be too much to expect from the candidates of average ability, four should be sufficient to secure the highest marks for work of special distinction.

II. Syllabus.

The Investigators consider that candidates taking History as a Principal Subject in the Second Examination should always be required to offer two periods, one of English and the other of European History. Generally speaking, it is desirable that the two periods should be closely related, even if their chronological limits are not identical. They should overlap to a considerable extent, or one of them should fall within the other. As English History will naturally be studied in greater detail than European History, there is something to be said for the European Period being longer than the English Period; if, for instance, the English Period is 1815-1901, the appropriate Foreign Period would seem to be 1789-1914. Naturally there should be a

separate paper for each period. In the opinion of the Investigators, it is to be desired that all candidates offering History as a Principal Subject should also take a third paper on a Special Subject.

III. Special Subject.

This Special Subject should not be merely a segment of the English or the European Period. Such Special Subjects have been set in the past, with the result that they have been studied on much the same lines, though in a slightly more detailed fashion, than the corresponding period. As to the best kind of Special Subject there is room for difference of opinion. Some Investigators have suggested that the Special Subject should be an historical topic which is closely related to the English and European Periods or to one of these. According to this view, a good Special Subject for candidates studying the 16th and 17th centuries would be "The Renaissance in Italy," or "Crown and Parliament, 1603-1702," or "The Old Colonial System"; it being understood that whatever subject were selected it would be treated with special reference to those two centuries. Another plan, which has been tried in the Oxford Locals and has met with considerable commendation, is to prescribe some general topic of political or economic science, to be studied historically in books of repute which deal with the topic from different points of view. Possible subjects of this kind would be (a) The Nature of Political Liberty; (b) The History of the Social Contract Theory; (c) The Economic Interpretation of History; (d) The Theory of Wages and Profits. Subjects such as these could, no doubt, be illustrated from prescribed periods, but they could not be studied exclusively with reference to such periods.

These two alternative plans are both founded on the conviction that History as a Special Subject should be made an intellectual discipline, and that those who offer it should be encouraged in the habit of testing abstract theories by reference to historic facts.

IV. Political and Economic Science.

It may be objected that these proposals suggest the introduction of an extraneous element into the History course. But the truth is that political and constitutional History cannot be intelligently apprehended without some reference to the principles of political and economic science. A candidate who is invited, for example, to criticise the domestic legislation of the Tudors will have to write about measures for the reform of the currency, the regulation of wages, the restriction of enclosures, the relief of the poor. How can he describe or criticise such measures unless he is in a position to compare what was enacted by Henry VIII and Elizabeth with what is recommended in such cases by the theorists? Similarly, a student who is invited to explain the failure of the constitutional experiments attempted during the Puritan Interregnum or the French Revolution ought to approach the subject with some knowledge of the modern doctrine of Sovereignty and of the older doctrine of the Division of Powers. Otherwise, he will have no principles on which to base a judgment, and will be driven to repeat mechanically what he has read in his text-book or has heard in the classroom. Whoever tries to understand Modern History without some knowledge of political and economic theory is simply courting failure. He is like a man without a key fumbling at a closed door.

V. Non-political Aspects of History.

It appears that examiners and teachers are disposed to concentrate their own attention and that of candidates upon political and constitutional History, treating the history of ideas, of economic movements and of social tendencies as something outside the legitimate scope of

the curriculum. It may readily be admitted that the policy and the institutions of the State are subjects of fundamental and far-reaching importance. They are the alpha of historical study; and for the large majority of candidates they are perhaps the sufficient omega. But it seems desirable that History papers in the Second Examination should offer some help and encouragement to those who, through circumstances or through temperament, are more interested in the non-political aspects of the community. For instance, some who live in large industrial centres have a real desire to understand how these came into existence, and how the vast organisations of labour and capital with which they are in daily contact have acquired their present form. Others, who come from villages and go to school in market towns, may well be curious about the antiquities of rural life and the development of modern agriculture from the manorial system. The few who have an incipient taste for art or literature should be invited to study, in selected instances, the interrelation of the political life of the nation with its more humane pursuits. Those who have a scientific bent should be shown how the facts of geography or the progress of scientific discovery have helped or hindered political and economic change, or to what extent the doctrines of economics are founded on historical experience. Every History paper which is set in the Second Examination should give opportunities to the (perhaps exceptional) students who have varied the routine work of the curriculum with studies of this kind.

VI. Geography.

The place of geography in the historical curriculum has been much debated; but it still appears to be true of most historical courses that they only deal with Political Geography, and of most historical students that they are thought to be well equipped in this respect if they can reproduce from memory half-a-dozen stock maps showing treaty frontiers or the main features of a military campaign. Map-work of this kind is useful so far as it goes. But the Investigators would suggest that no questions should be set in the Second Examination which can be answered by a map without a commentary; and that candidates should be expected to show, either in the map or in the commentary, a knowledge of the relevant facts of physical geography. Where the English or the European Period includes the History of the barbarian migrations and settlements, or where a period is studied with particular reference to Military and Naval History, it may be worth while for the teacher to take the "Geographical Factor" as a Special Subject, at all events with selected students. There is a real risk that beginners may be misled by too constant emphasis upon geographical influences; but the teacher of History is peculiarly qualified to expose the fallacies of those writers who make geography the stalking horse for materialistic theories of political and social development; and the exercise of disentangling geographical influences from others of a more impalpable kind is certainly both fascinating and instructive.

VII. Reference Library.

While it is clearly desirable that candidates should be given opportunities of reading selections from the original sources for their periods, the Investigators do not recommend that "source-books" should be prescribed for the purposes of the examination. Every effort should be made to bring together in the Reference Library some good specimen authorities of different kinds. These should be partly chronicles—as, for instance, those of Bede and Jocelyn de Brakeland and Froissart; partly contemporary histories and memoirs and diaries (Clarendon, Burnet, Pepys, Greville, etc.); partly collections of letters, such as the Paston Letters, the Cely Papers, Horace Walpole's Letters.

There should also be some specimens of historical raw material of a less literary kind, such as are to be found in Bland and Tawney's *Economic Documents*, or in Hughes' *Chaucer's England*, and in other volumes of the *University of London Intermediary Historical Series*. For occasional use by advanced students some of the very cheap volumes of letters and papers published by the Historical MSS. Commission, or such a collection as Gairdner's *Letters and Papers of Henry VII*, would be valuable. Finally, the Investigators would observe that much of the best literature (poems, ballads, novels, plays) in certain periods of English and Foreign History is incidentally of first-hand value to historical students, and may, for those who are attempting the Second Examination, be at least as valuable a stimulus as the more obvious sources enumerated above. Most pupils delight in reading well-selected sources so long as they are not prescribed; and hardly anyone can fail to acquire from them a sounder conception of the past and a closer touch with it.

VIII. Lectures in World History.

A suggestion which, though not strictly relevant to Examinations, appears to the Investigators to be worthy of discussion, may possibly be of interest to the Council. It is to the effect that pupils who have passed the First and are preparing for the Second Examination would benefit by a course of lectures in World History which would delineate in broad outline the successive stages of human civilisation, thus supplying a sort of framework or background to the periods of English and European History which are selected for more intensive study. These lectures should not be too numerous, nor should they be made the subject of examination tests. As far as possible they should be given by specialists who are University teachers. The Investigators recognise that it may not always be easy to find lecturers who, in addition to possessing first-hand knowledge, have also the gift of vivid exposition. At the same time, they believe that many University teachers would willingly co-operate in courses of this kind, and that their influence upon their audiences would be most stimulating.

It is not very troublesome to the expert to explain in simple language his leading ideas about his own subject or period; but, by consenting to do this now and then for a body of picked students from Secondary Schools, he can materially assist the efforts of their ordinary teachers to inspire them with a real and serious interest in the science of History.

APPENDIX IV.

Circular 599.

TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

1. This Circular is issued for the guidance of Head Masters and Head Mistresses in arranging the course of work in history. It must be clearly understood that it is not the wish of the Board to lay down strict rules either as to the arrangement of the course or as to the methods of teaching. This would be, above all, undesirable in a subject such as history, in which perhaps more than in any other there is room for the greatest variety of treatment. The experience of Inspectors, however, shows that in many schools there is clearly need for some help.

In this Circular, wherever Masters and boys are spoken of, Mistresses and girls are understood to be included.

Arrangement of the Course.

2. The time given to history is generally two lessons a week. This is generally as much as can be spared from other subjects; but, as is pointed out below, it can be indirectly increased by establishing a connection between the teaching of history and that of English literature and composition, and (in the higher forms) that of modern languages. It may sometimes be desirable for one or more terms to use more of the available time for some other subject, such as geography, and at another part of the school course to give extra time to history in compensation. Arrangements of this kind are specially useful when the master who teaches the English subjects has a special knowledge of either history or geography.

3. The first stage, which begins at the earliest age and ends at about the age of 12, will consist almost entirely of stories. These should not be confined to stories taken from the history of England. The pupils should become familiar with the chief events and characters from the history of the most important nations, in their traditional form. Where the field is so great there is endless scope for selection, but it might include, besides the obvious stories from the history of the British Isles, stories such as those of the siege of Troy, the Persian Wars, Alexander the Great, stories from Roman history, the fall of Jerusalem and the history of the early Church, the sack of Rome by Alaric and the invasion of Attila, Charlemagne, the Cid, St. Louis, St. Francis of Assisi, William the Silent, Columbus and other explorers, Galileo, Washington, Garibaldi.

During the earliest years it will not be possible to distinguish between legend and history; but, especially in the last part of this stage, the pupils should be carefully trained to understand the chronological sequence of events. By the time they are 12 they should have some idea of the nature of the great nations and stages in civilisation, centring in each case round certain individuals or events in their chronological succession. They should not have to learn a large number of dates, and generally dates should not be learnt except of those events which have been specially studied; but a few of the most important dates must be known. No attempt should be made at a formal and systematic study of English history, and it is especially necessary to warn schools against starting too soon on matters of constitutional history. On the other

hand, the pupils should get a clear grasp of the chronological sequence of the events which they learn, and these should be so selected as to cover the whole field of English history. It does not seem desirable to give up the traditional system by which boys are expected to know the kings of England, but of course the dates and names of the kings should be learnt in connection with some important events of the reigns, and not merely by rote.

It is impossible at this stage to separate the teaching of history by a hard line from the other allied subjects such as literature or geography. Much of the historical teaching will best be given in the form of stories selected from suitable authors, such as Herodotus, or Plutarch, or the Mediaeval Chronicles, or by reading books such as Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather." The story should be fully illustrated by plans and pictures of armour, dress, castles, &c., and the pupils should themselves be occasionally required to make plans and models. The pupils should be required to reproduce in their own words, both orally and occasionally in writing, the stories which they have learnt.

The work of this stage is of great importance, for there is much in the simpler narrative portion of history which can be learnt then and can never be learnt with the same interest and facility later, and the stories from history afford excellent material for training the imagination. It is now too often found that boys in Secondary Schools, when they should be ready to begin the next stage, are entirely ignorant of the most elementary facts. The work of these years should give centres of interest, round which the more formal historical learning of later years will crystallise.

Much of the teaching will be given orally, but even at this stage it does not seem desirable to dispense entirely with the use of a book. The proper use of suitable books by the pupils themselves gives an intellectual training for the lack of which no oral teaching, however excellent, can compensate.

Even if there is no formal and connected history taught, there is scarcely any limit to the amount of teaching that an able master will be able to give in answering questions that will naturally be asked by any class of intelligent children, in supplementing, preparing for, and explaining the written narrative.

4. The work of the years from about 12 to about 16 is the most difficult to arrange.

In nearly every school it will be necessary here to place a formal course covering the whole of English history from the invasion of the Romans to the present day.

For this not less than three years is necessary. The work cannot really be done in less than four years, but it will not always be possible to spare so much time. The best arrangement seems to be to divide the course into three parts, in chronological succession, assigning one part to each year, and, if possible, to give one year to general revision, laying special stress on those matters which, owing to their difficulty, were omitted before. For the arrangement of this, which is for most schools the chief part of the work, the following suggestions are made.

English History.

5. The course must cover the whole of English history. It is not, *e.g.*, sufficient that it should begin at the Norman conquest.

It does not follow from this that all parts and aspects of the history should be treated with equal detail. The amount of ground to be covered and the shortness of the time available would make this impossible. There are many periods and many subjects which present little that is of interest or instruction to younger pupils. Thus, in the earliest period it is not meant that, because a good knowledge should be acquired of

the course and character of the successive invasions of the country and of the conversion to Christianity, any attempt should be made to trace in detail the struggles of the early kingdoms or to discuss the obscure and complicated questions of early English institutions. It will probably be desired to bring down the account of the Colonial expansion almost to the present day; but it will not therefore be necessary to attempt to include the whole of the internal political history of the nineteenth century.

The first condition of good work is indeed the recognition of the fact that an attempt to give an equal and uniform knowledge of the whole of English history must fail. What should be aimed at is—

- (1) a clear apprehension of the general chronological sequence of the cardinal events;
- (2) a fairly detailed study of those parts or aspects of the history which are at each stage of the school course not beyond the comprehension of the pupils.

The determination of what is to be omitted will vary in different schools. It must be a severe test of the insight and knowledge of the staff, and it should be made for each school in consultation with the chief teacher of history. Generally all difficult matters of constitutional history, which too often are presented to the pupils at an early stage, should, if dealt with at all, be reserved for the highest forms in the school, and it will be desirable to pass over with the very briefest notice those periods, the history of which is merely a record of bad government, as, *e.g.*, the reign of Edward II, or those which are occupied with complicated and often squalid political intrigues, which, interesting and instructive as they may be to mature historical students, offer little that is useful to younger pupils. Generally at each stage attention should be concentrated not only on what is important, but on that the importance and interest of which can be made intelligible to the pupils. For this reason it will often be desirable to pass over almost without mention much of the internal history of the eighteenth century (*e.g.*, the struggles between the different sections of the Whig party, or the whole of the Wilkes episode), much of the political history of Charles II's reign, the internal history of the Lancastrian period, the civil war of Stephen's reign—in order to secure more time for a fuller treatment of events such as the Crusades, the Civil War, the reign of Elizabeth, the great wars for Colonial supremacy, the war of American Independence. Much will depend on the previous education which the pupils have had. If they have been accustomed to read about historical events and characters and have already got a good knowledge of the chief stories of English history, they will be able to do much more advanced work than those who have to begin at the beginning and make up for the time lost in earlier years.

The work for each year will then consist in the study of a large section of English history, as, *e.g.*, the Middle Ages, or the Tudors and Stuarts. The main outline of this will be learnt. But, within this, attention will be concentrated on selected portions of the history, and large sections will be freely passed over with the very briefest reference.

There should be no attempt to learn all the names and facts which are mentioned in the ordinary school text-books. On the other hand, the treatment of some parts should be much fuller than is now usual, so as to leave in the minds of the pupils a vivid and lasting impression. This cannot be attained without an amount of detail which cannot be given if the pupils are expected to remember all parts of the history. The course will also necessarily include reference to the great inventions, such as gunpowder, printing, the steam-engine, which are specially characteristic of European civilisation, and some explanation of their effect upon the history of the nation.

Foreign History.

6. The course must include in all cases such reference to and explanation of the chief events of European history as is necessary for the understanding of English history.

For this purpose it may from time to time be necessary to leave the direct narrative of English history, and give one or more lessons entirely to the explanation of those external events which are connected with it.

The application of this principle may be illustrated by the following points, which are not in any way exhaustive. The account of the Danish invasions should be incorporated in a general description of the expeditions of the Norsemen. The Crusades should not be treated as an isolated episode in connection with the Third Crusade, but there should be a connected account of the First Crusade, with the establishment and fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It will be easy in connection with this to give an explanation of the European position of the Norman and Angevin kings. The French wars of the earlier and later Plantagenet kings will probably be best treated from the point of view of the growth and consolidation of the French Monarchy. This would be much facilitated if in the first stage the pupils had learnt something about St. Louis and Joan of Arc. There will necessarily be a full account of the great discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries as a starting point for the history of European colonisation, and also of the rise of the Spanish Empire and of those episodes in the religious struggles on the Continent, such as the rise of the United Netherlands, which immediately affect English history. The foreign wars of the 18th century will necessitate a careful study of the historical map of Europe.

It will probably not generally be desirable at this stage to attempt more independent study of modern European history, but these digressions may be extended according to the capacity of the class, and with a clever class it may sometimes be found worth while to give a whole term's work to some specially important part of European history. This will, however, generally be best reserved for the more advanced work in the highest classes.

In this way it may be possible to remove the complete ignorance of any history outside England, which is now too common, without adding a separate subject to the curriculum, and to take the foreign history in such a way as to make the English history more intelligible and interesting.

Local History.

7. It is essential that in each school attention should be paid to the history of the town and district in which it is situated.

This will generally be best done not by giving a separate course of work on local history, but by constant reference to the history of the locality as illustrative of the general history.

This will take two forms.

- (1) All great and important events which have taken place in the neighbourhood will naturally be chosen for more detailed treatment. This applies especially to such matters as battles in any of the Civil wars or rebellions. In dealing with the Wars of the Roses or the great Civil War it is generally desirable that some operations should be chosen for detailed treatment. Within broad limits it is immaterial which operations are selected, but a detailed knowledge of, *e.g.*, some one battle of the Civil War will explain better than anything else the general nature of the struggle. Whether it be the battle of Marston Moor or Newbury, the siege of Gloucester or Colchester, the battle of Wakefield or Tewkesbury, may in many cases depend on the position of the

school. In all cases, if no event of the first importance has taken place there, the part taken in any of the Civil wars by that district of England should be fully explained.

In the same way a school in London or the Eastern Counties will naturally make a more special study of the Peasants' revolt; one in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, of the Pilgrimage of Grace; one in the West, of Monmouth's rebellion. The relations to Scotland will naturally be more fully dealt with in a school situated in the Northern counties, those with Wales by one on the Welsh border. The civil war of Stephen's reign would probably be left out altogether unless, as, *e.g.*, at Lincoln and Winchester, there are special circumstances of local interest connected with it.

- (2) General changes, whether political, social, or economic, such as the Roman occupation, the foundation and dissolution of the monasteries, the Norman settlement, the economic changes of the 15th or 18th centuries, the Reform Bill, should always when possible be explained and illustrated by reference to their effect on the particular district. In this way alone will it be possible to give a concrete illustration of the broad generalisation which is all that is to be found in the usual school text-book. The origin and changes of the units of Local Government, the effect of the industrial revolution on population, the changes in Land tenure brought about by the Norman conquest, can in this way often be explained by facts which are within the personal knowledge of the pupils.

8. There must in all cases be included a study of those actually existent historical remains, such as castles, city walls, monasteries, which are accessible from the school, and in connection with this the study of the earlier periods must include some knowledge of the elements of architecture. It is far more important that pupils should leave school with their eyes trained to observe the historical remains which are to be found in almost every part of England, than that they should attempt to remember the whole of the political history, much of which they cannot understand. In this co-operation with the Art teaching may often be useful.

For this purpose it is essential that the school library and museum should be well provided with books, plans, maps, and pictures. In particular an attempt should be made to get together a collection of maps, either originals or reproductions, illustrating the growth of towns and other changes in the district, as well as pictures of important buildings. In addition to this there should be made specially prepared extracts and translations from historical documents giving full details of local events. Every school might, *e.g.*, possess the extract from Doomsday dealing with that place, and extracts from chronicles describing any great event that has taken place there (as for instance the contemporary accounts of the attack on London in the Peasants' revolt); if suitable, the precise narrative of the process by which any religious house in the neighbourhood was dissolved and how the property was dealt with. Information as to the origin and growth of the chief industries of the place should be made accessible to the pupils. Especially in the great manufacturing towns, the industrial revolution should be treated in immediate reference to the district, and the changes in the character of the district consequent on it be shown in detail.

The preparation of material of this kind must necessarily be a work of some time and labour. It will often be possible to secure the assistance of residents not themselves occupied in teaching, and it is a work in which the co-operation of the Local Historical Associations that are now being

founded will be of the greatest service. On this and many other matters valuable assistance will be found in the pamphlets issued by the Historical Association.

Scope of the Course.

9. This programme of work, ambitious though it may appear to be, will not be impossible of execution if it is remembered that much of the information and many of the conceptions dealt with in history are dealt with in the allied subjects, especially in literature and geography. The information acquired in the one subject will be used in the other.

In particular, much may be done by a judicious selection of the works of literature chosen to be read, whether in school or by the pupils in their own homes. It is not meant that the study of English literature should be subordinated to that of history (there is too much tendency to do this in the curriculum of some schools), but the course for each year should include those works which, while by their literary excellence and general character are suitable for school work, immediately bear on the history of the period. For instance, when the Middle Ages are being studied extracts from the "Chronicles" of Froissart, the introduction to the "Canterbury Tales" and some contemporary ballads might be read; and in connection with later periods, selections from the Voyages of Hakluyt, Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico and Peru," Macaulay's *Essays*, &c. Historical novels may be used with discretion, but, as a rule, they are more suitable for the private reading of the pupils than for systematic study in school. It is immaterial whether this work is put down in the time table as history or literature; the important thing is that it should be done, and that the knowledge and information so acquired should be used in the history lessons and in the essays or questions set to be done by the pupils.

In the same way, if geography is intelligently taught, much knowledge which is essential for a proper study of history will be acquired in the geography lessons. Thus the study of the geography of Asia should include some elementary facts as to the rise and spread of Mohammedanism.

It is necessary, if these various subjects are not taught by the same teacher, that each teacher should be informed of the work being done in other lessons, so as to be able to use the knowledge so acquired.

10. In many schools it will not be possible to attempt any independent work in history other than that of England.

The character of any work done in the history of other countries should probably be determined by the languages other than English that are studied in the school. As a general rule pupils should be enabled to gain some knowledge of the chief events and historical personages in the history of any country the language of which they study.

In applying this principle the following suggestions may be useful:—

- (1) In all classical schools there will, of course, be separate and organised instruction in the history of Greece and Rome, in connection with the authors read.
- (2) In these schools, and also in others where Latin is learnt, it is desirable that there should also be a course on the general outlines of the history of the ancient world leading up to some knowledge of the nature and extent of the Roman Empire regarded as the origin of the Christian civilisation of Modern Europe. This course can easily be connected with the study of the historical books of the Old and New Testament. In many schools a year is now given to a course of this

kind. The essential difficulties have not, perhaps, been yet entirely overcome, and more experience is needed as to the age when this course is best taken.

- (3) In those schools which are able to give an advanced literary training based on modern languages and literature, it is very desirable that there should be some systematic work done on some portions or periods of foreign modern or mediæval history. This might with advantage take the form of the study of some classical historical work in French and German, which should in this case be read primarily for the information which it contains. Work of this kind naturally belongs to the last stage of school life, and should not be attempted unless real facility in the use of the language has been gained.

11. The work done in the last years of school will necessarily vary much. In classical schools it will be special study of ancient history, in others it may be the special study of some period of Continental or of English history. For those who are chiefly occupied with the natural sciences or mathematics it will often be best to finish the work with a course on the history of Europe in the 19th century, and on the working of the English Constitution considered with reference to its origin and history.

In these cases it is always desirable to take as the centre of the instruction some one or more books of high historical and literary merit. Whatever the conclusion of the course may be, it should not be merely the study of a school text-book. No pupil should leave school without having read some part of the writings of one or more of the great historians.

Text-Books.

12. In some schools an attempt is made to dispense with the use of a text-book, and the instruction is entirely oral. This system has often been adopted as a reaction from the use of unsuitable text-books. It is not recommended, except for the very youngest forms, where the children are not yet able to read with ease, and even for them it would often be better to give the instruction by reading aloud. There are not many teachers who have so great a power of exposition and narrative that it is justifiable for them to dispense entirely with the use of a book.

Moreover, one of the chief values of the study of history is that it affords valuable practice in the use of books. The increase in the vocabulary, the study of the precise meaning, and, as the pupils become older and use larger books, the analysis and criticism of a well-written book, are essential parts of their historical education.

It is, for this reason, important that the greatest care should be exercised in the choice of the book to be used. Generally, it may be said that no book is read so often and remembered with such verbal accuracy as the history text-book. It should therefore be a book which, both in language and style, is of a high standard and slightly more difficult than a book which the pupils could read with ease alone. The use of a book which is the abbreviated edition of a larger work is not generally to be recommended. Much better work will be done with one which has the freshness and interest of an independent work.

It is also important to remember that it is impossible for any single book to contain all the information that the pupils will require. Many of the most common faults would be avoided if it were always kept in mind that the object of study is not a single book, but the events of which the book is a partial and incomplete record, and that, however excellent the book is, it will need supplementing and explaining.

A clear distinction should also be made between the book or books containing a well-arranged narrative and a book which is merely a chronological summary or compendium of facts to be used for reference. At least in the higher forms, both are required; the fault of many of the text-books in use is that they attempt at the same time to fulfil the two different functions, and the fault of the teaching is that the difference is not recognised. The constant use of a chronological summary and of books of reference is essential; perhaps the best form of teaching is to train the pupils to make their own chronological summary for themselves.

The use of the book will therefore constantly vary. At the beginning of a new and difficult subject there will have to be full explanation by the teacher before the text-book is studied; when the narrative of the book is full and well written, it may be best for the pupils to read it first and for any necessary comment and explanation to come afterwards; sometimes the chief work will have to be condensation and analysis of the book, sometimes a long digression on some matter not sufficiently dealt with in it.

Written Work.

13. All instruction, even in the lowest forms, should include some written work. This work must not be used merely as a test of the memory. It will take two forms:—

- (1) History should be used as affording practice in original composition. Questions and essays set to be done need not always be done under examination conditions, but should in some cases be arranged so as to train and test the power of using books. If written work is done at home it should be of such a kind that books can be used.
- (2) There should be systematic practice in the taking of notes, graduated according to the age of the pupils. The object of this should be to train the pupils so that by the time they leave school they are able to make a well-arranged digest for themselves of all the information which they acquire both from reading and from teaching, and the note-book should eventually become a self-made book of reference to which additions and corrections are constantly being made. The note-book of former work should then be at hand when later work necessitates a reference to work which has already been done.

General.

14. Constant use must be made of the map, and the school must be provided with good historical maps or atlases. The pupils should also make historical maps for themselves, which should be preserved in their note-books or in special map books. This is especially important in all European and Colonial history, and the pupils should gain a clear representation of the great political divisions of Europe at different epochs.

In testing the knowledge of the pupils, the questions addressed to them, whether for verbal or written answers, should not be confined to those which can be answered in a single word or phrase. They should be of such a kind as to train the power of giving a connected narrative or explanation. The want of this, especially in oral work, is one of the chief faults of English schools.

25th November, 1908.

W. N. BRUCE.

The following Educational Pamphlets, issued by the Board of Education, have been placed on Sale :—

School Doctors in Germany.

By W. H. Dawson. (1908.) *Price 6d.*

The Problem of Rural Schools and Teachers in North America.

By Ethel H. Spalding. (1908.) *Price 6d.*

Report on Science Teaching in Public Schools represented on the Association of Public School Science Masters.

By Oswald H. Latter. (1909.) *Price 4d.*

Compulsory Continuation Schools in Germany.

By H. A. Clay. (1910.) *Price 9d.*

The Course System in Evening Schools.

By H. T. Holmes. (1910.) *Price 3d.*

Report on the Teaching of Latin at the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. i.) (1910.) *Price 6d.*

A School Week in the Country. Bradford, Grange Road Secondary School, Girls' Department. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. ii.)

By Miss Mary A. Johnstone. (1910.) *Price 4d.*

Syllabus of Mathematics for the Austrian Gymnasien.

Translated by E. A. Price. (1910.) *Price 2d.*

The Training of Women Teachers for Secondary Schools. A series of Statements from Institutions concerned. (1912.) *Price 8d.*

The Montessori System.

By E. G. A. Holmes. (1912.) *Price 2d.*

Report on Farm and Agricultural Schools and Colleges in France, Germany and Belgium.

By R. B. Greig. (1912.) *Price 2d.*

Education and Peasant Industry. Some State and State-aided Trade Schools in Germany.

By Edith Edlmann. (1912.) *Price 5d.*

The Playground Movement in America and its relation to Public Education.

By Walter Wood. (1913.) *Price 4d.*

Report on the Teaching of Greek at the Perse School, Cambridge. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iii.) (1914.) *Price 1s.*

The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iv.) (1915.) *Price 4d.*

An Experiment in Industrial Research.

By Thomas Lloyd Humberstone. (1915.) *Price 4d.*

The Admiralty Method of Training Dockyard Apprentices. (1916.) *Price 1½d.*

The Universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. A Handbook compiled by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. (1918.) *Price 9d.*

Report on the Sheffield City Museums.

By Sir F. G. Ogilvie, C.B. (1919.) *Price 6d.*

Memoranda on Promotion in Elementary Schools in London. (Elementary School Series, No. i.) (1919.) *Price 6d.*

- Some Experiments in the Teaching of Science and Handwork in certain Elementary Schools in London. Elementary School Series, No. ii.) (1920.) *Price 1s.*
- The Practical Management of Small Live-Stock in connection with the Teaching of Rural Science in Elementary Schools (Elementary School Series, No. iii.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- Notes on Camping. (1923.) (*Revised edition.*) *Price 1s.*
- Print Script. (Elementary School Series, No. iv.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- The Botany Gardens of the James Allen's Girls' School, Dulwich Their History and Organization. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. v.) (1922.) *Price 2s.*
- Report on the Experimental Course in Music, at the Mary Datchelor School, Camberwell, 1919-1922. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. vi.) (1923.) *Price 4d.*
- Humanism in the Continuation School. (1921.) *Price 1s. 6d.*

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BOARD OF EDUCATION.

 (5)

Educational Pamphlets, No. 43.

HUMANISM IN THE
CONTINUATION SCHOOL.

By J. Dover Wilson.

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LONDON: PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY
OF HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE, 1921.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following pamphlet on Humanism in the Continuation School was prepared in 1918 by Mr. J. Dover Wilson, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools at the request of the late Mr. Frank Pullinger, Chief Inspector of Technical and Continuation Schools, who was greatly interested in the matter. It was written after a study of the working of Evening Continuation Schools with special reference to the question of using the limited opportunities of those schools to widen the intellectual horizon of young people who cease full-time education at the age of 14. The problem, though it becomes larger with the establishment of Day Continuation Schools, is of course not new either to the Board's Officers or to those who have organised and conducted Evening Continuation Schools. But it has not previously, so far as the Board are aware, been specially studied in the manner adopted by Mr. Wilson, and to this extent the Board believe that Mr. Wilson has made a valuable contribution to educational philosophy which claims attentive reading.

It should be understood that the views expressed in the pamphlet are personal to Mr. Wilson and not necessarily those of the Board. While he indicates one possible line of approach to the study of the Humanities, other methods will no doubt be tried and experience alone can show which are the most effective.

Office of Special Inquiries and Reports,
September, 1921.

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**A song for occupations!
In the labour of engines and trades and the labour of fields
I find the developments,
And find the eternal meanings.**

Walt Whitman.

HUMANISM IN THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION.

THE Education Act of 1918 foreshadows the establishment of part-time continuation schools for the entire adolescent population of the country, with the exception of those students who are already receiving full-time instruction in secondary schools and elsewhere. This means that the nation is brought face to face with a situation unprecedented in the history of education, since, quite apart from the administrative difficulties involved, such as the provision of buildings and teachers for millions of additional scholars, the Act implies the setting up of a type of instruction which is new in kind, in as far as the conditions which have made it inevitable have never before existed in the world.

These conditions have not been created by the immediate international crisis. The Great War has produced immense social and economic changes, but it has only done so by releasing and intensifying tendencies which were already present in the composition of society, tendencies which have been at work for a century or more and are summarised under the term "Industrial Revolution." The advent of industrialism has made the world one, has established human society on a basis of machine production, and has perhaps affected the life and thought of man more profoundly and universally than any material change in his history since he first learnt to use fire and make tools. Springing from humble beginnings in the eighteenth century, this tide in the affairs of men rapidly gathered volume and speed during the hundred years that followed, until in our own day it reached its Niagara, the war of engineers, which has probably done more in four years to industrialise the race than a quarter of a century of normal evolution would have accomplished. Education has not yet faced fully the situation created by this

tremendous upheaval; but the war has forced the issue here, as in every other department of life. It has placed the compulsory continuation school upon the statute-book, and the main problem of the continuation school is that of thinking out and building up a type of education which recognises and responds to the facts of the modern world, in a word, an education adapted to the needs of citizens in an industrial democracy.

The leading idea, then, behind this pamphlet is that the world in which we find ourselves to-day is something very different from that upon which the eyes of men have been accustomed to rest for ages past, so different indeed, and so recent in its coming upon us, that the human mind, and still less the machinery of education, have hardly begun to adjust themselves to it in any conscious fashion. Yet if the necessary readjustment be not made our civilisation is doomed, as any civilisation must be in which material progress outruns the intelligent control of the human spirit. It is not technical instruction we stand in need of so much as an informed humanism, which welcomes and understands the results of technical achievement, faces them boldly, and declares that the works of man's hand, even in these grimy days, deserve the blessing which, up to the advent of industrialism, poetry, art and culture have always rejoiced to bestow upon them. For the first time in history a fatal schism has arisen between culture and the crafts, with the result that modern culture tends to be trivial, esoteric, dilettante, while the crafts, from which poet and artist turn away in disgust, are left mean, ugly and formless. In the continuation schools of the future we have an opportunity of doing something to bring these natural allies together once more, and so to lend our assistance, however feeble, to the re-establishment of our civilisation upon a sound basis. And whatever happens these schools must inevitably exert a profound effect both upon industrialism and culture, since when millions of persons actually engaged in industry meet together to receive instruction in humane subjects, culture and industrialism, which have hitherto been playing hide-and-seek, will be brought face to face. We must

INTRODUCTION.

prepare for that encounter. We must see to it that the culture which we introduce to industrialism is of such a character that a hand-shake between them is not impossible.

At the present moment, when even the bricks have yet to be made for the buildings in which the continuation school students will be housed, we are in the position of an architect choosing a site and deciding what type of house will best harmonise with the surrounding features of the country. While, therefore, the plans here submitted will, in certain directions, proceed to sketch in the domestic arrangements in some detail, those details are, for the most part, introduced to illustrate the leading idea which inspires the whole conception. Before the problem can be solved it must be rightly envisaged. The solution offered in the following pages may be wrong; it will in any case need modification in the light of subsequent experience. But if this pamphlet does nothing else than show that the problem exists, and that its character is far more fundamental than has been commonly realised, is indeed inherent in the very nature of our modern civilisation, it will have accomplished its task. Thus, while in dealing with the class-room treatment of certain subjects it addresses the teacher more or less directly, the document as a whole is intended primarily for the eye of the educational experts now engaged upon thinking out the future continuation school. They are asked to read it and discuss it—not necessarily by any means to accept its findings.

Since the terms of our reference are limited to "humanism in the continuation school," a word must be said in explanation of this phrase and in definition of the scope of the survey which follows. Many aspects of the continuation school, some of them highly important, will be passed over or only lightly touched upon. The new schools, for example, if they are to succeed, must be, first and foremost, societies, enjoying a corporate life and building up a tradition, like that of the great public schools. In an institution attended by five different batches of students on different days of the week, this question of corporate life bristles with difficulties. The chief answer to it must be sought, as in the public schools, on

the playing-fields, or in those voluntary agencies, evening clubs and the like, by which the work during the statutory seven or eight hours a week in school will be supplemented and from which much is hoped. Inasmuch as this matter is closely connected with a training in citizenship, it is far from being unrelated to the subject of these pages. Lack of space, however, will forbid more than an occasional reference to it, which is the less to be regretted in that there are hopes that other hands will take it up and deal with it in a comprehensive fashion. Our concern here is with class-room instruction only, and not even with all of that, since our survey restricted to what are called the humanistic subjects. Nevertheless, when we have determined what type of humanism is required, we have in a measure decided everything else. Humanism is the heart of the matter; for the spirit of the whole system will largely depend upon the spirit in which we approach that part of it which is essentially concerned with the personality of the student and his attitude to the world around him.

Humanism was the name given to the new educational ideal which blossomed in that great spring-tide of European culture which we call the Renaissance. Because it was closely connected with the re-discovery of the classics and their introduction into the schools, this ideal became narrowed down, until in our own day the word Humanism is often taken as synonymous with the study of Latin and Greek. The early humanists were very far from wearing these blinkers. The classics were indeed for them—what they have long ceased to be for us—the main if not the only gateway to the things of the mind. Nevertheless, men like Vittorius, Melancthon, Erasmus, Sir Thomas More and Mulcaster did not hesitate to advocate the claims of mathematics, geography, history, natural science and a training in the mother tongue; for they saw that Humanism is as wide as the human spirit itself. In the continuation schools the old classical education will be for many reasons impossible. Some may deplore this; others will see in it an opportunity for a great new step in educational theory and practice. Humanism is as wide as the human spirit; and in education it means the awakening and liberation of this

spirit in the individual child by cleansing the channels and increasing the flow of his self-expression, by making him conscious of his heritage and of his true function in society, and lastly by teaching him to take flight upon the wings of imagination. It embraces, in other words, all those subjects which deal with man as man: man, as an individual soul dedicated to the pursuit of Beauty, Truth and Goodness; man, as a social being with obligations to his immediate society, his nation and the whole human race; man, as the lord of creation, weighing the stars in his balances, dividing infinitesimal from infinitesimal, peering into "the dark backward and abysm of time." Mathematics, when it leads on to philosophy in the hands of an Einstein, a Bertrand Russell and a Whitehead, may become a humanistic study. Science, broadly interpreted, is also humanistic; for science is nothing less than the history and geography of the universe. But the essential subjects of Humanism are those which begin with man, among which art, literature, music, history, geography and economics are clearly of greatest immediate importance. Manifestly it will not be possible to teach all these subjects in the continuation school. What we have to do there is to start the boy and girl on the right road so that they may find these matters out for themselves. Everything depends upon the start we give them, and the question which faces us at the outset is: What is the best starting-point for young people of this stage of development, of this particular environment, and at this period of human evolution?

It is the compulsory part-time day continuation school with which we shall be specially concerned. But in the main the educational problems of all kinds of continuation school are the same, the differences being largely a question of the amount of time available for instruction. The humanistic course proposed in later sections, therefore, may with very slight alterations be followed both in the evening continuation school and in the junior technical school. Indeed, it is to be found in essence already at work in a large number of schools of these two types, and it is the experience gained therein which encourages the hope that it will prove to be the right

recipe for the school which the Act of 1918 will call into being. All continuation schools, of whatever sort, are substantially the same, because they deal with the same kind of pupil, that is to say, with the young adolescent destined to earn his bread by the skill of his hands. A great living dramatist has drawn a vivid picture of the continuation school product, which may well stand as a frontispiece to what follows. Jack Tanner, revolutionary millionaire, introduces Tavy Robinson, sentimental socialist, to Henry Straker, his chauffeur :

Tanner. By the way, let me introduce you. Mr. Octavius Robinson : Mr. Enry Straker.

Straker. Pleased to meet you, sir. Mr. Tanner is gittin at you with 'is Enry Straker, you know. You call it Henery. But I dont mind, bless you.

Tanner. You think it's simply bad taste in me to chaff him, Tavy. But youre wrong. This man takes more trouble to drop his nitches than ever his father did to pick them up. It's a mark of caste to him. I have never met anybody more swollen with the pride of class than Enry is.

Straker. Easy, easy! A little moderation, Mr. Tanner.

Tanner. A little moderation, Tavy, you observe. You would tell me to draw it mild. But this chap has been educated. Whats more, he knows that we havnt. What was that Board School of yours, Straker?

Straker. Sherbrooke Road.

Tanner. Sherbrooke Road! Would any of us say Rugby! Eton! Harrow! in that tone of intellectual snobbery? Sherbrooke Road is a place where boys learn something: Eton is a boy farm where we are sent because we are nuisances at home, and because in after life, whenever a Duke is mentioned, we can claim him as an old school-fellow.

Straker. You dont know nothing about it, Mr. Tanner. It's not the Board School that does it; it's the Polytechnic.

Tanner. His university, Octavius. Not Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin or Glasgow. No, Tavy. Regent Street, Chelsea, the Borough—I dont know half their confounded names; these are his universities, not mere shops for selling class limitations like ours. You despise Oxford, Enry, dont you?

Straker. No. I dont. Very nice sort of place, Oxford, I should think for people that like that sort of place. They teach you to be a gentleman there. In the Polytechnic they teach you to be an engineer or such like. See?

Tanner. Sarcasm, Tavy, sarcasm! Oh, if you could only see into Enry's soul, the depth of his contempt for a gentleman, the arrogance of his pride in being an engineer, would appal you. He positively likes the

car to break down because it brings out my gentlemanly helplessness and his workmanlike skill and resource.

Straker. Never you mind him, Mr. Robinson. He likes to talk. We know him, dont we?

Octavius (earnestly). But theres a great truth at the bottom of what he says. I believe most intensely in the dignity of labour.

Straker (unimpressed). That's because you never done any, Mr. Robinson. My business is to do away with labour. Youll get more out of me and a machine than you will out of twenty labourers, and not so much to drink either.

Tenner. For Heaven's sake, Tavy, don't start him on political economy. He knows all about it, and we dont.*

The satirist in Mr. Shaw cannot avoid a dig at the public school, from which the continuation school has a good deal to learn. But the portrait of Straker, "the New Man," is convincing and at the same time prophetic. Enry is the person we have to cope with in the continuation school, Enry at the age of 14. And we have to devise a humanistic course for him. What is it to be? Certainly not one that exalts the initial aspirate into a fetish, or one closely allied to "Oxford culture."

* Mr. Shaw's orthography is reproduced *literatim*. Like Shakespeare, he has his own dramatic spelling. Cf. p. 90, footnote.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE.

Fortunately in setting up a continuation school system we shall not be entirely without the guidance of experience. For long there has existed in this country an elaborate and well-established, though voluntary, system of technical instruction which has arisen in direct answer to practical industrial requirements; and it is certain that on the purely technical side any new system will have much to learn from the old. When we turn, however, from technology to humanism, the light of experience shines less brightly. Some would even deny that it burns at all. But they are wrong. Hard things have been said of late about the existing voluntary evening continuation schools, and many of them are just. Nevertheless these schools have performed an important function which is too often overlooked. They have been, as it were, experimental stations wherein a number of problems that will demand solution in the coming compulsory continuation schools have been at least partially worked out. And this is perhaps particularly true in regard to the question which immediately concerns us.

In evening classes, which are intended as a preparation for technical instruction, and are carried on for three nights a week during the winter months over the short space of two years, there is clearly not much scope for humanistic teaching. Two hours a week in the first year, one hour in the second—such is the time generally allotted to the humanities in the voluntary evening school. And this is a maximum; less is given in many localities. It should be remembered also that, in most parts of England, the evening school session only extends over about 24 weeks of the year. Thus children leaving the elementary school to take up employment and attempting to continue their education at night receive at most some 72 hours of instruction in humane subjects under the present system. It is a petty item on the nation's educational bill of

fare, and not one, it might be expected, to raise large issues or provoke discussion. Yet as a matter of fact there is no section of the evening school curriculum which has been more hotly debated, or in relation to which there exists greater variety of treatment and opinion. And the reason is that, insignificant as the matter appears from the time-table point of view, it involves a question of vital and far-reaching importance. The question, indeed, is nothing less than this: What connexion, if any, is there between humanism and modern industrial civilisation? It is a question which may, without exaggeration, be described as *the* question of our age, a question which agitated all the great nineteenth century prophets, Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, William Morris, in turn, and for which they could find no answer. Is it surprising, therefore, that there should be confusion of thought in the evening schools on the matter? Yet things which are hid from the wise and prudent may be revealed to babes, and it is possible that the tired teacher attempting to impart an interest in the humanities to tired children at the end of a working-day will have come nearer to a solution than all the prophets put together. The problem is how to blend humanism and industrialism, and both teachers and taught at least know what that industrialism is which to the poet, who only sees smoke and hears noise, seems full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. In any case it will help us to envisage the problem if we begin by considering the views of those who have had to deal with it on the plane of actuality.

Articulate opinion on the subject among those concerned with evening school instruction and organisation has wavered between two extremes. On the one hand there is the "practical" point of view, which holds that the chief function of the continuation school is to prepare its students for their vocation, and that, therefore, the only humanities necessary consist in that minimum of composition without some proficiency in which the child is unlikely to do well in his or her calling. The opposite pole may be described as the "literary" point of view, which insists upon the importance of general culture, and would make the humanistic teaching as literary

as possible. Those who uphold this standpoint denounce the "practical" person as a base materialist; they remind him that the children have souls to save, and declare that sufficient unto the working-hours is the vocation thereof; in the continuation school toil should be forgotten, at any rate during the humanistic periods, and attention given to higher things. To the "practical" this attitude appears high-falutin' and academic.

On the face of it, the controversy would seem to be one between the claims of bread-and-butter and those of the spirit. But experience proves that the matter is not so simple as that. In the first place the advocates of literature are often very ill-advised in the application of their doctrine. The most ridiculous books have been, and no doubt are still being, used in evening classes for children of 18 and 14 years of age. "Hamlet," Meredith's "Richard Feverel," Young's "Night-Thoughts" are among the classics upon which young operatives have been expected to concentrate their attention after a strenuous day in the factory. These are, of course, extreme instances, but they serve to illustrate the dangers inherent in an ill-considered literary enthusiasm. In the second place, it is necessary to face the fact that a purely literary syllabus is unsuitable for a large number of those at present in attendance at evening schools, and the proportion will be far greater when the whole adolescent population is swept into the net. It is not merely that boys and girls in continuation classes, who have just entered industry and have to come to school to learn something "useful," fail to see how literature fits into the scheme, though this consideration should not be lost sight of. It is something more. The literary enthusiasts are apt to forget that literary people are in the minority, and that just as a large proportion of the population are incorrigibly unmusical, so we have to recognise that another section are, and must always be, unilliterate. And by "unilliterate" is meant uninterested in the classics of our tongue; for there is a sort of "literature" which all boys and girls, with few exceptions, can appreciate. It is represented by the tale of adventure or sentiment, and its extreme example is the so-called "penny-dreadful," a literary form for which

teachers normally express the greatest contempt, though they no doubt have enjoyed its equivalent well enough when they were of the age of their pupils. Here is another factor in the situation which must be faced candidly and with understanding.

The truth is that both controversialists are right in their premises and wrong in their conclusions. To narrow humanism down to the writing of business letters or of notes upon scientific experiments, is clearly absurd. To insist that "literature" is the only possible form of humanism is to fall into error scarcely less absurd on the other side. One party stresses "vocation," the other "culture"; and in doing so they have each taken hold of the truth, though at opposite ends of the stick. The problem of humanistic teaching in continuation schools, is in short, to discover some central subject or subjects for the course which will be at once connected with the vocation of those taught and at the same time adequate as a basis for general culture and as a preparation for the privileges of citizenship in a great modern State. And the solution of the problem, if it be possible to find it, might have consequences far transcending its immediate effects. Is the condition of modern society so desperate that it is hopeless to try and reconcile the claims of humanism and industrialism? The nineteenth century answer was "Yes." It may be that our continuation schools will prove that answer to have been unduly pessimistic.

It is always useful to dwell upon the views of extremists in discussing a difficult problem, because the extremist is apt to bring out salient points. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the majority or even a large percentage of the present evening school curricula are framed in slavish accordance with either of the two ideals referred to. Some attempt at compromise between the two is what is generally found, though of recent years there has been evident a distinct tendency to strike out an independent line, with very promising results. A brief history of what has been done will not be out of place here.

Soon after evening courses began to be properly organised it was found necessary to include some "English" in the curri-

culum. The first idea was a weekly composition, generally in letter form, the favourite formula, not yet extinct, being: "Write a letter to a firm applying for a situation." This, which may be called the "decent-letter" ideal, was very narrow in its scope, but it possessed one virtue: the children knew what it was for, and felt it to be worth while—until they became utterly wearied with writing fictitious letters to imaginary employers. Their boredom gave the "literary" champions an opportunity of pressing their claims, while the growth of the "penny-dreadful" habit caused general alarm, and forced the whole question of juvenile reading-matter upon the attention of the authorities.

The upshot was a partial concession to the literary point of view in the shape of a recognition that an attempt should be made to interest evening school students in novels suitable to their years, in the hope of weaning them from the accursed thing. Thus side by side with the "decent-letter" ideal was set up the "reading-as-a-pleasant-habit" ideal, and education authorities invested in large stocks of cheap reprints of "Treasure Island" and "Little Women," two books which became widely used as class-readers in evening schools. What Louisa Alcott would have said to this is difficult to guess, but the eye of imagination could see the ghost of Robert Louis Stevenson peering in at the class-room windows and calling out for vengeance upon this foul and most unnatural murder. The idea of placing such books in the hands of children was excellent, but the result in most cases was deplorable, since the average teacher experienced a temptation, which he was unable to resist, either to treat the whole thing as a "reading-lesson" and concentrate upon the child-reader's defects in understanding and pronunciation, or to regard the novel as a "set-book," to be got up for examination purposes. In both cases the purpose of the author, which was to tell an interesting and amusing story, tended to be almost completely forgotten, while the monotonous reading aloud, chapter by chapter, week by week, of the same novel for a whole session placed such an intolerable strain upon the endurance of the child that even "Treasure Island" became a dreary wilderness and Stevenson a dull dog.

It was by no means all the fault of the teachers. An extraordinarily difficult task had been imposed upon them, since there is perhaps no literary type which is more awkward to deal with in class than the novel. Suitably chosen, and treated as a kind of lighthouse illuminating the social and political conditions of the age with which it dealt, it might have proved, and in some cases did prove, fruitful educational material. But very few of those who handled it were able to look beyond the covers of the volume. Moreover there were the examinations to consider, and examiners make a practice of examining facts and subject-matter.

The consequence of all this was that "English" became an exceedingly unpopular subject, both with students and teachers. It was indeed difficult to get the former in many schools to attend regularly upon "English nights." It was not that they clearly distinguished in their minds between "vocational" and "non-vocational" subjects, but they realised that, when someone was droning aloud a chapter from a novel, precious minutes were passing, and little was being done to add to their stock of knowledge. The situation was serious, and needed both diagnosis and a remedy. An attempt was made to grapple with it in a report on the evening schools at Huddersfield, issued by the Board to the Local Education Authority in 1918. Huddersfield, a typical industrial centre of the North of England, afforded an excellent field for experiment, and the recommendations of the report were made after consultation with the members of the Education Committee and the evening school teachers, some of whom gave great assistance in the matter. These recommendations, briefly summarised, were as follows:—

(1) That the scope of the "English" work in the schools should be widened so as to include some subject, the study of which would provide fresh information and would be at the same time recognised by the child as having a direct bearing upon his own life. It was suggested, in other words, that modern social and industrial history, of a simple character adapted to the young adolescent, should be made the centre of the "English" course instead of the novel, and that such history teaching

should be illuminated with constant references to local conditions and to the relics of former types of manufacture in the neighbourhood. It was hoped by this means to put fresh life and interest into the "English" work and to provide class and teacher with an ample store of themes for discussion and composition.

(2) That such literature as was taken in school should be confined to recreative readings by the teacher to the class, for a short period every week, from a well-chosen volume of heroic or narrative poems, occasionally varied by a humorous scene from Dickens or a thrilling scene from some book like "The Cloister and the Hearth." But the readings were to be readings and nothing more. There was to be no attempt to *teach* literature, and the whole aim of the teacher would be to interest the children in poems and books they might otherwise not come across.

(3) That the composition should be based to some extent upon the history work done in class, which was far more suitable for the purpose than a novel. But the form of composition should be frequently varied, and an occasional debate upon some topic of living interest would prove very advantageous.

(4) That a lending library should be established in each evening school, which should consist of (a) novels by such writers as Conan Doyle, Haggard, &c., who provide in a more finished form those elements of adventure which the normal boy finds irresistibly attractive in the "penny-dreadful," and of (b) hobby-books, popular and well-illustrated books on industrial and scientific achievement, books on exploration, and the like. By reading these at home the children would be likely to acquire a taste for books, and in time to view with critical eyes the cheap "blood" literature, which was harmful rather from the æsthetic than the moral standpoint.

The scheme was adopted in Huddersfield, and after a series of conferences had been held with evening school teachers and education officials in various centres of Yorkshire and Lancashire,

it was taken up in a large number of West Riding schools and was embodied, with slight modifications, in the syllabuses for the preliminary technical, commercial, and rural courses of the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, which determines the curriculum of most evening schools in those two counties. Where it has been given a fair trial it has on the whole proved very successful. In some places "English" has now become the most popular subject in the evening school. The institution of lending libraries; in localities where no considerations of parsimony stood in the way, has been attended with quite remarkable results; and there is no doubt that it has made "readers" of hundreds, if not thousands, of children who would not otherwise have realised the possibilities of self-development and recreation in this matter. The introduction, on the other hand, of social and industrial history into the "English" course has tended in many places to alter the whole attitude of the teacher towards his students. It has compelled him to take an interest, often for the first time, in the occupations of the children, and even the actual processes upon which they are engaged, while he has made the healthy discovery that in this part of the course at least he has as much to learn from them as they have from him. In this way the elements of discussion, of give and take between teacher and taught, of a sense of being engaged upon a common voyage of discovery in which captain and crew are alike searching for truth, elements which are familiar in the university tutorial class for adults, have to some extent penetrated into the evening work of the adolescent. Most important of all, the students have come to feel that "English" is a subject which touches their own life and environment, and that this environment has a past which is part of the history of their country.

