# The Herald of the Star

## Edited by J. Krishnamurti

## March, 1917




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# The Order of the Star in the East

The Herald of the Star is the official organ of the Order of the Star in the East, and is obtainable through the Officers of the Order in the various countries of the world. A list of these Officers is given on page three of the cover of this magazine.

The Order of the Star in the East is an organisation which has arisen out of the rapidly growing expectation of the near coming of a great spiritual Teacher, which is visible in many parts of the world to-day. In all the great faiths at the present time, and in practically every race, there are people who are looking for such a Teacher; and this hope is being expressed quite naturally, in each case, in the terms appropriate to the religion and the locality in which it has sprung up.

It is the object of the Order of the Star in the East, so far as is possible, to gather up and unify this common expectation, wherever and in whatever form it may exist, and to link it into a single great movement of preparation for the Great One whom the age awaits.

The Objects of the Order are embodied in the following Declaration of Principles, acceptance of which is all that is necessary for membership:

(1) We believe that a Great Teacher will soon appear in the world, and we wish so to live now that we may be worthy to know Him when He comes.

(2) We shall try, therefore, to keep Him in our mind always, and to do in His name and, therefore, to the best of our ability, all the work which comes to us in our daily occupation.

(3) As far as our ordinary duties allow, we shall endeavour to devote a portion of our time each day to some definite work which may help to prepare for His coming.

(4) We shall seek to make Devotion, Steadfastness, and Gentleness prominent characteristics of our daily life.

(5) We shall try to begin and end each day with a short period devoted to the asking of His blessing upon all that we try to do for Him and in His name.

(6) We regard it as our special duty to try to recognise and reverence greatness in whomsoever shown, and to strive to co-operate, as far as we can, with those whom we feel to be spiritually our superiors.

The Order was founded at Benares, India, on January 11th, 1911, and has since both grown and spread rapidly. Its membership now numbers many thousands in all parts of the world, and includes men and women of all the great Faiths and of nearly every nationality.

Information about its life and work may be obtained from any of its Officers, and applications for membership should be sent to an Officer of the country to which the applicant belongs. Each member receives, on joining, a certificate of membership, leaflet, and card. The Badge of the Order is a silver five-pointed Star.

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VOL. VI. No. 3. March, 1917

## Contents



As the *Herald of the Star* includes articles from many different sources on topics of varied interest, it is clearly understood that the writing of such an article for the *Herald* in no way involves its author in any kind of assent to, or recognition of, the particular views for which this Magazine, or the Order of the Star in the East, may stand.


**This Magazine may be obtained through any of the Officers of the Order of the Star in the East mentioned on page 3 of the cover. Great Britain, 6d. America, 15 cents; India, 8 annas (Postage 1½d. extra).**

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# WHEN HE COMES

*Think you the world will know Him,*
*When again the Master comes?*
*Will they all be glad to greet Him*
*From the palace to the slums?*
*Or will pride and hate and envy*
*Blind the eyes that else might see*
*The Lord in all His beauty*
*When He comes to you and me?*

*Not in town of sacred Judah*
*Will His bed this time be laid;*
*Nor yet in waiting India*
*Where for man Lord Buddha prayed;*
*But here, where need is greatest,*
*In this land of graft and greed,*
*Will come our Elder Brother,*
*Living, teaching all Love's creed.*

*The flowers by the wayside,*
*The birds,—all living things*
*Shall sing aloud the praises*
*Of Him, our King of Kings!*
*But man, His lesser image,*
*Will he then the Mighty know,*
*Or once again reject His love,*
*As he did so long ago?*

*May we who know and love Him*
*Help to make His coming glad,*
*Cleanse our hearts and wait with patience,*
*Hold no thought impure or sad;*
*But with loving hearts and service*
*Watch the dawning of the light*
*That shall fill all earth and heaven*
*With the splendour of God's might!*

ETHLYN WIGHTMAN WHITTIER

# IN THE STARLIGHT

By *LADY EMILY LUTYENS*

*It should be clearly understood that the contents of "In the Starlight" are the personal views of the writer. Neither the Head nor the Order is at all responsible for them. But the writer feels she is more useful to her readers in expressing freely her own thoughts and feelings than if she were to confine herself to bare chronicles of events and to conventional ethical expressions.*

THE greatest event which has happened during the past month is, to my thinking, President Wilson's speech to the Senate. It is surely one of the finest pronouncements on International policy ever made by a great statesman, and will stand as a landmark in history, for it marks the birth of the International ideal. His critics have fastened upon certain phrases for condemnation, losing sight altogether of the spirit which informs the words. If such a peace could be brought about, as President Wilson outlines, it would surely realise to the full the ideals which the Allies have proclaimed in this war, and would be a victory almost surpassing belief, even if no great military triumph stood to their credit. But to accomplish such a victory means the renunciation by all the belligerents of selfish and ambitious aims.

With dramatic swiftness this great speech has been followed by the severing of diplomatic relations between America and Germany. Should the United States after all be drawn into the vortex of the European war, it will strengthen the hands of all those who work for International Brotherhood to know that the wise and strong head of the American nation will have his place in that Council which must eventually decide the future welfare of the world. For this reason, if for no other, America's participation in the war of nations is to be desired. President Wilson will bring to the Council the same spirit which inspired his great predecessor, Abraham Lincoln, to utter those noble words in his famous address at the conclusion of the Civil War:

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are engaged in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphan—to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Appropriately in this connection we publish this month Mr. Jinarajadasa's lecture on "Preparation for the New Age," in which he deals particularly with that International spirit which should be cultivated by all Brothers of the Star, the readiness to sympathise with and learn from other nations. It is the growth of this spirit alone which can bring about true peace in the future. It is useless to

form leagues for peace while men in their ordinary everyday life *think* and *feel* in terms of war and antagonism. The time is passing when men openly profess to love war, but the time has not yet come for them to realise that if they encourage strife and competition in all the great departments of life, war must ensue as the inevitable result. A league to *enforce* peace is surely a contradiction in terms, and implies the continuance of armaments. A league to *ensure* peace would seem a more appropriate title, and peace can only be ensured as men learn to replace hatred, jealousy and suspicion by love, brotherhood and sympathy. This was the teaching of the Christ two thousand years ago, but his followers who are ever ready to condemn those who call into question His divinity, yet trust His teaching so little that they dare not put it into practice. Well may He have exclaimed, "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith on the earth."

* * * *

From the other side of the world comes the speech of an Indian statesman claiming the right of his great nation to participate in the building of that Empire which is to be a Commonwealth of free peoples. For the benefit of our readers that speech of Mr. Amvika Charan Mazumdar's is summarised in this month's HERALD. The Indian National Congress over which he presided was unique as regards numbers and the unanimity of the demand for self-government within the Empire, and will be surely known in history as the "Home Rule Congress." An audience of 8,000 people filled the huge *pandal*, and included delegates from every part of India. The popular leaders, including Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak, received a great ovation. The Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, Sir James Meston, was also present and addressed the meeting, being warmly welcomed. It was a significant fact that the resolution on the repeal of the Arms Act was seconded by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poetess, who has been called the "Nightingale of the Deccan." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is an inhabitant of Hyderabad, an Indian State where men are not deprived of their right to bear arms in self-defence.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is a striking example of the fact that women all the world over are realising their responsibility towards that future civilisation which they must help to build. Who can doubt that India, which has produced in the past some of the finest examples of womanhood the world has ever seen, will again send forth her daughters to build and guide an Imperial race.

* * * *

During the past month I have had the privilege of visiting Bradford and of seeing in operation the splendid scheme for Maternity and Child Welfare, illustrations of which have been appearing in our magazine. I can bear personal testimony to Mr. E. J. Smith's statement with regard to the "enthusiasm, devotion, patience, and love" which seem to inspire all the workers in this scheme, from Mr. Smith himself down to the *chef* who was organising the daily meal for the school children of Bradford. But, if I may be permitted to say so, I think that Mr. Smith is the kind of man who could wake enthusiasm from a stone!

I am personally entirely in agreement with his contention this month, that although voluntary workers "enjoy the proud distinction of being pioneers in the great cause of maternity and child welfare," the time has gone by when this work can successfully be carried on by voluntary associations alone. There must be overlapping in some directions and gaps left in others, unless there is some central authority to control and co-ordinate the different associations. This central and controlling factor should be the local authority. Apart from the increased efficiency of a municipal scheme, Mr. Smith rightly points out that "under a purely voluntary system the greater proportion of the well-to-do contribute nothing, whereas if these burdens were borne through the rates and taxes all would help to carry a load for which collective responsibility

cannot be denied so long as we permit evils it is in our power to prevent."

* * * *

This month we commence a series of articles on the all-important subject of education. All social problems sooner or later lead us back to the question of education, for all our hopes of the future rest with the young, and by *true* education we place in their hands a key which will unlock all other problems.

In this connection the following recommendations are of great interest, made by the Workers' Educational Association to the Reconstruction Committee on Educational Reform appointed by the British Government. Lack of space forbids our giving them all here, but we recommend our readers to apply for a copy of the *Highway* (published by the W.E.A., 14, Red Lion Square, London, W.C., price 1d.), where these resolutions are published in full.