During recent years a number of Junior Technical Schools have sprung up in different parts of the country. In these schools, where full-time education is provided for lads of 14 to 16 years of age, it is possible to devote five, six, or even seven hours a week to humanistic studies. Thus an opportunity was offered to work out the Huddersfield scheme on a larger scale

and with better qualified teachers. Speaking generally, the humanistic course of a normal junior technical school now includes :—

(1) English composition, which often takes the form of debates, since the ability to speak well and to the point is a very important asset for the industrial worker.

(2) English literature, which is not studied meticulously or intensively, but is taken in great swathes and read almost wholly from the point of view of enjoyment.

(3) Industrial history and geography, which form the principal feature of the course, a beginning being made in both cases from the industry of the particular locality in which the school is placed.

(4) The use of a school library, similar in character to those found in evening schools, though usually more generously equipped.

CHAPTER II.

HUMANISM AND INDUSTRIAL CITIZENSHIP.

The success of these experiments in humanistic teaching in evening continuation and junior technical schools suggests that the part-time day continuation schools of the future might profitably follow in the same direction. But before proceeding to a consideration of this possibility in its practical bearings, it will be well to deal with one or two preliminary questions. The students with whom we have to deal must be thought of in three aspects. They are adolescents, that is to say they have arrived at a definite period of human development. What type of humanism is most suitable for the years of life that lie between the ages of 14 and 18? Again they are destined to be citizens of a great State, a State which during the coming generation will have to grapple with some of the most intricate and tremendous problems that any human society has ever had to solve. What type of humanism forms the best preparation for such a citizenship? Lastly they are for the most part engaged in industry, probably for life, and under the term "industry" the oldest of all industries, agriculture, is of course included. What type of humanism is best adapted to the environment and opportunities of industrial life? The last two questions are intimately connected and may be treated together first of all. For citizenship in a modern nation cannot possibly be separated from industrialism. The humanism we require is, once again, a humanism adapted to the needs of an industrial democracy.

(1) Humanism and the Industrial Perspective.

The aim of technical education in this country has been avowedly to prepare students for industrial life, or, in the case of those who have already entered the mill, the mine or the workshop, to supplement and expand the limited and disconnected knowledge gained by practice with that larger and deeper vision which comes of a scientific grasp of fundamental principles.

In other words, technical education attempts to give the student a command of the processes of his particular industry by instruction in the scientific principles which underlie them. It is a laudable aim, but it takes a lamentably narrow view of the true nature of industry. A complete training for industrial life should provide far more than information about machinery and the methods of production; it should put the student into possession of such facts about the origin and significance of his immediate industrial environment as will enable him to orientate himself and to understand the importance of his own work. The value of this second element has been hitherto obscured, partly owing to the natural but over-emphatic absorption of technical instructors and organisers in the mechanical processes of industry, partly to a healthy reaction against the claims of those who would patch the new garment of technology with the old cloth of purely literary education.

Yet no elaborate proof need be offered to show that a type of instruction which is exclusively technical is inadequate as a preparation for industrial efficiency. It is a proposition which will only be controverted by those who forget, not only that every machine and every part of the machine down to the smallest bolt or screw are ultimately as much the expression of human imagination and ingenuity—in a word, of the creative faculty—as the Venus of Milo and the works of Shakespeare, but that the world of industry, both as a whole and in its several departments or trades, is something vastly more comprehensive than the sum of its mechanical processes—that it is, in fact, a society of societies, a federation of men and women co-operating together for the purpose of exploiting nature in the service of mankind, and requiring, like any other army, leadership, organisation, morale, and a common inspiration for the prosecution of this aim. Machines without men are so much dead matter; men without mind are so many machines; minds unorganised, undirected, and uninspired are nothing but a mob. It is in the highest interests of industrial efficiency that the mind of the worker should be cultivated in such a way that it may be able to deal successfully, not merely with the mechanical problems which confront it, but also with the more

important human problems that are involved in the life of any society of individuals working together for a common end.

There are two sides to every industry: the mechanical or technical and the human or administrative. For the second, training and ability are as necessary as for the first; proficient craftsmen will not bring success to an industry in the long run unless it can command a supply of equally proficient managers, foremen, and overlookers. It may be urged that this administrative ability can only be acquired in the school of experience. If so, the products of this school have up to the present been singularly barren of result. British industry is wonderfully inventive, wonderfully enterprising, wonderful in all those elements which are summed up in the phrase "push and go," so dear to the business man. But on the side of organisation, administration, collective action, co-operation between the human groups which compose it, our industrial structure has been not unjustly compared with the political condition of England in the reign of Stephen.* Feudal anarchy is writ large over its portals; there is internecine war between firm and firm, between class and class, between industry and industry. Everywhere there is friction, and friction engenders heat, waste of power, waste of time. Even the foreman is sometimes selected, not for his ability to lead men, but for his capacity to drive them. It is true that the establishment of Whitley councils since the war have "initiated the rule of law" in industry much as the reforms of Henry II did in the political sphere; but the machinery of organisation will not work until the spirit of fellowship is abroad, and that spirit can only come through education.

* The first Report (1915-16) of the Committee of the Privy Council for Industrial and Scientific Research uses the following significant language in speaking of the dangers of foreign competition: "Organisation can only be fought by counter organisation, and so long as the Englishman treats his business house as his business castle, adding to its original plan, here and there, as necessity or inclination directs, with his hand against the hand of every other baron in his trade, and no personal interest in the foreign politics of his industry as a whole, it will be as impossible for the State to save him, whether by research or other means, as it would have been for King Stephen to conduct a campaign abroad."

Moreover, the argument from experience is false. If it were not it would equally well apply to purely technical instruction. It is true that without practical training in administration, academic instruction would be almost useless; it is also true that technical education would be futile unless accompanied by actual experience in a work-a-day world. The point is, not that industrial education is or can be a substitute for industrial experience, but that it is able to perform an essential service in supplementing, broadening, and deepening the knowledge, whether in the mechanical or human sphere, that is being gained in the workshop itself. Partly owing to limitations of time, the technical schools of the country have hitherto almost entirely neglected the administrative side of industrialism, though the appearance in recent years of such subjects as "mill-management" in school time-tables is a small beginning in the right direction. If those who are to play a leading part in the industrial world are to receive a complete training for their vocation in the technical or continuation school, they must be taught not merely about the structure of machinery, but also about the structure of the society of which their trade forms a part; they must learn to understand both metallurgy and the economics of the iron and steel trade, both the working of the spinning-mule and the even more complicated working of a trade-union.

And one may go further. To be a successful "captain of industry," successful, that is to say, as an organiser as well as a maker of quick returns, it is necessary to realise that the work of the shop is not just a play of "hands," but the complex and co-ordinated activity of a number of individual human beings, each with a distinct personality of his own, each with his private joys and sorrows, his peculiar upbringing and temperament, his interests and ambitions, each, in short, with a soul. Every employer and manager, of course, knows this; but realisation is more than knowledge, since it implies acting upon what one knows. Too often in the past those in command of industry have tended to take a mechanical view of the society of which they are the leaders, and to regard their own function as the counterpart of that performed by the central

driving engine which keeps all the machines of the factory working. Half the industrial disputes that occur arise from a neglect of the human side of production, a neglect due not to any sinister or tyrannical intention, but simply to lack of understanding and imagination. Leadership is a difficult art, requiring not only strength of will but width of sympathy, and in the industrial world of our day the second quality is becoming increasingly important. It was the recognition of this fact which recently led the general manager of one of the largest engineering concerns in the country to begin the practice of selecting his staff from young men with a university education. This may be going to the opposite extreme, but it serves to emphasise the point that a humanistic education certainly tends to enlarge the sympathies and to strengthen one's powers of judgment in regard to character. The milk of human kindness is a wonderful lubricant in the social machine.

Once, in fact, the truth be realised that industrialism is two-sided, human as well as mechanical, social as well as scientific, a way of life as well as an instrument for production, and it follows that technical education, the education which is to prepare men for it, will remain incomplete until it embraces within its scope some form of instruction which is concerned with social structure and the personality of the individual. Technology is science adapted to industrial needs. We have to discover a humanism equally suited to the same end. The two together will comprise a complete system of Industrial Education.

It is sometimes said that, as industry grows more and more developed, as the "minding" of its processes becomes increasingly divided and subdivided among its human agents, as the machine tends ever more rapidly to oust the "hand" from the workshop, technical education will gradually cease to be of service to the community. Were this true, we should expect to find technical education at its strongest in the more primitive industries, such as housecraft and agriculture, and at its weakest in highly developed industries like the textile trades, engineering and mining; at its height in the villages, and in its decay in the towns. The reverse is, of course, the truth; technical education is as much a product of the Industrial

Revolution as machinery and the division of labour, and continues to widen the sphere of its activities in proportion as that great movement penetrates into new industries and deepens its influence upon those it has already captured. Yet the mistake just quoted is not without its lesson. What these critics of technical education feel, though they express themselves fallaciously, is that changes in the character of industry brought about by the development of the industrial system lead of necessity to changes in the type of education devised as a preparation for industry. The most obvious of these changes is one that implies a transition from an art to a science. You get, for example, at one end of the scale, domestic instruction, which is confined largely to the training of manual dexterity in various directions, and, at the other end, instruction in electrical engineering, which is nothing but a branch of applied science.

Closely connected, however, with this change there is another, which is even more important though perhaps less noticeable. The higher the organisation of any particular industry, the more restricted tends to become the appeal of its corresponding technology. Thus the system of technical instruction in our various large centres has come more and more to resemble a kind of sorting machine. Thousands of young aspirants enter the evening continuation schools in the vague hope of thereby improving their chances in the mill or the workshop. But only a small percentage of these ever reach the advanced classes in the technical school. It has long been obvious that an educational system that provides no alternative for those who do not require, or are unsuited for, its specialised courses is defective. Spokesmen of the trade-union world have openly complained that the technical school offers too little to the ordinary employee. Yet to redress the balance should not be difficult. Courses of study might be devised, indeed are in some places already being devised, which, while less purely technical in character, would be no less closely allied to the industrial interests of the students, and would attract and retain a large number of those who now fall out of the ranks of continued education only too early. That the adult worker feels the need of such courses is proved by the striking success

of the tutorial class movement promoted by the Workers' Educational Association. But hitherto there has existed a gap between the evening continuation school and the tutorial class. The Education Act of 1918 has made the building of a bridge over this gap a statutory obligation upon all Local Education Authorities. Our system of Industrial Education will in future have to cater for the rank and file as well as for the officers of the industrial army, and the emphasis in either case will be different.

This does not mean that there should be one kind of education for the "rich" and another for the "poor." The dictum holds true quite apart from all questions of class-distinction. Even if Syndicalism captured the whole of British industry to-morrow, organisation would still be necessary; and organisation implies differentiation of function, gradation of rank, which may of course be entirely independent of the hereditary class differences at present existing. The best brains will always tend to lead, and need educational preparation for leadership; the rest will always tend to be led, and education can do much to foster in them a healthy morale. For the fostering of this healthy morale humanism of some kind is quite as necessary as for those who are destined to be leaders. But the situation must not be misunderstood. The rank and file are not to have more humanism than the cadets, in order merely to fill up the gap left by the technical education which they do not require. Both must take humanistic studies, and studies of a similar nature. Moreover, as has just been suggested, there is a kind of technical instruction which might be very useful for the ordinary workman, though it has not yet been thought out, and does not come within the purview of this memorandum. Finally, a certain proportion of the students in our future continuation schools will probably prove to be unsuited for large doses of purely humanistic teaching. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt at all that humanism is an essential ingredient in all forms of continued education, for whatever type of student. Omit it and the gravest possible results are to be looked for, not only from the industrial, but also from the national point of view.

In this connection the wise words of a recent writer on Technical Education may be quoted:—

“ To speed up production with unrefreshed workmen is a disastrous economic policy. Temporary success will be at the expense of the nation, which, for long years of their lives, will have to support worn-out artisans—unemployables. Equally disastrous is the alternation of spasms of effort with periods of pure relaxation. Such periods are the seed-times of degeneration, unless rigorously curtailed. The normal recreation should be change of activity, satisfying the cravings of instincts. Games afford such activity. Their disconnection emphasises the relaxation, but their excess leaves us empty.

“ It is here that literature and art should play an essential part in a healthy organised nation. Their services to economic production would be second only to those of sleep or of food. I am not now talking of the training of an artist, but of the use of art as a condition of healthy life. It is analogous to sunshine in the physical world.

“ Art and literature have not merely an indirect effect on the main energies of life. Directly, they give vision. The world spreads wide beyond the deliverances of material sense, with subtleties of reaction and with pulses of emotion. Vision is the necessary antecedent to control and to direction. In the contest of races which in its final issue will be decided in the workshops and not on the battle-field, the victory will belong to those who are masters of stores of trained nervous energy, working under conditions favourable to growth. One such essential condition is Art.”*

(2) *Humanism and the National Perspective.*

The Great War has emphasised the national importance of technical education as nothing else could have done. It has also shown with somewhat painful clearness that technical education, by itself, is insufficient for the needs of our industrial

* *The Organisation of Thought* : Prof. A. N. Whitehead, pp. 54-56.

population. Never, it is true, since its history began, has the nation been so unanimous and so determined in the prosecution of a great task; and if we look for the cause of the difference between the attitude of the country now and its temper, let us say, a century ago when faced with the Napoleonic menace, we can only attribute it to the spread of enlightenment and education during the nineteenth century among all classes of the community. Yet it is obvious that much remains to be done.

One of the main functions of education must always be to link up each rising generation with the national life, to enrich the minds of the coming race with those national memories which we call history and with that highest expression of the national spirit which we call literature, in short, to hand on the accumulated experience and tradition of the race to its sons and daughters. It is indeed only by so doing that the nation can be preserved, since in the words of Renan: "A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down." Citizenship is not a subject, any more than "character," "devotion" or "love of truth." It is a spiritual principle, an atmosphere which must pervade all our teaching, inform all our educational plans. Yet the application of this principle is attended with grave difficulties, graver than is commonly realised. And the chief difficulty of all is that the connection between "past" and "present" has perhaps never been less obvious to the bulk of our population than it is just now. In other words, there is a divorce, hardly conscious but all the more dangerous on that account, between the national and the economic life of the people.

During the last hundred years there has grown up in this country a new nation within the bosom of the old, a nation which has passed through social and economic experiences unparalleled in the story of this planet. These profound changes

have, as yet, received scant recognition in our ordinary historical text-books for schools, which are for the most part written by members of the other and older nation, and scarcely any reflection in our modern literature. The result is that a large and rapidly growing section of the population feels more or less consciously that it is out of touch with the national traditions as these are expressed in current literature and orthodox histories.

Our great industrial towns and areas are often as new as their counterparts in America, and like America suffer that spiritual dearth which comes of having no past. In the year 1811 the town of Middlesbrough had 85 inhabitants, in the year 1911 it had close upon 105,000. And not only have towns such as this increased during the past century to three thousand times their original size, but the inhabitants themselves have almost completely changed their social habits and outlook. Their forefathers no doubt were, for the most part, agricultural labourers living in villages. They were poorer, perhaps, and certainly far less educated than their descendants; and yet, through their customs, their folk-songs, their games, their proverbs, their local government, and above all their religious life—all dating back more or less to the middle ages—they were conscious of handing on the immemorial traditions of the nation which their great-grandchildren have almost entirely forgotten in their little monotonous rows of urban dwellings. The people of old, for all their illiteracy, had a "culture" of their own; the people of modern industrial England, for all their newspapers and cheap literature, have hardly begun to acquire one. And yet the elements of a "culture" are there, if they could only be developed, beautified and welded together into a whole. The authoress of *At the Works**, a book which describes the town just referred to, has an interesting passage, which will bear quotation in this connection: "It is," she writes, "obviously not a place that people would be likely to settle in, unless there were very practical reasons for their doing so. There are no immediate surroundings, either of buildings or of country, to appeal to the æsthetic side of the imagination. There is nothing to appeal to a sense of art or of beauty. There

* *At the Works; Lady Bell* (Edward Arnold).

is no building in the town more than seventy years old; most of them, indeed, are barely half that age. There is no picture-gallery; indeed, there is not a picture anywhere that the ordinary public can go to see. But yet the imagination can be stirred—must be stirred—by the story of the sudden rise of the place, by the titanic industry with which it deals, by the hardy, strenuous life of the North, the seething vitality of the enterprise with which the town began."

This last sentence touches the very root of the problem. If the herded populations of our great industrial centres are to have a culture of their own, that is to say, a common tradition of thought, feeling and conduct, without which they are not a people but "the masses," if, in other words, they are to be built up into the national life and to understand the part they are called upon to play therein, they must develop this culture for themselves out of the stuff of their own lives and work, and out of the traditions which are beginning to spring from the tremendous industrial changes that have made both them and their surroundings what they are. A culture borrowed from without, from that older England into whose leisured spaces this vast industrial population burst like a new invasion of the barbarians, fails because it is adapted to other times and conditions. The newcomers will learn much from the culture of rural England, especially in childhood; folk-dance and folk-song have already a recognised place in our elementary school curriculum. They will learn much, too, from the culture of leisure which has come down to us from the Renaissance and finds its headquarters at the older universities; they are already doing so in the tutorial classes of the Workers' Educational Association. But what they take from these will wither and die unless it be incorporated into, and transformed by, an indigenous culture belonging to industrialism itself, a culture which, however mean, formless and ugly it may be as yet, has before it without any possibility of doubt an incalculable future.

The significance of all this for our present purpose is that technical education, as we have hitherto known it, is the first toddling step towards that Industrial Education which the facts of the modern world demand. A complete system of Industrial

Education will not come in our day. It will develop and expand gradually, as the culture, which it is its function to express, develops and expands. But education here and now can hasten this development if it recognises that what this vast new chaotic society needs above everything else is a sense of history, a sense of common purpose, and a sense of its own significance. "The theory of interest," writes a Herbartian psychologist, "does not do away with drudgery, but it makes drudgery tolerable by giving it a meaning:". He is writing of the drudgery incidental to school-work, but his words are equally applicable to the drudgery inseparable from industrial life. The curse of our industrial system is not drudgery but *meaningless* drudgery; at any moment there are millions of persons doing work for their living without the least conception of its significance or of its place in the scheme of things. Industry possesses neither meaning nor interest, human or national, for the vast majority of those engaged in it. Most of them can hardly tell what process precedes and what follows their own task in the chain of production, still less are they conscious of the origin of the raw material or the ultimate destination of the finished product. Work is a sordid thing, a matter of profits and wages.

The Great War brought a change—for a time. It informed industrialism with the spiritual force which we call patriotism, and welded it into a great society, actuated by a common purpose and conscious of working for ends finer and higher than those of its individual members. In short, it brought into our factories and workshops the two greatest prizes that life has to offer—fellowship and freedom; fellowship, which means a brotherhood of love and sacrifice, and freedom, which means, not a do-as-you-please independence, but a sense of joyous co-operation in the service of a great cause. That time is passed. But one lesson, at least, of the war will never be forgotten—that production is not forced labour imposed upon slaves shackled in the chains of economic necessity but a social service, that, indeed, all work worthy of the name is, in the current phrase of war-time, "work of national importance." The discovery of this fact, which will have a profound influence upon the future of industry, is hardly less important in the sphere of education,

for it has sown the seeds of the plant which it is the business of the teacher of the humanities to foster. Education cannot abolish the monotony of labour, it cannot recapture for us the passionate enthusiasm of those *anni mirabiles* through which we have just passed, but it can add value, meaning and even pride to the vocation of the worker if it helps him to understand his relations with his fellows, the importance of his contribution to the national task, and the place of his particular industry in the world at large. And in building up the New Humanism on the basis of the students' immediate economic interests and environment, it will be laying wisely and securely the foundation of the Industrial Culture of the future. For culture, like charity, begins at home, and the educationalist, no less than the statesman, must subscribe to those profound words of Burke: "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ, as it were) of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love of our country and of mankind."

If this be false, if the marriage of Vocation and Culture be impossible, if culture be, as it seemed to Matthew Arnold and most of the nineteenth century prophets, the preserve of a small leisured class, perpetually threatened by the tides of anarchy, then are we of all ages most wretched. For whatever else happens, no man can stay the march of industrialism, civilisation is for good or ill finally established upon the basis of machine-production, and culture must make terms with these facts or perish. The controversy between the prophets of the nineteenth century and the "Barbarians" is, in truth, the same controversy as that described between the "literary idealist" and the "practical person" in our first chapter. In other words, the problem of humanism in the continuation school is, in little, the problem of modern civilisation itself.

(8) *Humanism and the Adolescent Perspective.*

Industrial education may be considered in three aspects: as a preparation for employment, as a new type of education

which is developing in response to the demands of a new form of society, and as a species of instruction designed for the adolescent. It remains to say something about the place of humanism in continuation and technical schools when regarded from this last point of view, a point of view which introduces us to the purely educational side of the matter.

The normal student in a continuation or technical school is a boy or a girl between the ages of 14 and 18, a wage-earner, and one who has been brought up in industrial surroundings. Add to these the fact that, when he is not at school, he is earning his living, and that for the greater part of the week, and we have enumerated the main factors of this particular educational problem. Of these the factor of adolescence is clearly the most fundamental, though it is doubtful whether those who have thought and written hitherto about continuation schools have given sufficient weight to it. The child when he first comes to continuation classes is entering upon a new period of human development, a period unique in its cravings and manifestations, and one very difficult for the adult mind, that is to say the mind of the teacher, to understand. The special characteristics of this period, which may be noted as bearing on the present topic, are: an intense interest in the occupations of adult life, which are clothed with a glamour that, alas, fades to surely with the passage of years; the dawn of a newly acquired sense of society, which shows itself partly in shyness and gregariousness, partly in the beginnings of an appreciation, for the first time, of social movements and historic tendencies; a dislike for detail and the slow-footed methods of the ordinary class-room, with a corresponding desire to tackle things wholesale, to skim a large number of books, to turn quickly from one problem to another. Adolescence is the period of adventure, of sudden growth, of intense intellectual voracity, of insatiable curiosity, of strange conversions, of illimitable horizons; it is the Renaissance Age of the individual, the age of Columbus and Drake, of Marlowe and Bacon, of Luther and Savonarola. It finds its climax in the years from 17 to 25, when man stands at the gate-way of the universe, conscious of his powers, unconscious of his limitations, while the world

seems to lie at his feet like a football to be propelled in what direction he wills.

Speaking of the education of the adolescent, an American psychologist writes: "The drill-methods of the preceding period must be slowly relaxed and new appeals made to freedom and interest. We can no longer coerce, but must lead and inspire if we would avoid arrest. Individuality must have a longer tether. Never is the power to appreciate so far ahead of the power to express, and never does understanding so out-strip ability to explain. Over-accuracy is atrophy. Both mental and moral acquisition sink at once too deep to be reproduced by examination without injury both to the intellect and the will. There is nothing in the environment to which the adolescent nature does not keenly respond. With pedagogic tact we can teach about everything we know that is really worth knowing, but if we amplify and morselize instead of giving great wholes, and if we wait before each methodic step till the student has reproduced the last, we starve and retard the soul, which is now all insight and receptivity. Plasticity is at its maximum, utterance at its minimum. The inward traffic obstructs the outer currents. Boys especially are often dumb-bound, monoprastic, inarticulate, and semi-aphasic save in their own vigorous and inelegant way."* To deny humanistic teaching to children in this stage of their development is to do them irreparable injury, to leave them maimed when they might have been whole. If we "amplify and morselize" our humanistic instruction, we may do even worse; we may close the door of loathing upon half that life has to offer. It is during adolescence that the human being acquires those habits and tastes which determine the structure and bent of his adult personality. "Plasticity is at its maximum," but a hardening process follows in manhood, after which it is almost hopeless in most cases to expect new developments or the implanting of new interests. If on the other hand during adolescence fruitful and vigorous growth is started, it may go on living and putting forth leaf and blossom into old age; in other words

* Stanley Hall: *Adolescence*, ii., 458-54.

it is necessary to establish at this time habits and tastes, which being in themselves dynamic will do much to counteract the static tendencies of the adult mind. Adolescence is the teacher's supreme opportunity, which once let slip can never be recalled.

But the adolescent with whom we shall have to deal in the continuation school is also a wage-earner. That is to say he is economically partly independent. He has left the day-school, for the most part gladly, while his contributions to the family income purchase him a large measure of emancipation from parental control. It is a situation which emphasises and feeds all the natural impulses of his nature just spoken of. "The tendency is strongly in the direction of the youth becoming a law to himself in his free time. He begins to develop a private life of his own. Of real home life there is little or none. The home is where the boy gets his meals and finds a bed; and this is true not only of boys but also of girls. The outlook is towards the streets, of which they have the key. It is there they "visit" one another, and seldom under the regulative influence of an ordered home. It is by what they see, hear and do there (with the added excitements of the picture-house and music-hall) that the social instincts are directed and fashioned. They become inveterate impressionists. And they presently become incapable of enjoying the tranquillity of ordered social amenities. They resist sullenly or with truculence, according to their dispositions, and always with a fine disregard of the consequences of resistance, any force that tends to detain them from the lure they find in the streets. The master passion is to run free."*

What type of humanism does such a being require? The lure of the streets and the picture-house, the passionate desire to "run free," these are what the humanistic teacher has—not to fight against, for why kick against the pricks?—but to build upon. The whole tendency of modern urban life, and urban life every year stretches out its tentacles further and further into the country-side, is to inhibit the natural impulses of youth, and such inhibition may be attended with very

* *The Young Wage-Earner*. Ed. by J. J. Findlay, pp. 50-51.

dangerous psychological reactions. It may engender, in the long run, such a quantity of pent-up explosive material as will vent itself in the most exciting form of adventure known to modern society—revolution. The streets are the last “common” left in which the industrialised adolescent can disport himself, the sole remaining prairie for primitive man (and all boys and girls are primitive) to hunt, to camp, to fight and to make love in. What are we to do? The picture-house and the penny-dreadful provide the answer. It is possible to give these inevitable, these dangerous instincts, a vicarious outlet. To read or watch passively the adventures of others is in a sense to have adventures oneself. The Press is constantly reminding us of youths who confess that a film or a “blood” has suggested to them the crime for which they stand arraigned. Such confessions are generally made in answer to leading questions by the magistrate, who gets the reply he asks for. But even if they were all true, it would be even truer that for every youth who is lead astray in this way there are thousands who are saved by agencies which provide the excitement they desire and so purge their bosoms of perilous stuff which, had it not found imaginative outlet, might have expressed itself in action. The social order owes a debt to those commercial undertakings which have exploited the cravings of young people by establishing picture-houses and publishing blood-literature.

But neither is good enough. The former may be, is already being, improved and elevated. A taste for the latter can only be eradicated by placing better material of the same kind within the reach of every young person in the country. English Literature is full of such material. It is enough to mention “Macbeth,” which is nothing but the penny-dreadful raised to the plane of genius. Indeed a large quantity of the very highest poetry in our tongue deals precisely with those impulses and emotions which stir within the breasts of all adolescents. Shelley, with his contempt for tradition, his passionate hatred for authority, his trumpet-tongued denunciation of everything that shackles the freedom of human personality, is Adolescence distilled, purified, translated into the seventh heaven of song. Most important of all perhaps, there is the sex-impulse, the

awakening instinct of the Romeos and Juliets of our back-alleys, the eternal theme of our poets. Here again literature can furnish the necessary outlet, the all-important sanctification. It is not supposed, of course, that even the majority of students in continuation schools will read or be able to understand Shelley and Keats. All that is here insisted upon is that literature, properly selected, sympathetically introduced, provides something which youth needs—a sense of emancipation, of being understood, an expression for the secret thoughts of the heart. There are terraces of varying altitudes upon Mount Parnassus, and it will go hard if we cannot at least lead our students up over the lower slopes. The streets are the avenue of escape from the cramped home and the monotonous workshop; it is possible to escape even from the streets on the viewless wings of poesy.

One may escape from the present, but only with a return ticket in one's pocket. The present is reality, and the humanist will ignore reality at his peril. The present must be explained, must become the subject of study. There is only one way in which this can be done, namely, by the comparative method. History explains the present by comparing it with the past; Geography explains the immediate present by comparing it with existing types of life and society in distant parts of the world. But these voyages of adventure and discovery, for it is in that spirit they should be conceived, must begin at the home port. History and geography unrelated to the life of to-day, to the life of the boy and girl in their immediate environment, may prove interesting for the time, but they are without root, and will be eventually recognised as irrelevant. However far afield those engaged in it proceed upon their exploration, they must remain in constant wireless communication with their base. There must be no sealed instructions on board. "We are out to discover where we are and how we got there" is what the captain must insist upon day after day in no uncertain voice. The crew will be willing enough once they grasp the purpose of it all. Above all, the significance and value of the present is to be emphasised. The student is to feel that he is heir to all the ages, and, when all

is said, standing on a plane full of greater opportunities than those of his forefathers.

Exploration rather than instruction is the true note of education for adolescents. They will tolerate nothing else. Let the teacher catch their interest, let him make his purpose clear, and if they approve of it, they will follow wherever he leads. But there must be no formalism, or there will be a mutiny on the ship. Not the acquisition of facts but the opening up of new vistas should be his object; such facts as are necessary will be absorbed unconsciously. It may be that some island of knowledge at which the voyagers touch will prove unexpectedly fascinating. Let them explore it to their hearts' content. It is more important to experience the full joy of discovery than to cover the syllabus. In a word the teaching methods in the continuation school must be adaptable and exhilarating. The treatment suitable to childhood's years must be laid aside. The continuation school, if it is to succeed, must be an educational club.

The teacher's rival is the picture-house, and he may learn many things therefrom. One of them is the importance of a varied menu. Yet the picture-house has three serious drawbacks, which the curricula of our schools do not always avoid. The first is that the glimpses of truth or of romance are disconnected; there is no unity, no common thread running throughout. Too often the child's time-table in school is equally a series of detached "subjects." There is only one "subject" of education, and that is Life. What Life has joined let no teacher put asunder. This is not to say that subjects should always be going through a series of hasty-marriages at the registry office of "correlation." The teacher who makes the discovery that there is some connection between poetry and the love of nature will be taking his class out on to the highways of Life. If he only wishes to correlate "poetry" with "nature-study" he will illustrate Shelley's "Sky-lark" with a stuffed specimen of the bird, and the result will be disastrous both for Shelley and the lark. Unity of interest, unity of knowledge, not correlation-carpentry work, should be the idea ever present in the teacher's mind. The second evil of the picture-house method

is that the audience is passive; the impressions received are never translated into action. This, too, is an evil to be found in many a class-room. Continuous activity on the part of the student is, of course, unnecessary. At times he must listen, and absorb. But a lesson which is nothing but a lecture encourages a passivity which is dangerous, since it leads to lack of interest and laziness of thought. In a word, the students must work, *i.e.*, they must constantly put forth effort in regard to the subject-matter of their study. And in humanistic studies this means that literature, history and geography should be accompanied with a running commentary, whether of discussion or of written exercise, or of dramatic representation.

Closely connected with the question of passivity is the third defect of the cinematograph, *viz.*, lack of opportunity for specialisation. The showman unrolls his film, and places equal emphasis upon every part of it. The teacher must pause at intervals to "go into" a particular matter carefully. The adventurers, as has been said, will both want and need to disembark upon an attractive island as occasion offers. If they are tied down to the requirements of an examination, this will be difficult; for a certain performance in that case has to be gone through, which means that the machine goes clicking on. Chiefly for this reason, specialisation is rarely found in class until near the end of school-life, even in the secondary school. Yet specialism is absolutely essential to the genuine educative process; for how else can the student develop his interests? And there are different kinds of specialism. There is that of the subject, as when a class, or may be the whole school, tends to concentrate its attention upon a particular aspect of knowledge. But there is also specialism within the limits of a particular subject, and this is most often individualist in character, as when one boy prefers this or that and desires to pursue the topic before going further. These individual preferences are very important, may, indeed, become the germs of lifelong interests, and should not only be encouraged but evoked. Adolescence, moreover, is especially the age at which they manifest themselves.

CHAPTER III.

THE HUMANISTIC COURSE IN GENERAL OUTLINE.

Having viewed the problem in perspective, we may now consider how best to apply the principles just worked out to the practical field of class-instruction. A course has to be devised, syllabuses drawn up, and methods of teaching discussed. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to pause for a moment in order to remove a possible cause of misunderstanding. It is one of the difficulties connected with official documents that they tend to be taken by some readers as papal utterances. Yet it is obvious that the continuation schools and the humanism which finds a home therein must breathe the atmosphere of freedom, and at the outset freedom in particular for experimentation, if they are to have any life at all. Humanism in education means the liberation of the human spirit in the taught, that and nothing less than that. Now to this end there are many possible roads. There is Music, for which a place will surely be found in most continuation schools, although in many it will perhaps be found most conveniently outside the statutory hours of instruction.* There is Art, which nourishes the spirit of colour, line and form; and it is certain that some schools and classes will make this their main interest. There is Science, which, if taught not merely as an affair of test-tubes and balances, but to stimulate the imagination and to cultivate the sense of wonder and reverence, may become a great humanising force. Further, it can scarcely be doubted that a number of continuation school students will prove to belong to the type which finds self-expression most readily through the fingers, and that for such minds simple crafts, gardening, wood-work and the like, will be the right path of development. All this being so, it cannot be too clearly stated that the humanistic course suggested in the

* A pianola, with rolls of all the great masterpieces, should be regarded as a necessary part of the Continuation School equipment.

present and subsequent chapters is not in any sense to be taken as the only road, or even as the best road, for every school and scholar. Where the field is so wide, it is necessary to choose between several alternatives; but that choice does not render the other roads out of bounds if they seem more attractive or more suitable under particular circumstances. It is the belief of the present writer that for most schools, especially in industrial districts, the course here chosen will prove to be appropriate, if tried under proper conditions. It is his hope that, if widely adopted, it may in the long run go some way towards easing the solution of our industrial problems. But this belief and this hope are personal—not official. Anyone, therefore, who rises from the perusal of this pamphlet with the impression that its suggestions are intended as prescriptions or that advocacy of the course outlined below is a preliminary to its being imposed upon all and sundry, will have sadly missed the spirit which inspired its conception. Let it be repeated once again: what is here written is written to provoke discussion, not to form the basis of a code of regulations.

Further, it would be unfair to the proposals of the present chapter to consider them apart from the List of Books for use in Continuation Schools given at the end of the memorandum. Special attention has been paid in this list to popular scientific books, in order that students of a scientific turn may be provided for.* Other types of mind will find food in the books classified under Natural History, Heroism and Adventure, Hobbies and Games, and Romance. It is probable that a lending-library such as this, if skilfully employed by the teacher, would do more to 'educate' continuation school students than any conceivable course that could be devised for the class-room. In any event, the course suggested here will be seen out of focus, if it be not viewed with the lending-library as a background. With the short time available for class-room instruction, we have to pick and choose very carefully among alternative subjects; but with a well-equipped library at their disposal, the students' outlook cannot be limited by the selection which is forced upon us.

* v. pp. 128-127.

It is beyond question that any suggestions for continuation schools must at present be tentative in character. The schools do not yet exist, and their establishment will reveal a number of factors which no human being can foresee. We cannot even gauge the calibre of the students and teachers who will fill them. Yet it is useful to have a chart before undertaking a voyage, however greatly unanticipated winds or the quality of the mariners on board may influence the actual course taken. And in making out the chart it will be best to lay our plans for four years and not two. Under the Act of 1918, the whole four years' course will not come into statutory operation until seven years after the establishment of the continuation school system. But it is probable that not a few localities will anticipate this date in one way or another. And even in those which do not, there is much to be said in favour of setting up a curriculum which can be readily extended when the seven years have expired. But while we have to envisage a four years' humanistic course, the plans for the two top storeys of the structure must, in the nature of the case, be more roughly sketched in than those for floors one and two. The problems connected with them are, for one thing, more remote. For another, we have much experience to go upon in dealing with students of 14 and 15 years of age, little or none for their seniors. Indeed, as far as the bottom storeys are concerned, our plans, as we saw in the first chapter, are already drawn out. The curriculum for the first two years of the continuation school here suggested is, in fact, only an extension of that already existing in the best Evening Schools, a modification of that found in the most progressive Junior Technical Schools.

Once again, it will be convenient to anticipate the full operation of the Act in estimating the number of hours per week which can be allocated to humanistic subjects. It is assumed, in other words, that the school-week runs to eight hours, of which two, at any rate in the first two years, will be claimed for humanism. It is to be observed also that, at this point, it is unnecessary to distinguish between the particular needs of the domestic, commercial, rural and industrial student. Differences of treatment, according to type of student, will undoubtedly be

required. But these differences will best be considered when we come to deal with the course in detail. Here, for the moment, we are only concerned with the character of the course in general outline. Finally, this preliminary survey will deal with the central subjects of the course only. Composition, even though it claim a special place on the school time-table, is not in this sense a subject at all. It pervades the whole course, and is inseparable from the study of history, geography or literature. The question of its treatment, therefore, may be deferred. Literature, again, is from the point of view of this memorandum, not a central subject: not because it is of little importance, on the contrary, its importance is very great indeed, but because, while it should be included at every stage, it is not suitable as a basis of humanistic instruction. And this for a very simple reason. It is not a knowledge-subject, and only indirectly is it concerned with the development of the reasoning powers. Our first duty to the continuation students is to give them an intelligent understanding of their environment, and to prepare them for their responsibilities as workmen and citizens in the world of to-day. Our second duty—the training of the imagination—is no less important, but it involves other methods and other material. Occasionally literature may be brought in very effectively to illustrate some problem in history. But any attempt to “correlate” literature, as a subject, with the other parts of the humanistic course is doomed to failure. Thus it stands apart from the rest, and will be more conveniently considered in a later chapter.

The object of humanistic study is to make the student free of the world: the world of time to which the main gate is history, the world of space to which the main gate is geography, and the world of imagination, to which, at least for most people, the main gate is literature. No individual student can grasp the whole world, because the individual is finite and the world infinite. But the teacher in a continuation school, even with only two hours a week, can show his students the road, lead them part way along it, and inspire them with a zest for further exploration. His first duty, however, is to make them realise that the world he is dealing with is their world, the

actual world in which they live. It is a duty laid upon him not only by the national and social considerations dealt with above, but also by considerations which are strictly educational in their reference. "Proceed from the known to the unknown" is a time-honoured pedagogic maxim, which Herbart elaborated into a whole system, and the Herbartian doctrine of apperception-masses, when stripped of its psychological jargon, simply means that a sense of reality is the beginning of all true knowledge. Now this sense of reality, without which education becomes mere intellectual gymnastics, can be induced by a very simple device. All that is necessary is to set out on the journey from the right spot, the spot from which all journeys start—home. And this point of departure will determine the whole character of the course, since it lends it purpose and direction. The students set out from home in order to understand home better, and it is the search for that larger comprehension of their own lives and work which directs their footsteps. Moreover, when the journey is over, they will return home once more to see what the old place looks like in the light of their accumulated experience. The humanistic course will be something in the nature of a grand tour.

The following is the course suggested:—

First year.—Social and industrial history, with a local bias.

Industrial history, as a "centre" for the humanistic course, has already been well tested and its possibilities and limitations explored in the Evening and Junior Technical Schools. It has been found that children of 14–15 are not intellectually capable of appreciating much of the more abstract side of the subject, that they are not interested in social tendencies and economic structure, and that, therefore, it is of first importance to make the instruction as picturesque, as actual, as human as possible. It has been found also that the popularity of the subject is in direct proportion to the amount of local interest which can be attached to it. Classes in textile districts, for example, which have supplemented their studies by visits to mills in the neighbourhood and by the creation of small and simple textile museums in the school-building, have taken to "industrial

history " with unqualified enthusiasm. Speaking generally, such a course should start from the students' immediate industrial surroundings, and the discovery that " the common things that round them lie " may be used as material for serious study will prove in itself of incalculable value to most of those concerned. It will then trace these conditions back, through the changes summarised under the term " industrial revolution," to the simpler social conditions of the middle ages. Thus each boy and girl would come to realise not only that their locality had grown and changed, like any other organism, but that the life and work around them possessed a past which was part of the past of the nation as a whole. If this result is to be attained, however, the first year's work must consist, not of an " industrial history " text-book read backwards, but of vivid glimpses of real phases of past life and must be regarded as a preparation, not as a substitute, for a subsequent study of history.

Second year.—Economic geography of the world, with a local bias.

The object of the second-year course would be to enable the students to open, as it were, the windows of their workshop and to look thence over the whole world, to furnish them with a kind of new Mercator's projection, which will " place " their daily occupation against a world-background, help them to understand that their little " job " carries with it cosmic implications, and lead them to appreciate the fact that they are fellow-servants for humanity with other workers all over the globe. Once again, the course should make local environment and conditions its point of departure, from which it would proceed outwards, first into other parts of England, and then into other lands, indicating the sources of raw materials, the means of communication, and the destinations of the finished article—dealing, in short, with the human planet as a network of economic activities with its centre in the industry in which the students are mainly interested. Everything will hang round that—the local industry; and the course will, therefore, have different names in different localities. It will be the *geography of the Mining Industry, of the Cotton Trade, of Iron*

and Steel Manufacture, of Transport, of Agriculture, or what not,—according to the dominant occupation of the district. In some places it will be necessary to combine two or three trades together in this way. And though local industrial conditions will provide the starting point and the main thread which will run through all the instruction, kindred industries will come up for consideration as the course proceeds, and the number of industries embraced need only be limited by the time at the disposal of the class. Finally, as in the case of the history, the presentation must be made actual, vivid, picturesque. To take one example as an illustration, students whose vocation leads them to the study of the geography of the woollen trade will, of necessity, learn much about the daily life and conditions of the inhabitants both of Australia and of North-east France, and should come to feel that the people in those parts of the world were, in particular, their brothers and sisters.

Third year.—The chief European peoples, and the way they live.

Logically this will be a development of the second-year course, though the main emphasis will be different. The class has hitherto thought of peoples as bound together by common industrial and commercial interests, it has now to think of them as members of a common civilisation. The students are now 16 years of age; they are growing ready for the consideration of political and constitutional problems; they have become conscious of being potential citizens in a great State, a great commonwealth of British peoples, possibly, by the time continuation schools come into existence, also of a great world league or federation. The importance of one nation understanding the life, thought and political institutions of other nations has been burnt into the consciousness of civilised humanity by the enormous catastrophe of the recent war. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to give all our future voters—and that is how we must begin to think of continuation students at this stage—at least some general conception of what a Frenchman, an American, a Russian, an Italian, a German is, and what he stands for in the political structure of civilisation. And here, once again, the start must be made from home. The

elements of the British constitution are very simple and may all be illustrated by the familiar features of local government. There is Mr. Mayor, who stands for constitutional monarchy, or for a limited presidential office like that of France. There is the town council, which legislates for the locality, elected by the suffrages of the burgesses. There is the rate-collector, who gathers in the local taxation, the police, who preserve the peace; and the magistrate, who sits in judgment upon those who offend against it. A few lessons on these and their parallels in the central government are all that is necessary at this stage. The deeper questions and implications may be left over until the following year. What is needed as a start is an illustration of the principles of government, in its threefold aspect of executive, legislature, and judiciary, and a general explanation of how we in England manage these matters. After this the class can go abroad and consider, again in quite simple and general outline, the chief political characteristics of other peoples, and the social and historical reasons which have given birth to these characteristics. When dealing with America, reference will, of course, be made to the War of Independence and the War of North and South; with France to the French Revolution, 1848 and 1870; with Germany to Frederick the Great and the Franco-Prussian war; with Italy to the epic of her liberation and unification. These historical landmarks need not be gone into with any wealth of detail. It is enough for the students to know that they came to pass and what effect they had upon the nations concerned.

Constitutional theory in the hands of pedantry may become very dry fare; but strictly speaking the subject of the third-year course will not be "constitutional theory" so much as "constitutional practice," framed in a good deal of social description. The emphasis should be laid upon those functions of government which directly affect the life of the ordinary man. Local institutions and local affairs will loom larger than those at the centre. It is more important that the students should understand what kind of man the French peasant is, and how his institutions affect his life, than that they should master the intricacies of the political structure of France. In

short, the teacher's function here is not to cram the students with facts, but to open a number of windows for them into foreign countries. Some of the students may pass by; others will linger at one or two which attract them. It will be impossible, in the time at our disposal, to include foreign languages in the continuation school curriculum, except perhaps for some of the commercial students. But a foreign culture course such as that suggested above may lay a foundation of interest upon which the students will be able to build further study, including language if they wish, in adult life.

Fourth year.—Discussion of modern political and social problems.

The grand tour is over, and the travellers return to the homeland to consider its problems in the light of their three years' experience and with the riper intelligence of a developed personality. At the age of 17 they enter the last year of school life, after which they will be adults. At this stage the wise teacher will discard to a great extent ordinary class methods and, in recognition of the fact that the students have now a right to their own opinions, turn the humanistic class into something like a debating society. It will be his hope that some, at least, of those in his charge will continue their studies by joining a university tutorial class when they leave school, and he will prepare them for this by adopting some of the tutorial class methods. Papers will be read, speeches made, and discussion will follow. The subject will be "the condition of modern England," and the object of the course will be to train those on the threshold of citizenship to think clearly and without prejudice about the civic problems which lie before them. A difficult task and needing wise handling, but by no means impossible if faced with courage and a clear head. Courage above all is necessary. The problems selected for treatment must be real and not academic ones, problems which the students hear discussed at home and in the workshop, topics which are handled about with heated prejudice in the daily Press. For what the teacher has to aim at is the encouragement of close reasoning, of respect for differences of opinion, of contempt for catch-phrases, of charity and tempered

judgment; and these qualities are not to be obtained in set argument upon matters of indifference. The value of the tutorial class system is that the students learn to think without passion, to weigh opinion in the scales of informed judgment, to get past the froth of partisan politics to the realities of the social structure. The continuation schools must catch something of this spirit of free enquiry and dispassionate discussion, or they will fail in their duty to the citizens of the future. It is not necessary here to detail the subjects of such a course. Working-class organisations such as the trades-union and the co-operative society will provide much food for discussion, accompanied by excursions into nineteenth-century industrial history. Political questions are always with us, and they, too, should furnish excellent material for the training required. Nor must imperial and world problems be neglected. The British Empire has not been mentioned hitherto as a *subject* of the course. But that is only because it is a thread which runs through the whole. It is impossible to study industrial history and geography properly without constant reference to the origin and distribution of the greatest political system that the world has yet seen, and these scattered references should be gathered up in the last year, and the student's attention drawn to their responsibilities as imperial citizens.

The course thus outlined, let it be again emphasised, is put forward merely as an illustration of the principles which underlie this memorandum, and not in any sense as something to be normally found in the schools. Concerning the needs and capacity of future continuation school students of 16 to 18 years of age we are, in particular, very much in the dark, and all kinds of experiments will have to be tried before we arrive at a satisfactory solution of their peculiar problem, a solution which is likely enough to differ from district to district and from school to school. The following, for example, may be instanced as possible alternatives to the third year course:—

(1) *A further study of History.*—One must expect that students entering a continuation school will have very elementary acquaintance with history. The proposed first year course will have given them glimpses and have aroused their

curiosity. There is much to be said for a return to English history in the third year, when they will be of an age at which they can begin to appreciate political and constitutional issues. Such a return might take the form of a general survey of the political history of this country, to be followed in the fourth year by some introduction to world history. More profitable, perhaps, would be the study of a special period, for example the 16th or 17th century, embracing all sides of national activity, e.g., art, architecture, literature and industry, as well as the strictly political and social aspects, and illustrated abundantly with lantern slides and visits to places of interest.

(ii) *An intensive study of the Locality.*—Here, again, the first and second year course will have provided the initial stimulus. Such a "local course" would be something in the nature of what geographers call a "regional survey," though of necessity elementary in character. It would place great responsibilities upon the teacher, but in competent hands might prove of very great value. Its main object would be to teach boys and girls to use their eyes and their minds intelligently on the things around them. Not only museums and places of historic interest, but the actual streets, houses and even shops which they pass every day, will offer material for study. London is a vast museum in itself, and so to a lesser degree is every town. And if the circle be widened so as to embrace places within easy reach, the points of interest are multiplied. One has only to think of towns like Bristol, Bath, Ipswich, Stamford, Yarmouth, King's Lynn, York, Coventry, and the cathedral cities, to realise what might be made of such a survey.

(iii) *A biographical introduction to Imperial History.*—The British Commonwealth is mainly the creation of great discoverers, pioneers and rulers, and the best approach to its history and problems, for the adolescent, is undoubtedly through the lives of such men as Drake, Hawkins and Cook, Clive, Wolfe, the Lawrences and Gordon, Stanley, Lugard, Cromer and Botha. Nor should the name of Lincoln be omitted, since though it does not belong to British history, it is of great importance in the development of English political experience.

A course of this kind would stress the self-sacrificing zeal of men and women in distant parts of the empire and show something of the steps which have been taken to safeguard the interests of native races. It would demonstrate that the British Commonwealth is not in origin and history entirely the capitalistic adventure which the average thinking working-man, at any rate before the war, was accustomed to regard it.

Any one of these three alternatives could be followed up in the fourth year by the course on modern European peoples, which is suggested above for third-year students.

We have dealt with the course as a whole, taking a bird's-eye view of all four years. In the chapters which follow, which are concerned with methods of treatment, we shall be wise to limit our outlook to the first two years alone, since these are our immediate problem, and since it is only after we have accumulated experience as regards the work for students of 14 and 15 years of age that we shall be in a position to prescribe in detail for those of 16 and 17. We are concerned hereafter, therefore, with the first two years of the course outlined above, during which, it will be assumed, two hours a week will be assigned to the humanities. The problem which confronts us at the outset is that of the time-table. For with so little time at our disposal, the greatest care must be exercised that not a moment shall be wasted and that each subject shall receive its due share of attention. The subjects are: history, and (in the second year) geography, literature, composition (including oral as well as written), and some guidance in the use and selection of books. Of these the history and geography clearly demand first place. They form the basis of the course, and they deal with facts, which require elucidation by the teacher in person. At least one period per week should be devoted to them, though composition, when written on a historical or geographical topic, may occasionally be done in this hour. In general, however, the actual writing of composition will best be done as home-work. This does not mean that composition should not be a subject of class-instruction; but such instruction will most profitably take the form of a discussion of the theme and its treatment, after the written exercises have been

read through by the teacher. Assuming that the students do one composition per week, about twenty minutes a week should be set aside for the subsequent class-discussion. Oral composition, which should consist of more or less formal debates, might be taken once a month, the students being for that particular week asked to prepare speeches and notes on the subject of debate in place of the written composition. An hour will be needed for the debate. This leaves 40 minutes a week, except every fourth week, for Literature and Books. A month's programme, therefore, would work out something like this:—

A.—60 minutes.		B.—20 min. 40 min.		Homework.	
1st week.	Hist. or Geo.	Comp.	Liter.	Comp.	
2nd week.	Hist. or Geo.	Comp.	Liter.	Comp.	
3rd week.	Hist. or Geo.	Comp.	Liter.	Prep. for Debate.	
4th week.	Hist. or Geo.	Debate.	Comp.		

This time-table is, of course, merely a rough approximation of what will probably be found the most convenient arrangement. The question of the correction of homework will be one of the most serious of all the problems with which the continuation school will confront us. It may be necessary, in the interests of the teachers, to limit the amount of written composition to one a fortnight; if so, more time can be given to the Literature.* Again, with classes of dull students a large proportion of the time allocated to Literature will probably have to be spent in discussing the books taken from the library during the week, and in encouraging the reluctant to read more. With bright children, on the other hand, all that is needed will be a few moments at the end of the hour for the exchange of books.

* It is important that humanistic teachers, upon whom, in any case, a large burden of "correction" must fall, should be given recognised periods during working hours for dealing with it.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

. A. *History.*

The continuation school will be end-on to the elementary school, and the curricula of the two will have to dovetail into each other. In dealing, therefore, with the history-teaching in the first year of the course, the first question to be faced is: how much history will the students know at the age of 14? Experience in evening schools shows that at present they know very little, or rather that students at this age vary greatly in their historical equipment, variation which is due to the varying emphasis placed upon the subject by the different elementary schools from which they come. When the new educational system is in full working order, *i.e.*, when the elementary schools have reorganised their curricula in the upper standards to meet the needs of the scholars who will then be all staying on till the age of 14, we may expect great improvements in this matter. Under these conditions, it is to be hoped, the majority of children passing into the continuation schools will have in their minds the necessary historical framework upon which the social and industrial history can be embroidered. What is needed is a sense of the *sequence* of English history, together with a knowledge of the chief political landmarks. The reaction against the "dates of the kings and queens" has gone too far, and in many cases left the post-elementary school scholar without any dates at all, sometimes even with very little appreciation of historical time. It is obviously absurd to teach social history to those in this condition. At the very least, the centuries and the dynasties must be known in proper serial order, and to these periods should be attached the main facts and events that belong to them. In a word, a time-chart of English history is the necessary mental equipment of all those who enter the continuation school. For some years to come that equipment will be lacking in a large number of cases. And that being so, the continuation school teacher will have to supply the deficiency as best he can before he begins his social history course. The

need will be less urgent in some localities than in others, but it is well not to lose sight of it. Probably the best way of meeting it will be to make out a time-chart, which the students will be required to commit to memory in stages, each stage, of course, being carefully illustrated and explained in lessons by the teacher. If the class were an intelligent one the process could be accomplished in three or four lessons, for the subsequent instruction in social history will afford constant opportunities for reminder and further illustration.