RECOMMENDATIONS

*Resolution* 1.—*The Highway of Education.*

That the broad principle of free education through all its stages, including that of the University, be accepted.

*Resolution* 2.—*Young Children.*

(*a*) That the age for compulsory attendance at school should be raised to six years, and it should be compulsory for the Local Education Authority to establish and control a sufficient number of Nursery Schools for the children within their areas between the ages of two and six.

(*b*) That attendance at these schools should be free.

(*c*) That the Nursery Schools should be under the special supervision of the School Medical Officer, and attention in them should be mainly directed to the cultivation in the children of good physical habits and healthy bodily development, play and rest, whenever possible in the open air, forming an important part in the curriculum.

(*d*) That the Nursery Schools shall accommodate small groups of children and should be so distributed as to be near the homes of the children.

(*e*) That the Head of the Nursery School should be a teacher who has special qualifications for the training of young children.

*Resolution* 3. — *Universal Full-Time Education.*

We are of opinion that the age for exemption from compulsory full-time attendance at school should be sixteen, and to this end we recommend :

(*a*) That universal full-time education continue to the age of fourteen, no exemptions being granted under that age, and that no child shall leave school until the end of the terms Christmas, Easter, or Midsummer, in which he attains the age of fourteen.

(*b*) That it be compulsory for all Local Education Authorities to raise the leaving age to fifteen (without exemption) within a period of five years, and that Local Education Authorities be granted powers forthwith to make bye-laws to raise it to sixteen.

(*c*) That when the school-leaving age is raised above fourteen, Local Education Authorities should be required to grant maintenance allowances to children above that age where necessary.

(*d*) That education during the compulsory full-time period, more especially in the upper standards, should be organised with a view to its continuance during adolescence.

(*e*) That the employment of children for profit or wages outside school hours during the compulsory full-time school period be prohibited.

*Resolution* 4.—*Higher Education.*

I.—Secondary Education.

A.—*Part-time education between the age of exemption from compulsory full-time attendance and eighteen.*

(*a*) That compulsory part-time education of not less than twenty hours per week (including time spent in organised games and school meals) be provided free for all such young persons as are not receiving full-time education.

(*b*) That the hours of labour for all young persons under the age of eighteen be limited to a maximum of twenty-five per week.

(*c*) That the distribution of hours throughout the year upon the above basis

should be arranged, where necessary, to meet the needs of seasonal industries and other circumstances.

(*d*) That the education in such schools should be directed solely towards the full development of the bodies, minds, and characters of the pupils; that it should, therefore, be intimately related to the environment and interests of the pupils, and should contain ample provision for physical well-being, including organised games and school meals.

(*e*) That the teachers in such schools should enjoy status and emoluments similar to those of teachers in other secondary schools.

B.—*Full-time Secondary Education.*

(*a*) That all children admitted to a secondary school should have reached an approved standard of education, the ground of transfer being the fitness of the scholar for the broader curriculum.

(*b*) That free provision should be made for all who are eligible and desirous to enter such schools, such provision to include a satisfactory maintenance allowance where necessary.

(*c*) That the number of secondary schools of varying types should be largely increased, and that the curriculum be made more variable to meet the needs and interests of individual scholars.

(*d*) That facilities should be provided for the transfer from part-time to full-time secondary education.

(*e*) That the requirements of a liberal education should be regarded as paramount in the organisation of every type of secondary school.

(*f*) That the distribution and organisation of secondary schools should be such as to promote equality of access to University education of the highest type for students in every local area.

II.—University Education.

(*a*) That no student should be accepted as an undergraduate of a University or University College who has not previously attained an adequate educational standard satisfactory to the University Authorities.

(*b*) That free provision should be made for all who reach this standard, adequate maintenance grants being given where circumstances require them; and further, that until such time as free University education is provided, the number of scholarships, the value of each scholarship, and the method of selection should be such that no student should be debarred by financial circumstances from becoming an undergraduate.

(*c*) That greater facilities should be provided whereby men and women able to profit by a special period of study at a University should be enabled to do so without an entrance examination.

(*d*) That all Universities and University Colleges conforming to Board of Education requirements should receive from the State such grants in aid as will enable them to be efficiently staffed and equipped.

(*e*) That it should be a condition of payment of State grants in aid to Universities and University Colleges that they make adequate provision for University Tutorial Classes.

(*f*) That since an essential part of the work of a University lies in affording facilities for the advancement of knowledge, more adequate provision should be made for scientific and literary research conducted with this object.

(*g*) That workpeople, together with other sections of the community, should be directly represented on the governing bodies of all Universities and University Colleges.

III.—Technical Education.

(*a*) That in the interests alike of education and of economic efficiency, a sound general education in childhood and adolescence is the necessary foundation for any specialised course of technical or professional training both in town and country, and that, therefore, technical education should be regarded as supplementary to secondary education.

(*b*) That, owing to the immense variety of occupations in a modern community, and the wide differences between them, both in the amount of special training necessary to efficiency and the prospects of permanent employment for young workers, it would be impracticable, as

well as undesirable, for the State to attempt to enforce any compulsory system of technical education.

(*c*) That, since the trades and industries and professions of the country exist in order to serve the needs of the community, technical education should, as far as possible, be divorced from the prevalent atmosphere of commercialism, and regarded as a training in public service; and that this aspect of the subject should be kept in view in the organisation of the courses of instruction.

(*d*) That technical schools should be administered by a body on which employers and workpeople chosen by their respective trade organisations should be equally represented, together with members of the Education Authority, and that there should be special advisory committees of employers and workpeople for special trades.

(*e*) That close contact should be maintained between Universities and Technical Institutes, and between Technical Institutes and schools and workshop practice, and that workpeople should also be represented on the University Committees concerned.

(*f*) That, subject to the preceding conditions, an extension of technical and professional education is highly desirable in the national interest.

(*g*) That such education should be free, and that until this is provided there should be a generous provision of scholarships with adequate maintenance grants, so that duly qualified students from the full-time and part-time secondary schools and from evening classes in technical schools, whose special bent lies in the direction of scientific and technical work, may pass forward to full-time day courses of instruction (followed by research) in Universities, technical colleges, and the larger technical schools.

* * * *

As already advertised in the January HERALD, a series of seven lectures has been arranged under the auspices of the Order of the Star in the East at the Queen's (Small) Hall. Mrs. Despard gave the first of these lectures on "The Work of the Forerunner." We hope to publish it next month, but I wished as she spoke that Brothers of the Star the world over might have been present to *hear* the beautiful and inspiring address. Mrs. Despard declared that the work of the forerunner, the work, that is, of every member of our Order, should be to proclaim the need for a new social conscience, the need for the spirit of the Christ to permeate our relations with one another. In one beautiful and illuminating phrase she summed up the hope of the future. "To-day the physical misery of the disinherited of the world has become the spiritual misery of the world's heritors."

The whole lecture was a stirring call to action from one who has looked into the future and had the vision of the new heaven and the new earth where "men shall brothers be."

Even so speaks our Protector, Mrs. Besant, in that trumpet call to action which concludes her Presidential Address to the Theosophical Society. Brothers, shall we not follow where she leads?

"My Brethren, the times are times of transition; the civilised world is cast into the melting-pot, is being purified of its dross, that the great Craftsman of our globe may shape the glowing metal into new forms of usefulness and of beauty. For the reception of that precious metal, moulds have now to be prepared, moulds religious, intellectual, moral, political, and social, such as may be used by the Great Messenger of the Occult Hierarchy, the Jagad-Guru, the World-Teacher, the Bodhisattva, Shri Krishna, the Lord Christ—call Him, the Mighty and the Compassionate One, by what name you will. He comes to make all things new, to re-create our shattered world.

"The Theosophical Society, the humble Messenger sent out by that same Hierarchy of the Lovers of Men, sent to be the Herald of His Coming, sent to prepare and make straight His road—is that Society to stand aside, to look on indifferently at the whirling chaos, and, fear-

ing to soil its white robes by contact with the turmoil, leave undone the work which is needed, and to plead its spirituality as a reason for cowardice and for sloth? Have we gathered wisdom to hide it away as a treasure for ourselves, instead of using it for the enriching of the world? For what have we been preparing ourselves for these forty years? For what have we developed insight, studied underlying causes, mastered the mysteries of karma, offered ourselves in self-surrender to the Will which makes for Righteousness, to the Power which works for good? There are problems, religious, intellectual, moral, political, and social, which need for their solving the wisdom we have gathered, the insight we have developed, the knowledge of causes we have obtained. Are these for the service of the world, or for our self-glorification? Are we to be misers or redeemers?

"He who is coming has declared His will that the Society shall use for the helping of man all that for forty years it has garnered by the help of the Lords of Love. They have enriched the Society that it may use its treasures for the service of humanity at this great crisis of its fate. It is now no question of party politics, no matter of party strife. It is the moulds into which Nations are to be cast for a new civilisation, that are preparing; it is these which we are summoned to help in the shaping. Away then with fear and with the shreds of futile shibboleths. Away with a false neutrality, which is but a cloak of indefiniteness of thought and irresolution in action. The Theosophical Society is called to take its share in the mighty world-creation, to spread its ideals through the mental atmosphere, to work them out into the physical forms for the new civilisation. I summon you, my Brethren, to set your hands with me to this great task, to march forward boldly to prepare for the New Era, to repay, as far as you can, by helping in Their work, the loving care showered upon you by our Elder Brethren for the last forty years. Come with me into the darkness and the peril. There is no failure for those who march beneath the shining of the Star."

FOR I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

*Tennyson* ("Locksley Hall")

# EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

*By BEATRICE DE NORMANN*

*Late H.M.I. of Schools, Miss de Normann is now Organising Inspector for the Theosophical Educational Trust in Great Britain and Ireland, and a Member of the New Ideals in Education Conference Committee. Education is the most potent factor for realising the promise of the New Age. The Editor has arranged to issue during 1917 a series of articles by well-known Educationists on some of the New Ideals in Education.*

## I.

## THE PRESENT POSITION OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

WE are in the process of passing from an old world to a new. When Europe awakens from its nightmare it will not be possible to resume our former life where we left it in August, 1914; indeed, we shall not want to. The history of the latter part of the last century was largely that of internal strife, of unrest and discontent. Christianity, Socialism, Humanitarianism and Education individually and collectively failed to save us from Armageddon. We were face to face with problems which appeared well-nigh insoluble, so intricate and so interwoven were they.

*Photo by] [Vandyk Studios.*

BEATRICE DE NORMANN

To-day we are passing through the birth-throes of a new age, and the problem which is forcing itself upon us—that of Reconstruction—is the difficulty of impressing upon the dawning era those ideals which constitute the spirit of the new age.

The whole problem of our future is a problem of Education. It is not only the future of the British Isles which is at stake, but that of the whole British Empire, with all its glorious possibilities; the responsibility, therefore, is not merely National, but Imperial.

The English as a nation have not valued Education, but there are signs of awakening interest. Those who are working for the reforma-

tion of Society recognise in Education their most potent instrument. Our whole social life is so complex that it is impossible to isolate any branch of activity, for each branch acts and reacts on every other. Thus Religion, Politics, Sociology, and Economics profoundly affect Education, and in Education lies the answer to the problem of how to alter and improve things.

The radical defect of our present educational system is the totally inadequate conception of what the State owes to its child citizen. A brief summary of salient facts will prove this.

Lord Haldane stated in the House of Lords on July 12th, 1916: "In England, out of 2,750,000 boys and girls between twelve and sixteen, nearly 1,110,000 get no further education after the age of thirteen. Of the remaining 1,650,000, the great bulk are educated only for a very short time, mostly in the Elementary Schools, until fourteen. Only 250,000 go to proper Secondary Schools, and they are there only for a short time in most cases. Between sixteen and twenty-five, there are in England and Wales 5,850,000 young persons, roughly. Of these, 5,350,000 get no education at all; 93,000 only have a full-time course for some period, which is generally a very short period; 390,000 have a part-time course, which may also be a very short period, at the Evening Schools. Are not these appalling figures—390,000 only out of somewhere near 6,000,000?"

In the last report of the Chief Medical Officer of Health, we are told that, of the 5,636,927 children attending our Elementary Schools, there are no less than a million, or nearly one in six, who are so physically defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides. And this is largely due to preventable causes.

Between 40,000 and 60,000 children leave the schools annually to enter Industrial occupations. In some of our large towns about forty per cent. of the boys enter blind-alley occupations, such as paper-selling, which lead no-whither.

The schools of the country are understaffed. Before the war, classes had been reduced to sixty, but since, owing to the shortage of teachers, they have been increased to eighty and one hundred. Thus, even before the war, the best work of thousands of teachers was annulled.

As far back as 1908, a special Committee appointed by the Board of Education decided that there was great need for State provision of Nursery Schools for children under school age. Very little, however, has been done, except that, since the war, large numbers of children under six have been turned out of schools for reasons of economy, and this at a time when women are more than ever employed in industry.

There are roughly 6,000,000 children in the Elementary Schools, and the annual Government subsidy of the schools they attend is about £12,000,000. Add to that another £12,000,000 from local rates, and we get an approximate average expenditure of 1s. 6d. per week on the education of each child.

The status of the teacher is very unsatisfactory, not only materially—but in every way. Teachers should be honoured as the trustees of the future, yet many now have not the strength and the enthusiasm and the power they ought to have, simply because the community does not appreciate them as it should. It certainly should not be necessary for teachers to have to form associations to protect their interests—these should be secured by the State. At present there is not only lack of co-operation between teachers of different grades, but there is positive suspicion and distrust, which makes it exceedingly difficult for a teacher in one grade of school to pass on into another. All this needs changing. All teachers should be members of one common profession, a profession of such national importance as to be one of the highest callings a man or woman can enter.

When the next history of education is written, 1915-1916 will stand out as one of the most fateful years. The discontent of the past decade, both within and

without the educational world, has apparently come to a crisis, and during the last two years a revolution has taken place in educational thought in this country. Presumably the leaven had been slowly working, and suddenly the spirit of the new age became too strong even for the most hidebound traditionist, even for the most conservative schools and institutions.

This change of attitude has touched the universities, the public schools, the secondary and elementary schools, and the public generally. The progressives everywhere are kindled with an enthusiasm for reform, for extended educational facilities, for a complete State system, for a broad highway from the crêche to the university. The unanimity upon basic principles between representatives of all branches of education is as surprising as it is gratifying.

Not only is there a demand for obvious reforms which would lead to a greater material prosperity for the nation, but there is a vision of an educated democracy, of greater co-ordination of knowledge, of moral idealism, of altruism, of co-operation as opposed to competition, of a fairer world arising out of the ashes of the old.

Of course, even the greatest optimist and the enthusiastic reformer must realise that many of the changes will take years to accomplish. It is no easy task to reconstruct; it is infinitely easier to build afresh. But though the campaign is by no means won, yet the ground is better prepared than many imagine.

These reforms naturally mean increased expenditure just at a time when there is a universal cry for economy. There is, however, no more profitable investment for the capital of a nation than that which shall give to all the fullest opportunity for the development of brain and character.

Once the business man is convinced of this there is no doubt that the money will be forthcoming. In one of our large northern towns a lecturer, speaking at the Chamber of Commerce, tentatively mentioned £100,000,000 as a probable annual expenditure, whereupon one of the leading men remarked, "Sir, you need not seek to intimidate us by the mention of £100,000,000, we are used to dealing in millions."

Let us then review what has actually taken place during 1916:

1 The public schools issued a circular to parents, held a conference, and have published a memorandum of suggested reforms.

2. The Workers' Educational Association has embarked upon a big campaign. Their first step was to issue a leaflet, "What Labour Wants From Education." This they spread broadcast among the workers of the country. A provisional memorandum was then drawn up, which was discussed and revised by the autumn meeting of the council. This council consists of representatives of all the affiliated societies of both the educational and labour world, and contains practically every shade of thought. The final result is a remarkably compact and exhaustive memorandum*, which is exciting much attention in educational circles.

3. The Educational Reform Council early in the year appointed a number of sectional committees, each of which included the names of eminent experts, to enquire into the various branches of education; an extremely interesting and useful programme of education reform has now been issued.†

4. The National Union of Teachers has also issued a programme of reform, which, coming from a vast body of teachers such as this association represents, must carry considerable weight.

5. The New Ideals in Education Conference Committee, under the presidentship of the Earl of Lytton, held their third annual conference at Oxford during August. It was attended by over three hundred men and women of diverse faiths, political persuasions, and social positions, most of them engaged in

* *Educational Reconstruction.* Price 1d., to be obtained at 14, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.

† *A Programme of Education Reform.* Price 1½d., to be obtained from the Secretary, Education Council, 9, Brunswick Square, W.C.

different branches of the teaching profession. Yet, here again, in this concourse of idealists, there was a unity of purpose which impelled them along different paths to a common goal.

Thus the effect of war conditions in the educational world has been marked by two stages and by two distinct tendencies. One has been towards restriction of educational effort. This was particularly noticeable in the earlier stages. The other is a widening outlook, which makes the future hopeful.

A great sign of the times is the appointment of an expert such as Mr. Fisher to the Board of Education, and a business man of world-wide fame, such as Lord Rhondda, to the Local Government Board.

A fact of great significance to readers of the *Herald of the Star* will be the great emphasis laid by the leaders of the Theosophical Society and of the "Order of the Star in the East" on the importance of educational work. The Theosophical Educational Trust now exists in both India and Great Britain. In India it has a record to be proud of; there are no less than fifteen educational institutions founded and run by the trust in different parts of the country. In Great Britain the trust is not a year old, but here also it has accomplished something, and the directors are constantly finding new openings for useful work.

The Theosophical Fraternity in Education exists for the purpose of drawing together in fellowship teachers and others interested in this work in all parts of the world, to form a channel through which the spirit of the new age may flow.

It must, however, be remembered that although the Theosophical Educational Trust was founded for a special purpose, and great as we believe its mission to be, we are not alone in promulgating the new ideals in education.