But first of all, even before the question of framework, if it be necessary to raise it, the teacher must secure the consent of the students to the course he proposes by making its reality quite obvious to them. To begin with a study of social life in Roman Britain or in the Danelagh, without any sort of introduction, is to court lack of interest, if not disaster. History is an enquiry, and if the enquiry is to be genuine the students must *want to enquire*. Moreover, they must thoroughly understand what it is they are enquiring about. It is curious to note that the historians, for the most part, afford us little help in regard to this last matter. Few historians are interested in the present, or, if they are, the interest leaves little mark upon their writings. History-books, at any rate those commonly found in schools, are mainly concerned with tracing out a series of events or a chain of political cause and effect, quite irrespective of the conditions of our own time which have resulted from them. Thus, for example, it is possible to read a learned and brilliant history of Sweden, without ever discovering from the first to the last page what twentieth-century Sweden is like; and it may be the illustrious author could not tell you if you asked him. Such history is "academic," that is to say its aim is knowledge divorced from reality. It has its uses, and they are manifold, but it is out of place in the continuation school, where history will be studied with a very practical end in view, viz., to explain the students (and their immediate surroundings) to themselves.

The point can best be illustrated by taking an imaginary example. At the hour marked "History" on the time-table the humanistic teacher meets a class of lads in the borough of

X for the first time. He will start by asking, in an informal kind of way, how each boy earns his living, noting the occupation down for future reference. He will then explore the matter further by getting the students to describe their jobs in detail, a procedure which will incidentally give him valuable insight into the quality of their English and their powers of expression. It will repay him to go into this question of the "job" very thoroughly, for he is laying the foundation-stone for his whole course. And apart from this, such questioning will at once catch the attention of the students and place them on a footing of intimacy with the teacher. A good deal of time, two or perhaps three lessons, may therefore be given to this. The teacher should adopt the attitude of an interested though ignorant outsider, anxious to learn, in order to encourage lucid explanation in non-technical language. Such an explanation might be followed up by a piece of written composition, illustrated, if the lads are machine-minders, by drawings of the machine upon which they are engaged. These drawings, of course, will be very crude, and the teacher need not criticise them severely so long as there has clearly been an attempt to bring out the salient points. Once the jobs have been explained, an attempt should be made to bring out the relationship between them. Armitage is a "doffer" and Greenwood a "reacher-in"; which process comes first, and what processes connect the two? — a question which is likely to cause difficulties, so that the answer may have to be left over until after the lads have been to the mill again and used their eyes to more purpose than hitherto. The relationship between jobs in different trades is a topic which will raise even more difficult problems. It is sufficient, at this stage, to raise them; for the teacher's object will be to show that such problems exist and that they are worthy of study. From the job the class will then proceed to the firm, and to the industry as a whole, while at the same time attention should be directed to the borough and to the relics of the past (churches, customs, institutions — what not) which it contains.

If the ground is carefully prepared in this way, the class will be ready for their history course. They will have come to

realise that their work and immediate environment are not only intimately related, but also the last links in a chain of causation which goes back to a remote past; and they will be anxious, or at any rate willing, to investigate this past. At this point, perhaps, a rapid retrospective survey, again in order to raise problems rather than to settle them, would be useful. "Here we are in the borough of X," the teacher may say, "which contains 100,000 inhabitants. We know what kind of place it is, how the people get their living, how they are governed. Let us go back a hundred years and see what X was like then." Two or three other dates might be selected, the last of which would bring the class back to before the Norman Conquest. A few lessons devoted to such a retrospect will test the value of the time-chart mentioned above, and will emphasise in a graphic fashion the magnitude of the changes which have come over the district in the course of centuries. And having got back to the Norman Conquest, the class can take out their text-books and begin to study their history in the normal order of events.

This history will be social and industrial, that is to say, it will be a history of the daily life and work of the people of England with special reference to the life and work of the X borough. Political events will not be excluded. They are useful as pegs, for dates can be readily attached to them. Frequently, too, they have had very important social and economic reactions. But the emphasis throughout will be laid upon the social side of history. Selection of material, however, must be made. In a rural school the "manor" will deserve close attention; in industrial or commercial classes, the "gild." Further, the prevailing industry of the neighbourhood will determine to some extent the emphasis laid upon different periods. The middle ages, for example, clearly provide more material for students in a textile area than for those concerned with mining or engineering. And in any case too much time should not be spent over the earlier periods. At least a term ought to be devoted to the Industrial Revolution and what it has meant to the local industry and the town to which the school belongs. For the Industrial Revolution, with its counter-

part the Agricultural Revolution, is the crucible from which modern England has emerged, and the whole aim and object of the history course is to explain the origin of modern England. Further the psychology of the adolescent must be constantly borne in mind. The teacher must know his Ashley, his Unwin or his Cunningham, or he will not possess the right perspective. But he must not teach out of these books, or even follow their method of presentation. Boys and girls of 14 to 15 are not normally capable of appreciating the abstractions of economic historians. They are not interested in tendencies and economic structure; they are interested in persons and things. The treatment, therefore, should be made as personal, as picturesque, as living, as actual as the teacher can make it. The ceremonial aspect of the "gilds," for example, and their miracle-plays, should be insisted upon, rather than their economic implications. What is needed is that the students should realise that a "gild" was an association of human beings belonging to the same craft, comparable with though differing from a modern trades-union. Questions of gild-structure, and of its origin and decay, may be left to the university tutorial class.

Biography, again, more particularly the lives of the inventors, should be laid under full contribution, since biography has a special appeal for the hero-worship of the boy and girl, while the struggles of the founders of modern industry, many of whom died in poverty, are not without sublimity. Something might also be made of the lives of social reformers such as Owen, Cobbett, Ostler, Shaftesbury, and Kingsley. Lastly, vivid glimpses into the past rather than a continuous narrative should be aimed at. These "glimpses" should be in the correct historical order, but it will not be necessary or even advisable to fill up the gaps in any detail. Much, of course, depends upon a wise selection of the points of time for these glimpses. This selection will have been made in the "retrospect" lessons, and the rest of the course should do little more than expand the material there adumbrated. "Tools and the man" is the theme of the little epic which the teacher has to set before his students. It will deal with the salient episodes of the story, omitting the dull passages. Moreover it must be recognised as an epic, as some-

thing thrilling, human, uplifting. The conquest of man over nature, rather than the evils of the factory system, is what the Industrial Revolution should stand for in the minds of the adolescent workers who attend our continuation schools.

These general observations, respecting history teaching in the borough of X, may perhaps gain more point if applied to an actual township. This section, therefore, concludes with—

Suggestions for a course of social history, based upon the Cotton-industry, and suitable for a place like Nelson.

(1) *The district in the old days:*

This should be purely episodic; there ought to be no attempt at giving anything like a connected narrative or at covering the whole ground. It ought to consist of a series of pictures, episodes, or personalities, these being chosen for their attractiveness and not on grounds of general historical importance. There should probably be something of the "origins," i.e., the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians might be dealt with in a general fashion. Local place-names offer a good starting-point here, since they are the most conspicuous relics of these events that have survived into modern times.* References to historical or architectural buildings in the neighbourhood fix the attention upon later periods. After which, striking events which happened in the district, for instance at the time of the Wars of the Roses, the Civil War, or 1745, will be useful as pegs. In dealing with the middle ages a good deal might be made of the old methods of spinning, weaving, &c., while a map should be exhibited, or made out by the students, illustrating the distribution of the textile industry in England at that period.

(2) *The coming of cotton:*

A picture of conditions of life at the beginning of the sixteenth century before the agricultural and the industrial revolution. In a district like Nelson, which is on the borders

* The fact that Nelson itself is of modern origin, and apparently takes its name from a public house, should be brought out and its significance dwelt upon.

of an agricultural area, the agricultural points should not be missed. How people were dressed, where they got the materials from (wool and linen but no cotton), the food supply, difficulties of communication—these are some of the themes which might be taken up in class. The question of communication should be particularly stressed, communication not only by land, but by sea.

(8) *Cotton:*

Nature of the plant and its home.

(a) The East—China, India, Egypt, introduction by the Arabs (this section might be compressed or expanded at wish). Introduction to England by Italians and Flemings—our debt to foreigners in other directions.

(b) America: Discovery of America. Here definite anecdotes of the first voyages and discoveries might be introduced. As regards the early English voyages, Hakluyt should prove useful. Cotton used in Mexico. The class may become interested in Cortes, and if so should be given its head.

(4) *Growth of the industry:*

Dependent on new inventions. Calico printing. Development of power machines (here we get on to well-known ground). The students are interested in machinery and should be allowed to follow out developments closely, making sketches in their note-books.

Increased demand leads to great development of cotton-growing in the Southern States. Climate and slave labour; slavery and the slave-trade. All Lancashire operatives should take particular interest in the Southern States of America.

Effect on social and other conditions of the new industry. The industrial revolution. The political and social conditions favourable to the industrial revolution should here be brought out, e.g. (a) security of property; (b) freedom of movement for the citizen; modern industrialism could not have arisen in a land of serfs; (c) England's wealth in coal and iron. Discovery

of steam as a motive-power. (Watt and Stephenson will not loom so large in Nelson as they will in Crewe or Swindon.) The relation between increased facilities in communication and the development of the Cotton-industry.

(5) *Modern conditions:*

(a) Production: Dependent on products of tropical countries. Back to the Southern States again. A digression on the American Civil War, which might be treated in some detail. The Cotton famine (the students' grandparents will remember this).

Other sources of raw material—East Africa, and the East. This should be touched upon, by way of hanging out a loose thread to be taken up next session, when geography is to be considered.

(b) Manufacture: This is familiar ground, covered in many text-books.

(c) Finally, some of the social problems, especially connected with the Cotton industry might be touched on—loose threads for the fourth-year course.

B. *Geography.*

In the specimen outline given above, it was found impossible to keep geography entirely out of the history course. And this is as it should be; for no subject is watertight, and to treat it in isolation, if it were possible, would be to make it unreal. Education deals with "subjects," because it is necessary to select, to emphasise some aspects of life at the expense of others. The emphasis in the first year was on industry as a growth—where does it all come from? That of the second year will be upon industry as a twentieth-century world-organism—how is my work related to that of others in different parts? "The aim of teaching geography is to enable the pupil to place himself in and on the world, to realise precisely where he stands. It is not sufficient, for example, that he should be able to say that the world is round: he should be able to feel that it is round with his feet firmly planted on one spot, to imagine, not as something external but as concerning himself directly, this globe

turning under him and wheeling onward on its course round the sun. We wish our students to imagine accurately the conditions of the great world stage on which they play their parts. Book-work, though necessary, is not sufficient. The emphasis must be laid on the making of mental images as nearly as possible corresponding to the actualities.** Three things, it will be observed, are necessary :—

- (1) That the student's feet should be firmly planted on one spot.
- (2) That he should learn to *imagine* accurately.
- (3) That he should be taught to realise the conditions of the great world stage on which he is called upon to play his part.

First the station, then the flight, and last of all the bird's-eye view. Let us take them in order.

The history course started with a consideration of the local industry, and then went on to ask how it came there. The geography course will begin again at the same point, only the question it will put in this case will be: *why* it came there?—a question to which geography in almost every instance will provide the answer. If the industry is mining, an excursion into geology will be necessary. If the textiles, a consideration of watersheds will be important, and so on. In any case, a thorough grasp of the geography of the neighbourhood of the school and of its bearings upon the principal industries of the place is the first problem to be tackled. Possibly some of this ground will have been already covered in the elementary school. If so, all the better for the continuation schoolmaster. As we saw in dealing with this question in regard to history, once the continuation school system becomes established, and the elementary school keeps all its children up to 14 years of age, it will be easy enough to dovetail the curricula in these respects.

An essential part of all geography teaching is map-reading: and the best way to learn how to read maps is to make them. Map-making, it may be observed, is a very different thing from map-copying. It is highly doubtful, indeed, whether

* *The New Teaching*. Ed. by John Adams, pp. 230-31.

the copying of maps will serve any useful purpose at whatever stage of the course. Certainly at the opening it should be avoided, since what map-drawing is intended to teach is not neatness and a facility for "feathering in" mountain ranges, though neatness of course should be encouraged, so much as the power of understanding the realities of which maps are only the symbols. Map-drawing should, therefore, be found at the very beginning of the course, for it is just then that the realities with which the geography deals will be most obviously real to the students. Plans of the class-room, plans of the playground, plans of the school-building, a plan illustrating the way from home to school, a plan of the workshop, maps of the town, of the town and the surrounding district—these and others of a kindred nature are among the exercises which will help the learners to *understand what a map means*. And when they have done a number of these, they will be in little danger of falling into the besetting sin of all geography teaching, the sin of taking the symbol for the thing symbolised.

All this is by way of training the students in that "accurate imagination" which is the second great requisite for a proper appreciation of geographical facts. The teacher will do well to be constantly on his guard against the illusion of the map, an illusion which afflicts 99 out of every 100 adults, however "well-educated." Few people, until the war taught them, realised the Russian State, for the simple reason that most atlases, which are constructed on the continental principle, cut it in two, showing "Russia in Europe" on one page and "Russia in Asia" on another. Again, most people tacitly assume that Scotland is "above" England, or that the British Isles are up in a corner of the globe, whereas as a matter of fact they lie almost at the exact centre of the world's land mass. All these are illusions which militate against that "accurate imagination" which it is the aim of geography to foster. Mercator's Projection is a useful thing, but if misapprehended it may become the source of innumerable errors. The best way perhaps to cope with it, is to make one in class by folding an oblong piece of paper tightly round a globe, drawing in the continents roughly, and then opening the paper out to show how great is the dis-

tortion the farther you are removed from the equator. In short, maps are to be treated as tools, not as fetishes. Let wall-maps be sometimes hung upside down, or sideways; and let the globe be cut up for the benefit of the class, like a plum-pudding. Few persons ever see a map of the Pacific, and without a map of the Pacific how is it possible to understand the significance of Japan, China and Australia?

Having thoroughly mastered the home region, the students will have their feet firmly planted upon one spot; and having learnt how to read a map, they will be ready to take flight into other "regions." Their first flights will naturally take them to those parts of England which are of especial importance to the neighbourhood from the economic point of view. The selection of these regions will depend in large measure upon the industry of the locality, but should not be entirely confined to related occupations. Miners, for example, may well consider the question of food, clothing and communications, and will benefit from a comparison of their own conditions of life with those of agriculture, textiles, or the railway service. Next, the class will venture abroad and investigate the areas which produce the raw materials for their trade. Here the cotton students will specialise on the Southern States of America, East Africa, and other cotton-growing areas to which they have already been introduced in the history course. The miners will dwell upon the coal fields of the world; the engineers upon the iron-producing areas, and so on. All these various studies should be scientific, that is, they should be based upon genuine geographic principles. But geography will be only an instrument towards that realisation of the conditions of the great world in which the student is called upon to play his part, which is the true end of all geographical work. Thus the stress will be laid upon the conditions and life of other workers in his own field the world over. Pictures, the stereoscope, the lantern—all should be pressed into the service of the teacher in his effort to make this realisation vivid. It is not enough to hear that wool comes from Australia. The class must see the flocks, must watch the farmer at work, must understand his isolation and the manner of his life. And when the raw materials have

been dealt with, their transport to these islands should be considered. Something must also be said on the machinery of commerce and exchange, the importance of which is too often neglected or ignored by those whose lives are cast in the purely industrial sphere. Last of all the finished product should be followed to the countries which are our chief customers in the article, in order that the circle may be complete. Thus at the end of the year the student will see his work, himself in fact, as a link in a great chain of human production, and come to realise the other links, not as something abstract, remote, indifferent, but as men and women like himself, exchanging human services for human needs.

C. History and Geography for Girls.

There appears to be no reason why girls should not take history and geography as well as boys, or why they should not study them on much the same lines as those indicated above. Possibly literature will claim a somewhat larger share of the time-table in their case. But since most girls enter industry and remain in it for at least a portion of their lives, and since even when they marry the industrial conditions of their neighbourhood will still constitute the material framework of their whole existence, it is right that they should be taught to understand something of the origin and significance of their surroundings. The emphasis, however, may well be slightly different from that in the case of boys. In dealing with social history, for example, the teacher will naturally dwell particularly on the life of women in the various periods covered, and will tend to consider the domestic interior rather than the work in field and shop. It is doubtful whether much could be made of a course, deliberately framed for feminine consumption, such as "The History of the Home," though the experiment would at least be worth trying. The material for such a course would be difficult to get together, while it has to be recognised that the "home" will, in many instances, not prove to be the centre of the girl's life. More promising, perhaps, is a subject such as "Great Women of the Past," which calls out that strong vein of hero-worship found in most adolescent girls, and has for

the rest met with success in several schools where it has been attempted. Girls, like boys, are interested in members of their own sex who have done things, have overcome obstacles. The life of Helen Keller, for instance, will fascinate girls of 15 or 16 years of age.

The geography, like the history, should of course be given a domestic bias. A series dealing with "Home-life in many Lands" would provide material for study in this connection.

D. *Teacher and Text-book.*

It is comparatively easy to devise courses in history and geography suitable to different districts and to various industries. The difficulties will not lie with the subject or the students, but in the way in which the subject is actually presented to them. Here the question of the equipment of the teacher and the quality of the text-book is one of great importance. The ideal teacher will be one who has served his apprenticeship in the industry of the locality, and has at the same time taken a university course, it may be in a W.E.A. tutorial class, in industrial history, economics, and economic geography. He should also, of course, understand the adolescent and have had some training in methods of teaching. In any case he should be conversant with the occupations of his students, and should realise the wider economic implications of what he has to teach. He will not obtrude questions of economic structure and social tendency upon the attention of his class, because their minds are not ripe for such food. But he must be conscious of them all the time himself, otherwise he will be unable to keep his bearings, will emphasise the wrong things, and will constantly be conveying an incorrect perspective. The teacher who knows no more than what is contained in the text-book his class has before it, is a lamentable figure, and the students soon find him out. The right mental equipment for one who stands up before a continuation school class to teach history and geography is a thorough knowledge of the growth and composition of modern economic society, which he will transmit, not in the raw abstract, but in a series of human

and living pictures, linked on to the work in which his students are mainly interested.

Text-books, however, are necessary, since the work must not develop into a number of lecturettes, and the students should have something to study on their own account, independently of the teacher. What is needed is a series of little books on the history and geography of the main industries of the country: A history of the mining industry—The origin and growth of engineering—The coming of iron and steel—The story of loom and spindle—Pottery, past and present—From Adam's spade to the steam-plough—From camel to aeroplane—Barter, trade and commerce—The story of food and fuel—would more or less cover the field as far as history was concerned. And a corresponding geographical series might include: Underground the world over—The tools of modern man and what they perform—The world's foundries—Cotton-plant and cotton-clothing—The golden fleece—The highways of the globe—Life in the field under other climes—The world's ledger. Fancy titles are suggested in order to emphasise the character of the books required. They should be brightly written, well illustrated, and while a clear thread runs throughout, each chapter should open as it were a separate window. Such books have yet to be written, but the number of books more or less approximating to this type is steadily on the increase year by year, and there is no reason to despair of getting what is wanted by the time the continuation schools are opened. Meanwhile evening and junior technical schools are managing very well with social history books, specially written for schools, though of a more general character. The names of some of these will be found in an appendix to this pamphlet. The most urgent need at the moment, perhaps, is a really good and cheap "commercial atlas" for the second year geography work. There are one or two commercial atlases on the market, but for the most part they tend to go too much into detail, and provide the student with maps crowded with symbols representing various industries which do little more than bemuse him. Moreover, more attention should be paid to the British Isles than is generally done. Not only ought there to be a full-page map of Great Britain, indi-

cating the main industries in broad masses of colour, but a physical map of each industrial district would prove very useful. After that might follow an industrial and commercial Mercator's Projection, and then the various continents, Eurasia being one, could be taken separately. The whole atlas need not be more than 20 to 30 pages long, and general impressions should be aimed at rather than detailed accuracy.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESENTATION OF LITERATURE.

Literary specimens may occasionally be utilised to illustrate the history, and, to a smaller degree, the geography course. When dealing with the middle ages, for example, one or two episodes from the miracle plays might be read, e.g., *Abraham and Isaac*, to illustrate tragedy, and *The Second Shepherd's Play* to illustrate comedy.* *The Slave's Dream*, by Longfellow, would prove apt in connection with the cotton course; while for modern industrial conditions the beautiful lyric narratives of Mr. W. W. Gibson, published under the title of *Fires* may be specially recommended. But, as has already been pointed out, any attempt to drag literature at the heels of history or geography, to make it merely illustrative material for the knowledge-subjects, is to be strongly deprecated. If literature is worth studying at all, it is worth studying for its own sake, or rather for the sake of the imaginative life of the student upon which it acts like the sun, drawing it upwards, giving it nourishment to put forth leaf and blossom, clothing it with colour and grace. Unlike history and geography, literature has nothing directly to do with facts or veritable propositions at all. It is not a knowledge-subject, though human wisdom would be a poor starved thing without it. "Its object," Wordsworth tells us, "is truth, not individual and local, but general and operative; not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart with passion." Its root is emotion; its aim a right emotional attitude towards Life, not in this or that aspect or department, but as a whole. From this it follows that the method of dealing with literature in the class-room must be totally different from those employed with the other subjects.

The first thing a poet or a novelist demands of his readers is that they shall enjoy what he sets before them. Literature

* v. *Oxford Treasury of English Literature*, Vol. II.

has other prizes to offer besides enjoyment, but that comes first and without that nothing else follows. Thus, even if the teacher of literature never gets beyond the stage of pure enjoyment with his students, he will have accomplished much. And, indeed, little more can be expected in the first two years of continuation school life. Enjoyment, however, does not mean luxurious idleness, a mistake which those who regard literature as a "soft option" very often fall into. It may be accompanied with very strenuous effort, and is at its keenest when so accompanied. The truth is there are two kinds of enjoyment: the enjoyment of creation and the enjoyment of relaxation.* Both kinds should be encouraged by the literature teacher, but the former is that which belongs most properly to the class-room, since in that re-creation which a true appreciation of literature implies, the presence of a wise interpreter is necessary, at any rate for children. The distinction between creation and relaxation enables us, roughly, to classify the books to be used in connection with the literature course. Relaxation books are those which the children can be safely trusted to read at home. The question of home-reading is a very important one, and the teacher must exercise a close supervision over it, as we shall presently see. But his main task is with the creation books, with which alone we are for the moment concerned. These are books and poems that the students would not naturally read for themselves, books that require an effort for their appreciation, books, therefore, that must be introduced in class.

When we survey the stores of our literature with a view to selecting suitable fare to set before the students, two factors should be borne in mind:—the conditions of class-room activity, and the psychology of the young adolescent. The second consideration places many poets, and those some of the greatest, almost completely out of court. Wordsworth, except for a very few lyrics, will remain a closed book.† Milton, Browning,

* This distinction is well brought out in Prof. Whitehead's *Organisation of Thought*, pp. 53-54.

† His child-poems are especially unsuitable for children, particularly at this age, when they are beginning consciously and with a certain scorn to put away childish things.

Shelley, Keats, Byron are almost equally beside the mark, though some of their lyrics will appeal to girls. Something may be made of Arnold's *Sohrab and Rostum* and (with girls) his *Forsaken Merman*. But the ballads, Scott, Tennyson (in his narrative poems), Longfellow, Macaulay, and to some extent Morris, Newbolt and Kipling, should provide us with sufficient material; and that because they are concerned with those two elements most dear to the adolescent mind: story and adventure. Scott (*The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion*), Macaulay (*Lays of Ancient Rome*), and Longfellow (*The Saga of Olaf* and *Hiawatha*) are in particular suitable for lads of 14 to 15, and the only reason why they are not more read in schools is that teachers are apt to pick up an impression at college that these poets are of a second-rate order. They are, and it is just that which makes them attractive to the undeveloped mind. Their verse is simple, direct, untroubled with thought; and they tell a story without any circumlocutions, a story largely concerned with fighting. In short, they are the poets of boyhood. Teachers often make the mistake of thinking that what they like, or what they suppose they ought to like, should prove acceptable to their students. If the teacher has a real enthusiasm for a poem, he may inspire his class with a like enthusiasm. But even so if the poem be not really suitable for lads or girls, their enthusiasm will be a mere reflection of the teacher's and will rapidly evaporate. The truth is that every age of life has its appropriate poetry, and the teacher should make it his business to discover what poetic themes and forms make the most direct appeal to those in his charge, since it is only such poetry that will "be carried alive into their hearts with passion." What we have to do with students in the continuation school is to make literature seem attractive to them, to make it *enjoyable*. Once a right attitude towards poetry is established, the rest will follow. A boy who has enjoyed Longfellow at the age of 14 is much more likely to enjoy Keats at 20 than one who has had Keats thrust upon him prematurely. In this matter the teacher must stoop to conquer.

When we turn to the other side of the problem, the conditions of class-room work, we find that some adjustment of the

selection just made is necessary. The time given to literature is short, and the poems mentioned above are long. No doubt if the teacher read them aloud to the class, he would be able to cover all the ground outlined above in the two years at his disposal; and reading aloud by the teacher, if he reads well, is a method decidedly to be encouraged. But it is not enough, by itself, for it gives the class too little to do, even when the class is frequently invited to discuss certain passages. If literature-work is to become really creative, the students must learn to be themselves interpreters, must learn to give poetry breath with their mouths. Something, of course; can be done in this way through recitation, though care should be taken not to make recitation an irksome task. But obviously the best instrument for the purpose is not narrative poetry but drama, drama in which the students can take parts, and which will give them occasionally the supreme pleasure of "dressing-up." Of all forms of literature, drama is the most suitable for class-room purposes, because it is *story in action*. In a word, Shakespeare is indispensable.*

After what has just been said about juvenile literature, it may seem strange to insist that the greatest and most profound of English poets should take the first place in the literary syllabus of the continuation school. Yet it is after all only a tribute to Shakespeare's greatness and the universality of his appeal. He wrote for a mixed audience, representative of all sides of London life in his day, and though he admits that the censure of the judicious "o'erweighs a whole theatre of others," he was far too excellent a man of business not to provide the generality also with what they required. Now this generality, the bulk of his audience, consisted largely of city apprentices, the Elizabethan counterpart of the continuation school students of to-day. Shakespeare understood the adolescent mind, and wrote with one eye upon it. That he could hold the silent attention of "the youths that thunder at a playhouse and fight for bitten apples," and at the same time satisfy the

* Sheridan's plays have proved popular in some continuation schools for girls. They possess the attraction of the "high life" novel, and girls like dressing up as titled ladies.

cultured critics who sat on the stage or in the boxes, is only a proof of his genius and the basis of his enduring popularity. It is the teacher's job to see to it that the "groundlings" of the class-room enjoy the play as much as their predecessors did in the seventeenth century Globe. Yet there are certain obstacles to the enjoyment of Shakespeare to-day which did not exist for his original audiences. For example, his language is more or less archaic. The text-book commentators, now let us hope a thing of the past, frequently so greatly increased the size of this obstacle by heaping philological and historical notes upon it, that it became a barrier which prevented the student getting at Shakespeare at all. Difficult words and allusions should be made light of. If the class becomes really interested in the play it will take many of these obstacles almost unconsciously in its stride; others must be briefly explained by the teacher. In any case, nothing should be done to check the flow of the verse and of the story.

Again, Shakespeare's plays were written to be acted on the stage, that is, to be seen and heard and not to be read from a book. This is a serious difficulty and one which prevents even a large number of adults from fully appreciating Shakespeare. A play in the theatre is easy to follow, since the characters appear before us as living beings, clad in appropriate costumes, employing appropriate gestures, and moving about in appropriate surroundings. A novel is easy to follow, because the novelist is careful to provide the reader by description and digression with the setting which is needed. But the bare text of a drama, accompanied as in the case of Shakespeare with a minimum of stage directions, calls for a very considerable effort of the imagination. When Mr. Bernard Shaw appealed to the reading public with his plays, he recognised this difficulty and successfully met it by expanding the text with long stage directions, in which the stage was never referred to at all. Further, Shakespeare's scenes are by no means all of equal interest, and this was in a large measure due to theatrical conditions which have completely altered since his day. In the modern theatre, with its long pauses between the acts, it is possible for the dramatist to sustain the excitement in the plot on a

fairly even level throughout, since the *entr'acte* breaks provide the necessary relaxation of tension. In Shakespeare's theatre the scenes followed each other without interruption and he was obliged, therefore, to intersperse his more thrilling episodes with others of less attraction. Such scenes, even on the modern stage, pass off well enough, though our actor-managers cut many of them out. In the printed text, especially if they are unduly dwelt upon by a laborious teacher, they may tend to boredom. Now whatever else we do with Shakespeare in the class-room, we must avoid boredom. We must teach Shakespeare in the Shakespearian spirit. His primary object was to entertain, and we should respect it, even if it means doing violence to the text he has left behind him.

The teacher's problem is how to introduce Shakespeare to his students in such a way that they will thoroughly enjoy him and carry away pleasant and vivid memories of the world of his imagination when they leave school. First of all, he should make up his mind to deal with as many plays as he can in the two years' course. Children need variety, and the study of a single text meticulously is apt to be tiresome. His aim is to introduce his students to a source of future pleasure, not to prepare them for an examination on the minutiae of a particular drama. This being so, he ought to be able to find time to take at least four plays in the year. Next he must select his plays carefully. Not all Shakespeare's works are equally suitable for the class-room. *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Cymbeline*, among the better known, are for various reasons difficult to handle. But plenty remain, plays in which the story is simple, and the element of sexual passion hardly at all present. Opportunity will be, and should be, found in the third or fourth year of the course to read *Romeo and Juliet* in class, but children of 14 and 15 years of age are not yet ripe for it. For the first year *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II.*, or better *Richard III.*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the First Part of *Henry IV.* would provide an excellent and varied menu, while in the second year plays a little more difficult might be attempted, such as *Macbeth*, *Henry V.*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Twelfth*

Night or *As you like it*. And if some of these have already been read in the elementary school, *The Tempest* and parts of *King John* may be quoted as substitutes. Indeed, in any case only parts of the play will be read and studied. For the third duty of the teacher is to select the acts and scenes most appropriate for his purpose. Only in one or two instances, such as a tightly packed play like *Macbeth*, should the whole text be read, and even in *Macbeth* it would be well to omit the Malcolm and Macduff scene (Act IV., Sc. iii.). In many cases selection is made easy by the fact that the play is readily divisible into sections according to plot. The casket-plot and ring-plot in the *Merchant of Venice*, for example, are clearly of secondary interest as compared with the fortunes of Shylock, while the Mechanicals with their play before the Duke, and the Fairies are far more attractive groups in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* than the Lovers. Probably the best method of approach is for the teacher to start by telling the class the story of the play in his own words, making the narrative, of course, as interesting as possible. Inasmuch as a story told is generally more arresting than a story read, it will be better not to use Lamb's *Tales*, which for the rest are couched in difficult language and often omit plot-elements which will be needed. Once the class know the frame-work of the story, any scene or scenes can be taken in detail.

Such scenes should be read dramatically, preferably in parts, the students being encouraged to prepare for the reading beforehand and to throw themselves with zest into their respective rôles. And if the class be split up into two or three rival dramatic companies, getting up different scenes from the same play or giving competitive performances of the same scene, an exhilarating element of fun would be introduced into the literature lesson. By the end of the session a number of scenes from different plays will have been read in this way, and a class-company selected from the best actors might then give a show performance of the favourite scene of the year. The desire to be a member of this picked company would be a great incentive to the readers during the session, and the teacher would, no doubt, increase the number of supers so as not to

cause undue disappointment. Possibly such session-end performances could be given before the whole school, and the team-competition element extended by the award of a Shakespeare trophy to the class which acted best, the award being decided by the votes of the audience, which would be critical since it would consist of more or less practised players. In any case, the crown of the Shakespeare work in class should be stage-performance. It is not the committing to memory of the learned notes of commentators, but the speaking of "lines" in character which leads to that true appreciation, that recreation, which is the end of all literary study. The day may some time come when the only examination in literature will be oral impersonation. And if some of the parts maybe are "extremely stretch'd and conned with cruel pain," Shakespeare himself, could he be present, would surely applaud the result, reminding the scoffers in the words of his own Duke Theseus that—

. . . never anything can be amiss,
When simpleness and duty tender it.

Youth is shy, secretive, afraid of showing its own personality. For this reason it takes particular delight in impersonation, in concealing itself behind the mask of make-believe, more especially if the character it assumes be at once simple in outline and striking in form. We are very far at present from realising the full possibilities of the school-theatre and the class-room stage. The effect upon young people of reciting a heroic passage from a great poem or of acting in a scene from a great drama is something more than merely æsthetic, important as that side of the matter is. It is directly and immediately moral. Tragedy deals with the ultimate issues of life; comedy, especially of the Shakespearian type, puts one in good humour with all mankind. The very discussion as to how this or that character should be represented teaches one to understand human nature better, while from the conflict of character, which is the theme of drama, one learns the lesson of tolerance. "To see true love glorified and made ideal and triumphant; to see hate, rage, and jealousy, overwhelmingly defeated; to hear taught in song

what great lives have learned by suffering; to feel the influence of noble personalities that 'pay with what they are,' and of smaller ones that pay with what they do; to thrill with the triumphs of moral and even physical heroes; to criticise and compare characters and plots;"* and to do all this not as passive spectators or silent readers, but in action, with gestures appropriate to kings and conquerors and heroes, uttering oneself their mighty and "high astounding terms"—that is to gain a moral education which no direct instruction in ethics can ever give.

But while Shakespeare should form the heart of the literature course in the first two years (a course which should lead on to more modern dramatists in the later years), the teacher must find time, if possible, to introduce the class to other poets as well. He should read one or two of the long narrative poems mentioned above, read them aloud himself, and if he finds the students are not listening he will know either that he is not a good reader or that he has selected the wrong poem. Girls, no doubt, will prefer something more of the romantic than the heroic type, *The Forsaken Merman* rather than *Sohrab and Rustum*, *Evangeline* rather than *The Saga of Olaf*, while they will also be likely to appreciate the lyric more than boys will. Moreover, where anything of a worthy dialect literature exists, the young people of the district should certainly be made acquainted with it. Probably great developments in this direction are to be looked for in the immediate future, and the teacher should keep abreast of the times in this matter. But some parts of the country already possess a living local literature of their own. To mention only one example, Professor Moorman's collection of *Yorkshire Dialect Poems and Songs of the Ridings* should be familiar volumes in all continuation schools of Yorkshire. Prose, too, should not be neglected, and here the great novels should be pressed into service. A thrilling scene from Scott or a humorous scene from Dickens, if well-read, will frequently induce students to attempt a novel for themselves which otherwise they would never think of tackling. The

* Stanley Hall: *Adolescence*, ii., 441, from a suggestive section on the place of the theatre in education.

The success of such a school-library, however, will depend almost entirely on the principles of selection; for the boy or girl must come to look to the library for the satisfaction of his or her needs. At all costs it must be proved to the student that "books" are attractive, that they are not, in fact, those heavy engines of moral and intellectual instruction which he has too often unfortunately learnt to regard them. It is distrust of "books," i.e., volumes too large to put into one's pocket, which is largely responsible for driving children to those lower forms of literature provided by commercial publishers, who have seized the opportunities neglected by the teacher. It is the tastes of the young adolescent and not those of the cultured adult which must form the basis of our selection for the library. Many of our continuation school students may prove incapable of appreciating the higher flights of literature; but nothing is more certain than that they nearly all love reading—of a kind. Turn out the pockets of the boys in any evening school and you will find that practically every one possesses a copy of the current weekly "penny dreadful." In spite of the canting denunciation of this type of literature, there is nothing either unhealthy or unnatural in boyhood's and girlhood's devotion to it. The boy of fourteen has a craving for adventure—a craving probably all the stronger for his confinement to the factory and the streets—which demands an outlet, and finds it where it can. What is wrong about the "penny dreadful" is not its subject matter, but its form. The clever criminal, the crafty villain, the detective, are figures which have an eternal fascination for the primitive mind of youth, for they are only so many different types of adventurers. It is the shoddy style, the sentimentality, the slipshod thought, the puerility of the plot, and the general scrappiness of such publications which do the real harm. The wise teacher will not ignore the "penny dreadful" or dismiss it, when brought to his notice, with vague denunciation. He will meet it in the open, praise any good qualities he can find in it, and then tear its slovenly diction and ramshackle structure to pieces before the eyes of the class. A lesson or two showing-up specimen examples of "blood literature" ought to do more

than any amount of superior disapprobation to show children that such stuff is not worth reading. To condemn without giving reasons for the condemnation is to clothe the obnoxious object with the glamour of forbidden fruit; and the reasons when given should be æsthetic rather than moral.

But it is not enough to expose the "penny dreadful;" something better must be put in its place. The school lending library, therefore, must first of all cater for the dominant passion of adolescence by providing the students with novels which they will take to inasmuch as they deal, although in an altogether more finished and cultured form, with those same elements of blood, crime and adventure which the normal boy finds irresistibly attractive in his weekly periodical. The *Sherlock Holmes* books are a case in point and there are many others of a like character. A teacher after four years' experience of an excellent library of this kind in an evening school sums up his impressions as follows. He divides the young readers into three grades:—

(i) Those who demand nothing but lurid adventure—scalps, blood, fire, being the common ingredients. The books read by this grade are those of the class of Ellis's *Indian Stories* (*Ned in the Block House, Young Ranchers, &c.*). Boys of this type, he adds, may be seen round the small bookstalls in the streets and in the markets, purchasing for their own private delectation the "reddest bloods."

(ii) Readers who continue to demand exciting books, but exhibit less devotion to what may be called raw beef-steak literature. The lust of blood is passing and there is evidence of interest in books depicting the life of communities or gangs of boys of adolescent age. Books borrowed by this grade include:—

Adventures by air, sea, or land—

Air-scout; King of the Air, by Strang.

With Rifle and Bayonet, by Brereton.

One of the Fighting Scouts, by Brereton.

Across the Spanish Main, by Collingwood.

The Cruise of the "Thetis," by Collingwood.

Communal life, and gang adventures—

Dormitory 8, by Warren Bell.

Honour Bright; Loyal and True; The Second Form Master of St. Cyril's, by H. Escott Inman.

The Hero of Garride School, by Panting.

Tom, Dick and Harry, by T. B. Reed.

My Friend Smith, by T. B. Reed.

(iii) The reader of the third grade prefers his hero to be a man rather than a boy, and demands a book with situations, problematic and subtle, rather than merely dangerous and exciting. Favourite books for this type of reader are:—the *Sherlock Holmes* books, *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, &c.*

Girls, he adds, do not seem to be quite so pronounced in their literary tastes as boys. The more youthful and spirited girl-readers have a marked preference for boys' books, as being "more exciting than those for girls." They desire, however, excitement without bloodshed, though they share the boys' interest in books of school life. The older girls turn more readily than boys of the same age to sentimental books, and have a decided leaning towards stories of the type of *John Halifax*, *Gentlemen* and *Roland Yorke*.

The foregoing testimony of a teacher may be supplemented by a quotation from the words of a librarian whose public library has to cater for 1,164 boys and 1,012 girl readers between 14 and 18 years of age. "We find," he says, "these readers fairly catholic in their tastes, though fiction is naturally chiefly selected. Books of adventure and mystery and those of an elementary practical nature (handicrafts, &c.) are largely in demand. Conan Doyle, Guy Boothby, Rolf Bolderwood, Jack London, Stevenson, Cutcliffe Hyne and Rider Haggard appeal strongly to boys of the age named. Other authors also popular with male adolescents are Anstey, Tom Bevan, Captain Brereton

* The books in the above list are not, of course, all necessarily suitable for a continuation school library.

(who appears to be supplanting the once popular Henty), John Buchan, some of Frank Bullen's, Quiller-Couch (some), Crockett, Manville Fenn, Ian Hay, Kipling, Masfield's *Jim Davis*, Baroness Orczy, Talbot Baines Reed, whose school stories appeal to boys up to 15 or 16, books by "Sapper" Strang, and Clive Phillippes-Wolley. Boys also like parts of Mark Twain, Scott, and Dickens, but are somewhat shy of reading these works in their entirety. Nature books and studies of animal life and sport are also read, such as the records of great travellers and explorers—Stanley, Sir Samuel Baker, Selous, Captain Scott, &c. All the more popular books on aircraft are in demand, and the same can be said of all books relating to the War. The *Children's Encyclopaedia* is, too, a great favourite with both boys and girls, and one set in the library has already become worn out with constant use, so that it had to be replaced by a new set.

"As regards girls' reading, some of the younger ones still select fairy tales, though these are perhaps not so popular as formerly. Mrs. Vaisey, Amy Le Feuvre, Rosa Carey, Louisa Alcott, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Mrs. Burnett (*Little Lord Fauntleroy*), Miss Coolidge are all favourites, and older girls, of course, still revel in the mysteries of Mrs. Henry Wood, whilst those of quieter nature will read some of Miss Worboise's, Miss Mulock's, and a few of William Black's and George Macdonald's. But it is noticeable that the younger ones—say from 14 to 16—select largely books of adventure and mystery, in fact, just the books boys like, and it is the older ones who specialise more in books of a domestic type.

"In considering changes of taste among young readers it is interesting to note that some of the older authors—immensely popular thirty years ago—are now almost forgotten. Fennimore Cooper is rarely selected, and Mrs. Molesworth and Miss Yonge have declined in popularity. As one of my assistants put it, 'Girls appreciate stories of modern life; what happened in their grandmother's days doesn't interest them.' Other examples of once popular authors with boys are R. M. Ballantyne, Kingston, Captain Mayne Reid, and Jules Verne."

The references of these two witnesses to the private reading of girls are noteworthy. It would probably be a mistake to stock the library in a girls' continuation school with "girls' books." Though the girl of 14 is not quite such a whole-hearted devotee of blood and thunder as her brother, she shows normally a decided interest, if not a preference, for the books which boys like, especially books about adventure and school-life. Possibly, however, this is to a certain extent due to the juvenile book market, that is to say, it may be that, while boys' school and adventure stories attract girls and will continue to attract them at this age, very little attempt has yet been made to cater for these tastes by publishing books dealing with similar themes but with a definite feminine setting. Of late years the number of girls' adventure books has been on the increase, and the novels of a writer of girls' school-stories, like L. T. Meade, Angela Brazil, Elsie Oxenham, &c., have become very popular. Certain it is that the penny-weeklies specially written for girls are sold in almost as large quantities as the boys' penny-bloods. Enquiry, for example, was made at a small newspaper shop in a very out-of-the-way street of an industrial town, and it was found that no less than 120 copies of such single-story magazines were sold weekly to girls of the neighbourhood. The cheap novelette takes the place of the penny-dreadful in the life of most adolescent girls, and not a few read the penny-dreadful as well. Thus as regards recreative reading the humanistic teacher in girls' schools will have much the same problem to deal with as her colleague in the boys' schools. There is a slight difference of emphasis between the tastes of the sexes, that is all. Boys are more interested in fighting; girls in sentiment.

Equally noteworthy in the librarian's account is the mention of the adolescent's interest in books of "an elementary practical nature," nature books, studies of animal life, the records of great travellers and explorers, books on aviation, and a simple and popular encyclopædia. The school library should not consist entirely of novels; it must cater for the boy's or girl's immediate interests. It must contain hobby books, books dealing with locomotives, steamships and the wonders of science

as well as the topics just alluded to. A selected list of such books will be found in the appendix at the end of this pamphlet.* It is, of course, far from exhaustive, and is drawn up with a view to suggesting types of book likely to find favour rather than recommending particular volumes. The importance of reference books, such as a handy encyclopedia, *Whitaker's Almanack*, &c., is obvious. The whole purpose of the school library will be to give the students practice in the use of books and to inspire them with confidence in that use. A keen teacher with a well-stocked library of this kind at his hand can, indeed, work wonders.

In stocking these libraries the teacher will do well to remember:—

- (1) That the tastes and interests of the students should be his first consideration.
- (2) That these tastes vary as between boys and girls and between the ages of 14 and 16.
- (3) That boys and girls like "up-to-date" books just as much as adults do.
- (4) That the books should never be allowed to become "stale."

In illustration of the last point it was found that the second year boys at a certain Junior Technical School were not using the library nearly as much as the first-year boys. Various causes were alleged by the teacher—deeper absorption in "workshop" interests, less leisure, and what not. But the true cause was revealed by the record of books borrowed from the library, which showed that the second-year boys had, in their first year, already read all the books available which they found attractive.

The question as to how such libraries are to be provided is a difficult one, which will, no doubt, be solved differently in different places. Undoubtedly the most satisfactory method yet tried as regards evening schools is that found in Halifax, where each evening school is constituted a "branch" of the Public Library, and the head teachers "assistant librarians." This method has educational as well as administrative advan-

tages. It familiarises the students with the "look" of the public library book, a by no means unimportant point; it encourages them to go later to the public library itself, and it prevents the books from getting "stale," since there is a constant flow of books from the central library to the schools and from one school to another. The circulation of books, the life-blood of the library, is the only way to keep it alive. Every reader knows the pleasure of holding a new book in his hands. That pleasure must be made available to continuation school students, and each year a certain number of obsolete and soiled volumes should be removed from the shelves to be replaced by others of more living interest.

In rural districts where public libraries are few or non-existent some other system than that in Halifax has to be devised. This particular problem in Library administration has for some time engaged the attention of the Trustees of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. After conducting an experiment in some of the more remote districts of Scotland, they offered to place a sum of money at the disposal of the Staffordshire Local Education Authority for the establishment of a system of circulating libraries for schools in their area. The offer was accepted and, in spite of the war, the experiment met with considerable success. The scheme involves the dispatch of boxes of selected books from a central depository, boxes which are renewed from time to time. And an interesting feature of the plan is that provision is made not only for scholars, but also for teachers and parents. A full account of its working is to be found in the Director's Report of the School Library Scheme, 1916-17, issued by the Education Committee. Similar offers were made to other Education Authorities, and by the end of 1919 Rural Library schemes, aided by the Trustees, were in operation in 18 counties in England and Wales. The difficulties which had been experienced in securing the permanence of the schemes, were removed by the passing of the Public Libraries Act of 1919, which empowered the Local Education Authorities to act as Library Authority in those parts of their areas which were not already provided with public libraries. There is every prospect that with the continued

help of the Trustees reading facilities within a few years will be made available for the whole population of these islands.

This chapter may appropriately be brought to a close by a quotation from the words of one who more than any other man of the present generation showed a genius for understanding the mind of the adolescent. He is writing of boys and girls in industrial schools, but his words are applicable to young people of all kinds and in all types of school. "I would urge and urge again," he writes, "that, whether for the boy or girl in the school or for the man and woman who has left it, there is nothing which can compare in value with this so neglected habit of reading—a habit which in many cases where it has been formed is worth all the school-room work put together. Even if the boy never gets beyond tales of adventure and the like, at least some sorely-needed colour will have been added to his life, and he will have learnt to think more purely. He will know one pleasure which is not material, which does not depend on the gratification of the senses, and is practically independent also of the possession of money. As he reads, the more imaginative boy identifies himself with his hero; he is no longer the commonplace school-boy with commonplace ideals and surroundings, but a strong, valiant, noble-minded, generous and successful lad, the lad he admires, the lad he would aspire to be. He is interrupted—the spell breaks—but he has lived for a moment in a fresh, healthy, open world; he has breathed the air of sea, or mountain, or desert; he has moved amid great events and seen great deeds done, and on his plastic young mind the experience has left its mark. There is a little less of the commonplace, a little more of the heroic in his heart.

"And if we look—as all we who have to deal with young people should look—to the man who is beyond the boy, the case is stronger still. The taste for good reading acquired at school may do for the boy and girl when placed out what all their other pursuits may fail to do; it may provide them with an interest which, when games and athletics and youthful hobbies are faded dreams, will be as strong as ever, which will compensate them for the loss of other good influences and last

all their lives. The personal ascendancy of the teachers who may have won their admiration is likely to dwindle after they have left the schools, but if they have learnt to love books they will seldom lack friends. The drab uniformity of their lives will still be illumined by imagination; they will have taken up something of their heritage of civilisation; their interests and sympathies will be wider, their sense of citizenship more keen, and they will possess an inexhaustible source of happiness in their homes—a treasure which grows as it is shared and cannot be consumed by time.”*

The importance of the school library is only limited by the influence of books upon character, and that is incalculable. “The true university in these days,” wrote Carlyle, “is a collection of books.” But there may be universities good, bad and indifferent in this sort, for he adds: “Not the wretchedest circulating library novel, which foolish girls thumb and con in remote villages, but will help to regulate the actual practical weddings and households of those foolish girls. So ‘Celia’ felt, so ‘Clifford’ acted: the foolish Theorem of life, stamped into these young brains, comes out as a solid Practice one day.” The school library may do much to mould character, to direct conduct.

* Home Office: *Libraries for Reformatory and Industrial Schools. With Foreword by H.M. Chief Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools* [Mr. C. E. B. Russell]. (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1916). The whole pamphlet, together with its list of suggested books, is recommended to the attention of teachers who do not already know of it.

CHAPTER VII.

COMPOSITION AND THE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

History, geography, literature, and the books borrowed from the library, all introduce the students to new words, fresh combinations of words, and examples of style which they will more or less unconsciously imitate when they speak and when they write. But "composition," (which means simply speaking and writing the mother tongue) is not confined to the humanistic course or even to the school. No lesson can be conducted without it, no conversation whether at home or on the playing field. Wherever and whenever the English language is used, there is "composition." This is of course a truism, though one often forgotten, and it will probably be long before every teacher comes to realise that he is a teacher of "English" in as much as it is his duty to pay attention not only to what his students say, but also to how they say it. Strictly speaking, therefore, "composition" is not a subject at all, any more than thinking, reading, breathing, or any other essential process of civilised life. But since it is a matter in which the enlightened teacher can give real and important help to boys and girls, it will always demand a place in the school timetable, and count as a part of the humanistic course. Nothing but good can come of a deliberate attempt, wisely carried out, to improve a child's powers of self-expression, so long as this special attention does not involve the assumption that good composition only matters in the "composition lesson."

English composition is a difficult thing to teach. But there is nothing mysterious about it. All that is required is to make the students think about their habits of speech and cultivate a sense of nice discrimination between what is good and what is bad in written or spoken English. Indeed, the matter may be put more simply still, for since thought and speech are inseparable, the main task of the teacher of composition is to make his students think clearly. Errors in composition may be classified under three heads. First there are mistakes in spelling and punctuation, and many teachers pay attention to

little else. Spelling and punctuation are important matters, especially in business houses for which a proportion of continuation students are destined. But they are purely conventional, they belong to a fashion in writing which once did not exist and may change in the course of time. Shakespeare spelt and punctuated his plays just as he pleased, unhampered by the rules which bind us.* Darwin never learnt to spell, and Macaulay cut the Gordian knot of punctuation by employing little else than full-stops. Correctness in these matters is, like neat writing, a question of tidiness, and has little to do with the art of self-expression. While, therefore, spelling and punctuation should not be neglected, undue emphasis upon them is fatal, since it converts what should be a training in exact thought into a mere exercise in the right use of jots and tittles. The best way to teach correct spelling is to make it difficult for the students to spell incorrectly; in other words, to see that every boy and girl has a dictionary at hand when doing a piece of written composition. For the rest most people learn to spell by reading, and the school library will here prove of assistance.†

The second class of errors are departures from the usages of what is called "standard English," that is to say the Midland dialect which in course of time has come to be regarded as the only speech allowable to educated persons. Such departures belong almost invariably to the local dialect which the child has learnt at home. In districts where dialect is marked and recognised as a speech distinct from standard English, for example in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and to a lesser degree in many of the English provinces, such divergencies are treated with more or less respect. In large towns, on the other hand, where the peculiarities are less striking and, as it seems to educated persons; less beautiful, they are hardly

* Shakespeare's punctuation, and to a less degree his spelling, were guides to the actors who had to "speak" his lines—a point not without its lesson for the humanistic teacher.

† Many middle-class children learn to spell through playing spelling-games together. Spelling-games rather than dictation, which is largely waste of time, might be introduced in a class the students of which find a peculiar difficulty in mastering the absurdities of our orthography.

tolerated. Once again, however, this intolerance is largely a matter of convention, here reinforced by one of the strongest factors in English social life, the sense of class-distinction. In dealing with dialect or so-called "vulgar" forms of speech, the teacher has to remember that in the majority of cases any attempt to eradicate dialect wholesale is doomed to hopeless failure. Speech is learnt in the family circle, and the habits of infancy have deep roots. Further, the influence of the teacher extends over but a few hours per week, while the dialect forms will be heard and used at home, on the playground, and in the workshop all the rest of the time. The director of education of a small industrial town who is said to have gone about impressing his teachers with the paramount importance of getting the school-children to pronounce their aspirates, displayed an enthusiasm for "correct English" which was pathetically misguided.