The pioneer and progressive movements such as "The Montessori Society," "The New Ideals in Education Conference Committee," "The Civic and Moral Education League," "The Schools Personal Service Association," "Education as National Service," and others, have ideals closely allied to our own. It is, however, perhaps fair to say that, whereas they individually specialise on a part, we try to build the various parts into a synthetic whole, with the "Plan" of the Elder Brethren for the next step in human evolution ever in our minds, and in the light of what we have glimpsed of the Ancient Wisdom.

These new ideals may be summarised as follows:

1. Reverence for the child's individuality, and the belief that individuality can best develop through a discipline that aims at freedom.
2. Self-discipline and self-government, leading to increased individual and collective responsibility.
3. Co-education—i.e., not mere mixing or uniform treatment of the sexes, but a system in which their mutual influence for good has free scope.
4. Vital religious teaching, consistent with the broadest tolerance for all genuine beliefs.
5. The elimination of competitive individualism and the substitution of co-operative individualism.
6. The training of future citizens to fulfil their obligations to their immediate surroundings; to their country; and to humanity as a whole.
7. Generally, the discovery of how it is possible to put the sound ideals into practice in the schools of to-day.
8. The Training of Pioneer Teachers.

Most of these will be dealt with fully by well-known experts in each branch in the succeeding articles of the series.

It is essential to remember that this is the psychological moment; after the war drastic changes must take place, but on what basis? That is for you, and me, and others like ourselves to decide, for it is largely dependent on whether we help to bring the vision we have seen in the world of ideas into materialisation. Only thus can the promise of the New Age be fulfilled.

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The following will be of interest to

Teachers and others interested in Educational matters:

*Educational Experiments by Head Teachers in Elementary Schools.*

A pamphlet containing five papers read before the Conference of New Ideals in Education by Head Teachers of Elementary Schools, describing important Educational Experiments carried out by them with successful results in their own schools.

In view of the Reconstruction of the Elementary system after the war, the Committee of the New Ideals movement felt it a matter of national importance to make these results known far and wide.

The pamphlet will be sent free to all Elementary Teachers who send 1d. stamp for postage to the Secretary of New Ideals in Education, 24, Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.

To those other than Elementary Teachers the cost will be 3d. post free, or 7s. 6d. per 100 copies.

The Report of the Conference on New Ideals in Education held at Oxford in August, 1916, is now ready, and can be obtained from the Secretary, 24, Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W., on receipt of 2s., post free.

The Report contains papers by Principal L. P. Jacks, Mr. Henry Wilson, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Professor Fleure, Sir Henry Miers, Mr. John Russell, Professor Patrick Geddes, and Dr. Crowlay, as well as five papers by Elementary Teachers on Educational Experiments carried out by them in their own schools.

## THE SUPPORTERS

NOT only upon thrones, remote and grand,
Abide the Powers to which my homage clings.
The mighty host of trampled humbled things
By its submission doth my fate command.
'Tis by the ground I tread on that I stand!
The base mine yields the wherewithal of wings,
Weapons, and fire! The corn that feeds me springs
Beneath my heel; and waits my bruising hand!

So served, so ruled, my spirit, fearless, wends!
So, whether I must don the victor's wreath,
Or take the helm against the tempest's teeth,
I lean in faith on my great vassal friends.
. . . Nor earthly Power alone thus condescends!—
The Everlasting Arms are underneath.

G. M. HORT

# PREPARATION FOR THE NEW AGE

*By C. JINARAJADASA*

*Notes, unrevised, of an address given at Bath, October 22, 1916.*

I SHALL not deal with any details of our special work in connection with the New Age, but shall confine myself to a survey of the subject of the New Age and our general preparation for it, not so much as members of this particular Order, but as well-wishers of that reconstructed world which we see before us.

Now, there are two currents of thought which are flowing stronger and stronger each day which, undoubtedly, will be specially characteristic of the New Age, and of these the first is the great thought of brotherhood. You are aware how much that word " brotherhood " is in the air in all discussion of social reform. It is that which fundamentally stands at the back of the great Socialistic movement, and wherever there is any kind of reform movement you will find that the thought of brotherhood is, in one form or the other, very, very prominent. There is a second stream of thought, which is Internationalism, and in these days the truly cultured, educated man, or woman, is interested not only in the affairs of one particular country, but also in the affairs of many nations. It is a characteristic of the world to-day to have Congresses and Conventions all trying more or less to bring together on a common platform men of the various different nations, so that you can take for granted that there are two characteristics that will be prominent in the new civilization: first, brotherhood; and, second, internationalism. Now, the thought of brotherhood you are all familiar with; the difficulty is to apply it in daily practice. The thought of internationalism is vaguely familiar, but it is not quite so easy to understand. I mean by internationalism the life of the individual citizen, which will be found to affect not only his particular nation but also the other nations as well.

Under present conditions, the changing conditions especially, interests are restricted for the most part to a particular nation. You think in terms of nationality; you view the reforms that are necessary in terms of nationality. One thinks of it as a special characteristic of the British people, who form such an essential part of the British Empire, that they look upon the affairs of the British Empire from very much the British standpoint. The Colonies, on the other hand, do not see things from a British but from a Colonial standpoint. It is this narrow outlook that is characteristic of the nations to-day. They look at the future very much as a glorification of their own particular country, with not enough recognition of the value of the various nations of the world to build up a real world civilisation. If you are to live usefully in that reconstructed world, especially if you are to help in the reconstruction, you must put into practice in your own lives these great dominant thoughts, internationalism and brotherhood. I will take internationalism first, and point out a few ways in which you can be international now in spite of the fact that there are so many interests that divide one nation from another.

When you go about from place to place, especially as between England and Scotland, and I presume it is the same between Ireland and Wales as the rest of the British Isles, you see curious rivalries

of nationality. Everywhere you have always pointed out to you the characteristics of the Scotch race, of the Welsh race, of the English race, and story after story is told to you by the Englishman or the Scotsman in the spirit of "Thank God, I am not like that!" These divisions are considered as things that make the people different from yourselves and therefore not at all worthy of admiration. You know how much more this is the case with Continental nations. The Englishman goes about in France or in Italy or elsewhere with a certain—I don't like to say sanctimonious—air, but as much as to say, "We do things better in England." He has to go to the post-office and is delayed, and he thinks, "There is no such delay in the English post-office!" Always he thinks of these differences of the people in the sense that he has some kind of superiority because he has not those particular characteristics. You know the way people talk of the French people as an excitable race and as making gestures. They cannot help it; it is the way the Frenchman is built; he is built volatile, and that is his characteristic. Each nation has some particular way of looking at the other and congratulating itself it is not like that! Now, the first thing you have to do is to change your attitude and to begin to admire those nations for those particular things in which they differ from you, and you will find, if you train yourself, that they are intensely worthy of admiration just for those very things that you have hitherto looked upon as not worthy of admiration. Take that special characteristic of the Latin race—emotionalism. That, as you will find in Italy and France, is an indication of acting inner-consciousness. It enables them to see far more of life than does the non-emotionalism upon which the British people pride themselves.

The Italian is far more interested in the *thought* and the reason why a particular idea is presented in a particular way, and what is the *thought* at the back of it. One gains a totally new conception of the thought of Greece and Rome by looking at those things through the pair of spectacles which Italy gives. The moral ideals of the Latin races are, again, quite different from those of the Englishman. The Englishman prides himself that his morals stand superior to those of the Latin races; but Bernard Shaw says of the Englishman that he thinks he is moral when he is uncomfortable. The Frenchman looks at things differently—his judgment of what are called morals is different; and to see this whole problem of what is called right and wrong through another pair of spectacles is most instructive. In these days we have come to admire the French. A French lady told me, "It was only last May that English people began to find out what we always were."

Now, what you have to do as members of the Star of the East is to be international and to begin to imitate some of those characteristics of other nations. By making gestures and being a bit French you will find that the life of France becomes a little bit more real to you. The French language demands gestures; the Italian language demands gestures; you cannot help it—it is part and parcel of the life of the language. I spent six years in America, and I owe a great deal to the American view-point, that "I am as good as you and better." It was one of the most helpful things to feel that America did not have all these class divisions you have in this country. You must be international with a sense of keen admiration for the qualities of the other nations, and must try to build into yourselves something of their attributes. That does not in the least mean that an Englishman will cease to be an Englishman, but he will cease to be a narrow Englishman, the John Bull type of Englishman. He will be a little bit more of the Italian Englishman, the American Englishman, and so on; he will retain his attributes and at the same time sympathise with and not criticise the attributes of the Frenchman, the Italian, or the American. If you become a little bit more than English—English *plus* French, Italian, American, Hindu, or

Chinese, it does not matter which—then you will be able to contribute to the coming of the New Age.

The next characteristic of the New Age is brotherhood. Let me put the word "brotherhood" in another way: I will call it friendliness, an intense sense of friendship with all things, so that you do not go about trying to judge people, whether educated or uneducated, cultured or uncultured, whether of this type or of the other type, but you are friendly with whatsoever a thing is because it is so. You are friendly with a tree simply for what it is, and do not criticise a beech because it is not an oak tree. Try to feel friendly in the same way with people; trying to feel towards them as you come in touch with them, not from the ordinary standpoint of weighing them in the particular balance of your own experience, but with warmth, because a person is a thing to be friendly with: go out with this intense sense of friendliness.