But it is not merely idle for the teacher to combat dialect forms, it is wrong. Dialect of some kind or other is the native speech of the vast majority of the working-classes of this country, while "standard English" is a foreign tongue. The former is intimate, steeped in memories and emotion, racy of the soil, full of expressions which are "untranslatable"—the language of the fireside, the mother's knee, the lover's courtship. The other seems to be a thing imposed from without, a speech which it is difficult "to twist one's tongue round," the speech of gentlemen, polished, flavourless, constraining. If it is to be one of the principal aims of the humanistic teacher in the continuation school to foster the growth of local culture, he must not shut the door against dialect. Here as in other subjects the teaching should begin at home, and fortunate is the teacher who has a body of dialect poetry to deal with in his literature lessons. There are not wanting signs that a great development of dialect literature is near at hand, which is but natural since the working-man having gained entry into Parliament, is now knocking at the gate of the muse's temple, and since "dialect is the working-man's poetic diction." And to this development the composition lessons in the continuation school may contribute

much, especially if the teacher is himself a native of the district in which his lot is cast and able to speak the local tongue. If he is not; he should study it so that he may at least be able to understand it and make use of it in class. His aim should be not to make his students ashamed of their local speech, but to make them conscious of its differences from standard English. Thus when a dialect form comes up by chance in class-room conversation, it ought not to be denounced, but regarded as a matter of interest to which the attention of the class is drawn, while suggestions for a suitable equivalent in standard English will be asked for, an equivalent which will often enough prove difficult to find. Indeed, rightly considered, dialect provides the teacher with an invaluable instrument in the study of language, and he will be well-advised if he occasionally varies the ordinary exercise in written composition with a piece of translation from the dialect into standard English and *vice versa*.

Normally, however, the written composition will, of course, be in standard English, from which dialect forms should be excluded. Writing, unlike speech, is generally first learnt at school and not in the home, and many persons who habitually use dialect in conversation have never seen it in print; for England, like Central Africa, has its unwritten languages. The teacher, therefore, when he insists upon correct standard English in written composition has less to struggle against than when he attempts to enforce it in class-room conversation. And in this case he is right to insist. Standard English in writing and print is the language of English civilisation, which includes the United States of America, and every boy and girl must acquire it, if he or she is to be a full citizen of this country. If at any time the class is asked to write in dialect, let it be undiluted dialect, spelt phonetically, where the attempt to reproduce the local speech-sounds will in itself be a valuable lesson in the significance of language. But when standard English is written, it should be standard English, in which the occurrence of dialect words will be counted as a mistake. This point is that the two usages must be kept quite distinct. They should be regarded as two different languages, each useful in its own place, but not to

be mixed together. Much depends in this matter upon the district to which the school belongs. In some localities where the mingling of dialect and standard English has produced a kind of mongrel tongue, little can be made of the former.

The subject of dialect brings us up against the vexed question of grammar teaching. Fortunately in the continuation school this is a question which can be more or less burked. With two hours a week at most for all the humanistic work, the teacher obviously has little time to devote to instruction in formal grammar. Now if there be any virtue in grammar—a problem at present hotly debated—clearly the benefits claimed can only be derived if a good deal of time be devoted to the subject. There is, in short, no room in the continuation school curriculum for the teaching of formal grammar. Other and more important subjects demand prior treatment. This is not to say that the use of grammatical terms, or an occasional talk upon some common rule which the class habitually infringes in composition should be entirely excluded, but that what grammar is taught, and it should be very little, ought to be merely incidental to the composition work. In localities, however, where the dialect is living and distinct, there is another way round, so to speak. Teachers cling to grammar because, as they put it, it helps them to explain to the students why such-and-such a form is wrong. But if the form in question, as it often is, be nothing else than a piece of dialect or home-speech imported into a passage of standard English, the teacher has only to point out this to the writer and no further explanation is necessary. "That is dialect: this is how we express it in standard English" is a plain statement, easily understood, and avoiding all use of grammatical jargon, which for the most part is little more than a cumbrous way of saying the same thing. Certainly if the "error" is a dialect form it is not necessarily ungrammatical, for dialect has its grammar, which differs generally considerably from that of standard English.

Many grammatical faults, on the other hand, are due simply to laziness and slovenliness of thought. And this brings us to the third class of errors in composition, and far the most important, since they are independent of any convention,

whether typographical or social. It is in dealing with these that the teacher will be training the students in that practice of exact, sustained and consecutive thinking which should be the principal aim of his composition work. Take, for example, the following sentences, all culled from the columns of the daily Press :—

(a) A lasting peace between England and Germany would be worth its weight in gold to both countries.

(b) It is want of ships that is falling us at this hour.

(c) The reason why Germany will lose the war is on account of the determination of the united Allies.

(d) Should the Kaiser live to become our future emperor this country will bitterly rue the day.

The faults in these sentences, faults similar to those constantly cropping up in school compositions, are due to one cause and one cause only, muddle-headedness. The writers were either too hurried or too lazy to think out what they wanted to say. To criticise such errors in terms of grammar, a task which is in many cases impossible, is to invest them with a dignity which they do not deserve. They should be turned inside out, before the class if necessary, and, after their absurdities have been sufficiently exhibited, laughed out of court. "What does this mean?" "Think that out." "That is nonsense; why?" "In other words, you say so-and-so; do you really mean it?":—these and such-like obstinate questionings should be the composition-teacher's chief stock-in-trade. Composition is a form of manufacture, and what it sets out to produce is Sense; if it fails to do so, it is turning out shoddy. And the touchstone of sense should be applied not merely to single sentences but to groups of sentences, not merely to paragraphs but to the composition as a whole. Once this point of view is grasped by the class, the students may be got to criticise each other's compositions, and will derive therefrom a great deal of fun, since it is always an attractive occupation trying to show that one's schoolfellow has made a fool of himself. At times, too, a leading article from a local newspaper will provide the critics with some piece of shoddy

English to sharpen their wits upon, while they should be encouraged to look out for similar lapses in the text-books they use in class. This kind of analysis—analysis according to sense and not according to structure—is an extraordinary valuable aid to composition, since it teaches the student to think and to discriminate between what is wisely and what is foolishly said. The sixth form master at a public school who gave his boys copies of a popular treatise on social philosophy, bidding them read it and pick out the fallacies, did more to teach them composition than years of grammar or sentence-analysis could have done. In a simpler fashion the same thing can be attempted in the continuation school. "The sense, the whole sense, and nothing but the sense," should be the motto of composition work. For that way lies clarity of thought, intellectual sincerity, sanity of outlook, and style—"the ultimate morality of mind."

Composition is a craft, comparable to the work by which the students earn their daily bread, though superior to it in as far as it involves the making of a whole and not of an infinitesimal part of something. It is well to make the students realise this, to see that the writing of a composition is like a piece of joinery, viz., the making of parts which have to be fitted together into a single whole and to be judged on completion not only by the quality of the detail but by the total effect of the finished article. But just as lack of interest in the factory "job" is largely the result of lack of recognition of its purpose, so the composition exercise becomes dull unless it can be given an aim and direction which is obvious to the students. Here we come upon one of the principal difficulties of the teacher—the question of "theme." It is hardly too much to say that the selection of the theme is half the work of a piece of composition, and the selection must in most cases devolve upon the teacher. His object is to have something to correct, discuss, criticise; but that "something" must be a piece of the student's own personality, otherwise his labour is vain. He must, somehow, get the pens of the class moving naturally, spontaneously, eagerly, since the best material for his purpose is a flow of language "out of the fulness of the

heart." In a word, the first duty of the teacher is to make his students *want to write*. In this connection the question of theme is all-important, and the teacher cannot give too much thought to it. A few suggestions on the matter will, perhaps, not be out of place here.

Subjects like "Spring," "Honesty," "The Seaside," "Railways" are less often met with to-day than they used to be, though it is doubtful whether many teachers realise exactly what is wrong with them. Their real defect, is that they are too vague; the immature mind of the student plunges into them, loses its bearings, and aimlessly flops about. Moreover, this vagueness makes them uninteresting, a cardinal error in a composition theme. Realising that the element of interest is required, teachers are now inclined to set compositions upon topics like "Football," "Aviation," "A day in the country." Nevertheless, these, though they possess the merit of familiarity which the others lack, are equally open to the charge of vagueness. "Football," in spite of the fact that most boys revel in the game, is a thoroughly bad subject for composition, for the simple reason that the students possess a plethora of ideas upon it, so much so that they do not know where to begin. It takes a practised writer to make something readable out of such a theme, and most teachers would fail miserably were they set the task themselves. Indeed, the teaching of composition would gain enormously in efficiency if every teacher asked himself before choosing a topic: what should I make of such a topic myself? "Football" is bad because it is not definite enough, because it makes too great a demand upon the power of selection, which is one of the chief requisites of a command of language. "A football match" is a better theme, "How we beat the — school" better still, and "An exciting incident in last Saturday's game" best of all. Interest, familiarity and definiteness, therefore, are the three main principles which should guide a teacher in choosing a subject from real life, principles which can be applied over a very wide field.

But real life is not the only source of selection. A boy or girl who writes dully upon such topics will often blossom out wonderfully when full rein is allowed to the imagination. "One of

the great charms of imaginative writing is the freedom from all the restrictions imposed by lack of real knowledge. Pupils glory in the absolute freedom of being able to 'say what they like.' The wise teachers, however, limit this freedom by permitting one major impossibility, and insisting upon all the rest being strictly in accordance with the ordinary laws of nature. For example, if the pupil is invited to write the 'Reflections of a Tramway Horse,' he is entitled to assume that the quadruped can speak, but all the adventures he describes must stand the test of conformity with common sense and the laws of real life.^{77*} Story-telling is a fascinating occupation for most children, and one particularly likely to produce that free flow of language which the composition-teacher needs for his purpose. Often, however, it will be found best to start the class off by telling them the beginning of an exciting story and getting them to finish it or by giving them a skeleton and asking them to bring it to life. On this aspect of the subject teachers will find much help and many suggestions in Mr. P. J. Hartog's *Writing of English* (Oxford Press). It will be observed that the principle of definiteness applies equally to the imaginative as to the real theme. "Circumscribe the subject" is the beginning of wisdom in composition teaching. Needless to say the principle should not be carried too far. A broomstick is both familiar and definite, but only a master like Swift could write an essay upon it. The subject must be a living one, that is to say, it must be encrusted with ideas.

Next to definiteness and familiarity, variety should be the teacher's principle consideration. And variety not of theme only, but also of treatment and vocabulary. A letter is a useful form of exercise, and one made actual and purposeful if the letter be written to another boy in the same class upon a topic of immediate school or class-room interest. But letters week after week become monotonous. Moreover lack of variety limits practice to a narrow channel. For example, the good teacher will want his students to familiarise themselves, by

* *The New Teaching*, p. 59.

actual use, with a number of different types of vocabulary. There is a domestic vocabulary, a school vocabulary, a vocabulary of science, a vocabulary especially suitable for narrative, and so on. In selecting his themes, therefore, the teacher should see to it that, as far as possible, each theme involves the use of a fresh set of words, *i. e.*, belongs to a circle of ideas different from those previously chosen. For similar reasons he should give the class practice in the use of various forms of expression. Narrative, dialogue, description, direct imitation of different styles, attempts at verse, translations from dialect, expansion of notes, *précis*, condensation of a piece of loose-limbed journalism—but there is, indeed, no end to the variety of treatment which the ingenious teacher will have at his command. Closely connected with the subject of variety is another consideration which should also not be lost sight of. The students will need to apply what they learn in the composition lessons to the affairs of practical life. They will have to write letters of a domestic or business character. In these days of dear postage they will often have to use post-cards. Sometimes they may even be obliged to send a telegram. They will want to make notes on something they have seen, a new piece of machinery for example, or to make an abstract of an article upon some technical subject. And there are many other occasions on which the pen or the pencil will be required. It is the teacher's duty to think out such situations and to set exercises upon them. Exercises of this kind will be greatly appreciated, since the class will be quick to grasp their purpose. They will also add to the variety of the subject matter. But they must be endowed with actuality. The occasion of a telegram, for example, should be carefully explained to the class beforehand—a complicated one which will tax the students' power to convey in a dozen words.

Too much attention has undoubtedly been paid in the past to the essay as a form of composition, and in some schools there is still a tendency to estimate the worth of a piece of writing by the number of pages it covers. Charles Lamb and Hazlitt wrote "essays," but the accomplishment is beyond

the reach of most boys and girls. Nor is length in itself a virtue. On the contrary, with backward writers, at any rate, short exercises should be the rule. Indeed, for all, a composition-paper, disguised perhaps as an examination in "general knowledge," involving answers to a number of simple straightforward questions on matters of common knowledge, provides a very useful variation upon the ordinary composition lesson. The ability to answer such questions clearly and concisely is as valuable as it is rare. Further, the composition work should, of course, be brought into intimate relation with the history, geography and literature. The essentials of an important chapter in the text-book should be abstracted, while commands like: "Write down what you do not understand in the passage you have just read," or "Write down what you would like to know about this subject or these persons, above and beyond what the book tells you" will often produce illuminating results. Exercises of this kind afford a valuable training in purposeful reading. As for literature, the old-fashioned paraphrase, which converted a perfectly expressed piece of poetry into a child's stumbling prose, was, of course, utterly reprehensible. But questions requiring answers which make the students think about the details or general tenour of a selected passage are to be encouraged. What may be called *entr'acte* themes, e.g., "Describe the scene in Shylock's house when he reached home and found Jessica had fled," or "Write an imaginary conversation between Hotspur and his wife at the breakfast-table," will test the student's appreciation of the play or poem.

A subject which is likely to offer great scope for experiment in some schools is the writing of original verse. Boys of 14 and 15 can, as Mr. Caldwell Cook's *Perse Play-books* have shown, be led under able guidance to express themselves with considerable imagination and vigour in metrical form. But boys are on the whole more matter-of-fact and more tongue-tied at this age than girls, and even the enthusiasm of Mr. Greening Lamborn, if we may judge from the specimens given in his book, is not able to inspire boys to more than a

middle-flight in verse, as compared with what girls can do in this kind.* For some years past now, at an elementary school in the North of England, girls of 14, 13, and 12 have been showing what flowers of speech can come to blossom in the young mind, given loving care and the right atmosphere for growth. Two examples may be quoted by way of illustration, the first by a girl of 13, the other by one of 14 years of age:—

LATE OCTOBER.

Patter of fitful rain,
Shiver of falling leaves,
And wail of wind that has left behind
The glory of fruit and sheaves.

Mist on the crowning hills,
Mist in the vales below,
And grief in the heart that has seen depart
Its summer of long ago.

THE RIVER ELF.

He wears a bit of river mist
About him as a wrap,
And from the dainty jewel weeds
He makes a peaked cap.

He sails abroad upon the web
The water-spider weaves,
And green above and red below
He paints the lily-leaves.

He colours with a yellow gay
The turtle's horny hide,
And on the darting dragon-fly
Delights to steal a ride.

He polishes the fishes' scales,
And always in the spring
Establishes his evening school
To teach young frogs to sing.

Wee bits of sand with moonbeams bright
He fashions at 'his ease,
They slit away as fire-flies
To sleep among the trees.

**The Rudiments of Criticism*; E. A. Grosning Lamborn (Oxford Press). A book which may be strongly recommended to all humanistic teachers. It will make them think, even when they disagree with it.

And when dark night has hushed the leaves
And hid the king bird's nest
Upon a sparkling curly wave
He slips away to rest.

These are, of course, poems of exceptional merit, but the remarkable feature of the work of this school is that exceptional merit is only a little in advance of what many of the other girls are capable of, both in verse and prose. Indeed, it is clear that the faculty for imaginative self-expression belongs to the many rather than the few, is not a chance sport among a small coterie of a single school-year, but may be looked for confidently in every batch of girls that enters the school. It can scarcely be doubted therefore that, provided they receive the right kind of stimulus, quite a large number of girls in the continuation schools will discover themselves to be possessed of powers not hopelessly inferior to those exemplified in the two poems just quoted. And the right stimulus? There is nothing magical or far-fetched about it. First of all, they must be brought into touch with the right kind of teacher—one who loves poetry, and loves the *sound* of it. Secondly, they must read and listen to the right kind of books—books in particular that feed the imagination, books full of the music of words and the colour of imagery, in a word, books of poetry. In such an atmosphere the mind of the girl becomes “a mansion for all lovely forms,” and her memory “a dwelling-place for all sweet sounds and harmonies.” In all this there is only one danger—a danger not present in this North-country school, where an admirable sense of proportion was observed—the danger of losing touch with reality. It is not good that girls, who are destined for practical life, should be always dwelling in “the light that never was on sea or land.” Such girls will compose beautiful lullabies, but the chances are that they will not know how to wash the baby or cook the dinner. The domestic work of the continuation school will to some extent act as a corrective. Some corrective, however, must be in the humanistic course also. Composition of a practical, purposeful nature should be as often attempted as the poetical exercise. And the literature lesson must not be allowed to absorb the

time allotted to history and geography. The scales of life must be held even, and fancy is not to usurp the throne of fact.

Besides the written composition, oral composition should be a regular feature of class-work. Indeed it is going on all the time in question, answer and discussion, and the teacher should be ever on the watch to check slipshod speech which reveals ill-digested thoughts. But, as has been already suggested, oral composition should frequently take on a formal character. This is best accomplished by holding periodical debates, for which the principal speakers should be selected by rote, so that each student will have an opportunity of making a speech at least once in the session. The subject, chosen by the class under the teacher's guidance, should be announced beforehand, so as to give time for preparation, and at the outset of the experiment the use of notes might be allowed. The whole lesson will become very enjoyable to all concerned if an element of competition be introduced and a solemn vote taken at the end. In the following week a written composition on the subject of the debate might be usefully set, for which the ventilation of many ideas will have been an excellent preparation.

In every subject he takes with his class the humanistic teacher is dealing with words, and he should have many opportunities of showing that words are in themselves interesting things with a life and history of their own. The constant intrusion of etymological considerations is, of course, to be avoided. But the students should be led to think of their language as a living, growing thing rather than as a dead corpus of rules, and to this end, if time can be found, they might be usefully introduced, quite simply and generally, to the history of their own tongue, some three or four lessons in the year being sufficient for the purpose. The teacher will find much material for this subject in books like Jespersen's *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Bradley's *Making of English* and Pearsall Smith's *The English Language* (Home University Library), all very readable volumes—but not for the student's use. Where the teacher is fortunate enough to

be taking pupils with a vigorous dialect of their own, such language work will be full of fascination.

This chapter is headed "Composition and the study of the English language." The two things are inseparable and should be pursued concurrently. Composition is an art—an art, like all other arts, involving concentration of thought, careful selection and a thorough mastery of material. The outward form of this material is words in combination. The young artist, therefore, must be made conscious of words; he must be trained to think about the language which he normally employs instinctively and without thought, he must learn to realise that his native speech is organic and not inorganic in character, and to be treated with reverence on that account. But while the form of composition is words and sentences, its spirit and essence is thought, which brings us back to the text we started with, viz., that what the composition teacher is chiefly concerned with is not the scratchings of a pen upon pieces of paper, but the working of his students' minds. If he can increase the efficiency of those minds by making them more lucid in their conceptions, more exact in their discriminations, richer in idea, readier in utterance, and finally more fastidious in their taste, hating the half-thought which gives birth to ill-formed phrase and slovenly sentence—if he can do all this, he may rest well content with his labours.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

A little history and geography, a few scenes from Shakespeare with a handful of poems, some practice in the writing and speaking of the mother-tongue, a library of juvenile books — is this the mouse that emerges from all our mountain of talk about the new era which the continuation school is to inaugurate? What of Music and Art? the impatient idealist will enquire. What of that larger history, of which every modern child should know something, the history of the universe and of mankind, the history which involves astronomy, geology, biology, anthropology? The answer to such questions is in the statute-book: "Subject as hereinafter provided, all young persons shall attend such continuations schools . . . for three hundred and twenty hours in each year." We must cut our coat according to our cloth, and the amount of cloth is very strictly rationed. Something no doubt may be done with Music and popular lectures on Science in the voluntary evening clubs; but at present, until the nation is prepared to grant adolescence more generous opportunities of self-development, we must make the best of those two short hours a week in school which allow us to deal with the essentials, the irreducible minimum of humanism, and nothing more. The necessity, irksome as it may seem, is on the whole salutary, at least for the educationalist, since it compels him to think out the problem to the bottom. Having scope for nothing but the essentials, he is forced to decide what things are most essential.

The view taken in this memorandum is that (1) some training in self-expression, (2) some acquaintance with the origin and significance of the student's "job" in life, (3) an outlet for the imagination, especially through the medium of dramatic representation, which of all forms of art possesses the most universal appeal, and lastly (4) an opportunity of getting to know the value and use of books as a resource for leisure hours, constitute the bare elements of humanism, which no youth in

a modern community can do without. But more important even than the subjects selected is the spirit in which the teaching is conceived. The continuation school, at least on the humanistic side, will be concerned not so much with the communication of facts as with the encouragement of habits of mind. That the process of learning is an *Odyssey* which teaches the voyager to exclaim:—

*I am a part of all that I have met
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move;*

that the reading of literature is not a difficult accomplishment reserved for the "cultured person," but the participation in a pageant of frolic and song and high adventure, beaded by Poesy herself, all glorious within and her clothing of wrought gold—these are the two lessons which humanism in the continuation school has to convey. And if it succeeds in doing this, everything else will be added unto it.

For let there be no mistake about it. Limited as is his scope, imperfect as are his tools, the humanistic teacher has incalculable opportunities placed in his hands. He may become—he must become, unless he fails to rise to the height of his occasion—the founder of a new culture. "The great men of culture," wrote Matthew Arnold in 1869, "are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the best knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light."^{*} It is a fine ideal, an ideal for which human society will always have need. But it is incomplete, because it is based upon a limited conception both of society and of culture. Arnold thinks of culture as the gift of great men to their fellows, as originating in cliques of the learned and cultivated to be then carried by the missionaries

^{*} *Culture and Anarchy.*

of sweetness and light to the ignorant and unenlightened. This is the "settlement" ideal, which though it has done much for which we must be grateful, it is sadly one-sided in its outlook, and can never really touch the heart of the problem. Culture is not a hot-house growth, an exotic plant, from which cuttings may be taken for the window-boxes and back-gardens of the less fortunate. Culture means "cultivation," cultivation of the common soil of the human spirit, and the flower and fruit which spring therefrom grow naturally from that soil, with roots that go deep down into the heart of man. All the great cultures of the past have been popular in origin. Even the Elizabethan Renaissance, for all its aristocratic airs, would have been impossible but for the ballad and folk song, the craft-play and miracle-cycle which preceded it, popular literature intimately connected with the occupations of the field and the work-shop. The learned and cultivated in our day are still largely living on Renaissance memories; "the people" have no culture because they have forgotten how to sing at their work and because that work has no meaning for them, no place in the scheme of human salvation. Thus the paramount need of modern civilisation is to make work at once significant and joyous, and until that is accomplished we shall remain as we are at present, a society wonderful in scientific achievement, but spiritually barbaric and socially anarchic; in short, a civilisation without culture, since culture implies not merely taste and beauty, but also political stability.

Such a culture will assuredly come. The human spirit has been thrown off its balance by the magnitude and rapidity of that material transformation of the globe which we call the Industrial Revolution; but it will regain its tranquillity and begin to sing once more. When it does so its songs are likely to be in dialect form. For the new culture will be both international in outlook and intensely local in basis. There will, in fact, be many cultures within the bosom of the nation, cultures whose frontiers will be determined partly by geographical, partly by industrial conditions. The sons of Cotton, with the songs of Edwin Waugh and greater Lancashire poets, as yet unborn, on their lips, will reach out hands of

fellowship to the dark men in the Southern States, in Africa, and in India. Leeds will have its Cloth-Hall rivaling the shattered glory of that of Ypres, in which tournaments of song will be held, while every Yorkshire township will possess its local theatre, in which dialect plays will be performed and where the people will watch the conditions of their own life and work in the mirror of dramatic art. The form of the mirror will be immortalized in bronze and stone, the colours of the forge and blast-furnace on a hundred canvases. Even music itself may catch something of the rhythm of the engine's throb and the clangour of machinery. "If art which is now sick is to live and not die, it must in the future be of the people, for the people, by the people; it must understand all and be understood by all." These are the words of a dreamer, our greatest of modern times, William Morris, artist and craftsman. If, not an isolated prophet, but a whole generation could dream such dreams they would come true, for what a people desires in its heart that its hand will fashion. The humanistic teacher in the continuation school stands between the prophet and the people, and can make them dream his dream if he have the will. In any case let him write up over the door of his classroom: *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*. And if the students ask what the words mean, let him reply, "They mean that we must try to make poetry out of spinning-mules."

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF BOOKS SUITABLE FOR USE IN CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.

NOTE.—*Volumes specially recommended, or found popular, are marked with an asterisk. The prices given here should not be accepted without verification. Some are known to have risen since the list was compiled and the constant revision of prices would make any statement out of date before the pamphlet was in the reader's hands.*

A.—BOOKS FOR CLASS USE.

(1.) TEXT-BOOKS.

(a) Social and Industrial History.

The type of text-book which will ultimately be needed is not yet in existence. Until a supply of such books is forthcoming, the following which have been found useful in evening and junior technical schools, may be recommended:—

ALLSOP, (H.)—*An Introduction to English Industrial History.* 4th edn. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1916, 2/6.

BUNNONS, (H. L.)—*The Story of English Industry and Trade.* 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, 2/6.

*CHEYNEY, (E. P.)—*Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England.* 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., 1911, 8/6 net.

CLAXTON, (W. J.)—*Our Country's Industrial History.* 8vo. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 3/- net.

COLLAR, (G.)—*The Industrial Revolution. A primer of modern and industrial history.* 8vo. London: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1/3 net.

CRESSY, (E.)—*An Outline of Industrial History. With special reference to problems of the present day.* 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., 1916, 4/-.

FINNEMORE, (J.)—*Social Life in England.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, 2/6.

Vol. I. From Saxon Times to 1603.

Vol. II. From 1603 to the present day.

GUEST, (G.)—*A Social History of England.* 3rd edn. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, 2/-.

HALL, (H. R. W.)—*Our English Towns and Villages: Outdoor History and the Meaning of our Surroundings.* 8vo. London: Blackie & Sons, 1/6.

*HONNE, (A. R.)—*The Age of Machinery. The story of how the forces of Nature are turned to the service of man.* 8vo. London: Blackie & Sons, 1/6.

LEATHER, (SIR STANLEY):—

**The People in the Making.* 8vo. London: W. Heinemann, 1915, 2/6.

**The People in Adventure.* 8vo. London: W. Heinemann, 2/6.

MORGAN, (R. B.)—*Readings in English Social History.* 5 vols. Cambridge: University Press. 4/- each. [Vols. III-V. in preparation.]

- SALMON, (S.)**—An Introductory Economic History of England. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1/6.
- ***SPALDING, (E. H.)**:—
The Piers Plowman Histories. General Editor—E. H. Spalding. Books IV., V., VI. and VII. 8vo. London: G. Philip & Sons, 1913:—
 Book IV.—The Social History of England from Earliest Times to 1485. By J. J. Bell. 1913, 2/-.
 Book V.—The Social History of England from 1485 to the Present Day. By E. H. Spalding. 1913, 2/6.
 Book VI.—The Nation and its Government from the time of the Romans to 1485. By J. J. Bell. 3/-.
 Book VII.—The Nation and its Government (with Chapters on Colonial Development) from 1485 to the Present Day. By P. Wragge and E. H. Spalding. 3/-.
The Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories. 7 vols. [4 in preparation]. London: G. Philip & Sons, 1921:—
 Book III.—1300 to 1485. By N. Niemayer. 3/-.
 Book V.—1600 to 1760. By E. H. Spalding. 3/6.
 Book VI.—1760 to 1830.. By E. H. Spalding. 3/6.
- SYNGE, (M. B.)**—The Story of the World. for the Children of the British Empire. Book V. Growth of the British Empire. 8vo. London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 2/-.
TICKNER, (F. W.)—A Social and Industrial History of England. 8vo. London: E. Arnold, 1913, 7/6.
TRICUPH OF MAN.—The Triumph of Man. Being an account of the work of man in the twentieth century. 8vo. London: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 2/- net.
WARNER, (G. T.)—Tillage, Trade and Invention. An outline of industrial history. 8vo. London: Blackie & Son, 2/- net.
WATERS, (C. M.)—A School Economic History of England. Part I. From the Conquest to the middle of the eighteenth century. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920, 5/6 net. [Part II. in preparation.]

LOCAL HISTORIES, SUCH AS:—

- BERRY, (A. J.)**—The Story of Lancashire. 8vo. London: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1/6.
LOCAL HISTORY.—Local series of reading books. 9 vols. 8vo. London: E. Arnold, 2/6 each:—
 The Story of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Wales, Scotland, London, West Country, North Country, East Country, Midlands.
PLARR, (V. G.) AND F. W. WALTON.—Middlesex, including London (School Histories). 8vo. London: Methuen, 1/6.

(b) Geography.

Geography Readers, suitable for Continuation School purposes, are scarce. Appropriate Atlases, which are at once handy and cheap, are wanting. The following books, however, will provide some material for the second year course:—

- CAMBRIDGE COUNTY GEOGRAPHIES.**—The Cambridge County Geographies (England and Wales). General Editor: F. H. H. Guillemaud. 45 vols. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 2/9 net each.
 The Cambridge County Geographies (Scotland). General Editor: W. Morrison. 15 vols. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 2/9 net each.

(b) Geography—cont.

HERBERTSON, (A. J.) AND F. D. HERBERTSON :—

***Man and His Work.** 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, 2/6.

Descriptive Geographies from Original Sources. 8 vols. 8vo.
London: A. & C. Black, 1906-9, 3/6 net each:

Africa; America, Central and South; America, North; Asia;
Australia and Oceania; British Empire; British Isles; Europe.

***LYDE, (L. W.)—Man and His Markets: a course in geography.** 8vo.
London: Macmillan & Co., 2/6.

MACKINDER, (H. J.)—Elementary Studies in Geography. 4 vols. 8vo.
London: G. Philip & Son, 8/- each.

Book 1. Our Own Islands. 18th edn.

Book 2. Lands beyond the Channel. 10th edn.

Book 3. Distant Lands. 5th edn.

Book 4. The Nations of the Modern World. 4th edn.

***NEWBIGIN, (M. L.)—Man and His Conquest of Nature.** 8vo. London:
A. & C. Black, 1912, 2/6.

PEEPS SERIES.—Peeps at Many Lands and Cities. A series of small
travel-books. 39 vols. 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, 3/6 each.

***PITMAN'S COMMERCIAL READERS.—Pitman's Commercial Readers.**
8 vols. 8vo. London: Sir I. Pitman.

Vol. I.—Junior Commercial Reader: Our Food Supplies. By
F. W. Chambers. 1/9.

Vol. II.—Intermediate Commercial Reader: Our Manufacturing
Industries. 2/-.

Vol. III.—Senior Commercial Reader: An Introduction to Modern
Commerce. 2/9.

REGIONAL GEOGRAPHIES.—Regional Geographies. 6 vols. 8vo. London:
A. & C. Black.

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- TOLLEMACHE, (B. L.)—Russian Sketches: Chiefly of Peasant Life. Translated from the Russian by B. L. Tollemache. 8vo. London: J. Murray, 5/- net.
- TOLSTOY, (L.)—Twenty-three tales, published 1872-1908. Newly translated by L. and A. Maude. (World's Classics, No. 72.) 8vo. Oxford: University Press, 1915, 1/3 net.

(VII.) MISCELLANEOUS.

- *THE CHILDREN'S ESTABLISHMENT. Edited by A. Hec. London: Educational Book Company.
- PRINCE. (Bound volumes of.)
- WHITTAKER'S ALMANAC.
- A GOOD ENGLISH DICTIONARY.
- BARTLETT, (J.)—Familiar Quotations. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., 12/- net.

The following Educational Pamphlets, issued by the Board of Education, have been placed on Sale :—

- “School Doctors in Germany.”
By W. H. Dawson. (1908.) *Price 6d.*
- “The Problem of Rural Schools and Teachers in North America.”
By Ethel H. Spalding. (1908.) *Price 6d.*
- “Report on Science Teaching in Public Schools represented on the Association of Public School Science Masters.”
By Oswald H. Latter. (1909.) *Price 4d.*
- “Compulsory Continuation Schools in Germany.”
By H. A. Clay. (1910.) *Price 9d.*
- “The Course System in Evening Schools.”
By H. T. Holmes. (1910.) *Price 3d.*
- “Report on the Teaching of Latin at the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge.” (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. i.) (1910.) *Price 6d.*
- “A School Week in the Country.” Bradford, Grange Road Secondary School, Girls’ Department. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. ii.)
By Miss Mary A. Johnstone. 1910.) *Price 4d.*
- “Syllabus of Mathematics for the Austrian Gymnasium.”
Translated by E. A. Price. (1910.) *Price 2d.*
- “The Training of Women Teachers for Secondary Schools.” A series of statements from Institutions concerned. (1912.) *Price 8d.*
- “The Montessori System.”
By E. G. A. Holmes. (1912.) *Price 2d.*
- “Report on Farm and Agricultural Schools and Colleges in France, Germany and Belgium.”
By R. B. Greig. (1912.) *Price 2d.*
- “Education and Peasant Industry.” Some State and State-aided Trade Schools in Germany.
By Edith Edlmann. (1912.) *Price 5d.*
- “The Playground Movement in America and its relation to Public Education.”
By Walter Wood. (1913.) *Price 4d.*
- “Report on the Teaching of Greek at the Perse School, Cambridge.” (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iii.) (1914.) *Price 1s.*
- “Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough.” (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iv.) (1915.) *Price 4d.*
- “An Experiment in Industrial Research.”
By Thomas Lloyd Humberstone. (1915.) *Price 4d.*
- “The Admiralty Method of Training Dockyard Apprentices.” (1916.) *Price 1½d.*
- “The Universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.” A Handbook compiled by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. (1918.) *Price 9d.*
- “Report on the Sheffield City Museums.”
By Sir F. G. Oglvie, C.B. (1919.) *Price 6d.*
- “Memoranda on Promotion in Elementary Schools in London.” (Elementary School Series, No. i.) (1919.) *Price 6d.*
- “Some Experiments in the Teaching of Science and Handwork in certain Elementary Schools in London.” (Elementary School Series, No. ii.) (1920.) *Price 1s.*
- “Notes on Camping.” (1920.) *Price 1s.*

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BOARD OF EDUCATION.

6

Educational Pamphlets, No. 46.

RURAL EDUCATION

ADAPTATION OF INSTRUCTION TO THE
NEEDS OF RURAL AREAS.

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT POSITION.

T9(Y31):3

LONDON:
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1926.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The importance of rural education from a national standpoint and the evidence of public interest in the question have led the Board to think that an educational pamphlet surveying what has already been done in England to adapt school courses to the needs of rural areas may be useful to Local Education Authorities and to others who are concerned directly or indirectly with this aspect of Education. The memorandum which follows constitutes a survey of this kind. It has been prepared by H. M. Inspectors, but its publication by the Board must not be taken as indicating that the Board necessarily endorse any expressions of opinion which it contains.

January, 1926.

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RURAL EDUCATION.

ADAPTATION OF INSTRUCTION TO THE NEEDS OF RURAL AREAS :

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT POSITION.

I. INTRODUCTION.

I. Education in rural areas has received considerable attention and has been the subject of various official publications issued from time to time to Local Education Authorities. In these the Board have not only emphasised the importance of linking teaching with environment, thus bringing school work into close association with country life and surroundings, but have also indicated various ways in which the experience of teachers and of their own officials has shown that this can be most successfully accomplished. Furthermore, certain aspects of the teaching have been made the subject of special reports in which the aim has been both to record, and assess the value of, the work done and to point out different lines of development suited to particular districts and schools.

The aim of the present memorandum is to show the stage which has been reached in adapting the school courses to the needs of rural areas : the efficiency of the present provision does not come within its purview. In addition to the work of the various types of schools, the training of teachers, both before and after they enter upon their teaching career, is dealt with, and a section is devoted to out-of-school activities of teachers. Except where the contrary is definitely indicated, the memorandum applies to England alone.

A recent Circular (1365) summarises the main points which arise in connection with the further development of rural elementary education. For the convenience of those desiring more detailed information a list of official publications is included in this Circular (see Appendix).

II. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

2. *Progress in Rural Schools.*—Although much still remains to be done, there is distinct evidence of progress in the elementary schools. The recent raising of the school-leaving age to 14, the extension of the curricula to meet it, and the inclusion of different forms of practical instruction should result in a higher standard of education and intelligence in rural as well as in urban areas. The small, isolated, country schools, however, are at a great disadvantage owing to the difficulties they present in regard to—

- (i) The grading of children in separate classes according to ability ;
- (ii) The organisation of progressive instruction for the older children ;
- (iii) The provision of suitable equipment and facilities for instruction in cookery, handicraft and science.

Administrators and teachers have been trying for a long time to find a satisfactory solution of the problems of the small schools. Even before the war, Authorities, alive to the need for giving a more practical bias to some of the school work, had begun to experiment as to the best methods of organising practical instruction. In some cases use was made of spare accommodation in existing buildings, equipment and tools being provided either for full handicraft and cookery courses or for light woodwork. Occasionally, even in very small schools, one or more benches and sets of tools were provided for the boys, and some provision was made so that the girls could be taught cookery and housewifery either in school or in the school-house. Where the Head Teachers linked up this instruction with the other activities of the school very successful results have been obtained. More often, however, it was found necessary to build Practical Instruction "Centres" to which the older boys and girls from several schools walked or were conveyed. Where ground could be obtained and the teachers were keen and had the necessary horticultural knowledge, school gardens were also established. Further development was checked, first by the war, and subsequently by the period of acute depression following in its wake.

Since the 1918 Act raised the school-leaving age and focussed attention on the necessity of meeting the new conditions by the provision of courses of more advanced instruction for the older children, Authorities have faced the problems of rural education afresh, and, although any forward movement has suffered a severe check from the economic conditions of the past four years, and, in some areas, there has actually been a retrograde tendency, some of the County Education Committees have carried out reorganisations aimed at concentrating the senior pupils at suitable centres. These centres have been mainly of two types, *Central Schools or Classes* providing instruction for selected children up to the age of 15, and *Senior Schools or Departments* for boys and girls from 11 to 14. Conditions in rural areas have usually made it difficult, if not impossible, to establish central schools of the selective type, though in some cases, where such schools have been established in country towns or where a central class has been added to a rural school, a kind of natural selection operates, the keener children from neighbouring villages being attracted voluntarily to such a school or class.

Generally, however, the form of organisation adopted has been non-selective. In a "two school" area it has sometimes been found possible to convert one into a Junior School and the other into a Senior School. More often, however, the distances between schools have made it necessary to retain infants and juniors even in the schools chosen for senior work. Thus some schools have been "decapitated," i.e. converted into Junior Schools taking pupils up to the age of 11 only, while others, generally larger and more central, have had their upper classes increased by the addition of the older children from the decapitated schools. In one small county a complete system of senior schools has now been established, and in another county, with about 250 schools, no less than 70 Senior Schools and Departments have already been formed.

This grouping of the older children naturally excites a good deal of opposition in rural areas, especially where distances are considerable or where grouping tends to bring village children into semi-industrial towns or mining centres.

Experience shows, however, that wherever reorganisation has been wisely carried out, with due regard for village life and village needs, the initial opposition has given place to satisfaction and approval. It is found that grouping simplifies and encourages the provision of suitable practical instruction and, at the same time, makes it possible to secure better grading. As a result, both the bright and the backward children benefit and the work of the schools shows marked improvement.

The possibilities in regard to advanced instruction in rural areas have not yet been fully explored. It is obvious that conditions, even under any one Authority, vary to such an extent that no one solution can be applied generally. Now that the problem is being tackled again we may confidently look forward to fruitful experiments in various directions.

3. Relation of school work to country life and pursuits.—As a general rule, the " agricultural bias " which has been given to instruction in rural elementary schools has not taken the form of vocational training. On the other hand, it has long been widely recognised that environment should be freely drawn upon in order to lend reality to the teaching and to arouse interest in country life and pursuits. With the increase in the normal period spent by children in school, and the consequent extension of the curriculum, an attempt has been made in a number of places not only to provide the better general education demanded by modern conditions of life in town and country, but also to extend the children's knowledge and appreciation of their natural surroundings, and to give them some acquaintance with the principles underlying natural phenomena and everyday farm and garden operations. There is also a growing recognition of the fact that one of the aims of elementary education should be to develop skill in those elementary handicrafts, such as woodwork and metalwork, which are fundamental to all civilised life. Educationally these crafts are equally valuable in urban and in rural schools, but in rural schools they have perhaps a more direct bearing upon everyday life, their practical utility is more evident, and there is therefore, in this sense, a certain natural connection

between education and vocation. In increasing numbers of schools these aims are reflected in the curriculum generally: in the remainder, still a very large proportion, the only bias is to be found in the nature study or the gardening.

The extent of the "rural bias" in country schools may be best shown by a summary of the work which is being done. For convenience of treatment, this is given under the various sections of the curriculum arranged approximately according to the possibilities they offer for linking up the school activities with the physical characters, the plant and animal life, and the interests and occupations of the countryside.

4. *Elementary Science, including Natural History.*—During recent years "nature study" has been included in the curriculum of practically every school, both because of the part which it plays in developing an enquiring, observant type of mind, and of the desirability of boys and girls getting to know more of the world in which they live and of the things handled and met with in everyday life. In the majority of cases the courses mapped out for the younger children consist largely of plant and animal studies, supplemented by talks on the main features of the countryside. The work for the older pupils is often planned on the same lines as for the younger ones and, when there is much grouping of standards, as in small schools, may contain little that is really new. On the other hand, where there is a school garden, or the Head Teacher is keenly interested in outdoor life, the schemes for the seniors are built up round the gardening or include series of indoor and outdoor studies in place of classroom talks. In this way provision is often made for continuous experiments and observations on soils, on plants, on weeds, on germination, on fungoid and insect pests, on bird life, and many similar studies. Weather observations are frequently included, and afford a valuable training where the work is well done. Here, again, the conditions of rural life give a special practical utility to studies which are in themselves educationally valuable. In a number of schools, generally the larger and better equipped, the science for the older children is made more quantitative; simple physical

measurements, elementary mechanics, a study of the chemical and physical properties of air, water and soil, and simple experiments on heat, take the place of, or supplement, plant and animal studies. With the growth of Senior Schools and Departments, and the provision of more equipment and better facilities, further development in this direction may be expected. For the senior girls in these schools alternative schemes in domestic science or housewifery are frequently provided; lessons on hygiene and first-aid are often associated.

Although a good deal of the nature work still consists of talks by the teacher, more of the lessons are now designed to encourage observations and enquiry and to train the children to draw or write or talk about what they have seen or discovered. They are brought into more direct contact with nature. In the classroom simple aquaria or vivaria are often set up, and in these various animals are fed, tended and kept under observation. More open-air studies are also attempted; wild flowers are collected and named, the growth of plants is watched, seasonal changes are noted and the habits and life-histories of various animals followed. In connection with outdoor studies reference may be made to the "Bird and Tree" scheme of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. In some counties there has been a great extension of interest in this movement, e.g. in one no less than 110 schools entered for the 1924 competition. Each scholar selects a bird and a tree and follows their life-histories throughout a complete year or season. Observations are usually made outside school hours and in the fields and woods or by the side of stream or marsh. The children are taught how to set out and record their observations in colour or by pen and pencil. Books are also consulted and a valuable habit is acquired. The essays of the children contain abundant evidence that these outdoor studies are developing accurate observation and kindling a real love of nature. Training of this kind cannot fail to make young people better equipped for country life.

In a few widely scattered schools enthusiastic Head Teachers are giving valuable nature teaching through the care and management of small live stock—bees, poultry and rabbits.

(i) *Bee-keeping*.—The scholars assist in all operations during the season; examining, feeding, re-queening, taking and extracting the honey, preparing the stocks for wintering, etc. While carrying out the practical operations they get to know a good deal about the life-history of the bee. This is supplemented by talks by the teacher. When a handicraft centre is attached to the school the boys also make various bee-keeping apparatus, e.g. hives, queen cages, indoor observatory hives, etc. The stocks of bees at a number of the schools were wiped out by the ravages of the acarine disease, but these are gradually being replaced.

(ii) *Poultry-keeping*.—The schemes of schools at which poultry are kept make provision for detailed observations on the housing and feeding of the birds. A useful course of practical work in connection with their care and management is associated with the observational work. Thus the children learn a good deal about poultry-keeping, and, in carrying out their practical duties, get to know something of the need for punctuality and regularity, as well as for attention to detail, in feeding. At the same time, they are led to seek for reasons and to study cause and effect.

5. *School gardening*.—A return for the year ended March 1923, shows that there were 4,819 gardens attached to schools in the administrative counties (including Part III, Authorities) of England and about 600 in Wales. While, as a general rule, this number has been the result of a steady growth during the past twenty years, very rapid increases have taken place in some instances, e.g. in one county the number rose from 28 in 1917 to 260 in 1919.

The school garden offers excellent facilities for training in manual dexterity and for the inculcation of habits of care and forethought. In addition, it plays an important part in creating greater interest in rural life and occupations. It has led to a wider teaching of rural science, and has brought the pupils into very close contact with at least a portion of the countryside. Through this they have often been encouraged to pay more attention to the surrounding district, to its rocks and soils, its water supply, its weather, crops and methods of cultivation, and to the natural plant and animal life.

Under the guidance of a keen Head Teacher many of the boys become reasonably expert in raising flowers and vegetables, and are the means of introducing better methods of cultivation into the cottage gardens of the district. At the same time, a number of them acquire a fair knowledge of the general principles underlying the common cultural operations. With the extension of the experimental work on soils, on methods of cropping, on plant propagation and on plant nutrition and growth, now being more frequently attempted in school gardens, a still more useful training may be expected.

Fruit culture receives attention in a fairly large proportion of school gardens, and fruit plots are coming to be regarded as an essential. This side of the work is usually reserved for the last year of school life when the boys not only tend the trees and bushes, but carry out pruning, budding and grafting operations. They are also taught to recognise the more common diseases and how to deal with them.

Some flower culture is attempted in the majority of gardens, and occasionally charming effects are produced. Where this side of the work receives adequate attention the gardens are valuable not only on account of the part which they play in developing taste in the school, but also because of their influence on the district. Instances are frequently quoted of an improvement in cottage gardening as a result of an attractive school garden.

Although only a small proportion of the school time is devoted to gardening much valuable work is often done. Something of its variety and, of the value of the training may be gathered from the school exhibits which nowadays take a prominent place alongside other educational exhibits at Agricultural and Horticultural Shows. Collections of flowering plants, of weeds showing adaptations for spreading, of useful and useless grasses; accurate and well-finished drawings of plant forms, of insect pests, of bird life; plant physiology and soil experiments; garden plans; weather records; examples of flowers and vegetables and of successful budding and grafting from school gardens, are only a few of the things to be seen. They are sufficient, however, to

indicate the extent to which the gardening and science are drawn upon in training the children to observe accurately, to record in drawing or composition, to study cause and effect—in short, to use hands and head to the best advantage. Moreover, it is evident that, while such training is valuable for either town-dweller or countryman, it has a special fitness for the latter.

6. Manual Instruction.—Provision for handicraft exists in a fairly large number of schools and centres, in which the boys are taught to plan and construct a variety of articles, some of which are in common use in the garden or on the farm. Apart from the skill which the boys acquire in the use of tools, they often gain a fair amount of knowledge of a scientific character, e.g. the mechanical principles underlying the construction of the models made, the kinds and qualities of the woods handled, the metals used in toolmaking, the kinds and properties of iron and steel, and elementary ideas about the properties and strengths of the materials used.

In past years the handicraft teacher was more often than not an artisan who had a liking for teaching. The tendency to-day is to entrust the teaching to a certificated teacher with special training in handicraft. These men, and those now coming out from the Training Colleges, should be able to make the instruction more educational, and, at the same time, maintain a good standard of craftsmanship.

7. Domestic Subjects.—In the rural areas Education Authorities have evolved many different methods of providing for instruction in cookery, laundrywork and housewifery for the older girls in the small village schools, which are often several miles from a railway station. In some areas teachers of domestic subjects are stationed in the larger villages and work there during the winter months; girls in the village and groups of girls from neighbouring schools walk, or are conveyed, to and from the centre every day. During the summer months the teacher packs up the equipment in crates, which are ingeniously designed to act as cupboards during the course, and moves from village to village, spending, as a rule,

a month in each. During this time the older girls in the village school attend every day, and a teacher of initiative and energy contrives to develop a surprising amount of practical skill, and to arouse much interest in domestic science, in these country children. The Head Teacher frequently visits while the course is in progress, and is usually in close touch with the work of the specialist teacher.

The travelling equipment includes stove, sink, and usually a boiler, all of a type which can easily be fixed in any available premises. These are extremely varied. Village halls, or school classrooms, are among the most usual and convenient, but many other buildings have been used, including even disused stable-lofts. Head Teachers allow the use of the school-house kitchen for small classes. A few schools possess excellent centres for instruction in woodwork and domestic subjects, built out of funds provided by local charities. In some cases workmen's clubs have been used.

The children like these classes and will cheerfully walk surprising distances to attend them, while teachers often show a real missionary spirit. It is not unusual to find that a teacher has walked or bicycled 6 or 7 miles after her day's work to explore a village in which she hears that instruction is desired, but accommodation cannot be found. Nor is her search usually unsuccessful.

In some areas travelling vans, fully equipped and ingeniously contrived, move from village to village, staying a month in each. Here, too, the teacher lives in the village temporarily, enters into its life and works in close touch with the school. Occasionally one or both of these methods is supplemented by work undertaken by the wife of the Head Teacher, or by someone living in the village who has a local reputation as a good housewife: the instruction is often given in the Head Teacher's house, and is, as a rule, thoroughly practical. The Board have encouraged Local Authorities to hold Saturday classes for these volunteer teachers, with excellent results.

The irregular occurrence of these courses and the fact that in many villages they last for only one month in the

school year, make it more difficult to co-ordinate them effectively with the efforts of Head Teachers to give school-work a specially rural bias. Much, however, is being done in this direction; girls are encouraged to bring their own vegetables to cook, the produce of school gardens is sold to the cookery class, and scholars keep accounts of these transactions. One great advantage of the intensive course is that it gains in some ways from the circumstance of the lessons going on all day. For instance, bread, brawn, stews, soups, pickles, jams and certain other dishes, which take a long time to prepare and cook, can be begun in the morning and finished in the afternoon: food left over from the morning's lesson can be cooked up in the afternoon; and as the children generally stay to dinner, they have ample practice in the attractive dishing-up of food, and in setting a dinner-table. A special feature is made of fruit-bottling, jam-making and the drying of herbs. Sometimes the services of an itinerant teacher of dairying can be secured to give a short course of lessons on butter-making to the older girls. The Head Teachers of many schools, notably in Devon, have drawn up quite elaborate schemes of rural study, including practical home management. In some centres of the more permanent type, the girls do some gardening as part of their housewifery course.

Some Authorities have adopted in connection with all new schools the policy of providing one room fitted up for cookery, laundrywork and manual instruction, which is devoted entirely to practical work for boys and girls.

In some cases these rooms have been built mainly by the scholars and the teacher.

8. *Arithmetic and Mensuration.*—It is now a more common practice for a certain amount of arithmetic to be associated with the various forms of practical instruction. At the manual centre the boys are trained to make plans and scale drawings, and sometimes to prepare estimates of the cost of some of the larger models made. Similar work is often carried out in connection with the school garden; the complete site or individual plots are measured and drawn to scale, requisitions

for seeds and manures are made out, and a balance sheet is prepared showing the financial results of the year's work. Mention may also be made of cases where the garden, the poultry-keeping or bee-keeping is conducted on a co-operative basis. Shares are issued which boys joining the class may buy. Accounts are kept, a balance sheet is issued and a dividend paid. When a boy leaves school his shares are sold to new boys entering the garden. In this way practical experience is gained, on a small scale, of stocks and shares and business methods. Sometimes, too, the older boys are taken out of doors to measure irregular fields, to calculate heights and distances and to estimate the contents of ricks. Occasionally prices at local markets are noted and comparisons made. Exercises of this kind serve to give reality and interest to the arithmetic teaching, particularly in the case of the less bookish type of boy.

9. *Geography*.—With improved methods of geography teaching a special study is often made of the natural features, crops, resources and occupations of the school district. The children's interest is aroused, and the knowledge thus gained serves as a basis for comparison with data for other districts and countries. The local type of farming is associated with climatic and soil conditions, and is shown to fit naturally into a reasoned system.

10. *History*.—Present-day history teaching should also help children to a better understanding of the countryside and its development. At some point of their school life it is usual for them to learn something about the progress and development of agriculture in England and in other countries. Within the last five years a fairly large number of schools have begun to pay attention to local history. Although this type of work is still in its infancy, so far as schools are concerned, it may fairly be claimed that in a good number of places interest has been aroused and creditable results have been achieved. Generally the survey includes such activities as the recording of the names of old houses, farms, fields, earthworks, etc.; the study and drawing of church architecture; the study of parish registers; the history of manors, coins, relics of old industries; the making of brass-rubbings;

the beating of parish bounds by the boys ; the making of charts of the changes in the district ; the examination of the local market statistics and cropping records. In this way the older pupils acquire a good deal of interesting information about their own parish or village, and are led to take a keener interest in local affairs.

11. *English.*—The extension of general reading and the increasing opportunities which many country children now have of consulting books of reference as well as text-books dealing with a variety of subjects, help to make them better fitted to take an interest in country activities. The rural library scheme, which so many county Authorities have adopted, is also of value in this connection.

12. *Other School Activities.*—In addition, it should be pointed out that other school activities, such as music, drawing, needlework and physical exercises, have in view the fitting of the child as much for rural as for urban life.