The difficulties of a land like this are social conventions. We consider that people are ladies and gentlemen if they subscribe to this or that particular code. One of the very useful things in getting away from a land like England and getting into the Colonies or America is that you see human worth quite apart from the very pleasant things of the conventional world. It is that sense of human worth that you must try to develop. You cannot reform English society or the conventions of the ordinary society world, but you can in your own life build up a larger society, so that to you a man is a gentleman and a woman is a lady because you see the Divine in him and in her, and not because they act in a particular way. This friendliness, too, will have to be expressed by you in a very practical way towards children. I mean by that you have to cease to patronise them. You have got the idea, because you are older and have a mere smattering of knowledge—and it is only a smattering—that your judgments about things are more true than are the judgments of children. It is inevitable; you have been brought up that way. Hitherto your whole conception of life in a nation has been the patriarchal conception, the conception of a tribe with a chief. You have that so strongly in England. There is the father of the family; he is responsible for the family; his particular little plot of ground is his castle; he is the head of the family; his wife and his children look upon him as the head; he is the patriarch. Now that is the scheme that has hitherto built up all the great civilisations. But it may be in certain countries that a particular scheme brings about certain limitations of life; and you know how here in England, if you are to gain freedom, you must go out and build up a home for yourself and be yourself the father of a family; you have not a sense of ease and freedom so long as you are in the tribe with the chieftain. That family scheme of things has worked wonders for the world, but it is changing, and it is fairly certain that in the civilisation to come you will not have the patriarchal idea but the fraternal idea, where individuals of a family will be thought of, not as superior and inferior, but more from the standpoint of equals co-operating. In the American civilisation you find the element coming in of greater co-operation among individuals for home and business. No American father would give an order to a child as an order, because he knows the child would not obey it. He would not dream of giving it, because that is not in keeping with the American spirit. The child is looked upon more as a brother, and if you are to get a child to do some particular thing, even if he is only a little tot of two or three, you have so to word your language, your whole mental attitude, that you treat him as an equal with the family; you expect co-operation, not obedience. It is very necessary to treat children in this spirit if you are to produce a fuller opening of their natures and a quicker response. As it is now, you often find that up to a certain age children have beautiful natures; then they begin to harden, to retire within themselves, and for years this change is marked with very many difficulties. In the future civilisation you must see to it

that the natural nature of the child is retained through all the years of growth, and you yourselves of the present generation must do your best to bring about this new age. Therefore it is that you must change your attitude to children and recognise that they are souls in child bodies having a mystic nature of their own, understanding as well as you do, very often, what is required, but with just this much of handicap, that the body and the brain are not fitted yet to express that real co-operation. It is for you to go out of your way to gain the response of the soul of the child. This means a total reconstruction of education, but it has to come. It is an important thing to realise that in the New Age, with all the great fraternal schemes of civilisation, you cannot have co-operation, you cannot have internationalism, unless the change begins in the home. To some extent there has to be a modification in the thought of the home, not as being of the tribe but as an association of equals, to realise something of common purpose.

A great characteristic of the New Age will be intuition, the quality of knowing things that are unknowable, of seeing things that are not visible, and so on. These are the kind of things which are going to give the great principles of the future. There will be more communion with the mother intuition of Nature. If you go out into the open air, to a spot which is away from the cities, you begin to be intuitive because you try to feel something of the influence of a tree or of a stone, each of which is thinking and feeling according to its own particular temperament. Live in the open air as much as possible, for you will find there is a great deal to encourage intuition. In the new education you will not shut children up in ordinary schools; you will have open-air schools as much as possible, and, instead of considering only a few delicate children, you will consider all children, and try to develop their natures in wind and sunshine schools, in our gardens and woods.

Intuition is developed wherever you can think uniting thoughts. You have united thoughts in poetry. If you can only read poetry, looking at it in the sense of poetry, you will find that as you sympathise, as you try to learn, you become distinctly intuitive. Not less so is it with other things. There is music and music, but there is a quality in music that is more than intuition, something grander still. Certainly all the great classical music is full of intuition.

To sum up: the New Age will be one of internationalism; not intellectual internationalism, but an internationalism which will make the Englishman something of a Frenchman and also an American; which will make the Hindu something of an Englishman and also an American and Frenchman; which will add to such virtues as you have of a national kind something of others' virtues too; which will develop intense friendliness with all that lives. You can see things from another's standpoint if you try to, not with a sense of grievance, but by looking upon the world as full of a great vitality, which is brotherliness with all things. You will then find that the New Age is being constructed already now.

Members of the Order have been given a special privilege to understand something of the New Age and its ideals, how it should be reconstructed; and they begin with reconstruction, knowing that there is more in these thoughts of brotherhood and internationalism than people in the world usually think. Try to live these things, not your own little circumscribed lives, and you will strike the keynote of the new world, which will be listened to by thousands who know nothing about you individually, but who feel mysteriously that the New Age is not so far off because a certain number of individuals are living it now.

# THE DESERTED MOTHER

*By BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY, M.D.*

IT is strange but true that a time of national crisis, such as we are passing through in almost every civilised country, has the effect of arousing deeper thoughts, and of converting them into swifter action, than months or years of peace seem to have done.

It may be that our imagination is stirred more vividly by contrasts of lavish and uncontrolled expenditure of life and wealth on the one hand, and the ever increasing need of saving savable life and resources at home. This may explain in part at least the sudden and progressive interest in problems of child welfare, of parenthood, of all that goes to the making of life—the greater need for and spread of human sympathy and companionship, the closer understanding between parents and children, men and women, class and class.

Artificial standards and barriers of caste and sex and religion seem to have passed as through a fire, and much that hampered human progress and understanding has vanished away.

Even the " love child " and the unhappy plight of his mother have come in for some share of this new understanding. The doors of the Infant Welfare Centres are open to them both, and the knowledge of a mortality double that of children born in wedlock has rendered more uneasy still many a conscience that has been deeply stirred by the preventable waste and maiming of child life in our midst.

Through the desire to save all savable infant life, attention is becoming more and more focussed on the expectant mother, and this has necessarily brought about a change of attitude towards the deserted mother—deserted by the father, " who regains respectability by the easy device of desertion."

It has been said by men, and not without reason, that women are largely responsible for the closing of the door on the woman who errs out of wedlock, and while it is not very obvious in what way men have helped to keep that door open, it is certainly true that with a better understanding between the sexes there is a hope that the door may be kept permanently open, or at least not so irrevocably bolted and barred.

" A little child shall lead them " is becoming a matter of practical politics—the advent of the children's century may spell hope, or at least less black despair for many a woman whose longing for home and love and companionship and motherhood may have led her to place implicit trust in manifestations of affection and human passion that are not to last.

And the lasting witness of the trust in these manifestations may be a little child!

A time may come when, as the Dean of Durham has so finely put it, maternity becomes more honourable in the view of the nation, when the mother knows and the man in the street understands that the most sacred figure in their midst is that of the wife and the mother.

But not yet. It can only come when we let our boys and girls pass out into the world equipped for the functions of creating, maintaining, and nurturing life as the highest and most sacred duty of human beings and citizens; when something more is realised of " the mystery and the glory and the tragedy of sex."

In the meanwhile we must see to it that every child has a right to be born well, to be reared well—not only for its own sake but for the sake of the community that is to succour it. What is good for the child must be good for the State, and " that State will survive which abolishes

child poverty," says Judge Neil, of Chicago, who since 1911 has persuaded 27 out of the 48 States of America to adopt Mothers' Pensions, and who predicts that in ten years they will have no child poverty left.

In an interesting pamphlet reprinted from the *Woman's Dreadnought* and issued by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, the scheme is explained in detail, and well merits close attention from those who are anxious about the welfare of war orphans and other destitute children in our midst. The law in America stands as follows:

> If the parent or parents of such neglected or dependent child are poor and unable to care for said child, but are otherwise proper guardians, and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the Court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to care properly for such child, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the County Board, through its county agent or otherwise, to pay to such parent or parents, at such times as said order may designate, the amount so specified for the care of such dependent neglected child until further order of the Court.

Be it noted that no statutory sum is laid down, but *sufficient* to secure what is necessary for the child, a glaring contrast to our methods of expecting the impossible on fixed inadequate allowances.

No wonder we have in our midst badly nourished, ill-favoured, ugly-faced, evil-minded, mean-souled juvenile criminals of all shades of physical, mental and moral deficiency, for they have suffered from lack of nourishment and air to grow up, lack of mother love to nestle in, lack of scope to develop in, and this in spite of all our Commissions of learned inquiry and recommendations by experts of all kinds for years past.

It has needed the outraging of the human feelings of a Judge Neil in a children's court to prove that it is cheapest to the community to hire the destitute child's own destitute mother to mind him and train him and love him, instead of the trebly expensive institutional upbringing, so woefully deficient in mother's love and all that this means and has meant to those of us who have known it to the full.

It has been truly said that the real severance of the child's body from its mother is not at birth, but at her death. The tie between them has been lauded by poets and novelists; but the brutal separation for ever, by Court decree, of children from their mothers suffering from the crime of poverty, must continue under any system that tolerates the existence of child and mother destitution in its midst. And, whatever be the plight of the legitimate child, that of the love child is always worse, for it is more often than not the only obstacle that stands between its legal parent and her chance of getting work to feed herself, let alone the child.

It is when society recognises that the rearing of children to a healthy citizenship is as sacred a national responsibility *for the benefit of society* as the free educational system (that at least theoretically recognises the drawback of an illiterate democracy), that we may hope for some practical solution: not only for the love children in our midst—some 37,000 annually—but also for the hundreds of thousands of war orphans who are suddenly bereft of a father's support, and who will have to grow up in homes deprived of all but a wage-earning mother's care. To abolish this grievous plight, the recognition of motherhood as an honoured estate, as the rendering of a national service that deserves at least the minimum conditions of effective service, and the assurance of the means of livelihood during that period are indispensable.

And so, calling it what we will—the endowment of motherhood, mothers' pensions, child pensions, war pensions—let us remember that the race that would renew its youth must regard its young unceasingly, and must retain intact the tie between mother and child.

# THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

*By E. A. WODEHOUSE*

*General Secretary, Order of the Star in the East*

A LADY, who is a member of the Order of the Star in the East, in the course of a letter which I have recently received, writes as follows:

"What is beyond my comprehension, as a Star member, and my son's also, is why so many Star members and Theosophists approve of war. We both feel so disappointed at their attitude. It seems to me that the very opposite way would further the Kingdom of Heaven much sooner, and bring about a Brotherhood of the suffering nations. Perhaps you know Mr. ——, who is a Theosophist, I understand. He seems to me so much more Christlike than those who can take part in war. His very presence is peaceful. I trust God will give him comfort in this hour of trial for his conscience' sake. I, as one of the mothers of the nation, pray that peace will soon come. Would you kindly, in a few words, either to me or through the HERALD OF THE STAR, explain why Star members and Theosophists differ so much on such a vital point?"

I gladly accept the invitation of my correspondent to say something on this question, as it is one which is probably troubling others beside herself at the present time. And for the same reason I have thought it better to say what I have to say in the HERALD OF THE STAR rather than in a private letter. In the concrete, of course, it is a question which concerns only the individual person, who must make up his mind, in the light of his own reason, how he means to think or act. But when the question is raised in the abstract, as in my correspondent's letter, and when one view of war is stated to be, on spiritual or philosophical grounds, higher than another, then it becomes necessary to deal with the question openly in order to defend a very large number of our members from misunderstanding. As Star members we are all concerned with ideals. It is, therefore, of very real importance to have some clear notion as to what ideals we shall follow, and why—particularly in connection with urgent problems of the day.

The first thing to do, if we wish to treat a question like that of the Conscientious Objector in a philosophical spirit, is to divest it of prejudice. And, therefore, let me start by saying (and I think all Star members and Theosophists will agree with me) that I have nothing but respect for any person who clings to what he genuinely feels to be right, in the face of the greatest odium and the strongest pressure of publicly organised force. The point here is not whether his views happen to be correct or incorrect, but whether he genuinely believes them to be correct. As things are at present, the last thing which I should call the genuine Conscientious Objector would be a coward. I realise that it requires very great courage and determination to take up that position; much more, I am prepared to admit, than to do what everybody else is doing and to take part in the war. On the score of cowardice, therefore, I have nothing to say against the convinced Conscientious Objector: rather the contrary.

And, incidentally, I may remark that while, as a Theosophist, I should be inclined to believe that, if it were not a person's *dharma* to participate in the war—if, that is to say, he had really other

duties to perform—some means would be contrived, from behind the scenes, to remove him quietly from the necessity of fighting; yet, at the same time, I can quite believe that, in a given instance, the struggle and the exercise of will-power, incident upon a refusal to have anything to do with the war, might be just what was required for that person's evolution, and that he might make great progress through it.

It is when this concrete aspect of the problem is left behind, however, and the Conscientious Objector demands of others that they shall accept his views, on the ground that they are higher and more spiritual views, that the question takes on a different complexion. It then becomes simply a question of abstract ethics and has to be treated as such. And it is to the interests both of the Order of the Star in the East and of the Theosophical Society that, so far as is possible, there should exist clear ideas on the subject. Not that any line of thought or action should be officially laid down, either in the one organisation or the other, as obligatory on members, but that there should exist a clear basis of thought on which each individual can then make up his mind for himself. And the first requirement here is that no looseness, or inaccuracy, of thought or expression should be allowed to pass unchallenged.

It is for this reason that I must start by taking exception to a phrase in the very first sentence which I have quoted from my correspondent's letter—namely, that "so many Star members and Theosophists approve of war." This phrase shows an inaccuracy in thought.

No sane and civilised person "approves" of flooding a neat and charmingly furnished house with streams of water. To do this in normal circumstances would be evidence either of insanity or unrestrained hooliganism. But, if a fire were to break out in that house, we should all do it with the utmost enthusiasm; and I think my correspondent would do the same. Similarly, no person with any spark of humanity in him would deliberately "approve" of maiming another person for life. And yet this is exactly what doctors and surgeons are doing in every case of amputation; and, if they do it successfully, we applaud them. And the same thing applies to war.

This loose and unqualified use of the word "approve," as it appears in the phrase I have quoted, is not only unjust, but it brings into relief what is, for most people, the weakest point in the Conscientious Objector's case—namely, its inability to appreciate philosophic distinctions, and, particularly, the distinction between absolute and relative ethics. Put into simple language, this means "taking no account of the circumstances." My purpose, in this brief article, is to try and make some of these distinctions more clear; also, to try and do away with certain distinctions which the Conscientious Objector thinks to exist, but which really do not.

To take the latter first:

(1) The Conscientious Objector believes that there exists a difference of opinion between himself and (let us say) the majority of Star members and Theosophists on the abstract desirability of war. I can assure him, with the utmost confidence, that there does not. I think I am speaking for the vast majority of both—nay, for all—when I say that we hold strongly that war, considered on general grounds, is an anachronism and a stupid and unsatisfactory way of settling human differences.

(2) It is the belief of the Conscientious Objector that he holds a higher view than those who differ from him on the ideal of personal harmlessness; or, in its widest and most general form, on the ideal of love and compassion. Here, again, he is under a misapprehension. This is probably to be found in its loftiest form among many who are actually fighting to-day. But, putting that aside, one can at least say that, so far as the intellectual recognition of the ideal goes, it is one that is universally accepted both by Star members and members of the Theosophical Society.

(3) I think also that it may with safety be said that no Star member or Theosophist would be a conscious party to any course of action likely to provoke war, or to encourage any kind of spirit which could find its natural expression only in war. To suggest anything else would, unless backed by the clearest proof, be an injustice both to the persons concerned and to the organisation to which they belong; and not even the most convinced Conscientious Objector has the right to do this.

Having stated three very important points where there is really no distinction between the general position of the average Star member (or Theosophist) and the Conscientious Objector, we have to ask where the distinction lies.

Carefully examined, it reduces itself to a single point. When war is all about us—quite irrespective of our own choosing—and when, by general consent, our national existence—nay, the very future of civilisation—is felt to depend upon the issue of that war, the vast majority of Star members and Theosophists agree that they should help in its successful prosecution. The Conscientious Objector refuses to help.

Until a war actually arises there is no distinction at all, in thought, between the average idealist of our time and the Conscientious Objector. *The distinction is simply one of action under special circumstances and conditions.* The fighter may disapprove of war, in the abstract, just as much as the Conscientious Objector. He may cherish just as high an ideal of human brotherhood; may feel just as great a horror of the shedding of blood. The only difference is that he believes that, for the sake of the very ideals which he holds, it may become necessary for him, under these special circumstances, to use means which, on the surface, conflict with them; whereas the Conscientious Objector declares this to be impossible in the nature of things.

But is it? The whole of life shows that this is just how most things are done. In a town we demolish in order that we may build. In medicine we inflict pain or disturbance in order that we may abolish pain or disturbance. In education we discipline in order that the pupil may grow up self-controlled and, in the measure of his self-control, free. In social life we use force and restraint in order to prevent illegitimate and selfish force and restraint being imposed by the stronger individual upon the weaker. We are continually achieving ends by means which, on the surface, are the negation of those ends; and the formula is ever the same—that is to say, we employ means which are apparently negative, but which, by reason of their ultimate motive, become positive on a higher plane.

Thus, when we demolish an old and tumble-down building, our motive is not mere destruction. Our motive is the building of something better. Thus the very demolition becomes constructive, because its ultimate purpose is construction. It is a necessary "condition precedent" of the construction which we are planning. Again, when our police system employs force in order to protect society against the criminal, it does not employ force simply for the sake of using force, but with exactly the opposite aim—namely, to prevent the exercise of force by those who would use it against the community for immoral ends.

It is precisely the same with war. The idealist of to-day, on the Allied side, is, in nearly every case, fighting in this war in order that, through its successful termination, war may henceforth become impossible. It is *because* he hates war, and wishes to see it disappear from international life, that he is taking part in the present conflict. What he dreads more than anything—and that is at the root of the recent refusal of the Allies to consider Germany's offer of peace—is a condition of things, at the end of the war, which will render its recurrence inevitable, or even possible.