Reference might appropriately be made also to arrangements for ensuring the health and welfare of the country child. Apart altogether from the invaluable work of the medical service, much is being done to lessen the hardships of children who live at a distance from school. In a great many, if not in the majority of, cases some provision is made for drying wet clothes. A dry pair of stockings and slippers are sometimes kept at school, so that a complete change of footwear may be made in bad weather. A difficulty met with in the smaller rural school is that the open fire in a classroom occupied by children is frequently the only place for drying clothes.

Authorities and teachers have given considerable thought to the needs of the large number of country children who are unable to get home for a midday meal. Where suitable facilities exist, the problem has been solved fairly successfully ; thus, at many centres it is customary for a simple meal to be prepared by the cookery class for the girls taking part and for others who care to join in. In other cases, even where there are no such facilities, hot soup or cocoa is provided, a small weekly payment being made by each child. More

often, however, children carry their own food to school, and some provision is made for boiling eggs, warming pies, heating milk or providing hot water for tea or cocoa.

The success of such arrangements depends very largely on the teachers. During the past few years there has been a growing tendency to regard the midday meal as a further opportunity for training. With this end in view, tablecloths and crockery have been provided, either by the Local Education Authority or through the efforts of the teachers and others interested in the children. The lack of tables and suitable seating accommodation is often a serious handicap to getting the children properly seated.

13. *Examples of the variety of work being done.*—Something of the variety of the work being done and of the educational experiments being attempted in rural elementary schools may be gleaned from the following examples, selected from notes and reports by the Board's Inspectors:—

(a) "The assistant teacher, through attending a teacher's course in another county, had been inspired with a real enthusiasm for nature study. She had the whole-hearted support of the Head Teacher and also received help from two expert naturalists living in the village. The children had become real students of the plant and animal life of the district. They had good glass tanks and other vessels in which aquatic animals were kept and closely studied by them. They were also studying, partly in school hours and partly in their own time, the natural history of a small area in the neighbourhood. Good notes were kept of all their observations, and it was plain from the children's answers to questions that this work was of sufficient solidity to make a permanent impression on them."

(b) "At this school every branch of a wide range of nature study is raised almost to the level of a science. The school sent to the London Education Exhibit in July 1923 a very varied nature exhibit which was of outstanding merit and attracted much notice."

(c) "Observations of pressure, temperature, rainfall and wind direction are made regularly, recorded and summarised. A map of the parish has been prepared, showing each field, its name, if any, the owner's and occupier's names and the cropping. Seasonal records of agricultural operations in the district are kept."

(d) "The school has grass poultry runs and several types of the most modern poultry houses as well as a large-sized "foster-mother." Two or three breeding pens are kept and from 60 to 100 chickens are raised each year. The birds are fed by the children in turn. The boys clean

the fowl houses and the girls look after the sitting hens as well as the young chickens when hatched. During the last thirty years the school has kept Langshans and has won premier honours at all the principal shows. It was even represented in 1924 at the International Poultry Congress at Barcelona with a Langshan cockerel and eggs."

(e) "In addition to general nature study and gardening, a year's course in bee-keeping is taken covering the work of the hive during the season, the history of bee-keeping and the economy of the hive during the winter. Swarms in the district are often taken and hived by the boys. Stocks are also examined and bee-keepers helped. During the period of the Bee Disease epidemic the boys helped in the raising of queens and the making of nuclei, as many as 33 hives then being kept in the school apiary."

(f) "Although of comparatively recent establishment, the garden here is already intimately associated with the general activities of the school. It is small, but is admirably laid out so that the utmost value may be obtained from it.

"A notice at the entrance informs the children that the garden is intended to be for them a place of resort where things beautiful and interesting are provided for their observation. This spirit is steadily cultivated and has been realised to a notable extent. It is a garden for the whole school: the infants have their plots; for the older children are borders of flowers, arches with climbers, beds of vegetables and fruit in considerable variety, which are all used for nature study by all classes. A most interesting section is the Shakespeare plot, in which are grown a large number of the plants mentioned in the plays, each with its name and appropriate quotation clearly displayed.

"The purpose of each plot, with brief explanations, is clearly indicated by painted labels of large size. Any child entering the garden is therefore readily able to gain a comparatively intimate impression of the garden as a whole; and interest is undoubtedly quickened thereby."

(g) "The school garden proper contains an area only of about 500 square yards, but outside this there is a meadow with an orchard in which the older boys receive ample practice in pruning and grafting. The Head Teacher is proposing to bring a portion of the meadow into cultivation in order to have more space for developing demonstration and experimental plots. With these additions there will be sufficient area to carry out very effectively his scheme of more advanced work for second and third year gardening scholars.

"The cultivation is excellent. Although only a shallow layer of soil overlies the rock, a varied supply of good quality vegetables is

produced. The boys draft the cropping plans for their own plots; and the individual experience gained in this exercise and in carrying them into effect, ensures a knowledge of rotation and of the growth and requirements of the various crops. Flower culture also receives some attention.

"The practical work in the garden is closely connected with class-room instruction in Arithmetic, English, Drawing and Nature Study. The scholars are interested and answer with the readiness and confidence born of doing things for themselves.

"The records are kept neatly and contain such entries as plans, accounts of operations carried out, observations on crops and their pests, and profit and loss accounts.

"The Head Teacher is to be congratulated both on the quality of the gardening and the healthy spirit of enquiry his outdoor work is developing."

(h) "The most noteworthy point since the date of the last report is the formation of an Advanced Class serving as a Rural Central School for this and five or six surrounding schools within a radius of four miles. The results obtained so far are very gratifying. A sound foundation has been laid in the essential subjects and the scholars have acquired a great deal of definite information. The gardens are well planned, and carefully devised experiments are in progress to test the effects of particular kinds of manures, seeds and methods of cultivation. Fruit culture receives adequate attention and practical instruction is given in the elementary science of the soil and plant life, and in the keeping of bees and poultry."

(i) "An agricultural plot has been established under the direction of the county organiser. Plots of grasses, clovers and various other plants have been formed."

(j) "A somewhat comprehensive scheme of instruction in agriculture is carried out. The scheme would generally be considered too ambitious for a school of this kind; but the Head Teacher is keenly interested in agriculture and his enthusiasm has evidently infected his scholars. In the course of a lengthy and enjoyable talk with them, the boys showed a knowledge of the subject remarkable for their age and a close acquaintance with, and understanding of, local farm practices."

(k) "The former Head Teacher—just retired—induced a farmer to allow experiments with artificial manures to be carried out on a fairly large scale in a field near the school garden. The yields given under the various treatments were weighed and recorded by the boys and noted by the farmer."

(j) "The forms of handwork practiced at this school cover an unusually wide range; the making of leather goods—from raw material to finished article—is a special feature.

Cutting skins: Cutting of rabbit, hare and goat skins for glove-making.

Glove-making: Cutting out and making of men's, women's and children's gloves in suede, rubber-leather, chamois and wash-leather. Cutting out and making fur-backed gloves.

Leather articles: The making of handbags, note-cases, etc.

Paper make: The making of bowls, vases, suitcases, etc., from blue paper sugar-bags.

Wood rug-making.

Basketry.

Bag-making.

"This handwork is co-ordinated with similar work done in the homes under the aegis of the Women's Institute."

(m) "Recently the Head Teacher, acting on the suggestion of a lady member of the Education Committee, enlisted the active co-operation of the village blacksmith in training some of the older boys to undertake simple repairs and adjustments to agricultural implements and machinery. At present the work is confined to eight boys over 13 years of age, four of whom go to the smithy for an hour on alternate weeks. The experiment is in its initial stages, and so far the work has consisted mainly of underswinging nuts and, when these have become fast, cutting them off with hammer and chisel. New parts have also been screwed together."

(n) "Special interest attaches to the development of metal-work at this centre. In the early stages crude work is done from 'waste' material—coffee tins, old pail handles, etc.—brought to the centre by the boys. From the pail handles a surprising number of articles are made—dab-saws, garden staves, poles, stove-lifts, etc.

"Sheet steel is used for such articles as garden trowels, flat-iron stands, shovels, etc., while brass and copper sheets are used for articles requiring some ornamentation.

"Brass-work is done and the possibilities of a classed type of stove are demonstrated. Lath-work is also taught.

"Nickel-plating is a very popular part of the instruction, both with the boys and their parents. Strips of copper and brass are made into sugar-tongs, paper-knives, bread-forks, butter-knives, etc. The cost of the material—brass or copper and nickel—is defrayed by the boys out of their own pockets. The boys are encouraged to bring from their homes articles needing repair, and great advantage is taken of the opportunity."

(o) "The making of high-class toys, more especially of furniture for dolls' houses, has for some time been carried out during the handwork lessons at the school.

" The articles made are chiefly miniature models of antique furniture together with Chinese and Japanese lacquered models.

" This form of handwork provides training in fine needlework in connection with the making of the bedclothes ; careful measuring and drawing to scale ; exercises in construction with opportunities for the development of artistic taste.

" It is interesting to record that the instruction in toy-making in the school is co-ordinated with the village industry, which was started nearly ten years ago with the object of supplying British toys to replace German goods and to enable the villagers to purchase Savings' Certificates.

" Some of the models helped to furnish the Queen's Doll's House."

(p) " Instruction is given in the use of prismatic compass, clinometer, theodolite, plane table, chain and slide-rule. The interesting outdoor work carried out by means of these instruments includes :—

- (1) The calculation of widths of rivers and heights of objects.
- (2) The finding of the latitude and the longitude of the village.
- (3) The construction of sundials.
- (4) Chaining, levelling, plane-tabling and traversing.
- (5) The reading of the Ordnance Survey maps of the locality."

(q) " Among a great deal of vigorous and enthusiastic work, some really remarkable progress has been made in the collection, identification and classification of flint implements, fossils, and relics of Roman, Saxon and other early periods. A sustained effort is being made to compile a continuous history of the locality, and not the least satisfactory feature in the enterprise generally is the genuine zest and gusto with which the boys engage in the work."

(r) " In this isolated school, with only 50 children on the books, for many years nature study has been associated with the making of coloured field maps showing for successive years the nature of the crops grown. Old roads, tracks, embankments and moats have been traced. Enclosure Acts have been consulted and changes of ownership noted."

(s) " Instruction in Dairying is given by the Head Teacher, who appears to be well qualified for the work.

" The course, which includes instruction in milk and its properties, separating and butter-making, is taken by 14 girls selected from Standards V and VI. These receive one lesson a month throughout the year ; a good arrangement in view of the different treatment of milk in hot and in cold weather. In the practical work a Bradford churn and a butter-worker are used. A separator is also available. The lesson heard was a good one and the girls are evidently much interested in the work."

(t) " From 12 to 14 lessons are given at selected centres by a travelling dairy school, which commences in January and continues throughout the year, except for two months in summer and a fortnight at Christmas.

"The school opens with a public demonstration attended by children from the higher standards of adjoining elementary schools. Afterwards 10 or 12 boys and girls, usually children of farmers, small-holders or agricultural labourers, are selected as students.

"Each morning of the course the children attend a lecture from 9-10 a.m. and engage in practical work from 10-12 noon. At the end of the course an examination is held and certificates are awarded.

"The course includes lectures and practical work in—

- (1) Butter-making, summer and winter methods ;
- (2) Separating, scalding, milk-testing and ripening of cream ;
- (3) Milking, and the care and treatment of milk after milking.
(As it is not possible to give the practical instruction in milking in the mornings, the children attend at a farm near by in the afternoons after leaving school.) "

III. SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

14. *General Considerations.*—As has already been indicated, the Board have in the past issued more than one circular dealing with the establishment of a rural bias in Secondary Schools. In one or two instances special grants have been given to assist schools to initiate experiments, and reports describing the work carried out have been published. The Board's Regulations contemplate that in all Secondary Schools some provision should be made for the teaching of Manual Work and Domestic Subjects. In practice some teaching of Nature Study to the younger pupils is almost universal. School gardens of some kind are by no means uncommon, even in suburban districts. This memorandum is, however, only concerned with those schools which are making a conscious effort definitely to relate their curriculum to their rural environment. The extent of the "rural bias" and the methods of its introduction vary widely, but the schools concerned may be regarded as falling broadly into two categories :—

- (a) Schools which have a definitely organised rural curriculum—sometimes referred to as "Rural Bias" Secondary Schools ; and
- (b) Schools which make no claim to be regarded as "Rural Bias" Schools, but which make an attempt to adapt their curricula in some directions at least to their rural environment.

15. *Schools with a definitely rural Curriculum: number and distribution.*—At the present time a limited number of schools in the country are making a definite attempt to organise their teaching on lines intended to provide a type of education and training which shall be of the greatest use to those of their pupils who intend to take up occupations either directly or indirectly connected with agriculture or horticulture. They are by no means evenly distributed over England, but are situated almost entirely in the north, west and south-west. Probably the chief reason for the small number of these schools has been the lack of demand. Hitherto the majority of the parents have unfortunately been inclined to regard entry into commerce or into some clerical occupation as the only fitting sequel to a secondary school training, and there has been, therefore, little or no demand on their part that the education given to their children in the Secondary School should be related to rural life and needs. Attendance at a Secondary School being voluntary, an attempt to proceed too far in advance of public opinion might result in a serious depletion of numbers. There is, however, as will be indicated in a later paragraph, some evidence of a slowly growing appreciation of the value of secondary education and of scientific training as a preparation for rural occupations.

16. *Development of "Rural Bias" Secondary Schools.*—A study of the past history of these schools shows that as "rural bias" schools they are not the outcome of any considered plan on the part of Local Education Authorities or of the Board of Education for the establishment of rural schools in suitable areas. In most cases their adoption of a rural curriculum was primarily due to the energy of some particular Head Teacher, backed up probably by one or two school governors, all of them interested in the progress and development of rural education, and of agricultural education in particular. Not all the attempts to establish rural courses in secondary schools have been permanently successful. In one area, for example, two such experiments were made in comparatively recent years, but in both schools the "rural bias" faded out, mainly owing to the withdrawal, by death or removal, of the personal interest which had carried the project through its initial stages.

17. *The Curriculum of "Rural Bias" Secondary Schools.*— Just as the "rural bias" schools grew out of existing institutions, which in most cases were rural only in their situation, so the rural curriculum in nearly every school has been grafted on to a curriculum of the traditional Secondary School type; the adaptations have been made in various ways as opportunities occurred. Even in the most remote rural schools the number of pupils who propose to take up agricultural work of one kind or another has seldom amounted to more than about 25 per cent. of the total number on the register. The problem is therefore usually to devise a curriculum which not only will provide a suitable training for this minority, but will, at the same time, be suitable for pupils who desire a more academic training for business or a profession.

In some schools the experiment has been tried of grouping all the pupils together for work on a general curriculum for the first three years, after which the intending agriculturists begin work on a scheme of science, mathematics, practical handwork, etc., taught with special reference to the conditions of rural life. The amount of actual practical work on the land or with live stock or in the dairy, which is incorporated in the rural school course, depends on the facilities available. Some schools have small farms, with farm buildings, dairy, gardens, orchards and a fair equipment of implements and machinery. Others have only sufficient land to carry on the ordinary work of a school garden, which in the secondary school is mainly experimental. All the schools have reasonably good laboratory accommodation. The agricultural pupils thus diverge for a portion of their school time from the main school curriculum, for lessons in science, arithmetic, and mensuration, which for them usually include practical land surveying, etc., and their reading is also directed towards rural subjects. For general lessons they rejoin their forms, and they also share fully in all the activities which make up the corporate life of the school.

Other schools have tried to develop a general syllabus of instruction which, while providing a satisfactory course of study for the intending land worker, shall in its main features be equally useful to the non-agricultural student, a difficult task, which seems, however, to be working with reasonable prospects of success in more than one instance.

18. *The Teachers in "Rural Bias" Secondary Schools.*—It has already been said that many (perhaps most) of the ruralised secondary schools owe their special rural character to the energy and enthusiasm of a particular Head Teacher. Without such enthusiasm the difficulties and discouragements may be such that the rural element soon fades from the curriculum. Hitherto, school governors have recognised that a "rural bias" curriculum gives a certain distinctive character to a country secondary school, and in appointing new teachers they have been careful to secure men qualified to carry on the rural work. Indeed, one of the most hopeful features in the outlook for agricultural education is the number of young Head Teachers in the rural secondary schools at the present time. While the supply of trained biologists is generally held to be inadequate, these particular schools have so far been able to secure assistant masters who are trained biologists and in other respects well qualified for the work of a rural school both in field and laboratory.

It is evident also that the influence of these teachers in their school districts is by no means confined to the work in their classrooms, for, usually, they take a very lively and helpful interest in the agricultural affairs of their neighbourhood. Further reference to this subject is made in another section of the memorandum. (Section viii.)

19. *Schools which do not claim to be "Rural Bias" Schools, but attempt to adapt their curriculum to their rural surroundings.*—The limits of this class of school are necessarily somewhat vague, but in the course of this enquiry about forty schools have been noted in various parts of the country, most of them situated in small market towns, which draw a considerable proportion of their pupils from the surrounding countryside. At most of these schools there is a school garden, where the junior boys learn to use garden tools and appliances and to cultivate the ordinary vegetables and flowers, and in a few cases are taught something about the raising and practical management of fruit trees, while the possession of a laboratory makes it possible to associate all this work with a definite scientific training.

This work is the more important because the boys are now usually transferred from elementary to secondary schools at about the age of 11, before they have received any practical instruction in gardening or handicraft. In the science courses an attempt is usually made to strengthen the teaching on the biological side, to encourage the pupils to study suitable biological problems connected with the life of the countryside, and to secure as close an association as is possible between the laboratory practice and the problems which face the farmer and gardener.

The following brief notes may afford some general idea of the work which is being done in different types of rural secondary schools.

20. Practical Work.—All these schools provide for their pupils a certain amount of practical work on the land. In both types of school a definite amount of time is devoted by the pupils to the cultivation of the soil; this work is associated as closely as possible with the handicraft instruction and the laboratory practice.

No secondary school attempts to teach farming or gardening; the "rural bias" course is not intended to take the place of training on a farm or at a farm school or agricultural college. The pupils in the course of their work become familiar with the use of tools and machinery; and, under the best conditions, they learn something about the feeding and management of both crops and live stock, but the farm and garden are always regarded as additions to the laboratory equipment which are especially useful and appropriate in the education of future land workers, and not without value for the non-agricultural pupils.

(a) *Land and Stock.*—The amount of time and attention which may profitably be devoted to practical work on the farm and in the dairy, or in the garden, poultry-yard or apiary varies considerably according to the amount of land, live stock and equipment available for instruction.

It will be apparent that a school which has a well-stocked farm of 30 acres may usefully spend much more time on outdoor work than another school with only half an acre

of garden. Between these two extremes there are many variants in regard to the facilities available for practical work, each presenting its own problems to the Head Teacher responsible for the effective co-ordination of the practical instruction with the general curriculum of the school. Considerable thought is necessary to determine to what extent the pupils themselves should work in the garden or on the land, and how much should be done by hired labour. Beyond a certain point the educational value to the pupils of actual work on the land is very small. None of the schools attempt to depend entirely on boy labour for the working of the school farms or the larger school gardens. Indeed, the intermittent character of the boys' work, to say nothing of the interruptions of long holiday periods, would make it impossible to keep the land properly cropped and in good order, and the keeping of live stock would be impossible without the help of hired adult labour.

School A.—The school is at present organised in six forms, of which the three lower forms follow a general secondary school course. Of the three senior forms, one is definitely organised for boys who intend to follow occupations which are directly or indirectly connected with land work; a second prepares pupils for the School Certificate Examinations, and a higher form takes more advanced work for the Higher School Certificate and other examinations.

This school has a farm of about 30 acres of grass and arable lands (exclusive of the playing-fields), a small herd of milking cows and a well-equipped dairy; a small flock of sheep, a few pedigree pigs and some pens of pure-bred poultry. There is a large vegetable and flower garden, a fruit plantation and a nursery. In the engineering workshop the boys learn to overhaul and repair agricultural machinery, and there is a permanent exhibition of new farm implements and machinery loaned to the school by the makers. The special agricultural class (the majority of the boys are boarders) spend 20 hours a week on the agricultural course, and in their second year they may spend two or three weeks in each term either at outdoor work on the farm or in the gardens or dairy or workshops.

School B.—This remotely situated Mixed School stands in the centre of a famous dairying and cheesemaking district, 6 miles from the nearest railway station. It has the advantage of a farm, live stock and gardens. While the school as a whole is organised on ordinary secondary school lines with a curriculum leading up to the School Certificate Examinations, it also possesses a section known as the Farm School—an addition to the ordinary course, begun some 13 years ago

and designed to provide a specialised course in agricultural science for boys and girls who have passed through the lower forms of a secondary school, either here or elsewhere. The age of entry to the Farm School course is usually about 15.

The available lands cover about 18 acres, of which 3 acres or so are arable. A fruit garden of about three-quarters of an acre is planted with half standard and bush trained apples, pears and plums and inter-cropped with bush fruits. There are also about 3 acres of orchards planted mainly with old cider apple trees, two glasshouses and a range of cold frames, vegetable gardens, lawns, shrubberies and flower borders. The Farm School buildings consist of a small farmhouse with the usual outbuildings, which have been modified to serve the purposes of a school course. They include, on the ground floor, a well-equipped dairy, cheese room and cider room, with a washing-up room; on the second floor (approached by outside stairs) are store rooms for cheese, fruit, bee-appliances, etc. There is stabling for two horses, with loft above, a food-mixing room and a small cowhouse, poultry runs, pigstyes and an apiary. The buildings are not ideal, but they are fairly suitable for their purpose. They are interesting, as showing that it is possible to adapt very old premises to modern requirements at comparatively small cost.

The Farm School curriculum includes practical work on the grasslands and orchards, and the rotational cropping of the arable farm lands and gardens; the management of a small dairy herd, usually of about four cows and two or three heifers or yearlings; dairywork, including the making of butter and Cheddar and Caerphilly cheese, and the practical management of pigs, poultry and bees. In the gardens the boys have practice in the cultivation of the ordinary vegetables, and in the pruning, budding, grafting and general management of fruit trees. The girls spend some time in flower gardening.

The agricultural science course aims at adapting the pupils' previous acquirements in Botany, Chemistry and Physics to the practical problems of the farm and garden with the addition of some simple animal biology. Latterly, a good deal of attention has been paid to experimental work in the glasshouses and gardens and in manorial trials on the grass lands, dealing with such matters as alternative methods of cultivation and manuring, soil temperatures, capillarity, porosity and retentiveness of plant foods in different soils, etc., etc.

School C is typical of a group of secondary schools where the opportunities for outdoor work on the land or with stock are considerably more restricted than in schools such as those described above, but which, none the less, are providing a course of instruction with a definite rural bias. They may have 1 or 2 acres of land which is used in connection with an organised course of agricultural science, intended to give the future agriculturist a satisfactory acquaintance with the general

scientific principles which underlie modern practice in farming and gardening. The following extracts from the report of a recent full inspection will afford some indication of the scope of the instruction :—

“ The school is specially recognised by the County Council for the tenure of County Agricultural Scholarships and is, in fact, the only school in the county in which agricultural instruction is definitely organised. The usual age of entry is 11, but agricultural scholars are admitted later at about 13. The Local Education Authority award about three Agricultural Boarding Scholarships a year, tenable at the school for three years, with a possible extension for a fourth year. There are now eight such scholars in the school, three in the first, three in the second and two in the third year. The best of the agricultural scholars usually succeed in obtaining Major Agricultural Scholarships, tenable at Universities for Degree Courses.”

“ The Head Teacher is keenly interested in agricultural life and he has secured the confidence of the neighbourhood.”

“ There is a common course in Botany for boys and girls running right through the school, each class having two or three lessons per week. In addition, the boys in Forms III to V have one lesson a week in general science, including the elements of heat, light, mechanics and electricity and some chemistry.”

“ The practical work in Agriculture is necessarily somewhat restricted owing to the small area of land available (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres), and is mainly concerned with the growing of experimental crops on small plots of about half a square rod each. An area of about 16 rods is devoted to agricultural grasses and legumes, grain crops, roots and potatoes from seeds, and a portion of the land is under potatoes and general vegetable crops for the use of the boarding school.

In 1919 the Governors lent a corner of the playing-field (about three-quarters of an acre) to the County Council, which was planted under the direction of the County Horticulturist as a demonstration fruit plot. This is available for observing the methods of raising and pruning fruit trees, but not at present for actual practical work by the boys. It is understood that the Governors will have the option of taking over the fruit trees from the County Council at a valuation after seven years.”

School D.—In addition to the schools which have organised agricultural courses there are a considerable number of rural Secondary Schools where the Science teaching is associated with the cultivation of a smaller area of land than at any of the schools already discussed, but where the teachers have given a good deal of thought to the problem of adapting the instruction as far as possible to a rural environment and to the needs of future land workers.

A typical boys' school of this class has a school garden of about three-quarters of an acre. Both Agricultural and Horticultural Science are included in the curriculum, which is made as practical as the limited

area of land will allow. All the pupils study milk and milk products; milk-testing and analysis is done by the senior boys for neighbouring dairy farmers. The work is carried up to the standard of the School Certificate, a special paper in Agricultural Science being taken. An endeavour is being made to carry the work in this subject to the stage of the Higher School Certificate, a special syllabus having been accepted for the subject. This school has been making a yearly survey of weeds on arable lands in the neighbourhood and forwarding reports to the Rothamsted Experimental Station.

At a second school of this type the school garden of about an acre is devoted to experiments in the cultivation and manuring of farm crops. A section of the land is run as a model allotment on the lines laid down in Leaflet No. 315 of the Ministry of Agriculture. Under contract with the local sugar-beet factory, about one-quarter of an acre of two varieties of sugar-beet is being grown to demonstrate the possibility or otherwise of making this crop a paying proposition on a fairly heavy clay soil. The school has no live stock, but the Head Teacher has a small holding adjoining the school, stocked with pedigree pigs, fowls, rabbits and bees, which are available for instruction in feeding and general management. He hopes shortly to develop a Young Farmers' Club on lines laid down by the Ministry of Agriculture in Leaflet No. 103.

Brampton County Secondary School.—A third type of school in a remote country district is one which, while catering for ordinary secondary school pupils, has also succeeded in adapting its curriculum to the needs of those who contemplate taking up rural occupations. No attempt is made to specialise in agriculture or horticulture, and no practical farm work is undertaken. But the science course is planned throughout to give a good grounding in the principles of Chemistry, Physics and Botany, based, as far as possible, upon problems arising in connection with agricultural and horticultural practice. Some very useful experiments have, for example, been made upon manuring in relation to problems of the food supply and growth of plants, the results of which for some years past have been kept and tabulated. The woodwork is also closely associated with rural occupations.

(b) *Handicraft Training in Wood and Metal Work.*—Practically all the rural schools under consideration have woodwork rooms, but only a few have rooms or equipment for metal-work. Owing to the pressure of other subjects it is usual for schools to discontinue the teaching of handicraft after boys have passed through Form IV, though there are exceptions. There are wide differences between school and school in regard to the completeness of the equipment for handicraft (benches, tools, vices, lathes, etc.). School A, referred to above, has two workshops, one for woodwork and the other for engineering and general metal-work.

Both are well equipped with a full complement of tools and benches, and they enable the pupils to carry out most of the repairs needed to the farm buildings, tools and machinery. The boys build excellent poultry-houses, chicken-coops, nesting-boxes, bee-hives, gates, etc., undertaking all the necessary ironwork (except locksmith's work) as well as the woodwork. In School B, the handicraft room is open at all times, when not occupied by a class, to the Farm School pupils, who in their spare time both make and repair appliances for use in the poultry-yard and apiary.

In some of the smaller rural schools the workshops are too small to accommodate all the boys from one form at the same time. Reference to Full Inspection reports shows that where this is the case the difficulties of organisation sometimes lead to considerable curtailment of the handicraft courses.

(c) *Laboratory Work.*—The possession of a well-equipped laboratory is one of the main features (in the minds of the pupils at least), which differentiates the secondary school from the elementary. All the rural schools under review have at least one laboratory, and in several there are two, one for Chemistry and the other for Physics. The School A, already referred to, has three laboratories: (1) Physical and Engineering; (2) Biological and Agricultural; (3) Chemical. In some of the smaller schools, where a single laboratory must serve all purposes, it is customary to use one of the green-houses (with or without artificial heating) for experiments in Botany and Entomology, which need time for their completion, and in other cases, again, experiments in mechanics are carried out in the workshop. The courses in Agricultural Science have already been referred to in describing the curricula of various types of schools. Generally, it may be said, that in most of the schools a useful "rural bias" is given to the experimental work in both Botany and Chemistry, and the problems encountered in the fields, gardens or dairy are brought for solution to the laboratory, which thus serves as the link connecting the various branches of natural science.

21. *Mathematics and Geography in connection with Rural Work.*—While there does not appear to be any school which has a definite course of rural arithmetic and mathematics,

many of them introduce into the ordinary mathematical course a good deal of instruction in practical mensuration, graphic records of the weather and simple book-keeping which has a definite application to farmwork.

(a) *Surveying*.—Several schools are well equipped with instruments for land surveying, including in most cases a Gunter's chain and tape, measuring staff, cross-head, theodolite, dumpy level and field books. The boys are also taught to use simple home-made apparatus, such as is within the reach of the farmer or small-holder who requires to take levels for a drain or to measure up a field.

At least three schools give their boys some actual practice in measuring and estimating the contents and values of hayricks, Dutch barns, manure heaps, clamps of turnips or mangels, round and squared timber, etc.

(b) *Weather Observations and Records*.—Practically all the schools keep records of weather observations, more or less complete, according to the adequacy of the school's meteorological equipment. Most schools have a climatological station in the school grounds, equipped with maximum and minimum, wet and dry bulb and soil thermometers and a rain-gauge. There is usually a barometer in every school and sometimes a barograph. Periodic averages of air pressure, temperature and rainfall are worked out and published in graphic form in the classrooms, and a permanent record is kept for future reference. One or two schools publish a daily forecast of the weather, and a good deal of interest, and occasionally some amusement, results when the forecast is compared with the actual weather experienced. This work is often in the hands of the Geography teacher.

(c) *Accounts*.—Several schools include a course of simple book-keeping in the agricultural course. The boys are taught how to make out a profit and loss account, prepare a balance sheet, close an account, draw and endorse a cheque, etc.

22 *The Instruction of Girls in Rural Secondary Schools*.—In mixed "rural bias" schools the work of the girls is

necessarily somewhat less definitely rural than that of the boys, and their general curriculum approximates more nearly to that of the ordinary "unbiased" secondary school.

The Science subject most often taken by girls is, of course, botany, but in two or three cases the girls in a mixed school take the same course of chemistry and biology as the boys up to Form V, the course being so planned that it gives a suitable preparatory training both for the more advanced work of the boys in these subjects, and also for the girls' senior course of domestic science. Occasionally in mixed schools instruction in practical Dairying (including butter-making and cheese-making) is given to both boys and girls, or to girls only in connection with their domestic science course.

Two schools are known to be making arrangements to include a course of instruction in the practical management of bees and poultry in the girls' domestic course.

It is interesting to find that at one large secondary school for girls in London practical horticulture and botany are taught successfully. The school has two laboratories for botany, and a special study is made of the physiology and morphology of both wild and cultivated plants. In the Botany Garden a wide variety of plant associations has been set up for the study of plants growing under natural conditions. The work is very highly developed and worthy of special comment.

23. *Growth of "Rural Bias" Schools.*—Of late years there has been little increase in the number of "rural bias" secondary schools in this country. It is interesting, therefore, to read in a recent Full Inspection report of a country Secondary School:—

"Since the last inspection the scheme of science instruction has been modified considerably with a view to providing more definitely for the needs of an agricultural district. The main work is in the hands of a London Science Graduate in Agriculture, trained at the South-Eastern Agricultural College. He is a good teacher, and he has developed an interesting and valuable course of instruction in Botany and Chemistry as bearing on farm work. A piece of garden near the school has been rented and this is cultivated by the boys. It is chiefly under garden crops, but there are also some small experimental plots.

"There is a somewhat serious difficulty with regard to the course as at present arranged, in that the London University does not accept for matriculation the subject of Agricultural Science in the Oxford School Certificate, and consequently no boy can get exemption on this examination in Form V, and if he wishes to matriculate he must take another year's special work in chemistry or botany to qualify."

A second example of the comparatively recent development of some definite interest in rural work is found in a Mixed Secondary School opened in 1921. Here the Head Teacher found himself with an acre and a half of rough land, partly covered with builder's rubbish, adjoining the new school buildings. He had also on his staff an assistant master with a B.Sc. degree and a Diploma in Agriculture.

The opportunity was too obvious to be missed, and room was found in the curriculum for instruction in practical gardening. The ground was levelled, as far as possible, and a portion of it set out in 70 plots, about 22 ft. by 12 ft., which were placed under the charge of as many boys and girls. The first year's cultivation entailed much hard work, but was very successful, and it has since been further developed. In the workshops the boys make many articles of use to farmers and gardeners, e.g. milking stools, wheelbarrows, ferret hutches and even a five-barred gate, while repairs to reaping and mowing machines and other machinery are done at the school.

Generally, it may be said that there are substantial grounds for anticipating an advance. Not so long ago many of the Secondary Schools in country districts were engaged in a struggle for bare existence. These schools, as a whole, are now far stronger. A steadily increasing interest is being taken by all concerned in problems affecting curriculum and methods of teaching. There is a greater readiness to discuss the desirability of departures from the normal and traditional curriculum. In this connection it is relevant to note that the Short Course for Teachers in Rural Secondary Schools, organised by the Board at Cambridge in July last, was attended by a number of Head and Assistant Masters of Secondary Schools in counties where there is at present no "rural bias" school. More than one Authority is known to be seriously considering the provision of a definitely rural curriculum in one or more schools in their area. It may be anticipated that there will be a steadily increasing demand for a curriculum which, while affording a specially valuable training for boys and girls who propose to take up occupations associated in one way or

another with the cultivation of the soil and the production of food, will yet provide as good a training as the traditional curriculum for pupils who are looking forward to entering other walks of life.

IV. EVENING SCHOOLS AND CLASSES AND OTHER FORMS OF PART-TIME INSTRUCTION.

24. *Evening Continuation Schools.*—During the last ten years there has been a great and disturbing decrease in the number of rural evening schools of the continuation type. A survey made for the school year 1922–23 showed a decrease of 73 per cent. on the number for 1913–14. The decline is due to a number of causes too complex to permit of analysis in this memorandum. It has affected the provision of schools most severely in the purely agricultural districts, and it is now rare to find an evening continuation school in which the majority of students are land workers. Since 1922–23 there has been little change in the number of rural evening schools attended by adolescents, though in many areas there has been a considerable increase in the number of classes attended by adults.

Almost all rural continuation schools in the pre-war period attempted to give some rural bias to their work. In many this was confined to working suitable examples in arithmetic, and writing letters on matters of rural interest. Courses were also provided in rural science usually with experiments and demonstrations by the teacher, in rural woodwork and basketry, in the principles of horticulture and in poultry-keeping and bee-keeping. In a few areas practical gardening was taught, but, on the whole, this has not been a favourite subject with boys who have done a day's work on the land before coming to school.

Practically all the successful schools—that is to say, those which continued each session over a long period and had a real influence in their districts—were in the charge of men with an understanding of rural conditions and ability to arouse interest in them by means of free illustration of their lessons with familiar examples. They were more frequent in districts with small farms or market gardens

and allotments, where the tendency is to develop an industrious, thrifty and independent population, eager to seize opportunities for advancement. Examples of such schools attended mainly by land workers, which have been successfully conducted over a period of twenty years or more and are yet in operation, are to be found in certain parts of the country. The main obstacles to an increase in the number of these schools in areas where agricultural conditions are favourable are the scarcity of suitable teachers and the lack of accommodation for practical work.

There are some successful classes conducted by persons who are not otherwise engaged in teaching, but have capacity for the work and undertake it mainly from a desire for social service. These classes are usually of a cultural and non-continuation character. In one such case classes were started in 1912 by the present teacher, and since then have been conducted each winter. Students are of both sexes and from 16 years of age upwards. Literature, history and the drama have been the main subjects of the courses. Shakespeare's works have naturally been dealt with most often, but other plays, including several modern ones, have been studied; and interest has been added to the work by a local public performance of one of the plays at the end of the session.

An experiment was tried in Nottinghamshire in the school year 1924-25, by associating a member of the County Horticultural Staff with the work of a rural evening school. The literary work of the school was taught by the day school teacher, and most of the mathematical work was done under his supervision. But for one evening in alternate weeks, the Horticultural Instructor attended and gave a course in rural science, in which the students themselves carried out many of the experiments. Soils, manures and plant life were dealt with, and much of the mathematics was associated with this work. It is hoped that this class may prepare the way for a course to be given later by the County Agricultural Staff.

An unusual and interesting type of school is conducted in a small Cambridgeshire village. It has been in existence since 1887, and has been a grant-earning school since 1901.

Throughout the period the subject of instruction has been metal-work. The members of the class, who numbered 17 last session, are all working men, and include farm and garden labourers and practically all types of rural workers, together with a few mill hands. As a result of the class, a metal-work centre has been established as a self-supporting concern, where both the teacher and students do their own craft work outside class hours. The standard of craftsmanship at the school is very high, and the work which is done may be said to constitute a local part-time industry.

25. Tuition in Remote Districts.—An interesting scheme has been prepared by the Norfolk Education Authority for the purpose of continuing the general education of boys and girls who are candidates for Ministry of Agriculture Class III Scholarships, and who live at too great a distance from evening schools for them to attend. These young people are to receive private tuition, and have their studies supervised by local teachers, who will be paid up to £4 per student. The scheme has only recently been adopted, and its results are not yet known.

26. Adult Education.—While evening continuation schools have unfortunately declined in numbers, other types of educational work, which appeal mainly to adults, have considerably developed during the past five or six years. The adult education movement, which has made rapid progress and now attained large dimensions in urban and industrial areas, is here and there establishing itself in rural districts. Courses are being conducted in connection with University Tutorial Class Joint Committees and the Workers' Educational Association in some small market towns and larger villages. Amongst other bodies also engaged in the work are the Women's Institutes, Adult Schools, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Arts League of Service, English Folk Dance Society and the Village Concerts Organisation. Rural Community Councils have now been formed in ten counties and others are in prospect. These have as their main object to bring into closer contact the various agencies which operate for the improvement of village life. One of their main

activities is educational work. This in the early stages has taken the form mainly of single lectures of a pioneer character on literature, local history, music, and similar subjects. Much enquiry and many experiments are being made, gradually short courses of lectures and class lessons are being introduced, and the way is thus prepared for more substantial educational work. The development of musical and dramatic appreciation is encouraged by means of concerts and plays, which it is hoped will lead to the formation of village choral and dramatic societies. Already the work has achieved a considerable measure of success; it gives promise of much influence in aiding the spread of culture in the life of the countryside.

One of the most serious obstacles to the development of adult education in rural areas is the difficulty and expense of providing suitable teachers for the small number of students in remote districts who desire to study a particular subject. Many educational lectures are now "broadcast," but up to the present these have been mainly of the popular type, intended to interest rather than to aid in the serious and continuous study of a subject. It is not yet evident whether wireless telephony will play an important part in the development of rural adult education.

Rural adult education is yet in its infancy, but is growing vigorously. It is desirable that the movement should be in no sense narrow, but should aim at making country life more attractive by offering opportunities for general culture, rather than at giving instruction in subjects connected with rural occupations, though it may help in the spread of rural technical education.

27. *Women's Institute Courses*.*—There has been a steady increase in the educational activities of the Women's Institutes, which now number some 3,300. Though the movement began as a means to increase production during the war, it has now taken on a distinctly educational character, and this is furthered by the activities of the County Federations of Women's Institutes, which usually make arrangements for classes.

*A report on the educational work of these Institutes will be issued shortly by the Board.

The work covers a long list of subjects in which Institute members are interested. Lectures are provided in history, literature, drama, public health, local government, folk-lore, music, and a variety of crafts. Single lectures and demonstrations on these subjects have led to grant-aided courses being asked for in a large number of villages, and these courses are rarely discontinued for lack of support. Most of the subjects chosen, however, are crafts; these appeal to the village woman on account of their practical character. It has not been easy as yet to organise courses in the more academic subjects.

A good deal is done in many counties to promote the study of music and collective singing. "Schools" are held for training leaders of Village Singing and Folk Dancing classes. Singing is becoming a feature of many of the Institutes' "Monthly meetings," and steps are being taken to revive interest in traditional songs and dances of the nation and to promote a good standard of performance. Village "Melody" and "Song" Clubs have been started in some parts of the country, and one county has formed a "Musical Association," which includes the whole county except the towns.

The educational work of the Institutes is aided in a variety of ways by the Local Education Authorities, some of whom show a lively interest in the work, which is greatly appreciated by the Institutes. The more progressive Authorities supply instruction in the chosen subjects free of charge, others give the instructor's services and travelling expenses or supply the instructor only. Very good results are seen where a suitable teacher is placed in charge of all the Women's Institute classes in the county. She is usually co-opted as a member of the County Federation, and is thus able to give further advice and help.

The supply of teachers is a great difficulty, and to meet it the Handicraft Committee of the National Federation of Women's Institutes has organised a scheme for training teachers of crafts by means of the "Guild of Learners." Courses are organised for countrywomen who are willing to learn and then to teach the craft in their respective counties.

The scheme to supply this dearth of teachers is developing usefully, and as experience and a fuller knowledge of the requirements of teachers are gained it should go a long way towards the fulfilment of its aim. Already some successful classes have been held by teachers who have obtained the proficiency certificates of the " Guild of Learners."

A certain amount of educational work for juveniles is being done by the Institutes through their " Junior Groups " and the " Girl Guide " Corps, but the volume of this work is small. The Institutes exist primarily for women, while in a single village there are often too few girls over day school age to form a class.

28. *Rural Libraries.*—Any review of progress in rural education would be incomplete without a reference to the provision of rural libraries. As a consequence of their isolation, rural people are much more dependent upon books for their intellectual pleasures than those who live in towns, though in the past they have made less use of them. In recent years, more particularly since 1920, much progress has been made in the provision of rural libraries. County Authorities, with only a few exceptions, have adopted the Public Libraries Acts, and with the aid of grants from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust have established rural libraries. Boxes of books are supplied to local centres at intervals of a few months. Various developments have already taken place, and in some areas local permanent collections of standard books have now been formed in the more populous villages and the small towns; these are in addition to the periodic supplies from the central libraries. One or two English counties have recently adopted the plan of transporting the books in specially equipped vans, and local librarians are thus able to select their supplies from the stock of books displayed on the shelves. There is evidence that the supply of books and of good literature provided by means of the libraries is much appreciated.

By means of an arrangement with the Central Library for Students, county libraries are able to supply text-books and books of reference for which there is only a limited demand.

This has already proved a great boon to many students, as they are able to secure at a few days' notice and free of cost, almost any book they may require in connection with their studies; it will no doubt be utilised to a greater extent as it becomes more widely known.*

V. CORRELATION WITH TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE.

29. *Desirability of Co-ordination.*—It is very desirable that there should be complete mutual understanding and co-ordination amongst the various bodies engaged in the work of rural education—the Agricultural Department of the University or the Agricultural College, the Farm Institute, the County Agricultural Education Staff, the Rural Secondary School, and the Rural Elementary School. The Farm Institutes, for example, which have now been established in several counties, have facilities and equipment for agricultural and horticultural education far in advance of any that could be provided in the ordinary rural secondary, central or evening continuation school, a fact which may lead to considerable modifications in the curricula of certain "rural bias" schools, which will no longer need to make provision for training in practical agriculture which can be better undertaken by the Farm Institute.

In some cases school teachers make periodical visits to the local Farm School, while frequently the County Horticultural Instructor supervises the school gardens and conducts gardening classes for teachers. By these means teachers learn something of what is being done in the way of rural education outside their own particular sphere, and correlation and co-operation are favoured.

In maintaining close connection between the University Department or the College and the County Staffs much is accomplished by means of periodical provincial conferences between the authorities of the University Department or

* Recent developments in regard to rural libraries are described in the Annual Reports of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, for 1920 onwards.

Agricultural College and the Agricultural Education Staffs of the counties within the province. Co-ordination between agricultural education and general education within a county is, or ought to be, secured in most counties by the fact that the Education Committee is also the authority for agricultural education. In counties where agricultural education has been transferred to the Agricultural Committee the proper co-ordination is obtained by the arrangement under which a proportion of the members of any sub-committee dealing with agricultural education must be members of the Education Committee.

VI. TRAINING COLLEGES.

30. *Courses of Instruction.*—A definite attempt has been made during recent years to ensure that an increased number of teachers leaving Training Colleges should have a good knowledge of one of the branches of biology. Reference has already been made in Section 5 to the increase in the number of elementary schools making provision for instruction in gardening; there was need for some elementary scientific knowledge on the part of the teacher if the gardening was to produce reasonable educational effect. As a consequence of these movements, interest in suitable training has been generally aroused in the Training Colleges. The number of courses in biology has been materially increased during the last two years, and it will be noted later on that a considerable number of students undertake with success courses of this character.

The following courses are provided in biology, gardening and related subjects at Training Colleges in England and Wales. The numbers indicate the number of institutions at which the specified courses are held.

University and University College Training Departments.—
Biology (4), Gardening (1), Course for B.Sc. in Agriculture (1).

One University College offers Botany, Zoology and Geology. Several University Training Departments have students taking courses in Botany and Biology.

Local Education Authorities' Training Colleges.—Biology and Gardening (5), Biology and Nature Study (2), Biology and Botany (1), Biology (7), Botany (2), Nature Study (1), Nature Study and Botany (1), Gardening (1).

Voluntary Training Colleges.—Gardening (7), Biology (13), Biology and Gardening (6), Botany (5), Botany and Biology (3), Botany and Zoology (1), Nature Study (2), Botany and Gardening (1).

In one Women's College in recent years a Course in Bee-keeping has been conducted, and at a Men's College a Course in Poultry Husbandry. Perhaps it should be stated that it is not fair to assume that all these teachers go into rural schools; on the other hand, it is true to say that the great majority make reasonable use of their special training.

A number of the Training Colleges (12) now provide instruction in advanced handicraft, so that any man who desires to specialise in this subject, as other men do in, say, history or mathematics, can take it as one of the subjects of his Training College curriculum. If he pursues the course successfully, he becomes qualified to teach handicraft either as a specialist in a centre or to the boys in his own school.

The handicraft training of a college is influenced by its situation. Thus at a London Training College, which lies in the centre of the furniture-making trades, the tendency has been for the interest of students to become directed towards the making of simple pieces of domestic furniture. Another Training College with a strong rural bias has devoted its attention to making articles that are likely to be of use in connection with gardening and poultry-keeping.

The twelve Training Colleges of Domestic Subjects in England and Wales give a two years' training in domestic subjects with allied science and training in teaching: many of these colleges offer also third-year courses in either cookery, needlework or applied science. In addition, a few of the Training Colleges for elementary teachers provide an optional

course in housecraft, consisting of 200 hours' work, which is intended to help a teacher to some understanding of the teaching of domestic subjects given to the girls of her school, and to make it possible for her to teach the subject if she takes an appointment where there is no specialist teacher.

All the Training Colleges of Domestic Subjects are situated in towns, and consequently are more urban in character than they would be if located in an agricultural district. For this reason a proposal is now under consideration for the recognition of a third-year course to be conducted under rural conditions and with a rural curriculum.

31. *Students and Examinations.*—Some Training College students take University or other examinations alternative to the Board's Final Examination. In University Training Departments they follow degree courses, and there are some students who read for degrees in other Training Colleges also. As to the number of degree course students who include Biology, complete figures are not available, but it appears likely that in 1925 100 teacher-students took University Courses in one or other branch of Biology. So far as the Board's Examination is concerned in 1924—

106 Candidates took <i>Advanced</i> Courses in Botany.				
216	"	"	"	Biology.
261	"	"	"	Gardening.
15	"	"	"	Zoology.
7	"	"	"	Geology.
187	"	"	"	Handicraft.

In addition to these, more than 1,400 took Elementary Science Courses, and it is fair to say that considerably more than one-half of these courses contained either Gardening, or Botany or other form of elementary Biology.

The examinations of the Froebel Institute are taken by many teachers of infants and juniors. These include as alternatives Botany and Gardening, Zoology, and Nature Study (including bee-keeping).

VII. COURSES FOR TEACHERS.

32. *Nature of the Courses.*—Many teachers are keen to extend their knowledge by the study of new subjects; others desire to keep themselves up to date as to modern developments in regard to either the subjects they teach or the methods of teaching them. To meet the needs of these teachers, instruction is arranged by the Board of Education, Local Education Authorities and various Institutions and Associations interested in education. The instruction is given, either in part-time courses extending over long periods and usually with weekly meetings, or in continuous courses extending over not more than two or three weeks. Most of the latter are held in vacations. The following are the courses held by the Board in 1924; most of these courses are held annually:—

Board of Education Courses for Teachers in Rural Elementary Schools.

Place.	Course.	Number of teachers who attended.
Oxford.	Two weeks' Course in English..	.. 56
"	" " History	.. 55
"	" " Geography	.. 53
"	" " Mathematics	.. 20
Cambridge.	" " Rural Science	.. 55

These courses were repeated in 1925, when the following were added:—

Oxford.	Two weeks' Course in Music;	
and for Teachers in Rural Secondary Schools—		}
Kew Gardens—	Two weeks' Course in Botany.	
Agricultural Department,	Cambridge University—	
	" Rural Science.	At each of these Courses about 40 teachers attended.

33. *Other Rural Courses.*—A few of the following courses were not specifically rural, neither were they attended exclusively by rural teachers, but, as they included such subjects as

Practical Geography with use of surveying instruments, Regional Survey Work, and Mammal Work, and were attended, in part at any rate, by country teachers, they have been entered on the list. They are marked with a *.

County.	Place.	Course.
Cumberland ..	Newton Rigg Farm School, Penrith.	Two weeks' residential course in Horticulture, held in July.
Yorkshire, N. Riding.	Scarborough — Educational Handwork Association.	Four weeks' course in (1) Nature Study, (2) Handwork in July and August 1924.
*Yorkshire, N. Riding.	Whitby — Yorkshire Summer School of Geography.	Two weeks' courses in (1) Vegetation and Agriculture of Yorkshire, (2) Surveying, (3) Meteorology.
*Yorkshire, E. Riding.	Hull	Twenty-four weekly evening lessons in Nature Study.
Lancashire ..	Hutton—County Agricultural Station.	Twenty-seven Saturday morning meetings in Gardening and Simple Experiments.
Cheshire ..	Roseheath School of Agriculture.	Two weeks' course in Bee-keeping, Poultry-keeping, Rural Science and Surveying.
Shropshire ..	Shrewsbury County School for Girls.	Eighteen Saturday morning meetings in Fruit Culture.
Shropshire ..	Shrewsbury	Eight months' course of Saturday morning meetings in Vegetable Culture.
Northants ..	Dallington, School of Domestic Economy.	Twelve monthly Saturday morning meetings in Gardening.
*Derbyshire ..	Derby Training College	Two weeks' course in (1) Handwork, (2) Apparatus for teaching Gardening.

County.	Place.	Course.
Nottinghamshire	Nottingham, Shire Hall	Eighteen Saturday morning meetings, held in alternate weeks, in Gardening.
Oxfordshire ..	Oxford, Central Girls' School.	Twenty-four Saturday morning meetings in Gardening.
Essex	Halstead Council School	Ten Saturday morning meetings, distributed throughout the year, in Practice of Horticulture.
Essex	Chelmsford, East Anglian Institute of Agriculture.	Twelve Saturday morning meetings in Horticulture.
Essex	Saffron Walden ..	Five Saturday morning meetings, distributed throughout the year, in Horticulture.
*Cambridgeshire	Cambridge and County School for Girls.	Fourteen Saturday morning meetings in Local History and Regional Survey.
Hertfordshire ..	Oakland, Agricultural Institute.	Ten Saturday morning meetings in Horticulture.
Kent	Stockbury, Upland Association Summer School.	Two weeks' course in Gardening; not limited to teachers.
Kent	Ashford Technical Institute.	Four Saturday morning meetings in Fruit-growing.
*Folkestone ..	—	Four weeks' residential course in Natural History and related Science.

The courses organised by the Board of Education or by educational associations are available for teachers from all parts of England. Those organised by Local Education Authorities are usually available only for teachers from the Authorities' own areas. Some Authorities which themselves

make no provision award a number of scholarships to enable teachers to attend full-time vacation courses outside their areas.

A few Education Authorities (Nottinghamshire and Hertfordshire are examples) arrange for an annual visit to be paid by rural elementary teachers to the local agricultural college or farm institute, thus fostering co-operation between the schools and the higher institutions.

34. *Occasional Courses in Domestic Subjects.*—Short courses in Domestic Subjects have been conducted at intervals, both by the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities. With a view to helping rural teachers, the Board organised in 1919 and again in 1920 a month's intensive course, which was held at the Research Station of the Bristol University at Chipping Campden, in fruit bottling and preservation. The normal ten days' courses of training provided at the station throughout the summer and autumn are also suitable for teachers. They include lectures and practical work in the preservation of fruit by bottling, canning, drying, crystallising and jam and jelly making; brining, pickling, sauce and chutney making are also taught.

VIII. THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES OF TEACHERS IN RURAL PURSUITS AND ORGANISATIONS.

35. *General Considerations.*—The information which it is possible to furnish under this head, while necessarily incomplete, is sufficient to make it clear that teachers are voluntarily taking an active part in organisations which have for their object the advancement of scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as in those social activities which tend to make life in village communities more interesting and more wholesome; while even in large towns they are assisting in such enterprises as Allotment Associations, Floral and Horticultural Societies, National Savings Associations and the like, which since the war have become recognised institutions in most of the manufacturing and market towns of this country.