That, in a word, is the position of the lover of peace who yet fights. And it constitutes the difference between him and the lover of peace who refuses to fight. It is the ultimate issue in the whole controversy which rages round the figure of the Conscientious Objector. It is clear that we have a disagreement on a certain hypothesis. The position of the fighter, who is at the same time a sincere lover of peace, depends upon an "if." "If," he says, "war is the only means of furthering my ideals, then obviously I must fight." It is precisely at this point that the Conscientious Objector takes issue with him. He holds to the view that war can never be ended by war; that to pursue this

course is merely to prolong, and to provoke, the evil which we wish to abolish; that to stand stoutly for non-combativeness, when the impulse to fight is simply overwhelming, is the swiftest method of bringing that ideal home to the world.

The controversy here enters upon a somewhat stale and familiar phase, since we have all been made familiar with it by the Tribunals. The stock question, on the lines of: "Supposing you saw your mother and five sisters being boiled alive by Germans, would you use force in order to save them?" is familiar to us all through our daily newspapers. But, crude though the question be, its very crudeness serves to throw into higher relief what seems to many to be the fundamental fallacy of the Conscientious Objector's position. In order to be consistent he must needs answer "No," and I do not believe that any Conscientious Objector, no matter how earnest and convinced he may be, can answer "No" without a qualm. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of his philosophy. Nor do I believe that any Conscientious Objector in answering "No" is telling the truth. He is perfectly aware, even as he replies, that he *would* use force, because (being human) he simply could not prevent himself from using force under the circumstances. He is merely, in vulgar phraseology, talking "hot air"; merely saying certain words in order to bolster up an argument. And it is this very strong suspicion of his insincerity, when thus pressed into a corner, which has caused much of the strong feeling against him.

But even supposing him to be sufficiently devoid of all human feeling to refuse, on principle, to use force in the case in question, what people cannot understand is that he is unable to see that not to use force here is to encourage and palliate force on the part of others; also that the particular force which he would employ in such a case would be, when judged from the point of motive, so superior to that of the hypothetical boiling party as to be utterly and completely different in kind. The Conscientious Objector speaks of "force" as though it were everywhere and always the same in kind. The force which is employed to boil six helpless women is, for him, the same in kind as the force which is employed to save them from being boiled. Here we have an instance of that apparent obtuseness to distinctions of thought to which I referred some pages back, and it is not unreasonable that there should be a strong prejudice, on the part of thinking people, against such slipshod methods of reasoning; or, if the man be really consistent, that there should be a genuine horror at his lack of certain fundamental impulses of compassion and protection, which would be overwhelming in their force in an ordinary human being. The intellectual crime of the Conscientious Objector is that (let us hope) he has not really followed out his philosophy to its logical issues. If he has, then his case is worse; for his crime, judged in the light of those extreme issues, is one against human nature.

It is perhaps just as well that we should realise why extreme and apparently ridiculous questions of this kind are put. The reason is this: The question whether there are circumstances under which it may become necessary to fight in order to secure peace resolves itself really into two questions: (1) Can circumstances *ever* justify the employment of means which are in conflict with our ideal of peace? (2) If so, are the existing circumstances (e.g., those of the present war) of a kind to justify us in so doing? The first question is the logical introduction to the second; and that is why our imaginative Tribunal-member racks his brains to invent the most blood-curdling and melodramatic of situations. For, if he is able to show that even one set of circumstances may justify the employment of force, he has proved his case. He has undermined the whole philosophy of the individual who takes his stand upon the *absolute* ideal of non-combativeness.

Once this has been done, the remaining question: "Are existing circumstances of this kind?" is merely one for each person's intellectual judgment to decide. Possibly individuals may differ as to whether they are or not; but the

Conscientious Objector has henceforth no right to blame any man who, genuinely believing that they are, takes his share in the war. The moment the possibility of "circumstances altering cases" is conceded, he can no longer accuse the latter of having a lower philosophy than his own. The philosophy may be precisely the same in both cases. All that has happened is that there now exists a difference of opinion as to its application, which may be expressed as follows:

A says: "Under certain special conditions force may be employed; but those conditions do not seem to me to exist in the present case. Therefore I will not fight."

B says: "Under certain special conditions force may be employed. Those conditions seem to me to exist in the present case; therefore I feel it my duty to fight."

The whole thing is simply a matter of judgment—of deciding intellectually about a special case; and it is entirely unjust to import into it any element of moral approbation or condemnation, such as my correspondent introduces into her letter. The only excuse for the introduction of moral judgments at all would be if she maintained the view that "force, under *all* circumstances, is wrong"; in which case she would find herself "up against" a whole series of hypothetical questions, such as that about our mother-boiling Germans, which (for her sake, I trust) she would find it very difficult to answer.

That is the dilemma of the Conscientious Objector. He has either to be inhuman or to destroy the foundations of his case. Or, if he admit the slightest element of the conditional into his Idealism, he no longer retains the right to pass moral judgments on those who, accepting (like him) this element of the conditional, honestly decide to employ force because, *under existing conditions,* it seems to them to be necessary. At the most he but differs from them intellectually, not morally.

That is the position of the Conscientious Objector, as I understand it; and it may serve as a defence of those Star members and Theosophists who, in the words of my correspondent, "approve of war." They do not "approve" of war. They hate it as much as any Conscientious Objector. But, thinking honestly that certain high ends are only to be attained by the prosecution of this war to a successful finish, they conceive it to be their duty to play their part in it—or, if they cannot actually fight, at least to approve of this particular war, relative to the particular ends which it may be hoped to achieve, and which (in their opinion) could not be achieved without it.

If my correspondent wishes to know *why* they hold this view about the present war, let her either look back over the history of the war for herself, or let her read such documents as Mrs. Besant's "Watch Tower" Notes for (I think) November, 1914, or such recent statements as the Allies' reply to the German Peace Proposals, or Mr. Balfour's Note to the United States. There is no need for me to enter into this aspect of the question here.

There is one point, finally, to which I must refer. I have said nothing about an aspect of the case which the Conscientious Objector usually considers of high importance—i.e., the relation of the act of fighting to the moral character. He generally takes the view that to fight is to put oneself on the side of Hate; that to shed blood means to be bloodthirsty. The complete answer to this view is contained in that chapter of the *Bhagavad-Gita* which has been so often quoted in our literature in connection with the present war. It is summed up in the maxim: "Fight with non-attachment." As one who has seen something, if not much, of the great conflict which is now raging, I can say that, in the actual fighting line, from all that I have seen, the feeling of hate is entirely absent—so far, at least, as the British soldier is concerned.

*As it is important that both sides should be heard on a question like the above, we hope to publishea further article in our next issue*

# THE CASE FOR NATIONAL GUILDS

*By S. G. HOBSON*

*(Continued from page 80.)*

## II.—GUILD ORGANISATION

*This subject will be quite new to the bulk of our readers, and many of them may wish to enquire more fully into it. Mr. Hobson has very kindly undertaken to answer any letters on the articles that may be addressed to him at this office.*

IT is conceivable that the possessing classes, touched by a spirit of compunction, might voluntarily forswear the wage-system and call Labour into partnership. Conceivable, for it has historic sanction; but extremely unlikely, because new epochs do not come without birth-pangs. Whilst we look eagerly for the co-operation of men of good-will, of every class and condition, it would be foolish to rely upon any forces in society other than those who most directly and intimately and urgently benefit by the change. The abolition of wagery is primarily a great movement of emancipation, and they who would be free must strike the blow. Tolstoy, great pacifist though he was, always recognised that the exploiters were on Labour's back and would have to be forcibly shaken off. It is well that it should be so, for freedom that comes without a stern struggle may be no freedom but a mirage. It is in the nature of things that those who hold should strive to keep; that they should endeavour to accumulate more. It is the simple truth that to him that hath more shall be given. Endow any class of men with power—the Bureaucracy, for example—and we may be sure that before long they will, as they say in Parliament, "seek further powers." Nor must we forget that the present possessors can offer a reasoned *apologia*. There is the practical man, honest and considerate in all his dealings, who may contend that he has done his best despite all the theorists. He inherited the wage-system; he has made the best of it, humanising it as opportunity served. Not a bad fellow, this practical man, fearing God and honouring his neighbour. Personally, I like him. Then there is the aristocrat, classical in his literary tastes, accepting the canons of the classical economy, deeply concerned to maintain our traditions and pass them on unsullied and even purified. Listen to him:

"The system must remain because it is the true inheritor of the great traditions, of the learning laboriously gathered through innumerable generations. The faith handed down by our fathers must be conserved. This great edifice, broadly speaking, has been built up by the privileged classes of ample leisure and large resources. We are sentinels sternly bidden to guard the sacred catena of civilisation, to see that there shall be no break in the continuity of history, tradition, and culture. What prouder mission was ever entrusted to a privileged class than to maintain civilisation? If, therefore, we painfully realise the continuance of the wage-system and the horrible things implied by it, it is not because we do not sympathise, but because larger and more enduring considerations must prevail.

We cannot risk the loss of another Alexandrine Library; the Louvre was saved by a miracle; Cromwell's bullets are still embedded in our churches. These are symbols. Democracy will triumphantly write 'Ichabod' on our sacred temples."