36. *Teachers' Work in Town Organisations which are concerned with the Cultivation of Land or the Care of Live Stock.*—In London, and other large cities, teachers who are expert gardeners frequently give courses of lectures and demonstrations to Allotment Associations. London provides interesting examples of teachers who are largely responsible for the establishment and subsequent organisation of Allotment Associations, Utility Poultry Societies and Bee-keeping Associations. The secretary, assistant secretary and treasurer of the Tottenham Allotments Association, for example, are all teachers, as is also the secretary of the Committee which manages the Tottenham District Council's allotments scheme. Another teacher in Hornsey Borough is secretary of the Muswell Hill Allotments Association, while at Enfield a Head Teacher is the founder and secretary of the Enfield Utility Poultry Association.

37. *In the Counties—Secondary and Elementary School Teachers in Rural Areas.*—Before proceeding to deal with the out-of-school work of rural teachers, two points of general interest are worth passing notice :—

(1) Many people who are interested in rural education are of opinion that the displacement of *men* Head Teachers by *women* is likely to diminish the amount of interest which elementary school teachers as a body are taking in agricultural affairs.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the substitution of a woman for a man Head Teacher may be of distinct benefit to the Women's Institute or other women's organisations in the village, and it may well happen that the loss in one direction is balanced by the gain in another.

(2) The non-resident village teacher is a modern development, due in part to the housing shortage, in part to the difficulty which young women teachers find in securing suitable lodgings in the villages, and in part to the increasing efficiency of the motor-bus services. Such non-resident teachers cannot know the parents of the children, and they can take little, if any, part in the social or industrial life of the village.

38. *The Work of Rural Secondary School Teachers.*—The Head and Assistant teachers of rural secondary schools find many opportunities for service in the cause of agricultural education. Space will not allow of reference to more than a few typical examples of their work:—

(a) The Head Teacher of a Cumberland school organises courses of lectures for farmers in his district. The programme arranged for the winter session of 1925 sets out a course of lectures by eminent agricultural scientists. He is the chairman of the local Allotments Association, and he acts as consultant adviser to farmers on the improvement of local grass lands. He also hopes shortly to organise a Young Farmers' Club on the lines suggested by the Ministry of Agriculture in their recent leaflet. At this school the senior assistant mistress is secretary of the Women's Institute and other members of the staff are engaged in similar work.

(b) At another rural Secondary School in Cumberland the Head Teacher is the secretary of the Committee for Further Education and organises the technical and other classes in his district for the Education Authority. He is a First-class Expert of the British Bee-keepers' Association, and gratuitously undertakes the examination of bees for members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Bee-keepers' Association. The science master lectures on Agricultural Science in neighbouring villages, the assistant mistresses and the domestic science mistress take part in the organisation and work of the Village Institutes and Girls' Clubs.

(c) In the South-Western Districts all the Head Teachers of the five Rural Secondary Schools are members of the National Farmers' Union, and take an active part in all the local associations for the improvement of agriculture and horticulture. They conduct experiments on the school farms, which are open to the inspection of local agriculturists, and publish the results for general information.

One Head Teacher is a co-opted member of the County Agricultural Education Committee, chairman of the local Horticultural Society, and a member of the Overseas Training Committee of the British Association; he represents the Science Masters' Association on the Committee of the Rothamsted Research Station, and supervises the Trials which are organised by the station in various centres in Wiltshire. This year he helped to organise and lectured at the Board of Education's Course in Rural Science for secondary school teachers at Cambridge.

Another Head Teacher is chairman of the local Egg-collecting Society, which last year collected from farmers and small-holders within a ten-mile radius 75,000 dozen eggs. He is also a member of the Town Council Committee which controls the allotment gardens.

39. *The Work of Rural Elementary School Teachers.*—The following notes are based on information supplied by County Council Horticultural Advisers, Superintendent Organisers of School Gardening, officials of the Rural Development Committees of County Councils and the Secretaries of Federations of Village and Women's Institutes, etc. These reports show that rural teachers are taking an active part in the development of village life, and that many enterprises are dependent to a considerable extent on the teachers for the necessary organisation and secretarial work.

It is only possible to include in this memorandum a few typical examples of the work done by the village teachers. These will serve, however, to give some indication of the extent of their activities :—

(1) In Norfolk villages teachers are taking a prominent part in all the movements which make for the betterment of village life. It happens that the large majority of the Head Teachers in these villages are men. Norfolk teachers are also actively engaged in organising Nursing and Hospital work, Games and Athletic Meetings and Musical Societies; while, in all the Carnegie Library centres already established, except two, the Head Teacher is the local librarian. One of the prominent promoters of the " Norfolk Farm and Garden Producers' Association " is the Head Teacher of a village school.

(2) In the North Riding of Yorkshire more than 100 teachers in rural schools are acting as the local agents for the Exhibitions which are promoted by the Rural Developments Committee. More than 50 other teachers are interested (usually they are presidents or secretaries) in Agricultural and Horticultural Societies and Shows, Village Institutes and Musical and Choral Societies. Three others are important promoters of Dale Athletic Associations and three Head Teachers of village schools are Local Organising Secretaries for the Lecture and Demonstration Courses of the Yorkshire Agricultural Council. Several teachers are local " Advisers " on Bee-keeping, Poultry-keeping and Horticulture, and one is the secretary of a Farmers' Co-operative Supply Association. Several schools in remote areas are the weather record stations for the Royal Meteorological Society and the Royal Air Force.

(3) In Gloucestershire about 50 teachers are acting as chairmen or secretaries of Allotment Associations, Horticultural Societies and Shows, village Pig and Poultry Clubs and Bee-keeping Associations.

(4) In Staffordshire, the horticultural instructor has compiled a list of 57 teachers who have acted as local secretaries for lectures and demonstrations in various rural subjects. He says : " The teachers in

this county are almost invariably willing to assist in any rural educational enterprise started in their districts, which include Agricultural Science, Fruit Culture, Dairying, Veterinary Science, Poultry-keeping, Bee-keeping, etc." The County Secretary of Women's Institutes also sends the names and addresses of 13 women teachers who are actively assisting in her work in the villages. There are 220 Head Teachers who are the local librarians under the Public Libraries Act, and possibly an equal number who are secretaries of National Savings Associations. One Head Teacher is the secretary of a Farmers' Co-operative Purchase Association, which buys seeds, manures, etc., in bulk for distribution among neighbouring farmers and gardeners.

(5) In a south-western county two of the largest Milk Recording Societies have the Head Teachers of village schools for their secretaries.

(6) In Cornwall a Land Settlement Committee was formed after the war in each of the nine administrative educational sub-districts, for the purpose of settling ex-service men on small-holdings. With one exception the honorary secretaries of the sub-district committees were elementary schoolmasters. At the present time teachers in rural schools are assisting the County Superintendent of Horticulture in the compilation of a Cornwall Growers' Directory, which he is preparing for the Agricultural Education Sub-Committee.

(7) In Northamptonshire over 20 teachers are secretaries of Horticultural Societies. One Head Teacher is the secretary of the Horticultural Society and president of the village Pig Club. He is a well-known expert on the management of farm live stock and has often read papers before the local branch of the National Farmers' Union. Another has rented land and organised an allotments association on a self-supporting basis for a large village.

A considerable amount of interesting information has been sent from other counties—from Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Cheshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Essex, Berkshire and Bedfordshire, but the examples given may be sufficient to indicate the work which is being done in the country districts by teachers in their spare time. Such work is, moreover, not confined to purely village organisations. For instance, the secretaries of at least two County Bee-keepers' Associations (Lincolnshire (Lindsey) and Worcestershire) are elementary schoolmasters, and another expert bee-keeper in Derbyshire is in request as a judge of honey and bee appliances at County Agricultural Shows, and several of his talks on bees have been broadcast from the Birmingham B.B.C. Station. In Worcestershire the Head Teacher of a village school is a prominent director of a large "Asparagus Society," which covers a very wide

marketing area, and in Suffolk the founder and chief organiser of the Framlingham Egg Co-operative Society, Ltd., was the Head Teacher of the local school.

APPENDIX.

Circular 1366.

28th May, 1925.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,

WHITEHALL,

LONDON, S.W.1

RURAL EDUCATION.

1. The Board have on previous occasions made it clear to Local Education Authorities by means of Circulars, Pamphlets, Memoranda, etc., that they consider it of great importance that the teaching in rural schools should be associated closely with the environment of the children; and much has been done in this direction in the course of the last fifteen or twenty years, especially through the development of instruction in Gardening and other forms of practical work. But for various reasons it appears desirable at the present time to emphasise afresh the principle that the education given in rural schools should be intimately related to rural conditions of life.

2. The present is a particularly critical time for rural education. Under the Education Act of 1921 developments have already taken place and schemes are being prepared which are likely to have a permanent influence on its organisation and character in many areas. Many of these developments have as their aim the establishment in relatively urban centres of Central Schools drawing the bulk of their pupils from the surrounding villages, and in such cases it will be possible for a progressive course of advanced instruction, extending over a full three years, to be arranged for the older scholars. The lines on which such courses of instruction are devised appear to the Board a matter of particular importance.

3. The Board do not suggest that rural elementary schools should teach "Agriculture" or attempt to give a vocational training. Like other schools they should give a general education based upon environment. Liking and aptitude for practical rural work are dependent on early experience, and an education which tends to debar children from gaining such experience has a definitely anti-rural bias and is liable to divert them from rural occupations. It would be a misfortune if the bringing of country children into the towns for their schooling should involve any such result.

4. The Board recognise that the question of the scope and content of the advanced instruction most suitable for country children has not yet been fully explored, and it appears to them to offer a very fruitful field for experiment. The following are some of the main points to which they think attention might well be directed :—

(a) *Qualifications of teachers.*—It is important that the teachers selected for responsible posts in country schools should be both by training and outlook specially qualified for their work. An increasing number of Training College students are now being attracted to the study of Gardening, Rural Science and General Biology, and it is reasonable to hope that a fair proportion of these will find their way into country schools. But for a large number of rural teachers special training will undoubtedly be needed, and it is very desirable that Local Education Authorities should organise special courses and classes for them. Hitherto very little use has been made for Teachers' Courses of the expert staffs and the equipment at the Agricultural Colleges and Farm Institutes, and it is no doubt true that their staffs are often barely sufficient to carry on their agricultural classes for their own students and their important advisory work. But great gain would result from their being brought into closer connection with the elementary school teachers. It might also be possible to utilise the Science Teachers and Laboratories at Secondary Schools for Evening and Saturday classes for elementary school teachers, many of whom are unable to carry their work in Rural Science as far as it should go because they lack the necessary foundation work in Elementary Physics and Chemistry.

(b) *Science.*—It should be possible for the country child to learn something of the fundamental principles of mechanics, to make some study of air, water, heat and light with a view to understanding the processes of plant and animal life, and to apply simple tests in the examination of soils. Simple geological teaching should be given, if possible. A certain amount of bought apparatus is essential. Natural History, which has frequently been restricted to the study of isolated phenomena, should be taught in accordance with a connected and progressive scheme. School Natural History Societies, and means of providing a definite object for the work, such as the Bird and Tree Essay Competition Scheme organised by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds should be encouraged.

- (c) *Manual Training*.—The arrangements in different areas will necessarily vary widely. If a properly equipped Centre is not available, at least a single bench and set of tools should be supplied, to be used by the older boys in their general handwork and in the making and repair of apparatus and things of rural utility. Instruction in Gardening should be provided, if possible, for all the older children, and training in Domestic Science should be given to the older girls.
- (d) *Keeping of Live Stock*.—Teachers interested in this matter are referred to the Board's Pamphlet on the Practical Management of Small Live Stock in connection with the Teaching of Rural Science in Elementary Schools. The formation of Young Farmers' Clubs is a valuable means for arousing children's interest in the keeping of live stock and of maintaining this interest after they have left school. Particulars about the working of these clubs can be obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture who are actively promoting and assisting their formation.
- (e) *Books*.—Schools should be provided with rural readers and text-books and with books of reference for teachers and scholars. The various magazines for Farmers, Market Gardeners and Allotment Holders might also be brought to the notice of the scholars. In certain areas the Rural Library Scheme has proved very helpful.

5. Detailed suggestions on practically all the above points may be found in the following publications of the Board :—

- (1) *Suggestions for the Teaching of Elementary Science, including Nature Study* (Circular 904). Price 1*d.*
- (2) *Suggestions for the Teaching of Handwork* (Circular 1292). Price 2*d.*
- (3) *Suggestions for the Teaching of Gardening* (Circular 1293). Price 2*d.*

(The above are included in the Board's " Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers in Public Elementary Schools." Price 9*d.*)

- (4) *The Practical Management of Small Live Stock in connection with the Teaching of Rural Science in Elementary Schools* (Educational Pamphlets, No. 38) ; 1922. Price 6*d.*

- (5) **The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough** (Educational Pamphlets, No. 29. Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. IV); 1915. Price 4d.
- (6) **A Rural Special Subjects Centre** (Educational Pamphlets, No. 35); 1915. Price 1d.
- (7) **Curricula of Ruralised Secondary Schools** (Circular 883); 1914. Price 2d.
- (8) **Suggestions on Rural Education** by T. S. Dymond, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools and Adviser to the Board of Education in Rural Education, together with some Specimen Courses of Nature Study, Gardening, and Rural Economy, for Schools and Classes of various grades and types; 1908. Price 3d.*
- (9) **The experiment in Rural Secondary Education at Welshpool County School for Boys**; 1920. Price 2s. 6d.

The above may be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from H.M. Stationery Office.

6. Attention is also directed to the following publications of the Ministry of Agriculture, 10, Whitehall Place, London, S.W.1 :—

- (1) **Collected Leaflets on Agriculture and Horticulture**, now published in a series of Sectional Volumes as follows :
- No. 1. **Fungus Pests of Fruit Trees.** Price 8d., post free.
- No. 2. **Insect Pests of Fruit Trees.** Price 10d., post free.
- No. 3. **Cultivation and Diseases of Potatoes.** Price 8d., post free.
- No. 4. **Fruit : Its Cultivation, Marketing and Preservation.** Price 1s. 6d., post free.
- No. 5. **Diseases of Animals.** Price 1s. 0d., post free.
- No. 6. **Weeds.** Price 8d., post free.
- No. 7. **Bee-keeping.** Price 6d., post free.
- No. 8. **Manures and Manuring.** Price 9d., post free.
- No. 9. **Dairying and Cheesemaking.** Price 9d., post free.
- No. 10. **Poultry, Rabbits, and Goats.** Price 1s. 0d., post free.
- Set of 10 Volumes. Price 7s. 6d., post free, if ordered direct from the Ministry.
- (2) **Handbook of British Breeds of Livestock.** Price 3s. 6d., post free.
- (3) **Beneficial Insects** (with 2 coloured plates). Price 4d., post free.
- (4) **Wasps** (with coloured plate). Price 4d., post free.

* This is now out of print. Copies were circulated on issue to all County Councils, and will no doubt be available for reference in many cases.

(5) Coloured Wall Diagrams of Insect and Fungus Pests, 30 ins. by 20 ins.

Apple Blossom Weevil	} unmounted, 3s. each.
Winter Moths	
Apple and Pear Scab	} mounted on rollers, 5s. each.
Silver Leaf	

Also to the following Stationery Office publication :—
Agricultural Research and the Farmer. Price 2s. 8d., post free,
from H.M. Stationery Office.

The following Educational Pamphlets, issued by the Board of Education,
have been placed on sale :—

- School Doctors in Germany.
By W. H. Dawson. (1908.) *Price 6d.*
- The Problem of Rural Schools and Teachers in North America.
By Ethel H. Spalding. (1908.) *Price 6d.*
- Report on Science Teaching in Public Schools represented on the
Association of Public School Science Masters.
By Oswald H. Latter. (1909.) *Price 4d.*
- Compulsory Continuation Schools in Germany.
By H. A. Clay. (1910.) *Price 9d.*
- The Course System in Evening Schools.
By H. T. Holmes. (1910.) *Price 3d.*
- Report on the Teaching of Latin at the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge.
(Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. i.) (1910.)
Price 6d. [Out of Print.]
- A School Week in the Country. Bradford, Grange Road Secondary
School, Girls' Department. (Educational Experiments in Secondary
Schools, No. ii.)
By Miss Mary A. Johnstone. (1910.) *Price 4d.*
- Syllabus of Mathematics for the Austrian Gymnasien.
Translated by E. A. Fries. (1910.) *Price 2d.*
- The Training of Women Teachers for Secondary Schools. A series of
Statements from Institutions concerned. (1912.) *Price 8d.*
- The Montessori System of Education.
By E. G. A. Holmes. (1912.) *Price 2d. [Out of Print.]*
- Report on Farm and Agricultural Schools and Colleges in France, Germany
and Belgium.
By R. B. Greig. (1912.) *Price 2d.*
- Education and Peasant Industry. Some State and State-aided Trade
Schools in Germany.
By Edith Edlmann. (1912.) *Price 5d.*
- The Playground Movement in America and its relation to Public Education.
By Walter Wood. (1913.) *Price 4d.*
- Report on the Teaching of Greek at the Perse School, Cambridge. (Educa-
tional Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iii.) (1914.) *Price 1s.*

- The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough.** (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iv.) (1915.) *Price 4d.*
- An Experiment in Industrial Research.** By Thomas Lloyd Humberstone. (1915.) *Price 4d.*
- The Admiralty Method of Training Dockyard Apprentices.** (1916.) *Price 1½d.*
- The Universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. A Handbook compiled by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire.** (1918.) *Price 9d.*
- Report on the Sheffield City Museums.**
By Sir F. C. Ogilvie, C.B. (1919.) *Price 6d.*
- Memoranda on Promotion in Elementary Schools in London.** (Elementary School Series, No. i.) (1919.) *Price 6d.* [Out of Print.]
- Some Experiments in the teaching of Science and Handwork in certain Elementary Schools in London.** (Elementary School Series, No. ii.) (1920.) *Price 1s.*
- The Teaching of History.** (1923.) *Price 6d.*
- The Practical Management of Small Live-Stock in connection with the teaching of Rural Science in Elementary Schools.** (Elementary School Series, No. iii.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- Notes on Camping.** (1923.) (Revised edition.) *Price 1s.*
- Print Script.** (Elementary School Series, No. iv.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- The Botany Gardens of the James Allen's Girls' School, Dulwich: Their History and Organization.** (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. v.) (1922.) *Price 2s.*
- Report on the Experimental Course in Music at the Mary Datchelor School, Camberwell.** (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. vi.) (1923.) *Price 4d.*
- Humanism in the Continuation School.** (1921.) *Price 1s. 6d.*
- Mental and Scholastic Tests among Retarded Children. An enquiry into the effects of Schooling on the various tests.** (1923.) *Price 1s. 3d.*
- The Teaching of Drawing in a Secondary School. Being the development of intelligence through form and colour.** (1924.) *Price 1s.*

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PEACE / AND DISARMAMENT

BY
C. J. L. BROCK

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PEACE AND DISARMAMENT.

Peace and Disarmament are among the foremost aims of Liberal policy. The first resolution of the Declaration of Liberal Principles and Aims, adopted by the National Convention of Liberals held in London in January, 1925, contained the following words:—

“ We believe in the necessity of organised international co-operation as the only means of averting war and bringing about a progressive reduction of Armaments. We therefore wholeheartedly support the League of Nations, and would make it the pivot of our foreign policy.”

“ We believe that war between civilised nations can and must be made impossible. . . . We regard every increase of armaments, or failure to diminish them, as a proof of failure in one of the main objects of national policy.”

It is unnecessary to recall the numerous speeches on peace and disarmament made by Liberal Leaders. Among the many important statements on the subject was a Manifesto issued in November, 1927, which was signed by the Presidents of the National Liberal Federation, the Women's National Liberal Federation, and the National League of Young Liberals, to which the President of the Scottish Liberal Federation subsequently gave his adherence also. The following sentences are reproduced from this Manifesto:—

“ We hold that the complete suppression of war, as a means of settling disputes between nations, should be the dominant policy of every country. We consider that an immediate and stringent limitation and reduction of armaments is essential—because the possession of great armaments has always been an incentive to war; because the Allies undertook in the Treaty of Versailles that German disarmament should be followed by a general measure of disarmament; and because a drastic reduction of military expenditure is the principal means by which the heavy burden of taxation, which presses upon our own and other peoples can be lightened.

“ A wholehearted support of the League of Nations is without doubt the best method by which Great Britain can help to achieve these ends. . . .”

" The immediate measures, which in our view it is the duty of the British Government to take, are these :—

1. To sign the undertaking, framed by the League of Nations, to refer all international disputes of a legal character to the League's Court of Justice at The Hague.*

2. To enter into general or particular Treaties of Arbitration providing for the peaceful settlement of other disputes.

3. To reduce our own existing armaments, which are beyond the needs of the present situation, and specifically to repudiate any policy of entering into a competition in naval construction with the United States of America.

4. To press forward the action which is contemplated for codifying and defining more closely the principles of International Law.

The Liberal Party stands unequivocally for support of the League of Nations and its work, particularly that of the reduction of armaments. The arguments in favour of this policy may now be briefly summarised.

REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

The arguments for disarmament may be classified as moral, military, and economic.

(1) Pledges that have been Made.

The moral and humanitarian reasons for Disarmament and Peace are evident. Many Government pledges have been made on the subject since the War. One of the first of these statements was contained in article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations :—

" The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations."

The Council of the League was charged with the duty of formulating plans for the reduction of armaments and submitting them to the Governments.

* The reference is to the " Optional Clause " of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which provides for the compulsory acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court in cases relating to :—

" (a) The interpretation of a Treaty.

" (b) Any question of International Law.

" (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.

" (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation."

It should be noted that the Covenant is part of the Treaty of Versailles, and is as binding an obligation as any other international treaty.

Part 5 of the Treaty of Versailles required Germany to disarm "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations"; and a letter to the German Government, signed by the French Prime Minister on behalf of all the Allied and Associated Powers, contained the following commentary:—

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German Armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

It was on this distinct understanding—that there was to be a general reduction of armaments—that Germany accepted this Part of the Treaty.

Among other pledges on the subject, the British Government gave the following undertaking in common with others who signed the Final Act of the Locarno Conference, which came into force on September 14th, 1926:—

"They undertake to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of Nations and to seek the realisation thereof in a general agreement."

Thus the British Government, in common with others, has given many pledges, extending over the years 1919 to 1926, to bring about the reduction of armaments. The fact that these pledges should be honoured is the first reason for disarmament.

(2) Military Reasons.

A second reason for disarmament is that armaments do not give real security, but, on the contrary, encourage wars.

Viscount Grey has given clear expression to this truth in his book, "Twenty-five Years":—

"The moral is obvious; it is that great armaments inevitably lead to war. If there are armaments on one side, there must be armaments on other sides. . . . Each measure taken by one nation is noted, and leads to counter-measures by others.

"The increase of armaments that is intended in each nation to produce consciousness of strength, and a sense of security, does not produce those effects. On the contrary, it produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear."

The effects of armaments may be enumerated as follows:—

- (1) They produce the need for further armaments, and a resulting competition among nations;
- (2) The armaments competition leads to suspicion, distrust, fear, and hostility;
- (3) The military uneasiness causes political differences. (This was recognised in the British Memorandum regarding submarines at the Washington Conference, 1922, which said: "Naval competition in any form between Great Britain and France would corrode goodwill.") This tendency is accentuated by the fact that great armaments create a powerful military caste, which inevitably tends to exert political influence.

A reduction of armaments, on the other hand, lessens uneasiness among the nations, increases the sense of security, and strengthens the prospects of peace.

(3) Economic Reasons.

At the present time *more than half* of the total national expenditure (and half the revenue from the crushing burden of taxation) is being spent on the legacies of past wars and preparations for future ones.

For the year 1927-28 the National Debt services cost £378,000,000. This could all be attributed to past wars, but it may be admitted that even if we had had a long era of peace there would be some Debt charges, and a much reduced figure is therefore taken in the following table:—

	£
Debt from last war, at annual charge of at least	300,000,000
Fighting Services (estimate for 1928-29) ...	115,000,000
War Pensions (estimate for 1928-29) ...	58,000,000
	<hr/>
Total War Charges ...	473,000,000
All other expenditure ...	354,000,000
	<hr/>
Total Estimated Expenditure ...	827,000,000
	<hr/>

It should be noted that under the present Government there has been *no reduction* in the expenditure on armaments. The figures for the last few years are as follows :—

					Actual Expenditure on Navy, Army, and Air Force
					£
1923-24	...	...	...	...	105,800,000
1924-25	...	...	...	...	114,700,000
1925-26	...	...	...	...	119,377,000
1926-27	...	...	...	...	116,730,000
1927-28	...	...	...	...	117,440,000

The Labour Government's five new cruisers, and the present Government's programme of new naval construction (estimated to cost £58,000,000 in the years 1925-26 to 1928-29) are among the causes of this growth of expenditure.

In addition, the Government are proceeding with the development of the *naval base at Singapore*. This scheme is objectionable alike on political, strategic, and financial grounds. Its cost may amount to anything between £10,000,000 and £20,000,000.

In the year 1913-14 the amount spent on the Fighting Services was £77,179,000. Even allowing for the change in the value of money, at least as much as this is being spent now.

The increase of £40,000,000 in the present expenditure on armaments compared with that before the Great War is utterly unjustifiable, for the following among other reasons :—

1. In 1913 we were confronted with the menace of war, but in 1928 nobody supposes that a great war is possible for many years (unless this very race of armaments causes it);
2. The German fleet has been sunk, and the Washington Naval Treaties are in force;
3. The League of Nations has been established, and the opening words of the Covenant are: "The High Contracting Parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war. . . . Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."
4. Numerous pledges to disarm have been given, recently confirmed by the Locarno Treaties.

Sir Josiah Stamp, the famous economist, thus describes in his book, "Current Problems in Finance and Government," the benefits that would result from disarmament :—

"The standard of life throughout great industrial Powers would be lifted by over 10 per cent. by the cancellation of the expenditure on

armaments. Such an increase would have a much greater influence upon the comforts of life, and on the economic well-being of the people, than the mere figure itself might convey. At the stage at which we stand, it is for the mass of the peoples of these nations the difference between grinding penury and a reasonable standard of comfort."

Sir E. Hilton Young has shown (London School of Economics, May 24th, 1927) that a real effort for disarmament would produce an immediate saving of one shilling on the income tax.

DISARMAMENT EFFORTS SINCE THE WAR.

The principal attempts since the War to make progress towards the reduction and limitation of armaments are as follows:—

1. The signing of the *Covenant of the League*, 1919.

[Article 8 recognised the necessity to reduce Armaments, and Article 9 required the League to make plans for this end.]

2. The establishment of the *Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments*, February, 1921.

[This body was to supplement the Permanent Advisory Committee on Armaments. The T.M.C. was constituted by the League on a wide basis, consisting of military, economic, and financial experts, representatives of employers and workers, and responsible persons of political experience.]

3. The passing of the famous "*Resolution XIV.*" by the League Assembly, 1922.

[This resolution embodied a report of the Temporary Mixed Commission to the effect that the reduction of armaments could not be fully successful unless it was general; that many States would require a guarantee of safety before they would reduce armaments; that a defensive agreement should be made to guarantee assistance to an attacked State.]

4. The drafting of the *Treaty of Mutual Assistance*, 1923.

[This draft Treaty embodied the principles of Resolution 14. Sixteen Governments approved it in principle, including France and Italy; but eleven Governments rejected it, including Britain and America, and therefore it did not come into force.

The British Government (Labour Party, 1924) objected to the Treaty because it gave insufficient security, and did not define aggression.]

5. The framing of the *Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes*, at the Fifth Assembly, 1924.

[The League's second plan for the reduction of armaments, the Geneva Protocol as it is generally called, received more support than the first one; and though it was torpedoed by the British Government (Conservative Party, 1925), its principles are still admitted to have been

sound. The Protocol definitely linked together the three aims of disarmament, arbitration, and security; it provided for the compulsory settlement of all disputes by either conciliation or arbitration, and it made refusal to arbitrate the test of aggression; and the whole scheme was made to depend on the success of a general Disarmament Conference to be held in 1925.

The British Government rejected the Protocol on the ground that it was too rigid, and announced that they preferred to rely on the Covenant supplemented by partial agreements—like the "Security Pact" then being negotiated (see *Locarno Treaty*).]

6. The signing of the *Locarno Treaties*, 1925.

[These treaties (including the "Security Pact") were initialled in October, 1925, and came into operation in September, 1926, with the entrance of Germany into the League. These agreements largely resulted from the efforts of the League in 1924 and 1925, and though not a general scheme, they did something to assist the cause of disarmament, for under them "Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other."]

7. The meeting of the *Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference*, 1926, and subsequently.

[The League Assembly in 1925 decided to begin the preparatory work for a general Disarmament Conference, and agreed to set up the Preparatory Commission. In 1926 the Assembly requested the Commission to hasten its work so that the Disarmament Conference might meet in 1927 if possible. Although a considerable measure of agreement was reached on a "First Reading" in April, 1927, the Commission had to leave a number of points for further consideration. Two subsequent meetings have been held, but so far little further progress has been made. See also Security Commission, below.]

8. The holding of a three-Power *Naval Disarmament Conference*, 1927.

[This Conference, called on the initiative of President Coolidge, of U.S.A., met at Geneva on June 20th, and adjourned *sine die* on August 4th. The Conference broke down on the question of cruisers (though considerable agreement was reached regarding the other classes of vessels). The Americans required a small number of large cruisers with 8-inch guns; the British delegation desired to limit the size of the cruisers, but put forward demands for a very large number of them (more than were then in commission); and though the Japanese made great efforts, it was found impossible for the time being to reconcile these differences.]

9. Discussions at the *League Assembly*, 1927.

[An attempt was made to revive the *principles* of the Protocol, *i.e.*, disarmament, arbitration and security; but any such hopes were dis-

couraged by a cold speech from Sir A. Chamberlain on September 9th, when he said: "You ask us to do more. Could not some of you do as much before pressing us to go further? . . . You are asking nothing less than the disruption of the British Empire."]

10. Meeting of the *Security Commission*, 1927-28.

[This body is a sub-committee of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, and has a similar personnel, except that the U.S.A. have taken no part in its deliberations, and Russia is represented by an "observer." Its work is to facilitate the reduction of armaments by drawing up schemes to give nations a sense of security against aggression so that they will no longer need great armaments. In a Note to the League in January, 1928, the British Government made many discouraging observations on the work of the Commission; and refused, among other things, to sign the Optional Clause or any general arbitration treaty, or any general scheme for security.

At the session in June-July, 1928, a number of model treaties of conciliation, arbitration and non-aggression were approved by the Commission, in spite of the frequent opposition of Lord Cushendun, who represented the British Government.]

THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE.

The present Conservative Government must bear a considerable share of blame for the failure to make concrete progress with the Disarmament question. They have never given proper support to the League of Nations; unlike almost every other Government in Europe, they have failed to suggest any schemes for assisting the League in its work; and they have gradually taken up the position of actually *resisting* every suggestion submitted by the League to bring about security, arbitration, and disarmament.

It is deplorable that at so important a stage in the world's history Great Britain should have been governed by a Conservative Administration which so seriously misrepresents the real attitude of the British people.

Disarmament Schemes Impeded.

In regard to Disarmament, Mr. Baldwin's Government is particularly responsible for:—

- (1) The rejection of the Geneva Protocol in 1925.
- (2) The limited amount of agreement reached at the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.
- (3) The breakdown of the Naval Disarmament Conference.
- (4) The hindrance of the work of the Security Commission.

Other Foreign Matters.

In many other respects the Government's foreign policy is also open to serious criticism, notably—

(1) Sir A. Chamberlain's share in the fiasco of March, 1926, when Germany was not admitted to the League, though a special Assembly was called for the purpose;

(2) The failure to intervene in the dispute in March, 1927, between Italy and Yugo-Slavia, as the latter desired;

(3) The complete breach with Russia in May, 1927, which was unnecessary and harmful;

(4) The endeavour to restore "secret diplomacy" through hotel meetings of leading Ministers behind the back of the League of Nations;

(5) The insistence, at the Trade Restrictions Conference in November, 1927, upon so many "exceptions" to the general rule against trade embargoes that the resulting treaty had very little effect (considerable progress was, however, made at a further meeting of the Conference in July, 1928);

(6) The failure to ratify the Washington Hours Convention;

(7) The failure, notably in the autumn of 1927, to insist upon a considerable reduction in the Inter-Allied Army occupying the Rhineland.

(8) The maladroit handling of the Hungarian optants dispute by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the rapporteur for the Council, whose alternative hectoring of Hungary and Rumania has done nothing to increase the League's prestige;

(9) Sir Austen Chamberlain's discouragement of the extension of League activities. It is true that he has regularly attended League meetings, but he proposed (unsuccessfully) that the number of Council meetings should be reduced from four to three a year. On June 9th, 1928, he supported the Italian delegate's attack on the development of the economic work of the League, and said:—

"He was not one of those who wished to see the activity of the League or any of its organs unduly extended. . . . At a time like the present, when all the countries represented on the Council had difficulties with their budgets, when in their domestic affairs they were exercising the strictest economy, he thought that the States Members of the League would expect the Council to watch scrupulously over the expenses which the League might incur and which, in due course, would have to be borne by the States Members." (*Official Minutes of the meeting.*)

Reasons for Failure of the Naval Disarmament Conference.

The Naval Disarmament Conference between Great Britain and America and Japan, held at Geneva in June-August, 1927, had to deal with a comparatively simple question—that of naval disarmament between three Powers. It would have been certain of success if earnest and broad-minded statesmen had had a free hand in the negotiations.

The failure was not entirely due to the British Government. The American demands also caused difficulties, and the American delegation suffered from lack of preparation. The British Government was, however, partly or wholly to blame for the following reasons for the breakdown:—

1. The Conference "was treated as a departmental conference between the Admiralties, instead of a matter of high policy between the Governments." (Professor Gilbert Murray's letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of August 18th, 1927.)
2. The Government, being unwilling to accept a universal measure providing for international security and arbitration, acted at this Conference as though it contemplated fighting the world unaided—and actually insisted upon a limitation of armaments at a higher level than the existing one.
3. The Government was unwilling to make any compromise to save a breakdown. In a letter to the *Times* of March 19th, 1928, Viscount Cecil said that in order to reach a compromise, he and Mr. Bridgeman made three proposals:—

"First we suggested that we should seek to limit the agreement to the year 1931, since till that date the Americans would be fully occupied in catching up with our built or rebuilding 10,000-tonners. Next we proposed a compromise on the basis of 7-inch guns. Thirdly, we urged that the question of the calibre of the guns for the second-class cruisers might be left unsettled—it could not become actual for the United States for some years—on the understanding that if the United States definitely decided to build cruisers carrying 8-inch guns, other than the 10,000-tonners, they should give us notice, and a further conference could be held, if we so desired. I thought, and think, there was a very good chance that this would have been accepted. All these suggestions of compromise were rejected by the Cabinet, though both Mr. Bridgeman and I supported them. In the final telegram on this point from the Cabinet we were specifically directed to 'offer no compromise' on the 8-inch gun question.

"Before sending this telegram the Cabinet had been warned that without a compromise on the 8-inch guns the Conference would fail."

The following is an informative extract from a letter from Professor P. J. Noel Baker (an expert authority on the subject):—

"Mr. Bridgeman and others spoke much and often of the saving of £50,000,000 which our proposed reduction of capital ships to 30,000 tons displacement would effect. They plainly thought that such a saving would have been a great achievement. Yet this saving would have been offset by increased expenditure on cruisers. It would only have begun in 1932; it would have been spread over a period of ten years or more; it would have meant, therefore, a maximum gross saving of roughly 4 per cent. on our present armament Budget; it would thus have left us spending more on national defence, at 1914 prices, than we were spending on the eve of Armageddon. And this in spite of the League of Nations, in spite of the fact that the German fleet is at the bottom of the sea, in spite of the fact that, as Admiral Field said in Geneva, there is 'no present fear of war.' Is this really the disarmament which Sir Austen Chamberlain's German allies hold that they are entitled to demand; are these really the economies in unproductive expenditure to which the British taxpayer has a right?"

(*Manchester Guardian*, August 31st, 1927.)

Lord Cecil's Resignation.

The conviction that the Government were not sufficiently in earnest on the subject of Disarmament caused Viscount Cecil to resign from the Cabinet. This resignation was a matter of real concern to all supporters of peace and the League of Nations, and it was a final condemnation of the Government's policy in regard to foreign affairs, and to Disarmament in particular.

Lord Cecil's letter of resignation to the Prime Minister was published in the Press on August 30th, 1927, together with a Minute in which he gave his reasons. Having explained that he had not taken his decision to resign on account of any personal difficulties, Lord Cecil continued:—

"The difficulty is, I am sorry to say, much more serious, for I cannot conceal from myself that on the broad policy of Disarmament the majority of the Cabinet and I are not really agreed.

"I believe that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilisation itself."

The following are further extracts from Lord Cecil's Minute:—

The Preparatory Commission.

"Much that happened during the Session last spring of the Pre-

paratory Commission for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments was to me of a disquieting nature. Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the Commission which were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labours. For the most part these instructions turned on smaller points, but the cumulative effect on the minds of the Commission was very unfortunate, and was largely the cause of its comparative ill-success."

Three-Power Naval Conference.

"I believed that an agreement between the three great Naval Powers to a reduction of their armaments would be of great assistance in facilitating the efforts of the Preparatory Commission for general limitation. . . . It is enough now to say that I found myself out of sympathy with the instructions I received, and believe that an agreement might have been reached on terms which would have sacrificed no essential British interest."

The Government's Policy.

"What, then, of the future? I look back on the refusal to accept the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the unconditional rejection of the Protocol, the Ministerial declaration against compulsory arbitration, the partial failure of the Preparatory Commission, and now the breakdown of the Three-Power Conference. An advance in the direction first of security, then of arbitration, lastly of disarmament itself has been tried, and in each case has made little or no progress. In each case the policy I advocated has been more or less completely overruled. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future. The same causes will produce similar effects. For the truth is, however unwilling I am to recognise it, that in these matters my colleagues do not agree with me."

The Memorandum on Security.

Since Viscount Cecil's resignation, the Government's attitude towards the League of Nations and the cause of Disarmament has been less helpful than ever. Allusion has already been made to Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech to the Assembly on September 9th, 1927, which caused Mr. Wickham Steed to write as follows:—

"At home, I fancy, it is thought that Sir Austen 'cleared the air.' He did, but in much the same way as it is cleared by the north wind, which the Genevese call *la bise*, a nipping, blighting air that gives to the blue lake the hue of molten lead and brings with it a light, cold haze under which men shiver and shrivel. . . .

"Is there not something to be done in the direction of ascertaining and declaring what we can do, instead of seeming constantly to insist on what we cannot do?" (*Observer*, September 18th, 1927.)

The Government have continued to insist upon what they *cannot* do. This policy culminated in the Memorandum addressed to the League in January, 1928, on the work of the Security Commission. The least that can be said of this disappointing document is that it confirmed the worst things that have been said by the critics of the Government concerning their attitude towards the League. Not only was no encouragement given to any detail of the League's projects for security, arbitration, and disarmament, but the Government were so much opposed to all *general* schemes (as distinct from a sectional arrangement like the much-lauded Locarno Treaty) that in one place in the Memorandum they felt it necessary to say that their attitude was *not* due to a "desire to belittle or to diminish the obligations of the Covenant." This denial could not be regarded as superfluous.

The following were the principal points in the Memorandum :—

1. No acceptance of compulsory arbitration in legal or justiciable disputes.
2. No signing of the "Optional Clause."*
3. No arbitration of non-judiciable disputes.
4. The scheme for conciliation in regard to non-judiciable disputes might be "studied" if there are any States able to accept such an agreement.
5. No further commitments (beyond Locarno) in regard to local security agreements.
6. No general announcement of measures that might be taken to support the Council's decisions.
7. No attempt to define an aggressor.
8. The scheme for financial assistance for victims of aggression to be dependent on "a satisfactory measure of general disarmament."

This Memorandum must be regarded with regret and consternation by all liberal-minded men and women. In the course of a speech delivered at Plymouth on January 21st, 1928, Sir Herbert Samuel said :—

"There are times when it is the duty of every public man to speak out, and I do declare my belief that neither a Liberal Government nor, for the matter of that, a Labour Government would have set its hand to a document of the negative character of this paper that has been sent to the League of Nations. Neither a Liberal nor a Labour Government would have failed to have come to an understanding, as the present Government has failed, with the United States at the Conference held at Geneva.

"The present Government in these matters does not represent the real mind and will of the British people. It has been baulked by the timidity and weakness of its statesmen." (*Western Morning News*, January 23rd, 1928.)

* See footnote on page 5.

THE TREATY TO RENOUNCE WAR.

Arising out of a suggestion by M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, that France and America should mutually agree to renounce war between each other, Mr. Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, sent a Note on April 13th, 1928, to the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan suggesting that they should join with America and France in signing a Treaty on the lines of a Draft which he enclosed (see text of the Treaty below).

Mr. Kellogg's proposals were well received in this country and in America, but the French Government put forward an alternative Draft, introducing safeguards concerning existing treaties, self-defence and other matters.

A delay of five weeks occurred before the British Government replied to the American Note. In a leading article on May 6th the *Observer* (Conservative) said:—

" Ever since the breakdown of the Geneva Conference a certain uneasiness has been manifest in American comment on British policy. Out of this feeling have sprung rumours, exaggerated, tendentious, altogether ugly, as to the motives which have delayed the British reply to the American Note. As the inactive days pass, the danger grows that suspicion will paralyse goodwill and hesitation culminate in failure."

Sir Austen Chamberlain made a statement in the House of Commons on May 10th, in which he attributed the delay to the fact that on the day before the American Note was received he had gone away for a twelve days' holiday, and that the American proposals had had to be carefully considered in relation to other existing commitments.

On May 19th the British reply was sent. It welcomed the American proposals, but went on to consider sympathetically the French objections, and to make other suggestions. " His Majesty's Government could not agree to any new treaty which would weaken or undermine the Covenant of the League or the Treaty of Locarno."

One passage in the British Note, which was far from helpful, was as follows:—

" The language of Article 1, as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, renders it desirable that I should remind your Excellency that there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

This statement was frequently referred to in the newspapers in this and other countries as a "British Monroe Doctrine"; and the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* said on May 22nd, "There is not the least reason to suppose that French diplomacy, any more than Italian or German, will prove more favourable than Washington to this new British doctrine, recognition of which would give the British Empire a position in the world unparalleled in history."

The Final Draft Treaty.

On June 23rd, Mr. Kellogg, the United States Secretary of State, issued a further Note, in which he stated that he had received replies from all the Governments to his Note of April 13th, and from all the British Dominions to his invitations to participate in the negotiations; and no Government had objected to the principle of the proposed Treaty.

Mr. Kellogg dealt as follows with the various points that had been raised: (1) "The right of self-defence is inherent in every sovereign State," and no specific reference to the subject was necessary in the Treaty. (2) If one of the Parties resorted to war, the other Parties would be released from their obligations to it; and a proviso to this effect was mentioned in a new preamble. (3) In order to meet obligations under the Locarno Treaties, all the Locarno signatories should be made original signatories to the proposed Treaty, so that no State could resort to war in violation of the Locarno Treaties without simultaneously breaking the anti-war Treaty and thus liberating the other Parties so far as the Treaty-breaking State was concerned.

In conclusion, Mr. Kellogg said that if the Powers mentioned "can now agree to conclude this anti-war Treaty among themselves, my Government is confident that the other nations of the world will, as soon as the Treaty comes into force, gladly adhere thereto, and that this simple procedure will bring mankind's age-long aspirations for universal peace nearer to practical fulfilment than ever before in the history of the world."

The new Preamble and the two operative Articles of the Draft Treaty, which were not altered from their original form, are as follows:—

The President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the President of the German Reich, his Majesty the King of Italy, his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland.

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made, to the end

that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavour and, by adhering to the present Treaty as soon as it comes into force, bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilised nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a treaty, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries. . . . Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles :

ARTICLE I.—The high contracting parties solemnly declare, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II.—The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

There is a third Article dealing with the adherence of other States, and other technical matters.

Further Delay by British Government.

It has already been stated that the Conservative Government in this country delayed for five weeks before replying at all to the original American proposals. It would have been supposed that, having decided to support the proposals, the Government would do all they could to press them forward. Instead of this, however, they kept silence for a further period of nearly four weeks before stating whether they would agree to the revised draft. When Sir Austen Chamberlain was questioned on the subject in the House of Commons on July 9th he declined to give even an approximate date when the Treaty might be signed.

At last, on July 18th, Sir Austen Chamberlain sent a reply to the American Government announcing that the British Government "accept the proposed treaty in the form transmitted" on June 23rd. In the course of his Note, Sir A. Chamberlain said :—

"As regards the passage in my Note of May 19th relating to certain regions of which the welfare and integrity constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety, I need only repeat that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the

understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

The British Government did not express their approval of the proposed Treaty until after the Governments of France, Germany, Italy, and other countries had already done so; and it cannot be said that they ever gave any active assistance to the project from first to last.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Stocksfield-on-Tyne, near Newcastle, on July 21st, 1928, said:—

"I want, first of all, to say how delighted I am that at last the Kellogg pact for the outlawry of war is going to be signed. There has been a good deal of apparent reluctance and hesitation about it, and I am afraid a good deal of real reservation and restriction. . . . The real test of the sincerity and the efficacy of the doctrine embodied in that pact will be this: will it be followed by a reduction in armaments? If not, it is a sham. . . .

"In this country we are spending £114,000,000 a year on the mechanism of human slaughter. Before the war we were spending only £77,000,000. That increase has taken place in spite of all these treaties. It is no use having these treaties unless armaments are reduced; otherwise all that is taking place is a farce that will end in tragedy. I am looking forward, therefore, to the time when the Liberal party will come into power to convert these pacts into a reality."

(*Manchester Guardian*, July 23rd, 1928.)

Home Secretary's Egregious Comment.

Sir William Joynson-Hicks, speaking at a Conservative demonstration at Abbey Manor, Evesham, on July 14th, said:—

"We desire to appeal to the great United States when our signature in the course of a few weeks is placed alongside that of the other nations of Europe, and say to them: 'We are signing the pact at your request, a pact to end war, and yet we understand that you are increasing your navy.' I think we are entitled to comment quite respectfully, and in quite a friendly way, and say to America and the whole world that deeds speak stronger than words." (*Times*, July 16th, 1928.)

This speech was referred to in the House of Commons on July 23rd, and when Mr. Baldwin was pressed on the subject he admitted that "had I been speaking on the matter, I might have expressed it somewhat differently."

SOME CONSERVATIVE STATEMENTS.

The following is a brief collection of the sayings of prominent Conservatives on the subject of peace and disarmament.

War is Unthinkable.

Mr. Baldwin, speaking at a dinner to the American Legion, in London on October 7th, 1927, said:—

"War between our two peoples is unthinkable. It is unthinkable not only on the grounds of sentiment—which sometimes might be

pushed a little too far—but unthinkable because all of us in this room know, and know perfectly well, that war between two such forces as the British Empire and the United States would destroy once and for all the whole of the civilisation worth preserving that exists in the world to-day." (*Scotsman*, October 8th, 1927.)

Armaments Costing More than in 1913.

Viscount Cecil, speaking at the Carlton Hall, Westminster, on October 21st, 1927, said:—

"Out of every pound of taxation we pay, fourteen shillings is due to past wars or the preparation for future wars. This is a terrible burden, far greater than any other country in the world is bearing. Putting aside Russia, where accurate information is unobtainable, we are the only Great Power in Europe whose expenditure on armaments is larger than it was in 1913."

(*Westminster Gazette*, October 22nd, 1927.)

But No Further Progress with Disarmament.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, however, addressing the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 10th, 1927, appeared satisfied with the amount of disarmament already carried out. The following are extracts from his speech:—

"I beg you to ask yourselves—which of you, carrying our load of responsibility for the peace of so many and such scattered countries in such varied conditions, would have done more? Is there any country, I would even ask, that would have done as much? Our interest is shown by the risks that we have taken and are taking by the reductions which we have already made."

"You ask us to do more—you ask us to do more. Could not some of you do as much before pressing us to go further?"

"I yield to no one in my devotion to this great League of Nations, but not even for this League of Nations will I destroy that smaller but older League of which my own country was the birthplace, and of which it remains the centre." (*Manchester Guardian*, October 12th, 1927.)

"We Have Done Our Share."

Sir Douglas Hogg, speaking at Sidcup on October 31st, 1927, took a similar line. He said that while there were 330,000 fighting men in 1913-14, the current estimates provided for 300,000, and added:—

"Therefore, I say we have done our share. . . ."

"The English estimates are no bigger now than they were two years ago." (*Daily Telegraph*, November 1st, 1927.)

Army Reduced to the Limit.

Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War, speaking at Bletchley on July 21st, 1928, said:—

"We had reduced the numbers of the Army to the limit—if it was

to remain an efficient fighting force. No one could say that an efficient Army was not necessary." (*Times*, July 23rd, 1928.)

Alleged Reduction of Air Estimates.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for Air, addressing the Anglo-Catholic Anniversary Congress at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on July 5th, 1928, said:—

"In each successive year since 1925 we have reduced the amount of Air Estimates, so that to-day it is 10 per cent. less than in 1925."

(*Daily Telegraph*, July 6th, 1928.)

The official figures are as follows:—

<i>Air Estimates.</i>		
Budget of—		£
1924-25		14,511,000
1925-26		15,513,000
1926-27		16,000,000
1927-28		15,550,000
1928-29		16,250,000

Disarmament Might Make War Worse.

The concluding passage of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech on July 5th was as follows:—

"Disarmament is essentially a moral question. If human nature always remains the same, the only effect of disarmament would be to leave men and women to fight with their fists. Disarmament would not end war, and indeed in certain respects it might even make war more horrible. War would become completely undisciplined and unregulated, and, to take a single instance, civil aeroplanes, with no military aeroplanes to meet them, could with impunity deal death and destruction upon the men, women, and children of the great cities. The more closely I study the question, the more carefully I follow the proceedings at Geneva, the more certain I am that advance is best made by moving stage by stage and by taking the simplest steps first."

(*Daily Telegraph*, July 6th, 1928.)

Threat to League of Nations Union.

Lord Cushendun (whom Mr. Baldwin appointed as successor to Viscount Cecil) wrote in a letter to the *Times* of April 16th, 1928:—

"The League of Nations Union has done, and may still do, useful work; and I think it would be a very great pity if the General Council, by taking upon itself 'to teach the Cabinet its business,' were to make it impossible for the Prime Minister and his colleagues and supporters to remain members of the Union."

Do Not Exaggerate.

Lord Cushendun's lukewarmness in regard to disarmament was again exemplified in a speech at Lincoln on April 20th, when he said :—

"There was a tendency to exaggerate the results that would follow disarmament. They should not imagine that even complete disarmament would make war impossible."

(*Manchester Guardian*, April 21st, 1928.)

We Have Done Too Much Already.

Lord Cushendun, in an interview given to the Press at Geneva on March 23rd, 1928 (during a session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission), said :—

"Great Britain was expected to give a lead. From a practical point of view it would have been far better if she had not already taken so great a lead in disarmament." (*Times*, March 24th, 1928.)

The reason given for this remarkable opinion was that we could now offer greater reductions in armaments if we had not made any before.

"Finally," added the *Times* report, "Lord Cushendun expressed his desire for a greater admixture at Geneva of realism with idealism and for more patience by all those who were seeking disarmament."

THE LIBERAL VIEW.

The fundamental aim of Liberal Foreign Policy is to substitute Peace and Justice for Armaments and Wars. The principles which guide Liberal policy may be summarised as follows :—

1. Friendly relations should be cultivated with all nations, and not with only one or one group of nations.
2. It should be acknowledged that all nations have equal rights.
3. All entangling engagements should be avoided. Above all, there should be no secret treaties or secret implications in connection with treaties.
4. There should be a system of organised co-operation among nations, by means of which international disputes may be settled and common action taken to prevent war and to reduce armaments.

All the ideals of Liberal Foreign Policy are embodied in the *League of Nations*, and are expressly laid down in the Covenant. Liberals therefore give the utmost possible support to the League, aim at enlarging its scope and power, and desire the inclusion of all countries within it.

Disarmament is itself in the forefront of Liberal policy. The immediate practical measures advocated by Liberals have already been outlined at the beginning of this pamphlet.

The attitude of the three parties on these matters may be summarised as follows: The present Conservative Ministers are not all militarists; but taken collectively they have not an effective will for peace. They are not sufficiently in earnest about Disarmament; and they cannot safely be trusted to represent this country in foreign affairs.

The late Labour Government, though it professed an earnest desire for peace, embarked upon a policy of naval expansion. The Labour Party has in fact no settled foreign policy at all.

The Liberal Party can alone be trusted with the management of foreign affairs. Liberals are possessed of a real determination to encourage the new spirit in foreign affairs under the regime of the League of Nations, and to bring about definite and visible progress in the reduction of armaments.

For favour of Review
(8)

BOMBAY VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION.

Prostitution under Religious Customs

(Report submitted by Mr. P. G. Naik,
Life-Worker, Social Service League,
Bombay).

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THE BOMBAY VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION.

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PROSTITUTION UNDER RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

(Report submitted by Mr. P. G. Naik, Life-Worker, Social Service League, Bombay)

At a meeting of the Bombay Vigilance Association held on 21st February 1928 it was resolved that

Introduction

“Mr. P. G. Naik be appointed as the Bombay Vigilance Association's Representative to continue the work regarding Devadasis in the Mofussil.” According to this resolution I began to collect information regarding the institution of Devadasis and now beg to submit to the Bombay Vigilance Association the report of my investigations into the conditions of Devadasis in Goa, in Savantwadi State and in the districts of Kanara and Ratnagiri. As the origin and the largest centre of this immoral custom is Goa I visited the place in May 1928, spent about three weeks there, attended the Fourth Conference of the Portuguese Shikshan Prasarak Maratha Samaj, and got into touch with several men and women belonging to this community who are taking an active interest in the problem. I also saw several prominent persons, managers of temples, and editors of newspapers and discussed the question with them, and I am glad to state that most of them agreed with me on the conclusions drawn by me in this report.

I must express my heartfelt thanks to all the people in the places visited who gave active and willing help to me in my task. Without this cordial co-operation my duty could not have been properly performed.

It is very difficult to trace the history of the custom but originally these hereditary prostitutes, or to speak more correctly, concubines or courtesans, were temple-maidens. These virgins were guarded with the greatest care and were looked upon with great reverence. But after all it was an

Origin of the Custom

unnatural system. Human nature can never be suppressed by any system, however religious it may be. The morality of the temple virgins was affected by the moral degeneration of the priests and the general public.

The *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* says in this connection: "The Bhavinis and Devlees found only in the Southern divisions of Vengurla, Malvan and Devgad are said to be descended from the female servants of some of the Savantwadi or Malvan Chiefs who were presented with lands and dedicated to the service of the village gods. Of these people, the Bhavinis are the female and Devlees the male offsprings."

This whole community is not known by one single name but is divided into several sub-divisions each of which is known by a different name, and it seems that in their history they also differ from one another. Every one of them considers itself as the highest caste, and inter-caste marriages and inter-caste dinners are prohibited. At present, however, some efforts are being made to remove this distinction.

But the whole community can be divided into three main divisions :—

Sub-Divisions

(1) Women belonging to one sub-division are known as 'K' (meaning *Artistes*). They used to sing and dance in the temples and on festive occasions in the houses of rich people. Most of the best singing girls in Bombay belong to this caste. These women are generally very intelligent, good-looking, honest and hospitable. Some of them lead a chaste life like chaste married women by remaining faithful to one man. Formerly very few of them came to Bombay. But during the past 20 or 25 years they have been coming to Bombay in larger numbers and now almost all of them as soon as they reach puberty are brought to Bombay for the immoral profession, and the ancestral services in the temple are left either to very young or very old relatives in their native places. Only occasionally, for festivals or for a change, do they visit these places. Male members of this caste play on musical instruments in accompaniment to the singing of their

sisters or other female relatives and help them in all matters. The largest number of Devadasis in Goa belong to this sub-caste. In Bombay also they have a majority.

(2) Women of another caste are called 'B' and the male members are known as 'D.' These women work as temple servants and do such work as preparing lights, etc. Male members also are given some work in temples. They are hereditary temple-servants and are ignorant and backward in all respects. There are a few houses of these women in Goa, but the majority is found in Savantwadi State, especially in the villages of that State and also in the talukas of Vengurla, Malvan and Devgad.

(3) Male and female members of the third division are known as 'B' and 'K' respectively. This class has no hereditary connection with temple service. In olden times it was a practice common among military chiefs to bring women along with other loot and plunder of their enemies and to keep them as slaves in their own houses or to sell or present them to other persons or friends. Members of this caste seem to be the descendants of these slave-women captured in war. They are given some land by the people to whose families they are attached as hereditary domestic servants. No doubt they are tired of this dependence, but as their property, including houses, are in the possession of their lords, it is not possible for them to be independent without being deprived of all this. Seeing that these people are becoming anxious to be free, some of the landlords are trying now to take back the lands presented to them without giving them anything in return. Some such cases are pending in courts in Savantwadi State at present. These people are found in large numbers in Savantwadi town and in some villages in Goa.

Though the ostensible profession of the women in this community is singing, dancing, services in temples or in private families, marriage being prohibited among them, yet they have to follow the immoral profession, and nowadays they are more attracted to prostitution than to their ancestral calling. In olden

times these women used to be in the keep of some rich man in the village or town and at the same time carried on their legitimate profession. But now they cannot be self-supporting, even in part, on the income of their legitimate profession. The number of people who can afford to support such women is decreasing and the life of some of their caste-women in Bombay makes them ambitious. At present therefore they do not pay much attention to their legitimate profession but, keeping the examples of the women of their caste in Bombay before their eyes, they come to Bombay to seek the patronage of rich men. The 'Shes' (dedication to God) ceremony is performed at any time before puberty is reached. A girl from very young age is instructed to look to prostitution as a career, being the only one in the house to be given valuable ornaments, costly clothes, good food, a happy and luxurious life as the mistress of a rich man being kept as an ideal before her. Not only is she repeatedly told that it is her religious duty to follow this disreputable profession, and therefore she cannot get married, but the atmosphere around her is so created that she hates marriage and married life. She is everybody's pet in the house. Nobody can speak or do anything against her will. And the wonder is that if, unfortunately, she has a brother, he is treated quite in the opposite way, because all think she is the one to bring prosperity to the house. In this way she is brought up in an atmosphere which makes her easily a prostitute. When she reaches puberty the climax is reached. Capital is raised to set up the business. If there is no cash in hand ornaments are sold or pawned and anyhow money is kept ready to buy furniture, etc., as a preliminary arrangement. At this time she is taken to Bombay, Poona or Belgaum, as the circumstances will allow, by some relatives. They begin to look for a rich man and a ceremony called 'Hatlavni' (touching the hand) is performed with great pomp to notify this. Except money nothing else is taken into consideration. When they see that there is no hope of getting a richer man she is allowed to begin her life of mistress with the highest bidder. But till the final settlement is reached she is kept strictly chaste. Sometimes the occasion is celebrated with great pomp; this depends on the wish of the man.

The girl herself has no choice in the matter. Not infrequently ^{ley} so happens that she does not like him for various reasons, ^{apt} for the sake of money she is compelled to yield to the wishes ^{ers} of the man by the elderly persons in the family, be he old or young, healthy or diseased. In the first few months she gets much money, costly ornaments and clothes. If the man continues to visit her for a longer time she even accepts a smaller amount, because she likes to be with one man permanently, provided he supplies her wants. But usually the man does not like to stick to one woman for a long time, because he is fond of change. The first man leaves her generally after a few months and she has to find another probably on a lower payment. Thus the woman's income begins to dwindle and in addition to this she may contract venereal disease. If so, she takes medicine but for fear of losing her income she cannot stop her master's visits to her. If she does not feel better she goes to her native place but in that case her payment is stopped and she has to draw upon her savings, if any, or sell her ornaments. This is the first step in her fall. She again comes to Bombay but after some time her disease gives her trouble. Still she carries on anyhow and after some years, say at the age of 35, she becomes entirely unfit for her profession and is rendered penniless. Sometimes she becomes addicted to drink owing to the company of persons she has to keep in the course of her professional life. But in spite of the bitter experience she has had, she adopts a girl, makes preparation for her future dedication, building her own hopes of a happy old age. This is a general rule. But there are exceptions. There are women who live as faithful mistresses of rich men and remain chaste even after the death of their masters. Instances are known of a woman of this class being the mistress of one man for a very long time, and when by a stroke of misfortune he becomes a pauper helping him to tide over the trouble and remaining faithful to him even in that state. There are some well known families in Bombay who are highly educated, well settled and owning large properties who also occasionally visit their native places in Goa and spend large amounts on temples. They are very religious people. In Goa some of them also own landed

tiniperties in addition to those presented to their families in vjchange for certain hereditary services in the temples.

F The 'Shes' ceremony is exactly like a marriage ceremony and the exact meaning of the word is also that
The 'Shes' Ceremony of marriage. But whereas marriage takes place between a man and a woman, this *mock marriage* is arranged between a girl and a girl. The girl who plays the part of a bridegroom is dressed like a man, wears a turban, etc., takes a cocoanut and a knife or dagger in her hand and the ceremony is performed. At the time of garlanding, the bride garlands the cocoanut in the hand of this 'bridegroom' who represents a person acting as bridegroom. The occasion is celebrated exactly like a marriage. All the customs accompanying a Hindu marriage are gone through and therefore someone is required to take the place of a bridegroom. The object of putting a boy's clothes on a girl seems to be that the 'bridegroom' should not afterwards claim that he is legally married to the girl and that she therefore is 'his' wife. There is absolutely nothing in the ceremony to show that the girl should lead an immoral life, but the ceremony is gone through as a license to lead such a life. If a girl is allowed to begin her career as kept mistress without performing this ceremony, the caste people regard her life as an irreligious one and the whole family is excommunicated. At some places, the ceremony takes place in the house of the girl and at others it is to be performed in temples. On this occasion some presents, such as a saree and a cocoanut, are given to the girl by the temple authorities, and unless the ceremony is gone through no girl of this community is allowed to do any kind of service in the temple.

The population of this community in Goa, Savantwadi and adjoining tracts in the districts of Kanara and Ratnagiri is estimated at 25,000, perhaps more but not less. The women in this community do not wish to have children, at least at the beginning of their career, because they fear it will spoil their business. If at all, they like to have only female children,

because a daughter is more useful to them than a son. They are so much interested in girls that they are anxious to adopt them even in addition to their own if an opportunity offers itself. The custom of adopting female children is in vogue in this community on a very large scale. These girls are generally the offsprings of widows gone astray, or orphans, or are bought from such parents as are too poor to support them. Sometimes widows, and sometimes women of bad character not wanted by the family they belong to nor by the men who ruin them, seek admission in the community. In fact, the population of this community ought to have decreased but owing to the reasons mentioned above it is increasing.

Another unfortunate feature of the system is the sad and pitiable condition of the male members of this community. From their very birth they are looked down upon by the whole family and are neglected in every way. When they are grown up, their chief duty is to execute the orders of their sisters, who, being the supporters of the family, are considered to be the heads of the house. As they are generally illiterate and wanting in self-reliance, they have to depend always on their sisters for maintenance. As the girls in the community are dedicated to temples and have to be prostitutes, the men have to remain unmarried. The few men among them who marry are provided with girls from other castes who are born out of wedlock, or are orphans or their parents are too poor to maintain them. Owing to the bad environment, some of these men succumb to vice.

No open prostitution is carried on in the villages. But there is no doubt that this traffic in girls is carried on very extensively. At all the railway stations and at the wharf at Punjim men travelling first and second class are approached, taken to the villages, boarding and lodging arrangements there being made for them, and girls ready to begin life as their mistresses are introduced to them. Sometimes rich people from places like Bombay, Poona and Belgaum visit Goa, spend a few days there and after wasting

thousands of rupees on this vice return home. In addition, the persons whose mistresses go to Goa for a change visit them there. But there is some difference between this traffic and the general traffic in girls. These 'dedicated' women sincerely believe that in following this profession they act according to their religion and therefore they cannot marry. So they are always on the look-out for a 'Shet' (master) who will give them the highest pay as soon as they reach maturity. Though the future prospects of a woman of this class may not be as bright as they are pictured to her, yet it is certain she knows definitely the purpose for which she is taken to Bombay and how she will have to spend her future life. Those who are responsible for this sad state of things are those who encourage this erroneous conception of religion and the perpetuation of this evil custom. If these are induced to abandon this false idea of religious duty the traffic will be considerably checked.

Movement to Raise the Status of the Community

The movement to raise the status of the community first began some ten years ago. A Conference of the community was held at Kakeda (Goa) on the 26th December 1917 under the presidentship of Mr. Govind Pundlick Hedge-Desai, Editor of the '*Bharat*.' Up to that time marriage was almost unknown in the community, and since then vigorous propoganda has been carried on. Conferences have been held in different parts of Goa, and a weekly paper called '*Pragati*' and a monthly magazine '*Maratha Gayak Mitra*' started to create favourable public opinion. Some of these activities have now ceased. But efforts are still being made to educate public opinion in other ways. As a result of this propoganda the number of marriages in the community is increasing every year. More than a dozen marriages took place during the last marriage season in Bombay City itself. And there is no doubt that this tendency is steadily increasing.

Several sporadic efforts have been made in Bombay City to educate and organise the community, but were given up all too soon. However, since the passing of the Children's Act, this community is very much disturbed and by using this as an opportunity efforts are

being-made once again to get the community organised. With this object in view, two organisations, one for students and the other for adults, were started last year in Bombay and educational propaganda is being carried on by them. But the organisers have realised that unless the degrading custom is stopped and the present generation is kept aloof from the contaminating atmosphere, the condition of the community cannot be improved. Therefore efforts are being made to start a hostel for women students. All the three divisions of the class mentioned above are represented in these organisations. It is a happy sign of the changing times that some girls and boys brought up in this vicious atmosphere, but studying in colleges and high schools, are members of these organisations and are making strenuous efforts to see that those of the present school-going generation do not follow their ancestral profession. Fortunately hundreds of these children in Bombay City and in other places are attending schools. About a dozen students in Goa and more than 25 in Bombay are students in colleges, the majority of them being girls. In this community the children are very intelligent and in the schools which they attend the prizes and scholarships are generally carried away by them. In music as a rule they surpass other students.

Some of the members of this community have distinguished themselves in different walks of life and are well known as doctors, lawyers, professors, etc. Until now they have kept strictly aloof from the communal movements. But some of them now take a leading part in these and if such efforts are persisted in they are bound to bear fruit.

It is not possible for all the women of this class to get married, for various reasons; therefore in order to become self-supporting they must be trained for respectable professions. Moreover their present life of luxury will certainly come in their way if they really mean to leave their objectionable profession. They must change their entire mode of living in the days of social reform.

Almost all the men and women of this community with whom I have had an opportunity to discuss the question have come to the

conclusion that the most effective way of improving the community will be to educate the male members of the community and to enable them to earn their livelihood by honourable means. There are many families in Bombay and elsewhere at present in which girls do not wish to follow their ancestral profession but want to marry or want to follow some respectable calling by means of which they can become self-supporting. Then who comes in their way ? Generally the older members of the family, for, I am told, they are afraid that if the girls in their houses marry, they themselves will be placed in a helpless condition as there will be none to maintain them. There are, indeed, instances of girls who, in order to fulfil the righteous ambition of getting married, have had to run away to their friends and thus free themselves from the evil influence at home. But if male members can be trained to be self-respecting, self-reliant and self-supporting, and if they will tell their sisters that if they persist in such a profession they will sever all connection with them, then it is believed most of the women will wish to be with their brothers and to get married rather than carry on this profession independently. But their education must be such as will make them self-supporting.

Whatever may be the origin of the institution of Devadasis there is no doubt that it is responsible for the moral degradation of a large section of the Hindû community. In Goa, Savantwadi State and in some parts of the Ratnagiri and Kanara districts, houses of these women are attached to every temple both in villages and in towns. They live in the vicinity of the temples and some work in the temples is allotted to them. Some get cash and some are given land in exchange for this service in temples. But the income is so small that it is not sufficient to get one full meal a day for one person. They must therefore look to some other profession. Unfortunately this vicious influence is allowed to exist in the temples where people come for worship and it is preserved zealously by the temple trustees and by the ignorant and superstitious public. These argue that if it is the desire of the god of the temple to continue it, how will they be able to stop it? Those people say they are not hindering the moral reform of these women. This is absurd. It is not true that they wish to stop this, or they

would insist that the women must give up their immoral profession. There is not a single trustee or manager of any temple, as far as I know, who has made efforts to stop this moral degradation of their temple servants. There are rich temples where the income figure runs into some thousands. If the trustees would ask these women to stop serving in the temple and would also give them back the land presented to them, the path of reform for this community would be smoother. But it is useless to expect such things from these people. Therefore Government must interfere. Religious institutions in Goa are under Government control and therefore it is not difficult for the Goa Government to introduce reform in temples. Bombay Presidency also suffers much from this immoral custom, and the Bombay Government therefore must bring pressure to bear upon the Portuguese Government to move in the matter. A session of the Savantwadi State People's Conference was recently held in Bombay in which a resolution requesting His Highness the Maharaja of Savantwadi to stop this evil was unanimously passed and it is hoped that His Highness will readily respond to his people's request. But it is necessary that the Bombay Government should first of all, by legislation, stop this immoral custom within its own limits.

The problem of reclaiming the class which supplies the hereditary servants of certain families, and which has no connection with temple service, is less difficult to solve; for there is no compulsion for prostitution on account of a supposedly religious custom, nor do the patron families insist that the girls in the families of their hereditary servants must remain unmarried. Only an awakening for social elevation among the men and women of this section is needed, and with some sympathy on the part of the public, especially the various patron families, the problem should be easy of solution.

It is necessary to mention here that there is a great difference between those who are prostitutes by caste and those who are professional prostitutes, and to solve these two problems, different means will have to be adopted. A woman becomes a profes-

sional prostitute from the time she begins to sell her body. But the prostitute by caste is called a prostitute from the time of her birth. Even if she leads a comparatively clean life—and there are some among them, as mentioned above, who live like a married woman by remaining faithful to one man—still she cannot get rid of the blot attached to her name. She is called a prostitute because her ancestors were following that profession. From her very birth she is given to understand that she must follow that profession. It is her religious duty to follow that profession. In this way a whole section of the Hindu community is considered as belonging to this class. This institution is peculiar to India alone and, what is much worse, it makes victims of innocent children who at an age when they cannot see the future before them are trained for an immoral life. This is one of the tyrannies of the caste system. It is certainly disgraceful to Hindu society that any member of such a large community should be placed in the degrading position that she is ashamed to tell the name of her father or community. The question is whether Hindu society should reserve this section for immoral purposes or should remove the blot attached to it and try to raise its status. We must admit that this community is the result of circumstances created by Hindu society. Therefore Hindu society is more responsible for their moral degradation than is this prostitute community itself. If we look at the question from the national point of view and not from the communal point of view, we have to admit that we must give them a helping hand, at least we should not put obstacles in the way of their reform. But the general public do not realise these facts. A vigorous propaganda therefore must be carried on to educate public opinion. The Bombay Vigilance Association is prepared to undertake this propaganda. It is the work of Hindu social reformers and the Association's efforts can in the first instance only be exerted in the direction of rousing other organizations for social reform.

It may also be mentioned here that trade depression has very much affected this profession and it is feared that if the trade depression continues, a section of this community will be

thrown on the street, in which case not only this community will have to suffer but society at large will have to suffer with them, for those who have been mistresses will be reduced to the position of ordinary prostitutes.

In those places where we find the Devadasis it is a custom among the people to keep mistresses and they think that this raises their social position. But the other women in their houses are expected strictly to follow the rules of chastity. The existence of these different standards of morality for different sexes not only creates dissatisfaction in these families but naturally leads to many evils. It is largely owing to this that institutions like the Devadasis are found to be necessary. The foundation of social purity rests on individual purity, and individual purity rests on a just and equal moral standard for both the sexes. Unless this wrong conception regarding morality is removed, and the same moral laws are made applicable to both men and women, the standard of social purity cannot be raised.

Mere propaganda work will not suffice, unless some of these evils are made illegal by legislation. That the passing of such legislation should prove far less difficult than is commonly supposed will be clear when it is remembered, *firstly*, that similar legislation was passed nearly thirty years ago in the Mysore State; and, *secondly*, that so far from this immoral custom having Hindu religious sanction the case is exactly the opposite, for such a staunch and orthodox Hindu leader as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as long ago as 1912 declared in the Supreme Legislative Council: 'I hope that not a man in the country will be able to put forward one single text which will justify a thing which is so irreligious and sinful as the dedication of girls in a position where they must be compelled to lead a life of sin and shame. Nor will any legislation suffice that merely fixes an age-limit below which this custom is illegal. In a reply given in the Bombay Legislative Council on August 4th, 1928, the Home

Member, the Honourable J. R. Martin, stated :—'The Government of India are at present considering the question of undertaking legislation to suppress the evil of dedicating girls under 18 years of age to temples as *devadasis*.' Any such legislation will mean paltering with an evil that calls for extirpation. In view of the fact that parents and other elders in these particular communities bring up girls 'even from their childhood as would-be prostitutes,' and in view of the fact that a girl is therefore often a prostitute long before she is 18, the demand of the *Naik Maratha Mandal* of Vithalwadi, Dadar, Bombay is the only remedy to meet the situation. The President and Joint-Secretaries of the Mandal appeal to the public 'in the name of religion and social purity to exert their utmost to get a legislative measure passed against the abominable and harmful custom of dedication of girls to idols which prevails in some parts of our country. Please note that any raising of age limit will prove simply futile. The very ceremony of dedication has to be declared criminal.' Along with such a legislative measure there needs also to be passed another measure such as that which Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, is bringing forward. The present system 'of dedicating young girls to Hindu temples,' says Mrs. Reddy, gives the impression 'that Hinduism encourages immorality,' and the system 'has degenerated into something highly objectionable because the majority of the girls so dedicated take to an immoral life.' The new Bill 'provides that where a grant of land has been made to dancing girls or *devadasis* for the performance of any service in a temple, such land shall be enfranchised to the present holder thereof, and she should not be required to perform any service in the temple concerned.' As Mrs. Reddy's Bill is for the Madras Presidency only, there is need of some such Bill being prepared and passed as an all-India measure.



The Bombay Vigilance Association.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the Association are :—

1. To secure recognition of the principle that the moral law is the same for both men and women.
2. To suppress and prevent the traffic in women and girls, and the outrage, corruption, abduction and prostitution of persons under eighteen.
3. To do rescue and vigilance work in general.
4. To ensure the enforcement of the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and of the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution-Act of 1923.
5. To prevent the publication and sale of indecent and obscene literature *inter alia* in the shape of pictures, books and papers, and objectionable advertisements, cinema films and theatrical performances.
6. And to carry on active propaganda work for the ultimate and complete abolition of brothels.

MEMBERSHIP.

There shall be the following classes of members :—

Patrons,
Life Members, and
Ordinary Members.

Any person giving a donation of Rs. 1,000 or more to the funds of the Association shall be elected a Patron of the Association.

Any person giving a donation of Rs. 100 shall be elected a Life Member of the Association.

The annual subscription for an Ordinary Member shall be Rs. 5.

Any person above the age of twenty-one who is in sympathy with the objects of the Association may be elected as a member by the Executive Committee of the Association.

Donations may kindly be sent to Ishwardas Lakhmidas, Esq., Hon-Treasurer, Garden View, Hughes Road, Bombay.

For Application forms and other particulars, please write to the Secretaries.

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AUG 1991

CHRONOLOGY
of
EVENTS IN CHINA

1911-1927

With a Foreword

BY

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

V41-N2

ISSUED BY

THE ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

Chatham House,
10, St. James's Square,
London, S.W.1.

FOREWORD

by

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

THE merits of this "Chronology of Events in China" are so self-evident that they need no advertisement. It has already justified its existence by running through three reprints in one year, and if further proof of its value is needed it may be found in the fact that, in Universities, in business houses, and in Government Departments it is in constant use. No one engaged in the study of modern China, unless he be happily endowed with the legendary memory of Lord Macaulay, can do without this Chronology, for the production of which I congratulate and thank Mr. Wheeler-Bennett and the Association for International Understanding.

A. F. WHYTE

P R E F A C E

THE compilation of the "Chronology of Events in China" was originally undertaken by the Staff of the Association for International Understanding as a piece of research work for a group of its members. The Association received valuable assistance from Miss Boulter, of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the resulting Chronology for the period 1911-1926 inclusive appeared in the "Bulletin of International News", issued by the Association, Volume III, No. 4, of February 21st, 1927.

The Chronology has since been reprinted three times: once by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, specifically for the use of the British party attending the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu in July, 1927; once in Peking by the Hon. Secretary of the Association, for use in China and Japan (this edition of the Chronology was brought up to the signing of the Hankow Agreement at the beginning of February, 1927); and finally by the American Peace Society, who published it in full in the "Advocate of Peace", Volume 89, No. 12, of December, 1927.

Now, in view of the continued demand of the Chronology, both in this country and in the United States of America, the Committee of Management of the Association for International Understanding has authorised its republication in a slightly enlarged form, i.e. extended up to the end of December, 1927. In drawing up the Chronology it has been the compilers' intention to keep two phases of the Chinese events prominently in mind: first, the relations of China with the Powers; and secondly, the main course of the war between the Nationalist movement and the Peking Government. As a result of this, other events in China have been chronicled when they assumed large proportions and were generally within the public eye.

It will be understood that a short chronology must necessarily omit much that would be of great interest to individuals, and it has, therefore, been the task of the compilers to concentrate upon topics of general interest.

In addition to its thanks to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Association here tenders its gratitude to Mr. W. E. Leveson, and also to Mr. H. C. Wilcox, of the China Association, for the invaluable assistance which they have been kind enough to give the compilers of the Chronology.

JOHN W. WHEELER-BENNETT,

Hon. Secretary.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CHINESE
REPUBLIC

SUN YAT-SEN (Provisional President)	-	-	1911-1912
YUAN SHIH-KAI	-	-	1912-1916
LI YUAN-HUNG	-	-	1916-1917
FENG KUO-CHANG	-	-	1917-1918
Hsu SHIH-CH'ANG	-	-	1918-1922
LI YUAN-HUNG	-	-	1922-1923
TSAO KUN	-	-	1923-1924
TUAN CHI-JUI (Provisional Chief Executive)	-		1924-1926
[No President 1926-1927]			
CHANG TSO-LIN (Generalissimo)	-	-	1927-

A SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN CHINA
FROM 1911-1927.

1911.

- Feb. 19. Russian Note to China demanding Commercial facilities in China.
- Y March 17. Law against opium smoking comes into force in China.
- March 28. China accepts all Russia's demands. [See Feb. 19.]
- April 15. American, British, French and German Banks sign agreement for loan to China of \$50,000,000.
- May 8. Opium Agreement signed at Peking between China and Great Britain.
- July (?). Secret deputation of Mongol princes to Russia.
- Aug. 14. Russo-Japanese Agreement concerning railways in Manchuria.
- Sept. 2. Agreement signed between China and Japan for extension of Peking-Mukden Railway line into Mukden.
- Oct. 10. Rebellion against Manchu Dynasty began at Wuchang.
- Oct. 11. Wuchang captured by the revolutionaries.
- Oct. 13. Reformed Government proclaimed and General Li Yuan-hung elected President.
- Oct. 27. Yuan Shih-kai practically made a military dictator by edict.
- Oct. 30. Yuan Shih-kai goes south to conduct operations against revolutionaries.
- Edict published from Throne in Peking apologising for past neglect and granting immediate constitution and free pardon to rebels.
- Nov. 3. The native city of Shanghai passed into the hands of revolutionaries.
- Nov. 8. Yuan Shih-kai elected Prime Minister by National Assembly.
- Nov. 9. Republic proclaimed at Canton.
- Nov. 10. Great Massacre at Nanking by Manchus.
- Nov. 14. Wu Ting-fang appointed military governor at Shanghai.
- Dec. 1. International Opium Conference opened at The Hague.
- Mongols carried out *coup d'état* in Urga.
- Dec. 2. Nanking fell to revolutionaries.
- Dec. 6. Regent resigned.
- Dec. 18. Peace Conference opened at Shanghai between Imperialists and Republicans.
- Dec. 29. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, organiser of the revolution, elected provisional President of the Republic.
- Dec. 31. Shanghai Peace Conference ended.

- 1912.
- ★ Jan. 1. Dr. Sun Yat-sen formally installed at Nanking as President of the Provisional Republican Government.
 - Jan. 5. Republican Manifesto issued. Revolutionary activities continued throughout January.
 - Jan. 6. Railway from Peking to sea occupied by troops of Foreign Powers, thereby enforcing provisions of the Protocol of 1901.
 - Jan. 15. Dr. Sun Yat-sen offered Yuan Shih-kai presidency.
 - Jan. 20. Republicans communicated to Peking terms to Throne in the event of abdication.
 - Jan. 23. International Opium Convention signed at The Hague.
 - Jan. 28. The Generals' Memorial to the Cabinet at Peking concerning provision for the Royal family.
 - Jan. 30. International Agreement signed regarding Commission of Bankers to receive Customs revenue.
 - Feb. 4. Yuan Shih-kai submitted to Republican leaders series of counter-proposals for treatment of Imperial family.
 - Feb. 12. Abdication of Manchu Dynasty. Republic formally inaugurated.
 - ★ Feb. 14. Resignation of Sun Yat-sen from Provisional Government.
 - Feb. 15. Yuan Shih-kai elected provisional President.
 - Feb. 20. General Li Yuan-hung elected Vice-President.
 - March 10. National Council at Nanking adopted a Provisional Constitution. Yuan Shih-kai inaugurated President of the Republic of China in Peking.
 - March 13. Tang Shao-yi appointed Premier.
 - March 23. Opening of the first trial by jury.
 - March 29. Coalition Republican Cabinet formed (Lu Cheng-hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs).
 - April 29. National Council formally opened by President at Peking.
 - June 18. Agreement signed between France, Great Britain, United States, Germany, Russia and Japan regarding Reorganisation Loan to China.
 - June 27. Tang Shao-yi, the Premier, resigned.
 - June 29. Lu Cheng-hsiang nominated Premier.
 - July 14. Cabinet crisis.
 - July 29. Attempt to impeach the Premier.
 - Aug. 1. Mr. G. E. Morrison, the correspondent to *The Times* at Peking, appointed Political Adviser to Chinese President.
 - Aug. 8. Announcement of Russo-Japanese Agreement delimiting respective spheres of influence in Mongolia and Manchuria.
 - † Aug. 12. Four Societies amalgamated, including the Tung Meng Hui founded in 1901 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, under the name of the Kuo MIN TANG.
 - Aug. 24. Dr. Sun Yat-sen visited Peking.

- Aug. 30. Contract for Crisp loan signed in London.
 Aug. (?) Serious outbreaks in Inner Mongolia. Rebellion crushed by Chinese.
- Oct. 3. Belgian Railway loan arranged.
 Nov. 3. Agreement signed between Mongolia and Russia at Urga under which Russia undertook to support Mongolia in maintaining her autonomy.
- Dec. (?) Chinese Government applied for postponement of Boxer Indemnity charges for twelve months. Application subsequently rejected.
- 1913.
- Feb. 22. The Empress Dowager Lung Yu died.
 March 21. Sung Chiao-jen, the acknowledged leader of the Kuomintang, was assassinated at Shanghai.
- May 2. United States and Mexico formally recognised Chinese Republic.
- Sept. 11. Japanese Government demanded reparations from Chinese for loss of lives and property of Japanese during the recent rebellion.
- Sept. 13. China agreed to Japanese demands.
 Sept. 16. Japanese flotilla sent to Yangtze River owing to China's failure to carry out agreement with regard to reparations to Japan.
- Sept. 25. Japan renews ultimatum to China regarding Japanese subjects at Nanking.
- Sept. 28. China apologises to Japan.
 Oct. 6. Yuan Shih-kai elected President of the Republic.
 Oct. 7. Li Yuan-hung elected Vice-President.
- Nov. 4. The President ordered the dissolution of the Kuomintang throughout the country.
- Nov. 5. Joint declarations signed by Russia and China recognising autonomy of Outer Mongolia and Chinese suzerainty over it.
- Dec. 23. China and Germany signed agreement for the construction of two railways in China to be built by German engineers and financed by German capital.
- 1914.
- Jan. 26. Hsiung Hsi-ling resigned post as Minister of Finance.
 Jan. to July. Active brigandage, depredations of "White Wolf".
 Feb. 8. Honan Railway loan issue announced.
 Feb. 13. Sun Pao-chi appointed Minister of Finance.
 March 12. Dr. Froyland murdered.
 March 15. British intimation to China demanding recognition of interests.
 March 18. Yuan Shih-kai opened convention for amendment of provisional constitution.

- May 2. Constitution amended by Yuan Shih-kai promulgated. Cabinet resigned.
- May 4. Chinese troops massacred defenceless Mongols.
- June 3. Chinese Government pays compensation for Dr. Froyland's murder.
- July 1. Military Governors abolished by Presidential Mandate.
- Sept. 15. Treaty signed at Washington with United States for the settlement of disputes by reference to a Permanent International Commission. Ratifications exchanged Oct. 22nd, 1915.
- Oct. 5. Japanese took over administration of Shantung railway line. Agreement signed with Anglo-Franco-Chinese Corporation.
- 1915.
- Jan. 7. Chinese Government gave notice of cancellation of "war zone" in Shantung and requested Japan to withdraw troops.
- Jan. 18. Japanese Minister presented to Chinese President a memorandum containing the "Twenty-One Demands". Prolonged negotiations then took place between the two Governments.
- May 7. Ultimatum delivered by Japanese Minister to Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with Explanatory Note, giving China until 6 p.m. on May 9th in which to comply with the terms of a revised list of demands, which had been presented on April 26th.
- May 8. Chinese Government replied to ultimatum agreeing to accept the revised list of demands together with the exchange of Notes in connection with Fukien Province.
- May 13. United States Government sent identical Notes to Chinese and Japanese Governments regarding her treaty rights, the political and territorial integrity of China and the "Open Door" policy.
- May 25. Treaties and agreements embodying the revised list of demands signed with Japan, together with an exchange of Notes regarding Fukien.
- June 8. Sino-Japanese Treaty ratified and documents exchanged.
- Aug. 14. Monarchical agitation in Peking.
- Aug. 29. The Chouanhai decided to petition the Tsanchengyuan in favour of a monarchy.
- Sept. 4. Japanese Government agreed to cancel her zone in Shantung.
- Sept. 6. President Yuan Shih-kai sent message opposing monarchical restoration.
- Oct. 25. Dr. Wellington Koo appointed Minister to Washington.
- Oct. 28. Japan, Great Britain and Russia advised China to postpone conversion to a monarchy.

- Nov. 5. Majority of provinces in China voted for establishment of monarchy with Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor.
- Nov. 20. Representatives of Mongolians, Tibetans and Mohammedans voted unanimously in favour of a monarchy.
- Nov. 21. Ex-Prince Regent led a Manchu petition urging President Yuan Shih-kai to accept the Throne.
- Dec. 11. President refused to become Emperor. Later, after second petition, the President accepted the honour.
- Dec. 15. Representatives of Japan, Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy advised the Waichiaopu in favour of delay, but declared that they would not encroach on China's independence.
- Dec. 28. Yunnan declared its independence.
- Dec. 31. Edict published that new dynasty would begin on January 1st under the name of HUNG HSIEN.
- 1916.
- Jan. (?). Revolutionary movement in several provinces.
- Jan. 31. Mongolian insurgents advanced on Peking.
- Feb. 23. Mandate published by Yuan Shih-kai stating that the question of a monarchy was to be postponed.
- March (?). Yuan Shih-kai decided to abandon project.
- April 3. Yuan Shih-kai's abdication demanded.
- April 6. Kwangtung Province, including City of Canton, joined in revolt against Yuan Shih-kai's Government.
- April 7. Kwangtung declared its independence.
- April 13. Chekiang and Kiangsi declared their independence.
- April 17. Revolted provinces declared against Yuan Shih-kai.
- April 23. Yuan Shih-kai agreed to surrender all civil authority to the Tuan Chijui ministry.
- May 14. Li Yuan-hung named as President by revolted provinces.
- June 6. Death of Yuan Shih-kai. Li Yuan-hung to assume Presidency.
- Aug. 1. Parliament opened. Li Yuan-hung took oath to constitution.
- Aug. 15. Affray between Chinese and Japanese troops at Cheng Chiatung.
- Nov. 1. Feng Kuo-chang elected Vice-President.
- Nov. 8. Wu Ting-fang appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1917.
- Jan. 21. Dispute between China and Japan re affray at Cheng-Chiatung settled.
- March 22. Further payments of Boxer Indemnity to Germany stopped.
- May 14. American Note to Peking deploring the internal dissensions.
- May 23. Constitutional crisis in China. Dismissal of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. Wu Ting-fang appointed acting Premier. Eleven Provinces revolt.

- ✧ June 18. President dissolved Parliament.
 - July 1. Ex-Emperor Hsuan Tung issued decree announcing succession to Throne.
 - July 4. Li Yuan-hung took refuge in Japanese Legation.
 - July 5. Tuan Chi-jui and Feng Kuo-chang assumed command of Northern and Southern armies respectively.
 - July 6. Provisional Government established at Nanking by Feng Kuo-chang.
 - July 8. Emperor Hsuan Tung abdicated. Tuan Chi-jui appointed Premier.
 - July 9. Republicans surround Peking.
 - July 15. Peking monarchists surrendered.
 - ✧ Aug. 3. Feng Kuo-chang assumed office as President.
 - Aug. 14. China declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.
 - Sept. 6. Provisional Government established at Canton.
 - Sept. 8. Allies agree to postponement of Boxer Indemnity payment for five years.
 - ✧ Oct. 1. Arrest of Sun Yat-sen ordered.
 - Oct. 8. Severe floods in China cause greatest devastation ever recorded.
 - Nov. 2. Publication of American-Japanese (Lansing-Ishii) agreement on their respective interests in China.
 - Nov. 23. Tuan Chi-jui resigned Premiership.
- 1918.
- Jan. Great floods in China.
 - Jan. 22. United States Government protested against firing by Chinese rebels on American gunboat on Yangtze River.
 - Jan. 27. Capture of Tochow (Hunan) by Southerners.
 - March 4. British and Japanese gunboats fired on in Yangtze River.
 - March 10. Chang-Tso-lin's army moved within the Great Wall at Peking.
 - March 25. Tuan Chi-jui reappointed Premier.
 - April (?). Pingkiang sacked by Northern troops.
 - May 15. China-Japanese Agreement concerning Far East signed by Peking.
 - ✧ May 26. Sun Yat-sen resigned post of Generalissimo of Constitutional Military Government of South-West.
 - July 19. Military Party secured majority in election for new Parliament.
 - Aug. 27. General Wu Pei-fu sent message to military Governor of Nanking calling upon him to take lead in restoring peace.
 - Sept. 4. Hsu Shih-ch'ang elected President of the Chinese Republic.

- Sept. 24. Preliminary agreement concluded with Japan regarding Shantung railways, together with an exchange of Notes under which China conceded to Japan the control of the Kirin-Changchun Railway for 99 years. This had been included in the original "Twenty-One Demands" (Article 11).
- Oct. 10. Hsu Shih-ch'ang inaugurated President.
- Oct. 14. Southern Leaders declared war on Hsu Shih-ch'ang.
- Dec. 1. Hostilities of Civil War ordered to cease.
- Dec. 23. Chien Nung-hsun appointed Premier.
- Dec. 29. Peking Government published statement outlining endeavours to arrange basis of peace with South.
- 1919.
- Feb. (end). Conference at Shanghai between North and South.
- March 11. Conference at Shanghai suspended.
- March 12. Clash between American and Japanese soldiers at Tientsin.
- April 8. Peking Government sent *communiqué* to Chinese delegate at Paris Peace Conference to demand cancellation of the treaties and arrangements with Japan.
- April 20. Conference between North and South reassembled at Shanghai.
- April 30. Council of Three at Peace Conference awarded Shantung to Japan.
- May 5. Official statement regarding Shantung issued by Japanese delegate at Peace Conference.
- May 7. Chinese delegate at Peace Conference instructed not to sign Treaty owing to Shantung Clause.
- May 12. International Consortium organised.
- June 11. Riots at Shanghai.
- June 15. Ministry resigned.
- Aug. 1. Chinese Parliament passed Bill declaring state of war with Germany at an end.
- Aug. 23. Foreign Relations Committee of United States Senate rejected Shantung Clause of Peace Treaty.
- 1920.
- Jan. 24. Japanese Government offered to open negotiations regarding Shantung.
- May 7. Chinese Consortium loan completed by acceptance of terms by Japan.
- May 15. Mandate published appointing Admiral Sa Chen-ping acting Premier in Central (Peking) Government.
- May 22. Chinese Government refused Japanese offer of January 24th on basis of Versailles Treaty.
- June 1. Treaty of Friendship signed with Persia. Ratifications exchanged February 6th, 1922.

- July (beginning). Wu Pei-fu, General in command of army in Hunan, advanced towards Peking in order to displace Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and "Anfu" Party. Chang Tso-lin, Inspector-General of Manchuria, demanded reconstruction of Cabinet at Peking and dismissal of General Hsu Shutseng.
- July 9. President dismissed Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun from their commands.
- July 15. Tuan Chi-jui defeated by Wu Pei-fu south of Peking.
- Aug. 4. Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun arrived at Peking.
- Aug. 11. Mandate issued appointing new Cabinet, with Chin Yun-peng as Prime Minister.
- Aug. 22. Tsao Kun appointed Inspector-General of Chihli, etc.
- Sept. (f). Administration of Concession Zone of Chinese Eastern Railway came under Chinese control.
- Sept. 23. Ch'en Ch'ung-ming, Kuomintang Commander in South Fukien, began hostilities against Kwangsi faction at Canton.
- Sept. 23. Presidential Mandate authorises control by China of Russian rights and interests.
- Sept. 27. Declaration proposing agreement between China and Soviet Russia.
- Oct. 2. Russo-Asiatic Bank agreement with Chinese Government re Chinese Eastern Railway.
- Oct. 15. Agreement signed in New York by representatives of America, Great Britain, France and Japanese banks for formation of new financial Consortium in China.
- Oct. 20. Treaty signed at Washington re duty on goods imported into China by United States citizens. Ratifications exchanged November 5th, 1921.
- Oct. (end). Kwangsi leaders fled from Canton. Wu Pei-fu appointed assistant Inspector-General of Chihli, Shantung and Honan.
- Nov. (end). Provisional Government established at Canton by Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao-yi and Wu Ting-fang.
- Nov. 7-Dec. 21. Famine in China reached its height. Fifteen millions reduced to starvation.
- 1921.
- Feb. 1-3. Baron Ungern-Sternberg proclaimed Outer Mongolian Republic.
- April 7. Sun Yat-sen elected "President of China" by Parliament at Canton.
- April-May. Conference at Tientsin and Peking between the three Super-Tuchuns, Chang Tso-lin, Tsao Kun and Wang Chan-yuan (Hankow).
- May 5. Sun Yat-sen formally assumed office.

- May 20. Treaties of commerce and amity signed at Peking between China and Germany. Ratifications exchanged July 1st, 1921.
- June 30. Banque Industrielle de Chine suspended.
- July 6. Soviet troops occupied Urga, and established Mongolian Red Government.
- July 8. United States refused to surrender its rights in China under a contract between that country and Federal Telegraph Company.
- Aug. 12. Official invitations sent by President of United States to Great Britain, France, Italy and China to take part with United States in conference on Far East and Limitation of Armaments. All subsequently accepted.
- Sept. 7. Japanese Government made specific proposals for settlement *re* Shantung.
- Sept. 26. Agreement amending Treaty of 1899 concluded with Mexico.
- Oct. 5. Chinese reply rejects Japanese offer of September 7th.
- Oct. 18. Further Japanese Note sent. Chinese reply November 3rd.
- Nov. 5. Treaty signed by Mongolian Red Government and Soviet Russian Government.
- Nov. 22. Declaration by Chinese delegate to Washington Conference *re* non-alienation of Chinese territory.
- Dec. 1-Jan. 31, 1922. Conventions between Chinese and Japanese delegations at Washington Conference.
- Dec. 10. Resolution regarding extra-territoriality adopted by Washington Conference.
- Dec. 17. Chin Yun-peng resigned Premiership of Central Government.
- Dec. 24. Government formed with Liang Shih-yi as Prime Minister under protection of Chang Tso-lin.
- 1922.
- Jan. 8. Presidential Mandate abolished Russian land privileges as from April 1st, 1922.
- Jan. 28. President Hsu-Shih-ch'ang resigned, succeeded by Li Yuan-hung, the former President who had resigned in 1917.
- Feb. 1. British offer to surrender lease of Weihaiwei to China announced by Mr. Balfour at Washington Conference.
- Feb. 4. Treaty signed at Washington by Japan and China *re* settlement of Shantung question. Ratifications, June 2nd, 1922.
- Feb. 6. Treaties relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China and to the Chinese Customs Tariff signed at Washington by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal.

- March 28. Agreement signed at Peking *re* evacuation of Japanese troops along Shantung Railway Zone.
- March 31. Tariff Revision Commission held first meeting at Shanghai.
- April 29–May 4. Fighting in Chihli Province between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu culminated in victory for Wu Pei-fu.
- May 21 (*?*). Fengtien Province declared independence and elected Chang Commander of the Forces.
- June 6. Armistice concluded between Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu at Chingwangtao on board H.M.S. *Curlew*.
- June 8–16. Wu Pei-fu occupied Chingwangtao.
- June 13. Dr. W. W. Yen Prime Minister of New Cabinet of Central Government.
- June 16–17. Sun Yat-sen defeated by Ch'en Ch'ung-ming.
- June 29. A Commission met at Canton for transferring Shantung to China.
- Aug. 9–14. Further defeat of Sun's general by Ch'en Ch'ung-ming.
- Aug. 14. Sun arrived at Shanghai having escaped in British Gunboat.
- Sept. 30. China elected a non-permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations.
- Oct. 2. Joint Commission at Weihaiwei opened.
- Oct. 13. Foochow captured by adherent of Sun.
- Nov. 30. British Post Office closed in accordance with instructions of Washington Conference.
- Dec. 5. Agreement signed at Peking between China and Japan *re* Shantung Railway.
- Dec. 17. Last Japanese troops withdrawn from Shantung.
- Dec. 18. Chang Shao-tseng appointed Prime Minister of Central Government. Combination of Yunnan and Kwangsi forces with Sun Yat-sen's supporters captured Wuchow and threatened Canton.
- Dec. 20. Chinese Government informally informed that Great Britain would devote further payments of Boxer Indemnity to mutually beneficial purposes.
- Dec. 31. French, American and Japanese Post Offices closed.
- 1923.
- Jan. 15. Ch'en Ch'ung-ming abandoned Canton and retired to Waichow.
- Jan. 17. Revised Tariff came into force.
- Jan. 26. Joint Statement issued at Shanghai signed by M. Joffe, head of Soviet Mission, and Sun Yat-sen.
- Feb. 10. Agreement concluded with France *re* utilisation of French share of Boxer Indemnity. Banque Industrielle de Chine to be refloated.
- Feb. 21. Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton and formed a Government.

- March 10. Note to Japan proposing annulment of Treaties and Exchange of Notes of May 25th, 1915, and asking for restitution of Port Arthur and Kwantung.
- March 21. Japanese Government refused to consider Chinese proposal of March 10th.
- May 31. Provisional agreement for rendition of Weihaiwei signed.
- June 5. Chang Shao-tseng's Cabinet (Central Government) resigned.
- June 9. Japan protested against attack by Chinese on Japanese bluejackets at Changsha on June 1st.
- June 13-14. President Li Yuan-hung left Peking, forced by Civil Governor of Chihli to sign resignation at Tientsin.
- Aug. 1. Chinese authorities in Manchuria attempted to seize Land Department of Chinese Eastern Railway.
- Aug. 10. Note signed by seventeen countries demanding damages for Lincheng railway outrage.
- Sept. 2. M. Karakhan arrived in Peking.
- Oct. 5. T'iao Kun elected President of the Republic.
- Oct. 10. New Constitution promulgated.
- Nov. (beginning). Fighting between troops of Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Ch'ung-ming near Canton.
- Dec. 1. Sun Yat-sen threatened to seize Customs Revenues at Canton.
- Dec. 6. Foreign Marines landed to guard Customs House. Warships despatched by Great Britain, United States, Japan, France, Italy and Portugal.
- 1924-
- Jan. 13. New Cabinet, Central Government, Sun Pao-chi Prime Minister.
- March 24. Provisional agreement for *de jure* recognition of Soviet Government signed by M. Karakhan and Dr. Wang, Peking Government denounced Dr. Wang's signature.
- April 28. Foreign warships withdrawn.
- May 8. United States Congress remitted balance of American share of Boxer Indemnity.
Agreement between China and U.S.S.R. regarding *de jure* recognition.
- May 31. Soviet Government renounced Russian share of Boxer Indemnity.
- June 16. Chinese Note to United States, Japan and France stating that in future China and Russia alone would deal with Chinese Eastern Railway.
- July 2. Sun Pao-chi resigned. Dr. Wellington Koo acting Prime Minister.
- Aug. 9. Note presented by Peking Government to Diplomatic Corps demanding rendition of Shanghai Mixed Court.

- Aug. 11. Joint Note from Powers to Peking Government *re* protection of lives and property at Shanghai.
- Sept. 2. Sun Chuan-fang declared war on Lu Young-hsiang.
- Sept. 3. Lu Yung-hsiang declared war on President Tsao Kun.
- Sept. 7. Chang Tso-lin declared war on Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu.
- Sept. 12. Dr. W. W. Yen appointed Prime Minister (Central Government). Russian Legation at Peking handed over to Soviet Envoy.
- Sept. 18. Presidential Mandate appointed Wu Pei-fu "Commander-in-Chief of Army for Suppression of Rebels."
- Sept. 20. Agreement signed at Mukden between Chang Tso-lin and Soviet Government.
- Oct. 13. Lu Yung-hsiang's resistance in Chekiang Province collapsed.
- Oct. 22. Feng Yu-hsiang; one of Wu's Generals, deserted him, occupied Peking and demanded cessation of hostilities.
- Oct. 24. Wu Pei-fu dismissed by President.
- Oct. 25. Dr. Yen's Cabinet resigned.
- Oct. 30. Chingwangtao occupied by Chang Tso-lin's troops.
- Oct. 31. Emergency Cabinet formed by Huang-fu.
- Nov. 2. President Tsao Kun resigned.
- Nov. 10. Conference at Tientsin between Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang and Tuan Chi-jui, who had been living in retirement since 1920.
- Nov. 15. Tuan Chi-jui accepted office as Provisional Chief Executive.
- Nov. 25. Provisional Cabinet constituted. Tuan Chi-jui as Premier.
- Nov. 29. Ex-Emperor took refuge in Japanese Legation in Peking.
- Dec. 9. Powers signatory to Washington Agreement agreed to recognise Government on certain conditions.
- Dec. 17. Note from Powers handed to Peking Government regarding protection of lives and property at Shanghai.
- Dec. 24. Government gave formal assurances to Powers that treaties would be recognised.
- 1925.
- Jan. 16. Chang Tso-lin's troops attacked combined army of Sun Ch'uan-fang and Chi Hsi-yuan.
- Jan. 17. Central Government replied to Powers' Note of Dec. 7th agreeing to protect lives, etc. at Shanghai.
- Jan. 29. Chang Tso-lin's troops entered Shanghai.
- Feb. 5. Ch'en Ch'ung-ming launched attack on Canton.
- Feb. 1-April 21. "Reorganisation Conference" inaugurated at Peking by Tuan Chi-jui and attended by Members of Peking Government and Military leaders.
- Feb. 21. Peking Government paid \$300,000 in settlement of claims *re* Lincheng outrage.
- Feb. 23. Ex-Emperor took refuge in Japanese concession at Tientsin.
- † March 12. Death of Sun Yat-sen.

- April 12. Agreement reached settling "Gold franc controversy."
- May 30. Chinese students demonstration at Shanghai in international concession. Nine Chinese killed.
- June 1. General Strike declared at Shanghai.
- June 1-4. Series of riots at Shanghai State of Emergency declared. Twenty-one killed (including those of May 30th); sixty-five wounded.
- June 2-13. Notes exchanged between Foreign Office at Peking and Diplomatic Corps *re* Shanghai incident.
- June 6-13. Yunnanese driven from Canton by Cantonese.
- June 12-30. Rioting, attacks against foreigners and student demonstrations at Peking, Chinkiang, Hankow, Kaifeng, Amoi, Tientsin, etc.
- June 15-18. Negotiations at Shanghai between Chinese and representatives of Diplomatic Corps. These broke down.
- June 20. Anti-Imperialist strike spreads to Hongkong and Canton.
- June 23. Foreign Concession at Canton fired on. One Frenchman killed. British subjects wounded, Chinese killed and wounded. French Consul informed Canton Government that indemnity would be demanded.
- June 24. Two Notes addressed by Peking Government to Diplomatic Corps: (a) demands *re* Shanghai incident; (b) revision of unequal treaties.
- June 26. Formal protest by British Minister at Peking *re* firing on British concession at Canton. Note from Canton Government to British and French Consuls demanding compensation and surrender of Shameen to Canton.
- July 1. New Cantonese Government (KUOMINTANG).
- July 2. Commission (French, Italian and American representatives) appointed to adjudicate *re* Shanghai incident. United States Government sent Note to Powers suggesting immediate appointment of Mixed Commission to consider gradual abolition of extra-territoriality.
- July 4. Peking Government refused further negotiations unless extraneous questions also discussed.
- July 16. President Coolidge issued executive order remitting all payments of American share of Boxer Indemnity received after Oct. 1st, 1927.
- July 17. Conference of British Foreign Minister, American, French and Japanese Ambassadors in London decided on judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.
- Aug. 5. Ratification of two Treaties of Feb. 6th, 1922, exchanged at Washington following ratification by French Chamber on July 7th.
- Aug. (?). Strikes and riots at Tientsin.

- Aug. 12. Strike Committee issues regulations governing Canton-Hongkong boycott.
- Aug. 19. Peking Government invited Powers to special Tariff Conference *re* Tariff Autonomy.
- Aug. 21. Diplomatic Corps agreed to resume negotiations *re* Shanghai Mixed Court.
- Aug. 26. Canton Government disowned responsibility for regulations of Aug. 12th.
Sino-Soviet Conference met in Peking.
- Aug. (end). Moderate Members of Canton Government expelled.
- Sept. (beginning). Swatow occupied by Ch'en Ch'ung-ming's "Anti-Red Army."
- Sept. 5. Agreement with Belgium *re* Boxer Indemnity.
- Sept. 15. Note presented to Peking Government *re* judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.
- Sept. 17. United States Government convoked commission on extra-territoriality for Dec. 18th at Peking. Meeting subsequently postponed.
- Sept. 21. Peking Government refused to appoint Chinese jurist to judicial inquiry into Shanghai incident.
- Sept. 24. Powers represented at Washington sent identical Notes in reply to Chinese Note of 24th June *re* modification of Treatise, Tariff Conference, and Extra-territoriality Commission.
- Sept. 26. Anti-British strike at Shanghai ended by agreement.
- Oct. 7-27. Commission held inquiry at Shanghai.
- Oct. 15. Chang Tso-lin's troops withdrew from Shanghai before Sun Ch'uan-fang's army.
- Oct. 20. Nanking surrendered to Sun Ch'uan-fang.
- Oct. 20-Nov. 10. Retreat of Chang Tso-lin's forces before Sun Ch'uan-fang.
- Oct. 21. Wu Pei-fu arrived at Hankow.
- Oct. 26. Special Tariff Conference opened.
- Nov. 1. Agreement with Italy *re* Boxer Indemnity.
- Nov. 6. Cantonese forces under Chiang Kai-shek recaptured Swatow.
- Nov. 13. Agreement between Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yu-hsiang for withdrawal of Chang's forces from neighbourhood of Peking.
- Nov. 17. Report of Commission of Inquiry at Shanghai completed.
- Nov. 19. Agreement reached at Tariff Conference *re* Tariff Autonomy and abolition of Likin.
- Nov. 26. Feng Yu-hsiang's forces occupied Peking.
- Dec. (beginning). Pakhoi and Hainan Islands taken by Cantonese Nationalist forces.
Sino-Soviet negotiations reopened in Peking.
- Dec. 6. Kuo Sung-ling (formerly supporter) defeated Chang Tso-lin.

- Dec. 15. Japanese War Department announced decision to send reinforcements to picket South Manchurian Railway.
- Dec. 15 and 19. Diplomatic Corps at Peking presented Notes to Chinese Foreign Office insisting on restoration of full communication between Peking and the coast.
- Dec. 23. Full summaries of findings of three judges on the Shanghai Commission published. Shanghai Municipal Council forwarded \$75,000 compensation for Chinese killed and wounded. Resignation of police officers concerned accepted.
- Dec. 24. Chang Tso-lin defeated Kuo Sung-ling.
- Dec. 26. Mandate published in Peking appointing Hsu Shi-ying Prime Minister.
- Dec. 27. Kuo Sung-ling executed.
- Dec. 28. Japanese War Department decided to withdraw additional troops from South Manchuria.
- Dec. 29. General Hsu Shu-tsing (Little Hsu) assassinated.
- 1926.
- Jan. 7. British Foreign Office announced constitution of Statutory Committee to advise on best use of funds of Boxer Indemnity and decision that delegation of three Chinese and three British members under chairmanship of Lord Willingdon should study whole question in China.
- Jan. 10. Unofficial negotiations for settlement of Hongkong boycott broke down owing to pressure by Canton extremists.
- Jan. 12. The International Commission of Extra-territoriality (in China) held its opening session at Peking.
- Jan. 21. Marshal Wu Pei-fu, acting in agreement with Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Sun Ch'uan-fang, began his advance from Hupei Province against Peking.
- Jan. 21. M. Ivanov, General Manager of Chinese Eastern Railway, arrested by Chang Tso-lin as result of dispute with Russian authorities of the railway over payment for transport of troops.
- Jan. 23. M. Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador, sent Note to Peking Government demanding release of M. Ivanov within three days; at the same time the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs wrote direct to Marshal Chang Tso-lin.
- Jan. 24. Agreement reached for release of M. Ivanov and other arrested Russians and resumption of traffic.
- Feb. 21. Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs at Canton announced closing of part of Canton owing to seizure of cargo by strikers.
- Feb. 25. Seized goods surrendered and port of Canton reopened.
- March 4. Peking Government denounced French treaties dealing with Indo-China Frontier.

- March 9. Foreign shipping fired on by Taku Forts, and mines reported to have been laid at entrance to Peiho River leading up to Tientsin.
- March 10. Diplomatic protest presented to Peking Foreign Office in view of violation of 1901 Protocol.
- March 13. Two Japanese destroyers fired on by Kuominchun forces in Taku forts.
- March 16. Diplomatic Body at Peking authorised naval commanders of the Powers in Tientsin to present ultimatum to the rival Chinese Commanders at Taku demanding free access to the sea by river from Tientsin, discontinuance of hostilities there and of search of ships, and the removal of mines from Peiho.
- March 18. Peking Government and rival commanders accept demands of Diplomatic Body. Student's riots at Peking; police guarding the Cabinet fired on students, killing about forty.
- March 20. *Coup d'Etat* at Canton. General Chiang Kai-shek arrested Russians, extremists and strike leaders; Canton Government notified Hongkong that they would appoint a delegation to settle the boycott. Cabinet (Premier Chia Teh-yao) resigned.
- March 22. Kuominchun forces retreated from Tientsin, but remained in possession of Peking.
- March 23–April 15. "Siege" of Peking.
- April 6 and 16. Diplomatic Body protest against arial bombardment of Peking.
- April 6. Peking Government notified to Belgian Government their desire to revise Treaty of 1865, or failing revision, to denounce it.
- April 10. "Chief Executive" Tuan Chi-jui deposed by Kuominchun. Kuominchun invited Wu-Pei-fu to take control in Peking, but Wu declined.
- April 12. Collapse of boycott negotiations owing to Hongkong's refusal to pay strike compensation.
- April 20. Tuan Chi-jui ceased finally to function as Chief Executive and left for Tientain.
- April 25. Kuominchun forces evacuated Peking. Second *coup d'Etat* by General Chiang Kai-shek—this time against the Moderates.
- May 13. Dr. W. W. Yen became Premier and inaugurated a "Regency Cabinet" in the absence of any recognised head of the Chinese Republic.
- May 15. Kuomintang Convention at Canton; resolution passed making Communists ineligible as departmental chiefs in Kuomintang Party.

- June 1. Kuomintang Party issued proclamation ordering new Canton Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, to institute negotiations for ending the strike.
- June 4. Hongkong Government accepted Cantonese invitation to negotiate. Revenues of the salt gabelle at Tientsin taken over by local Military Governor.
- June 5. Sino-Soviet discussions which had been taking place at Mukden regarding Chinese Eastern Railway broke down owing to Chang Tso-lin's refusal to agree to Soviet demands. [See Jan. 21-24.]
- June 18. Report of Lord Willingdon's Delegation on Boxer Indemnity signed. (Text: British White Paper. *Cmd.* 2766.) [See Jan. 7.]
- June 23. Dr. W. W. Yen resigned Premiership and was succeeded by Tu Hsi-kuei.
- June 28. Inconclusive meeting at Peking between Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu.
- July 13. Tang Sheng-chih, in alliance with Cantonese, occupied Changsha, defeating Wu Pei-fu's troops.
- July 15. Opening of general "allied" attack on Kuominchun.
- July 15. Hong-kong-Canton negotiations opened.
- July 23. At an informal meeting of the delegates the Peking Tariff Conference was adjourned *sine die*.
- July 25. Hongkong-Canton negotiations suspended for consideration of proposals made on either side.
- Aug. 13. Diplomatic Body (subject to reservation by Italian Minister) approved Draft Agreement for rendition of Shanghai Mixed Court.
- Aug. 14. Defeat of Kuominchun at the Nankou Pass.
- Aug. 17. Chang-Tso-lin's forces occupied Kalgan.
- Aug. 18. Canton-Hunan forces captured Yochow.
- Aug. 28. Announcement by Kuomintang that General Feng Yuhsiang (leader of Kuominchun) had been admitted into the Party and was in alliance with Canton.
- Sept. 1-Oct. 11. Siege of Wuchang; the sister cities of Hanyang and Hankow were occupied by the Cantonese early in September.
- Sept. 2. Chinese authorities at Harbin seized vessels belonging to the Chinese Eastern Railway and dissolved the railway's education department.
- Sept. 4. British naval forces at Canton and Swatow cleared away strike picket boats and expelled strike pickets from British-owned wharves at Canton.

- Sept. 5. Wanh sien "incident." In attempting to release British ships, which had been seized (with their officers) by the local general, Yang Sen, British naval forces clashed with Chinese troops and bombarded Wanh sien city. Casualties: British, 8 killed, 7 naval, 1 civilian, 15 wounded; Chinese, military (killed and wounded) about 260; civilians, under 100 killed, about 140 wounded.
- Sept. 11. M. Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador at Peking, departed, after his recall had been demanded by the Peking Government.
- Sept. 12. British naval guards withdrawn from Canton wharves.
- Sept. 16. Report of International Commission on Extra-territoriality (in China) unanimously adopted. (Text: British White Paper, *Cmd.* 2774.)
- Sept. 17—Oct. 15. Series of engagements round Nanchang between Cantonese and troops of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang.
- Sept. 18. Canton Foreign Minister informed British Consul-General that boycott would be ended on or before October 10th, and that simultaneously $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. surtaxes (5 per cent. on luxuries) would be levied on foreign goods.
- Sept. 27. Agreement for rendition of Shanghai Mixed Court published.
- Oct. 2. Dr. Wellington Koo appointed Acting Premier and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- Oct. 10. Canton Strike Committee and Kuomintang Executive announced end of boycott but continuance of anti-Imperialist struggle; strike pickets withdrawn.
- Oct. 11. New surtaxes levied by Canton Government.
- Oct. 16—19. Revolt in Chekiang Province against Marshal Sun Ch'uan-fang suppressed.
- Oct. 18. Report of the Advisory Committee on the Boxer Indemnity, analysing Lord Willingdon's report, presented to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (Text: British White Paper, *Cmd.* 2766.) [See Jan. 7 and June 18.]
- Oct. 21. Peking Government demanded revision of Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1896—commercial clauses of which fell due for reconsideration on Oct. 20th.
- Nov. 3. Declaration by Diplomatic Body at Peking that they could not recognise the legality of the Canton surtaxes.
- Nov. 5. Cantonese occupied Kiukiang; Sun Chuan-fang's army in retreat, withdrawing from whole province of Kiangsi.
- Nov. 6. Peking Government informed Belgian Minister that 1865 Treaty must be considered as terminated; Belgian Government proposed laying question before Hague Tribunal and took steps accordingly.
- Nov. 10. Japanese Government replied that they would consider revision of tariff and commercial articles of Sino-Japanese Treaty. [See Oct. 21st.]

- Nov. 17. Outbreak of labour troubles and strikes at Hankow.
- Nov. 18. Military Council of Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-chang and Sun Ch'uan-fang at Tientsin decided on united action against the Cantonese.
- Nov. 23. Arrest of fourteen persons connected with the Kuomintang in British Concession at Tientsin for seditious activities; they were handed over to the Chinese authorities.
- Dec. 2. Eugene Chen and other Kuomintang leaders arrived at Wuchang.
- Dec. 3. Cantonese occupied Foochow and extended their power over Fukien province; by the end of the month they had advanced to neighbourhood of Hangchow in Chekiang.
- Dec. 8-17. Conversations between Mr. Lampson (new British Minister to China) and Eugene Chen at Hankow.
- Dec. 18. Statement of British policy read to Diplomatic Body at Peking, recommending unconditional grant to surtaxes promised by Washington Conference, and early steps towards Treaty revision.
- Dec. 20. Nationalist demonstrations at Hankow; anti-Imperialist speeches by Russian adviser Borodin and Sun Fo (son of Sun Yat-sen); Eugene Chen asked British Consul-General for removal of barricades at entrance of British concession.
- Dec. 26. British statement of policy published.
- 1927.
- Jan. 1. Mr. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, rejected the British proposal for the application of surtaxes on the ground that it would help the Northern faction. Anti-foreign strike was declared in the concession of Kjukiang. The Nationalist Government issued a mandate consolidating the cities of Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang into one city named Wuhan, to be the Nationalist capital.
- Jan. 3. Mobs invaded the concession at Hankow. Marines were landed.
- Jan. 4. Marines were withdrawn, an arrangement having been made with the Chinese to police the concession. The mob returned and invaded the concession at Hankow. Business closed down. Mr. Chen issued a proclamation stating that the Chinese police and military would preserve order and safeguard life and property.
- Jan. 7. Practically all British women and children had left Hankow.
- Jan. 19. The Shanghai Municipal Council issued a proclamation announcing its intention to maintain law and order. Mr. O'Malley, Counsellor of the British Legation at Peking, arrived at Hankow.

- Jan. 11. Belgian reply to the British Memorandum on China. The Belgian colony at Hankow was evacuated in American warships. The Belgian Consul at Hankow was mobbed.
- Jan. 12. The Nationalists at Hankow published a proclamation stating that those concerned in the above outrage had been arrested. Mr. O'Malley had a conference with British business men at Hankow and later with Mr. Eugene Chen.
- Mandates issued imposing a 2½ per cent. surtax on ordinary goods with a further 5 per cent. on luxuries as from Feb. 1st, and declaring Tariff Autonomy on the part of China from Jan. 1st, 1929.
- Jan. 17. Dr. Wellington Koo and the Belgian Minister met at Peking to open negotiations for a new treaty.
- Jan. 18. Mobs at Foochow looted two British schools, etc.
- Jan. 19. The assembly of the Royal Marine Battalion, a thousand strong, formed for service in China, began in Great Britain.
- Jan. 21. A statement was issued by the British Foreign Office to the effect that the sole object of the military and naval dispositions was to protect the lives of British subjects. Dr. Wellington Koo and Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister, met to begin negotiations for the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce between China and Japan.
- Jan. 24. A British War Office *communiqué* gave the composition of the Shanghai Defence Force.
- Jan. 26. The National Joint Council in Great Britain sent message to Mr. Chen.
- Jan. 28. Proposals corresponding to those made to the Canton Government were made by Sir Miles Lampson to the Northern Government.
- Jan. 29. The negotiations between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Chen for the settlement of the question in regard to the Hankow and Kiukiang concessions concluded. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in a speech at Birmingham, outlined the terms of the British offer to China.
- Jan. 30. Mr. Chen announced that unforeseen events had occurred that prevented the signing of the agreement which had been discussed with Mr. O'Malley.
- Jan. 31. The Chinese Foreign Office at Peking presented a Note to the British Legation protesting against the dispatch of military and naval forces to Shanghai.
- Feb. 1. The Peking Government dismissed Sir Francis Aglen, the Inspector-General of Customs.
- Feb. 2. The British Legation protested against the above.

- Feb. 5. Mr. Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, made a proposal to the contending factions in China that the International Settlement at Shanghai be excluded from warlike activities.
- Feb. 7. The Foreign Ministers in Peking made a joint protest against the levying of the Customs surtaxes by the Chinese Government.
Mr. Chen, the Cantonese Foreign Minister, met Mr. O'Malley, the British Diplomatic Representative, in conference for the first time since the rupture of negotiations.
- Feb. 8. In a declaration of policy Chang Tso-lin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, urged the preservation of the Sovereign rights of China, the restoration of order, and improvement of Government.
General strikes still in progress at Hankow.
- Feb. 9. As a result of the dismissal of Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, Chinese domestic bonds dropped, and as the majority of the Chinese Banks hold these Bonds as a security for a large proportion of their Note Issue there was a prospect of a collapse of the money market.
Mr. Chen notified the Consulates that the Political Bureau had ordered that no more foreign claims should be heard before the Mixed Court but before the Chinese city magistrates and no consular official be permitted to attend in the capacity of an assessor.
- Feb. 10. Mr. A. H. Edwardes who was appointed to succeed Sir Francis Aglen as Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs has up to the present declined to assume that office and the Government intends to dismiss him if he persists in his refusal.
Chang Tso-lin issued a communication that his troops were to march through Honan Province for the conquest of Hankow and stated that he would regard the troops of Wu Pei-fu as friendly if they acted in concert with him but would subjugate them if they opposed him.
Wu Pei-fu requested Chang Tso-lin to refrain from advancing beyond Changte Ho (near the Chihli border) and he would then endeavour to arrange a better understanding between his forces and the Manchurians with a view to avoiding unforeseen conflict.
- Feb. 11. 250 United States Marines arrived at Shanghai from Manila on board the transport "Pecos".

- The advance on Hangchow by the Cantonese Army was stopped and the Cantonese retreated to the mountains where they are now entrenched.
- The Nationalist Commissioners of Public Safety decided to place an expert in Kiukiang in the interest of peace and order.
- The Peking Government decided to grant Sir Francis Aglen a year's leave with full status of Inspector-General, his name being retained in the service list in this capacity. They further decided that the surtaxes should not be collected by the Customs.
- Mr. A. H. F. Edwardes, the Secretary of the Customs Administration, took over the duties of Inspector-General.
- Feb. 13. The Chinese Nationalist Government notified the Peking Government that it would not recognise appointments in the Postal Service made by the Peking Government in territory under Nationalist control.
- Feb. 14. Negotiations between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Chen at Hankow broke down.
- The Governor of Hongkong made a strongly worded protest to the Nationalist Government at Canton against the conduct of the Chinese soldiers for inciting anti-British feeling on the boundary and ordered detachments of the King's Own Scottish Borderers to make periodic route marches along the British boundary.
- Feb. 15. Mr. O'Malley stated that the breakdown in the negotiations at Hankow was caused by Mr. Chen's interpretation of Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech in regard to assurances. The matter was referred to the Foreign Office.
- Feb. 16. The British Government received information from Mr. O'Malley regarding the position at Hankow.
- Feb. 17. Sun Fo (son of Sun Yat-sen) circularised the Nationalist provinces announcing the establishment of a Postal Department separate from that which up to now has served the whole of China.
- Feb. 18. The Chekiang Army of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, the Military Governor of the Shanghai area, was in disorderly retreat towards Shanghai.
- The Cantonese occupied Hangchow and the treaty port of Ningpo.
- Sun Chuan-fang authorized a statement to both foreigners and Chinese that he understood the presence of British forces in Shanghai and that it caused him no resentment.
- Feb. 19. The General Labour Union called a strike at Shanghai involving 80,000 Chinese. British troops were confined to quarters to be ready in case of need.

- One division of the Nationalist Army under Pei Ching-hsi entered Hangchow.
- An agreement relating to the British Concession at Hankow was signed by Mr. O'Malley. British Diplomatic Representative, and Mr. Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Foreign Minister.
- Feb. 20. Defeat of Sun Chuan-fang's troops reported to be due to the desertion of General Pei Pao-shan. Minor rioting took place at Shanghai. About 20 agitators were beheaded by order of the Chinese Chief of Police. Fengtien troops reported to be in Honan. Shantung forces entered to the total number of 80,000. The trial by a "people's tribunal" of Wu Pei-fu's generals, Chen Chia-mu and Liu Yu-chin, the defenders of Wu-chang, ended in the former being fined \$1,500,000, and the latter being sentenced to death.
- Feb. 22. A naval mutiny occurred in the river off Shanghai, when Chinese warships fired at the arsenal. No casualties among foreigners, although several shots fell in the French Concession. The numbers on strike at Shanghai were estimated at 112,000. Some 14,000 persons in British employ returned to work. In the Chinese districts the execution of agitators continued. The Peking Cabinet passed regulations to guide the Commission appointed to collect the surtaxes.
- Feb. 23. Mr. O'Malley left Hankow for Kiukiang. The strike at Shanghai showed definite signs of waning. The French Consul at Shanghai made protests to the local Chinese authorities in regard to the bombardment which resulted in some shells falling in the French Concession.
- Feb. 24. The General Labour Union called off the strike in Shanghai, but announced that it might be renewed at an opportune moment. The Southerners march northwards. A large number of Shantung forces passed through Shanghai to the new front. General Chang Tsung-chang, the Governor of Shantung, arrived in Nanking for the purpose of consulting with Marshal Sun Chuan-fang. It was stated that the shelling of Shanghai was a plot on the part of gunboat captains in the pay of the Cantonese to provoke the Settlement to take action which would be used as propaganda by the "Reds".

- Feb. 25. The Diplomatic Body at Peking made a unanimous declaration saying that as the authorities in the International Settlement at Shanghai had maintained strict neutrality in regard to the warring parties in China, the interested diplomatic representatives expected that the heads of the armies would respect the same rule.
- Feb. 26. Major-General Duncan, G.O.C., Shanghai Defence Force and his Staff arrived at Shanghai.
- Feb. 27. Marshals Chang Tsung-chang and Sun Chuan-fang arrived at Shanghai from Nanking and immediately proceeded to Sungkiang to inspect the troops.
General Li Pao-shang, the Shanghai Defence Commissioner, issued a proclamation closing the Woosung entrance to the Whang-poo River, the only approach to Shanghai by sea, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. The Consular Body protested.
- Feb. 28. The Northern Party was reported to have made overtures for peace to the Cantonese, on condition that the Cantonese expel their Soviet advisers and on the basis of the Yangtze separating their spheres of influence.
- March 2. The agreement in regard to the future of the Kiukiang Concession was signed by Mr. O'Malley and the Nationalist representatives. The Concession reverted to the Chinese, and the British Municipality disappeared. The Chinese agreed to pay £5,000 as compensation for looting.
- March 4. Considerable disappointment was felt among foreigners in Shanghai with regard to the terms of the Hankow Agreement, and its possible effect on future arrangements.
Hsu-Yan, the Chinese Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Shanghai, protested to the senior Consul against British troops being stationed outside the boundaries of the International Settlement.
- March 5. A Soviet Note was sent to the Foreign Office at Peking protesting against the seizure of a Soviet merchant steamer. Madame Borodin was on board.
- March 6. The Conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which was to have been held on March 1st, did not take place because Chiang Kai-shek insisted that it should take place at Nanchang, while M. Borodin desired to have it at Hankow, where the "Reds" would have dominated the proceedings.
500 Japanese bluejackets were landed at Shanghai.

- March 9. The Nationalist Government issued a declaration of policy in regard to Shanghai, stating that it had decided to take back the Settlements by negotiations rather than by force. Chinese newspapers gave the text of a speech delivered by General Chiang Kai-shek at Nanchang on February 21st, in which he denounced the tactics of the Communists. The Soviet Embassy at Peking handed in a Note of protest to the Chinese Foreign Office. Madame Borodin was charged with being in possession of plans of General Chang Chung-chang's military dispositions.
- March 10. The 2nd Battalion the Coldstream Guards arrived at Shanghai. The British Consul made representations to Mr. Eugene Chen, Foreign Commissioner of the Nationalist Government, regarding the mob violence at Wuhu, and requested him to protect British life and property. The Conference of the left Wing of the Kuomintang began at Hankow. The centre and right did not attend.
- March 11. The Soviet representatives at Peking pressed for the release of the *Pamiat Lenina*, the Soviet vessel seized on the Yangtze, and for the release of Mme. Borodin and the Russians who were on board the vessel.
- March 12. A band of 500 armed Shantungese endeavoured to enter the International Settlement, but was frustrated by a detachment of the Durham Light Infantry. A circular was issued by Admiral Yang, commanding the Chinese Navy in Shanghai waters, announcing that he had transferred his allegiance to the Kuomintang.
- March 13. A battle took place between the forces of Chang Tso-lin and the semi-independent Honan forces at Hanchuang.
- X March 14. Dr. Wellington Koo, in a speech to foreign correspondents at Peking, expressed his gratification that the foreign Powers had acknowledged that the day of the old treaties was over. He further stated that a new treaty with Belgium had been drafted. Pe Hsu-cheng, commander of the Shantung troops in the Shanghai area, called on Major-General Duncan, G.O.C., Shanghai Defence Force, and explained that the attempt of his troops to enter the International Settlement on the 12th inst, was due to an "unfortunate misunderstanding."
- March 15. The Kiang Settlement was handed to the Cantonese. At the final meeting of the ratepayers of the British Concession at Hankow the Concession was handed over to the control of a Sino-British Council, in accordance with the agreement reached between Mr. O'Malley and Mr. Chen.

- March 16. The Kuomintang Conference at Hankow closed. It was stated that a solution of the quarrel between the Left and Right Wings had been reached.
- March 18. The Cantonese began a general advance on Nanking. Arrangements for the protection of the International Settlement at Shanghai were completed, but the internal situation was made more difficult owing to the terrorist methods of the General Labour Union and the paralysis of the Provisional Court.
- March 20. Chekiang troops, acting in the Southern interest, occupied Changchow, thus severing rail communications between Nanking and Shanghai.
- March 21. There was continuous firing outside the Shanghai Settlement, and many casualties were caused by stray bullets. The Municipal Council declared a state of emergency. 1,500 American marines landed. The French Concession replied to the Chinese bullets falling promiscuously in the Concession.
The Shantung Commander, Pe Hsu-cheng, announced his intention of abandoning the defence of the Shanghai area, and was reported to be making terms with the Southern commander, Ho Ying-yin.
- March 22. Near the North Railway station Shantung troops, who endeavoured to break through the barricade, were fired on by men of the Durham Light Infantry. Some 150,000 workers were on strike at Shanghai.
The Council of the International Settlement at Shanghai issued a manifesto which dealt, among other matters, with the question of Chinese representation on the Council. The evacuation of foreign women and children from Nanking began.
A punitive expedition to Bias Bay (the rendezvous of the Chinese pirates) was carried out by a British aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, a minesweeper and a sloop.
- March 23. Shooting at Shanghai continued. General Pai Chung-hai, Chief of Staff of Chiang Kai-shek, had conversations with the British, French and Japanese Consul-Generals. He issued an order to all workers to resume work, but without any immediate result.
- March 24. Nanking was occupied by the Cantonese. Northern troops retreated across the Yangtze. An attack was made on foreigners, and at the British Consulate a British doctor was killed and the Consul wounded. A party of some 150, mostly Americans, were eventually rescued by detachments from British and American warships, which

covered operations by a bombardment. The rescuers suffered several casualties.

The Cantonese leaders at Nanking were summoned on board H.M.S. "Emerald", and an ultimatum was presented to them by the British and United States Commanders stating that if all foreigners were not safely handed over by the morning of the 25th (the next day) Nanking would be considered a war area.

The general strike at Shanghai was called off.

March 25. As a result of the firm action of the British and the United States Naval officers the situation improved sufficiently at Nanking to permit of the withdrawal of the remaining foreigners without further drastic action.

American women and children were evacuated from Hankow.

March 27. Chang Tso-lin, in a statement to foreign Press correspondents, stated that he contemplated breaking off relations with the Soviet, and proposed to discuss the situation with the foreign Ministers.

Secretary Kellogg declared that the U.S. State and Navy Departments entirely supported the action of the U.S. naval authorities in protecting American citizens' rights.

March 29. The remaining British Nationals were evacuated from Chungking, Changsha, and Ichang.

The American, British and Japanese Ministers at Peking held conversations regarding the defence of the Legation Quarters in the event of attack.

An official statement was published that Hong-Kong would be fully protected by the Imperial Government.

Chiang Kai-shek conveyed his regrets to the Japanese Admiral for the Nanking affair.

March 31. Mr. T. V. Soong, the Nationalist Finance Minister, approached Chinese Bankers at Shanghai for a loan of \$5,000,000 (£625,000) secured on the Customs surtax and repayable in five months.

April 2. Chiang Kai-shek took action against the Communists in Chapei by breaking up one of their organizations, which had been enrolling recruits, nominally for the Nationalist Army.

April 4. All the salt offices south of Tsingtao (Shantung) to the Kiangsu border were reported to be closed. Several Salt Police had been killed and the Salt magistrates' *yamens* burned. The Eighth Army from Tsingtao and a salt revenue cruiser had been despatched to the rescue of the staff. Great Britain, France, and U.S. Governments presented Notes to the Nationalist Authorities protesting against the atrocities committed at Nanking.

- April 6. A raid was made in the Legation Quarter in Peking by Chinese police and military on premises adjoining the Soviet Embassy. Some 75 Chinese and 22 Russians were arrested and much inflammatory literature taken. M. Chernikh, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, lodged a protest to the Waichiaopu (Foreign Office).
- April 7. The Chinese police, with the consent of the French Consul, raided the premises of the Soviet Bank (the Dal Bank), the offices of the Chinese Rly., and other buildings in the French Concession at Tientsin and seized documents. The Waichiaopu sent a Note to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires announcing the discovery of proofs of Soviet participation in the disorders in China, and reserving the right to take future action. The Peking police made efforts to find 4,000 Chinese whose names appeared on the Communist roll discovered during the raid on part of the Soviet Embassy compound. Among other articles found was a set of seals for a new Communist Government. Pei Chung-hsi, the Nationalist Military Commander at Shanghai, closed the Headquarters of the Communist Political Bureau at Chapei and ordered the censorship of all mails and telegrams coming from Hankow, with a view to stopping Communist propaganda.
- April 8. The Soviet Government protested to the Waichiaopu against the violation of their extra-territorial rights in the ransacking of the military Attache's and other offices and maltreating of women and Embassy employees. A further protest was lodged to the effect that the Chinese officials exceeded the authority contained in the Warrant of Search granted by the Diplomatic Body. Before leaving for Nanking, Chiang appointed a political conference for the civil affairs of Shanghai, with Wu Tze-hui, a well-known antagonist of Communism, as Chairman.
- April 9. The Canton authorities published the telegraphic instructions received from Chiang Kai-shek ordering the Administration to cut adrift from Hankow, pending the result of a conference to be held at Nanking.
- April 10. The troops of Sun Chuan-fang, re-formed in Northern Kiangsu, inflicted a reverse on the Cantonese by driving them back to the Yangtze, opposite Chinkiang. Another Cantonese column was thrown back by the Northerners to Pukow, opposite Nanking. Diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China were broken by the recall of the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, as a result of the police raid in Peking.

- April 11. The Consular representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, presented jointly to Mr. Chen, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, a list of the demands of the five Governments for a settlement with regard to the Nanking outrages of 24th March.
The British Consulate at Kiukiang was looted.
- April 12. Men of Chiang Kai-shek's forces raided the Communists in the Chinese quarters of Shanghai. Some 20 Communists were killed and hundreds arrested.
The Ankuochun issued an official statement regarding the literature seized during the raid on premises in the Soviet Embassy compound.
Shantung forces occupied Pukow without resistance.
- April 13. General Pei Chung-hsi issued a proclamation dissolving the General Labour Union.
- April 29. The Special Court sentenced 4 Communists (3 men and 1 woman) captured by the police during the raid on premises within the Soviet Compound, to 12 years imprisonment each.
The wife and two daughters of Li Ta-chao (the Communist leader who was strangled on 28th April) were released.
- May 3. Madame Borodin and other Russians arrested on board the Soviet vessel *Pamiat Lenina* were brought to Peking for trial.
The Committee form of Government over Kiangsu was adopted at Nanking.
- May 4. The Soviet Government presented a Note to the Chinese Minister in Moscow protesting against the trial of arrested Russians.
- May 5. Chiang-Kai-shek endeavoured to bring about peace negotiations with Sun Chuan-fang.
- May 6. Chang Chung-chang captured Anking, the capital of Anhwei. Chang Tso-lin was reported within striking distance of Hankow. Chiang Kai-shek was stated to have offered Sun Chuan-fang an alliance, on condition that he accepted command of nine divisions north of the Yangtze.
The Soviet Government declared that the documents seized at the Soviet Embassy at Peking were forgeries.
- May 7. Serious fighting took place near Chumatién, in Honan province, 125 miles north-west of Hankow, between the troops of Chang Tso-lin and those of the Nationalist Government of Hankow.
- May 8. Chang Tso-lin's secret agents discovered a Kuomintang Communist organisation at Khilar in Manchuria. More than 100 persons were arrested and 23 summarily executed.

- An advance was planned by Northern forces on Hankow, Nanking, and Shanghai under the direction of Wu Pei-fu, Chang Chung-chang and Sun Chuan-fang respectively.
- May 9. Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that the Powers did not propose to answer Mr. Chen's last note.
- All the Russian prisoners at Peking, including Madame Borodin, were handed over to the local judicial authorities.
- May 10. The Northerners occupied Chumatin. A large body of Honanese armed peasantry (known as the "Red Spears") acting independently, but in sympathy with the Northerners, reached a point on the Peking-Hankow railway on the border of Hupeh province.
- Madame Borodin and the other Russian prisoners at Peking were committed for trial by the ordinary civil procedure on a charge of seditious propaganda.
- May 11. The "Red Spears" destroyed the railway bridge at Liulia, thus cutting off the Nationalists.
- May 12. Chiang Kai-shek assessed Shanghai at 30,000,000 dollars (£3,750,000) for his military expenses. It was stated that the Customs at Hankow were charging 20 per cent. extra customs duties, ostensibly for building dykes to prevent flooding of the Yangtze.
- British claims amounting to £2,000,000 were filed in connection with the looting and destruction of British property in Nanking on 3rd January.
- May 13. Mr. C. C. Wu assumed the office of Foreign Minister at Nanking, and a mandate was promulgated by the Nanking Government stating that Mr. Eugene Chen had been relieved of the duties of Acting Foreign Minister.
- May 15. Sir Miles Lampson, the British Minister to China, left Peking for Shanghai to confer with the British authorities there on the situation.
- Wu Pei-fu appealed to Chang Tso-lin for arms and munitions, owing to the approach of Feng Yu-hsiang's troops through Honan.
- May 16. Troops of Chiang Kai-shek occupied Pukow, and the Northern forces under Sun Chuan-fang retired to Chuchow, 30 miles along the railway to the north.
- Fengtien troops and the Cantonese were engaged at Chumatin, in Central Honan.
- The British, American and Japanese senior naval officers received a protest from Chiang Kai-shek against the firing on Chinese troops in the neighbourhood of Kiangyin. A reply was sent to the protest.

- May 17. Mr. Newton, the British representative at Hankow, left Hankow. He delivered a communication to Mr. Chen, the Hankow Government's Foreign Minister, breaking off negotiations.
- May 18. Two Chinese cruisers belonging to the Northern cause bombarded the Woosung forts at the mouth of the Whangpoo river (Shanghai).
The Japanese destroyer "Momo", proceeding to Hankow with the Japanese Foreign Office Mission on board, was fired on by Chinese troops at Chinkiang. The destroyer replied.
- May 19. It was reported that martial law had been declared at Hankow, which was surrounded by anti-"Red" troops, including those of Yang Sen, who was advancing from Szechwan.
- May 20. The British Consul-General demanded payment of an indemnity for the damage caused by the firing on the British steamer "Lungshan" on the 16th May; he also demanded punishment of the officer responsible and an apology from the Commander of the fort.
- May 22. Mr. Chen replied to Mr. Newton's communication breaking off relations with Hankow.
Chiang Kai-shek pushed on up the Pukow Railway to Pengpu. Feng Yu-hsiang made some progress along the Lunghai Railway. A Kwantung army was stated to be marching through Hunan to attack the Communists at Hankow.
The Nationalist forces from Nanking advanced to Luho, and drove back a detachment of Sun Chuan-fang's army, thereby threatening Sun's line of communications along the Grand Canal.
- May 23. Two divisions of Fengtien troops advanced along the Lunghai Railway to Lyang (Honanfu) and prepared an offensive against the Kuominchun, whose main force under Feng Yu-hsiang was reported to be at Mienchih, 40 miles west of Loyang.
Feng Yu-hsiang captured Chengchow (situated at the junction of the Hankow-Peking and Lunghai Railways). The Asiatic Petroleum Company's premises at Wuhu were entered, and a new wireless station established there.
A strong protest was made.
- May 26. The suit against Madame Borodin and the three Soviet couriers was filed.
The opening moves of a general offensive in Central Honan were begun in the Chumatien district by the Northern armies, with the object of driving the Cantonese forces out of the province.

- May 28. The police raided the Headquarters of the Hong Kong Branch of the Canton Seamen's Union, following an order to close the Union.
- May 31. Pengpu and Chengchow were captured by the Southern Army.
- June 1. Two thousand Japanese troops were landed at Tsingtao. The Peking and Nationalist Ministers for Foreign Affairs protested to Tokio.
British subjects were warned to leave Peking, and the French and Japanese Legation Guards were reinforced by 300 men. The total Allied Guard of the Legation Quarter was estimated at some 1,150.
- June 2. The Third International at Moscow drafted a new "Red" programme for the Chinese Communist Party, of which the outstanding feature was an injunction not to break with the Kuomintang, through whom it hoped to gain control.
The Nanking General Commission issued \$30,000,000 (£3,750,000) of Treasury Notes bearing interest at 7 per cent. and secured on a 2½ per cent. Customs surtax. All Hankow Banks remained closed.
- June 3. Mr. Chen sent a note to the Japanese Consul-General at Hankow, in which he characterized the sending of troops to a place which was neither a treaty port nor an international settlement as a revival of the Twenty-One Demands.
- June 5. The Southern troops occupied Hsuehowfu and Haichow.
The Tuchun of Shansi, Yen Hsi-shan, declared himself in favour of the Nationalist cause. Conference of Chengchow between Feng Yu-hsiang, Tang Sheng-chi and M. Borodin. Feng declared his loyalty to the Nationalist cause, but did not specify which wing of the party he supported.
- June 6. Chiang Kai-shek endeavoured to open negotiations with Chang Tso-lin through the medium of Yen Hsi-shan. General John Duncan, G.O.C., Shanghai Defence Force, arrived at Tientsin.
- June 7. The Hankow Government sent its Minister of Justice, Hsu-Chien, to persuade Feng to declare for their party. Battle of Hunchwang, Southerners captured only after a 36 hours engagement.
- June 8. General Duncan returned to Shanghai.
- June 12. In the course of the peace negotiations, Chang Tso-lin suggested that Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan should join the Ankuochun in a drive against the Reds of Hankow.

- June 15. The Southern advance was pursued along three routes: the Grand Canal, the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and the coast.
The Nanking Government formed a Foreign Office Committee to govern its relations with other countries. Mr. Wu, Foreign Minister, stated that the Franco-Chinese Treaty and Dutch-Chinese Consular agreement would be denounced at the earliest opportunity.
The authorities at Canton completed the "clean-up" of "undesirables" begun in April.
- June 16. Marshal Chang-Tso-lin declared himself as Generalissimo of the Army and Navy of the Chinese Republic, and on his inauguration (June 18th) took up residence in the President's Palace (June 27th).
- June 17. Negotiations between Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek broke down finally.
- June 18. The Japanese Government protested to the Nanking Government against anti-Japanese boycotts and agitation.
- June 19. Chiang Kai-shek called a conference at Hsuehchow-fu to cement plans to meet the situation arising out of the breakdown of the peace negotiations and the unification of the Northern troops under Chang Tso-lin.
Southern troops were defeated at Tsining.
In Peking Mr. Pan Fu succeeded Dr. Wellington Koo as Prime Minister, with Mr. Wang Ting-yai as Foreign Minister. The Waichiaopu protested against the renewed despatch of Japanese troops to Shantung.
- June 21. Mr. C. C. Wu, Nanking Foreign Minister, stated that his Government was prepared to proceed to the abrogation of the unequal treaties by means of negotiation. He attacked the Communist Party.
The Legation at Peking, through the Consul, warned Mr. Wu that his proposed abolition of the Foreign Salt Protectorate and reorganisation of the Gabelle as a national monopoly would be a violation of the Reorganisation Loan Agreement of 1913.
- June 22. Feng Yu-hsiang gave indication of his support of Nanking, but was careful not to commit himself.
- June 23. In an exchange of Notes between the Japanese Vice-Consul and the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Shanghai it was stated that the Nanking Government had taken steps to prevent anti-Japanese movements, and asked, in exchange, for the recall of the troops from Shantung.
- June 24-29. In Canton, General Li Chai-sum made a partially successful attempt to suppress Communism and close the Labour Unions.

- June 25. In his Ministerial statement of policy Mr. Pan Fu declared that the Peking Government would seek revision of the unequal treaties by "friendly negotiations instead of a sudden cancellation by force."
- June 27. The Southern advance in Shantung was checked. The presence of Japanese forces in the province effected this step.
- June 27-July 7. In Tokio a conference of the Japanese diplomatic and Consular officials in China was opened, with a view to forming a new Chinese policy.
The Hankow Government were greatly exercised by an ultimatum by Chiang Kai-shek demanding the dismissal of all Russian advisers and Chinese Communists.
- June 29. The Nanking Government published revelations concerning plans of the Third International for an urban and agrarian revolution in China.
- June 30. The Nanking Government announced the abolition of *likin* as from August 1st.
Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang again demanded the expulsion of all non-official Russians from Hankow.
- July 3. The Nanking Government issued bonds for \$60,000,000 (£7,500,000) secured on the 1928 salt surplus.
- July 4. The anti-Japanese boycott at Canton continued unabated.
- July 5. Mr. Wu informed Soviet officials that the Nanking Government's anti-Communist policy was not anti-Soviet.
- July 6. An additional 2,000 Japanese troops were ordered from Tsingtao to Tsinan. The position of the Southern army in Shantung remained uncertain.
- July 8. The new duties and taxes to be levied by the Nationalist Government were announced.
- July 9. The Hankow Government declared war upon Nanking.
- July 10. Feng Yu-hsiang attempted to seize control of Nationalist troops in Tsingtao.
- July 11. Mme. Borodin and the Russian couriers were released and moved into the Legation Quarter of Peking.
A conference of the Diplomatic representatives at Peking discussed the new Nanking taxes, and also the statement of the Salt Protectorate that the Nanking loan bond issue of July 3rd secured on the Salt surplus involved a violation of the Reorganization Loan Agreement.
- July 12. The trial of the Russians arrested at the Soviet Embassy Buildings on April 6th commenced.
- July 13. The Peking Government demanded the immediate withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung.
The Kuomintang declared for less intimate relations with the Chinese Communist Party.

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- July 14. The Peking Government demanded the handing over of Madame Borodin and party by the Diplomatic Body. The demand was refused.
The Third International formally repudiated the Hankow Government.
- July 15-18. The Nanking Government declared that it would take over the collection of the Salt revenues and the control of the Provincial Salt Gabelle. The Powers took steps to prevent this.
- July 17. Feng Yu-hsiang joined forces with the Hankow Government, which moved an army of 80,000 against Nanking.
- July 18. Concentration of Hankow and Nanking forces in Yangtse valley. The advance of Northern troops, coinciding with the Hankow offensive, placed Chiang Kai-shek in a desperate position.
- July 19. Representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan met Chang Tso-lin's chief of staff in Peking to discuss an armistice on the northern front.
- July 20. The Anti-Japanese boycott in Canton was called off. All Communists were dismissed from the Hankow Government.
- July 21. The negotiations in Peking again broke down.
- July 24. The Northern troops began a drive in Shantung, which by the 26th had opened the way to the Yangtse.
- July 26. The U.S.S.R. declared its intention of opening up diplomatic relations with the Nanking Government.
Disappearance of Mr. Riley, special correspondent of "The Times".
- July 28. Departure of Borodin from Hankow.
- July 29. Heavy fighting between Hankow and Nanking forces in Kiukiang. Chiang Kai-shek hemmed in on three fronts.
- Aug. 3. Negotiations were reopened between Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek.
- Aug. 9. The Spanish Minister at Peking opened negotiations for a new treaty.
- Aug. 11. The Northern advance reached a point sixty miles north of Nanking. General Gallen, Soviet Military Advisor to Hankow, left for Russia.
- Aug. 12. The Kuomintang deprived General Chiang Kai-shek of his position as Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Armies.
Resignation of Mr. Eugene Chen, Hankow Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- Aug. 16-18. The Chinese authorities at Shanghai impounded the wings of a British aeroplane which had made a forced landing on the racecourse outside the International

- Settlement. In retaliation, General Duncan, British G.O.C., ordered the Shanghai-Hangchow railway to be cut. Ultimately the wings were returned and the line repaired.
- Aug. 17. Capture of Pukow by the Northern Army.
- Aug. 19. Baron Tanaka, Japanese Prime Minister, stated that there was no intention of withdrawing troops from Shantung.
- Aug. 20. Bombardment of the Woosung Forts by the Northern Fleet.
- Aug. 21. Preliminary financial agreement reached between the Soviet and Chinese Eastern Railway Administration.
The Kuomintang decided to move its headquarters and the seat of Government from Hankow to Nanking.
- Aug. 23. The Northern troops reached the Yangtse, which they crossed on the 26th.
- Aug. 24. Conference at Kuling of Hankow and Nanking leaders, with a view to forming a policy of union.
- Aug. 25. The Japanese Consul at Mukden presented a memorandum to the Governor of the Province urging the recognition of legitimate Japanese rights in Manchuria.
- Aug. 27. Mr. Chen and Mme. Sun Yat-sen left Vladivostock for Moscow.
Feng Yu-hsiang occupied Hankow with 80,000 men.
- Aug. 29. The Northern advance reached Nanking.
- Aug. 30. The Japanese Government ordered the withdrawal of their troops from Shantung. Communist unrest continued in Canton.
- Sept. 1-7. In consequence of the refusal of the Canton merchants to provide £1,000,000 towards a loan, the Government closed the Central Bank and arrested six leading merchants. The required amount was then advanced.
- Sept. 1. As a result of continued piracy on the Yangtse, British naval forces destroyed the pirates' headquarters at Bias Bay.
- Sept. 3. Further bombardment of the Woosung forts by the Northern Fleet.
- Sept. 4. A Southern counter-attack, launched four days earlier, succeeded in recapturing Pukow.
- Sept. 13. The Japanese Minister in Peking personally protested to Chang Tso-lin against anti-Japanese agitation in Manchuria.
- Sept. 15. Union between the Hankow and Nanking Governments, which the Kuomintang had hoped to proclaim on this date, was postponed on the resignation of Wang Ching-wei, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang.
The preliminary trial of the 15 Russians in Peking was concluded. All were found guilty and were sent before the High Procurate Court.

- Sept. 16. Mr. Eugene Chen addressed an appeal from Moscow to all Chinese Revolutionaries to rally round Mme. Sun Yat-sen.
- Sept. 19. An independent Government was established in Canton under Generals Li Chai-sum and Chang Fat-kwai.
- Sept. 20. A new Nationalist Government with the Central executive vested in a Committee of five was installed in Nanking.
- Sept. 23-24. The Northern Army began a new drive along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and arrived at a point 20 miles north of Pukow.
- Oct. 1. General Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, the Tuchun of Shansi, entered into an alliance against Chang Tso-lin. Hostilities opened at once, and the Shansi troops drove back the Northern Army, capturing Kalgan (October 3rd) and reaching the Great Wall. When reinforcements had been brought up from Manchuria, Chang Tso-lin counter-attacked along the Peking-Kalgan railway and reoccupied Kalgan (October 7th).
Hostilities around Pukow and Nanking were suspended, to enable the Northern Generals to send reinforcements to make a flank attack on the Shansi Army (October 8th).
- Oct. 5. The Nanking Government announced that it would welcome a Soviet Ambassador, and would respect Soviet representatives and citizens.
- Oct. 7. Mr. C. C. Wu protested against the Japanese demands at Peking, which were described as reviving the policy of the Twenty-One Demands.
- Oct. 11. The Shansi forces suffered severe defeats at several points along the Peking-Hankow railway, and continued their retreat.
- Oct. 12-17. The Shansi retreat was continued with heavy losses in men and munitions towards the mountainous eastern border of the province. Here they took up a strong position, fortifying the principal passes. The Northern advance was hindered by the destruction of the railway and by the difficult nature of the country.
- Oct. 16. The Central Committee of the Nanking Government telegraphed to Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, and others asking them to return and carry on their fight for the Chinese revolution.
- Oct. 18. The Unity Conference of representatives of the Nanking and Hankow Governments agreed on the elimination of the Communists from the Nationalist party.
- Oct. 19. The Canton Government raided the Seamens' Union and arrested many Communists.

- Oct. 21-23. Owing to the intrigue of certain generals the Hankow and Nanking Governments mutually announced the severance of all relations between them, and Nanking ordered the despatch of an expedition against Hankow.
- Oct. 27. In an interview with the British, French, and Japanese Ministers, Chang Tso-lin promised a "satisfactory solution" for the confiscation of the Shantung Salt revenue.
- Oct. 30. The Northern Army invested the Shansi fortress of Chochow and began a siege. The main Shansi Army continued its retreat.
- Oct. 31. The Nanking Government rescinded the order of July 1st, abolishing the International District Salt Collectories.
- Oct. 31-Nov. 1. Wang Ching-wei returned to Canton from Hankow, and headed a new independent Government supported by T. V. Soong and General Li Chai-sum.
- Nov. 4. The Anti-British boycott in Canton was half-heartedly renewed. Feng Yu-hsiang took the offensive against the North, in support of the Shansi forces.
- Nov. 7-8. A "White" Russian mob attacked the Soviet Consulate at Shanghai, a pitched battle being fought in the building and street outside. The Consul protested to the Nanking Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.
- Nov. 10. After a further defeat the Shansi troops continued their retreat into Mongolia.
- Nov. 11. The anti-British boycott at Canton was raised.
- Nov. 13. Hankow was in a state of open disorder and anarchy, and allied Marines stood by to protect European lives.
- Nov. 14. Northern Armies bombarded the Woosung forts, but no damage resulted.
- Nov. 16. Wang Ching-wei and Li Chai-sum left Canton to attend a Kuomintang Conference at Shanghai. Chang Fat-kwai remained at Canton.
- Nov. 17-21. A triumvirate form of government, supported by Chang Fat-kwai, carried out a *coup d'état* at Canton. In consequence, heavy fighting took place, and many refugees fled to Hong-Kong, General Li Chai-sum hurried from Shanghai to Swatow and marched on Canton.
- Nov. 18. At Peking the British, French, United States, Italian and Japanese Ministers, together with the Governor of Hong-Kong, agreed upon measures to be taken for the suppression of piracy in the South China Seas. The decision was communicated to the various Chinese governments.
- Nov. 21-22. The Conference of the Kuomintang at Shanghai displayed the complete cleavage of opinion existing between the Right and Left Wings.

- Nov. 24. The Chinese Minister in Washington protested against a proposed Morgan Loan of \$40,000,000 to the Japanese Government for the South Manchurian Railway.
- Nov. 26. Chen Chien, the general responsible for the Nanking outrages in March, seized power in Hankow.
- Nov. 29. General Yang Yu-ting, Chang Tso-lin's Chief of Staff, warned the United States Government against the results of their approval of the Morgan Loan to Japan.
- Nov. 30. The Japanese Minister in Peking disclaimed any malevolent intention of his Government's Manchurian policy.
Nearly 2,000 Communists, imprisoned by Li Chai-sum in Canton, were released by the new Government. Li Chai-sum's advance from Swatow met with organized Communist opposition.
- Dec. 1. Feng Yu-hsiang's advance in Shantung was checked. The International Tariff Revaluation Commission, appointed by the International Tariff Conference of 1926, opened its proceedings at Peking.
- Dec. 2. Captain Lalor, of the Butterfield & Swire Steamship, *Siamtan*, was captured by pirates off Ichang, and held to ransom for \$10,000.
- Dec. 7. A Northern offensive was launched against the Shansi forces holding the Nantzchuan Pass on the Peking-Kalgan Railway.
- Dec. 10. The Kuomintang Conference at Shanghai reappointed Chiang Kia-shek to the supreme Command of the Nationalist Armies.
- Dec. 11-20. By a *coup d'état* the Communists seized power in Canton, and began an orgy of loot and murder. Heavy fighting took place with Chang Fat-kwai's forces, and much damage was done by fire and bombardment. Thousands of refugees fled to Hong-Kong. Chang Fat-kwai decided to rejoin Li Chai-sum, who was advancing from Swatow. Li Fu-lin undertook the suppression of the rising, and this was achieved on the 14th. In the reprisals which followed, at least 2,000 Communists were executed; in addition the Soviet Vice-Consul at Canton and several other Consular officials were shot. The Soviet Consul-General and others of his staff were arrested. Shops reopened on the 20th.
- Dec. 12. After prolonged negotiations carried on by a missionary, Mr. Tocher, with the pirates, Captain Lalor was released.
- Dec. 13-14. Chiang Kia-shek and Mr. Wu ordered the closing of all Soviet Consulates throughout the Nationalist territory, and the complete severance of relations with the U.S.S.R.

- Dec. 16-17. The Hankow Government closed the Soviet Consulate and deported the Consul-General and his staff.
- Dec. 21. The Soviet Government, in a Note to Nanking, protested against the closing of Consulates and the execution and molestation of Consular officials. During the rupture of diplomatic relations its affairs were placed in the hands of the German Consular representative. Wang Ching-wei left Canton for Germany. Li Chai-sum's advance reached the outskirts of Canton.
- Dec. 22. In reply to the Soviet Note, Mr. Wu declared that the closing of the Soviet Consulates was a self-defensive measure against the activities of Soviet officials, who were bent upon "denationalising the Nationalist Movement and converting China into a mere appanage of the U.S.S.R."
- Dec. 29. Li Chai-sum's troops entered Canton, Li Fu-lin meeting him at Hong-Kong. Chang Fat-kwai decided to join Chiang Kai-shek's army.
- Dec. 30. The Soviet Consul-General at Canton was released and arrived at Hong-Kong *en route* for Vladivostock. The Shansi Commander, after a 79 days' siege, surrendered Chochow to the Northern forces. Full honours were accorded the defenders.



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