It is the age-long defence of the established order. Always, when we hear it, our hearts are moved, and we instinctively respond to it. Yet, in my experience—a long one now, unfortunately—of revolutionists, I have never yet met an iconoclast. It is the love of the great traditions and culture that urges them to strengthen and beautify.

> I looked. Aside the dust-cloud rolled,
> The waster seemed the builder too;
> Uprising from the ruined old,
> I saw the new

But can we not turn the classicist's guns upon himself? Is it not true that our greatest culture and art developed before the wage-system began? Has not industrialism vulgarised everything it has touched — craftsmanship, architecture, art, literature, music? Did not Ruskin love the ancient culture and our great traditions? We remember—indeed, we cannot forget—his criticism of our modern architecture. Did not Matthew Arnold love culture and beauty? We remember his fulminations against the Philistinism of his period.

> We too now say
> That she, scarce comprehending
> The greatest of her golden-voiced sons any more,
> Stupidly travels her dull round of mechanic toil,
> And lets slow die out of her life
> Beauty and genius and joy.

I do not think we need be deeply moved by the plea that a privileged class should be maintained to guard the sacred catena of civilisation. Our literature, our pictures, our furniture, our houses point to a very different conclusion.

Our answer to the practical man is equally decisive. "Yes; you have done your best, but look! . . . Charles Booth has just died and Seebohm Rowntree still lives."

It was natural and inevitable that the wage-earners should combine to protect themselves, in some degree, against the brutalising effects of wagery. They, like their employers, had never analysed it; they knew nothing of the actual economic process by which they were despoiled and kept in bondage. But they knew where the shoe pinched and sought what easement they could. They accepted the wage-system as a natural law and only wished to mitigate its harshness. So they formed trade unions and friendly societies and fraternities, gaining some measure of inspiration from the fraternal relations that ensued. Their history is not without turbulence; nor were their decisions always wise and prescient. The same can be said of our statesmen, so why blame unduly the trade unions? They engendered riots and were as often jockeyed into rioting by premeditated provocation. All our industrial centres have a story to tell in this regard. Not once nor twice have the military waited for the provocation that preceded the reading of the Riots Act. We must remember, however, that strikes and riots are but incidents in the history of Trade Unionism. Not because of strikes, but despite them, has Trade Unionism become a necessary factor in our economy. Mr. Binney Dibblee, a conservative and cautious economist, in his book, *The Laws of Supply and Demand*, has this to say:

> They are usually considered to be associations founded to control the supply of Labour and therewith to bargain for its price with the employer, and, as they have energetically performed this duty for their members, it is undeniably true that their work in this respect is of the very highest importance. But this is not logically, even if it was historically, their primary cause of origin. If these associations had been tumultuous combinations arising out of strikes, or, as Adam Smith implies that they are, "conspiracies against the public," they could never have had the principles of cohesion and permanence which have raised them to the mighty power they now prove to be. Philosophically speaking, their final and necessary cause was the maintenance of the reserves of labour, which are required by the system of modern production.

I have already pointed out that, in equity, the industries themselves should have maintained their own reserves of labour. But the employers argued that they need only buy the labour commodity

as and when they wanted it, leaving the care of the unemployed to the Unions or the community. Mr. Dibblee agrees with me :

> What shall we say of the pretentious body of doctrine, calling itself scientific, which rose up at that time to stamp the hall-mark on intellectual superiority of greed and crown ruthlessness with a halo ? Of all the crimes committed in the name of Knowledge this was, perhaps, the worst. It has done more harm over a century than all the wars of the period. Intellectually, it was more impious than the condemnation of Abelard, the muzzling of Galileo, or the hounding of Semmelweiss to madness. It is no wonder that men who kept their senses called political economy the cruel science; but how is it that people were so slow to see that its theories were stupid ?

What was this body of doctrine which "has done more harm over a century than all the wars of the period"? Nothing more nor less than the commodity theory of labour, the wage-system. And the only mitigating factor, so far as I know, was Trade Unionism. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if we must look to it as the nucleus of the new coming economic formation to produce wealth without wagery.

Assuming, then, as we must, that the employers will not voluntarily forego their power to buy labour in the market on exactly the same principle as they buy cotton or wool or leather or any other commodity, the practical question arises : How can Labour circumvent the Employer and exact a social value for its labour? The only answer I know is that it must secure a monopoly of its labour, by an organising campaign transcending in brains, imagination, and magnitude anything it has ever before attempted. It is here that we disclose the root and cause of the class-struggle. Both Capital and Labour are agreed that the production of wealth is essential to our national life. Capital affirms that production is only possible, on commercial principles, on its freedom to buy labour-power according to the laws of supply and demand. Labour replies that, whereas formerly, that system seemed preferable to feudalism, its result has been to keep the labourer always on the verge of starvation and to defraud him of the social value of his labour. Therefore, the time has come to make a fundamental change. Production can be almost indefinitely increased, but it must be by a partnership between Labour and Capital or between Labour and the State, the latter for preference. The class struggle, therefore, has a negative and positive aspect : a refusal any longer to sell labour as a commodity; a proposal that Labour shall have a definite "share and interest in the thing produced." The struggle obviously centres round the decision who is to control labour. Capital can only control labour through the medium of a free market; Labour can only control labour through a monopoly market. The issue is definitely joined.

It is important that we should clearly understand what is meant by supply and demand. When an employer engages labour, he speaks as though there is a law of supply and demand in regard to labour. This view is too narrow to be tenable. The true position is that there is a fluctuating demand for the products of labour. Now, it is evident that, even if Labour, by organisation or by a legal enactment compelling every worker to join his appropriate Union, were to secure a monopoly of labour-power, the demand for manufactured products would still fluctuate; but the supply of labour-power would be permanent and stable. The result of the monopoly control of labour by Labour would therefore be that all the workers concerned would have rights of maintenance, and unemployment would be recognised for what it really is—namely, a reserve.

I think the ground is now cleared for the consideration of the constructive side of our programme. Rejecting both the theory and practice of the commodity valuation of labour, realising that such rejection can only be attained in practice by organising labour until it is "blackleg-proof," further, realising that such a development means the downfall of the existing industrial system, by what economic organisation shall production be continued and increased? No student of the problem will doubt that the trade unions

must be the nucleus of the new formation; every student will agree that they are only the nucleus; that the other economic elements in society must be co-ordinated and brought into harmonious relations with the labour monopoly. When this unification has been achieved National Guilds will become an accomplished fact.

At the first blush it would seem as though the obstacles in the way to labour monopoiy were insuperable. It would be foolish to underestimate the difficulties, but they are not so formidable as surface appearances suggest. Two lines of pôlicy must be pursued: (i.) The craft unions must be changed into industrial unions; (ii.) There must be a continuous process of amalgamation or federation of all unions in the same industry. In regard to the craft unions, we must remember that many of them were originally formed for the protection of their "craft and mystery"; in their wildest dreams they never imagined that they would become the representative labour organisations of the whole industry. Their rules and regulations were therefore based on the idea of exclusion; they were as deeply concerned to limit their membership as to argle-bargle with their employers. Two unforeseen developments have materially modified their first purpose: automatic machinery has created a semi-skilled class of workman who has become a standing menace; the organisation of unskilled workers has taught them that their wages are ultimately governed by the cost of sustenance. Apart, then, from any commodity theory of labour, or any grandiose scheme of National Guilds, economic developments are forcing the craft unions to widen their borders, to relinquish the craft basis of membership, and to become industrial unions. The process of amalgamation, often by federation, also proceeds apace. The miners are much more closely integrated than they were; the railwaymen have now practically one union; the cotton operatives, working federally, draw closer. Nevertheless, there is a long row to hoe. The following table shows the situation, from this point of view, prior to the war:

| Trade Group. | Persons Employed. | Wage-earners. | Trade Unionists. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Building and Contracting | 513,961 .. | 476,359 .. | 155,923 (68 unions) |
| Mines and Quarries | 958,090 .. | 939,515 .. | 729,573 (84 unions) |
| Metals, Engineering, and Shipbuilding ..... | 1,426,048 .. | 1,330,902 .. | 369,329 (211 unions) |
| Textile Trades .. | 1,229,719 .. | 1,189,789 .. | 379,182 (273 unions) |
| Paper, Printing, and Bookbinding | 317,550 .. | 279,626 .. | 73,939 (38 unions) |
| Clothing Trades.. | 645,233 .. | 552,165 .. | 67,026 (40 unions) |
| Woodwork and Furnishing Trades ..... | 224,098 .. | 210,407 .. | 38,836 (91 unions) |

This table is perhaps misleading without an expert knowledge of trade union organisation. In most of the trades enumerated the excessive number of the unions only represents a degree of local autonomy. But the figures given are significant as they stand. They tell certainly of the need for further amalgamation and centralised direction; but they show that trade unionism has flourished despite the adverse conditions of former times. Extension of membership in the future will be largely automatic. It is also worth noting that a powerful movement is afoot to make membership in the unions compulsory by legal enactment.

It is evident, however, that when we have secured the labour monopoly we have only begun the construction of National Guilds, for we must bring in also the managerial and administrative elements. Just as the mediæval Guilds were composed of masters, journeymen, and apprentices, the National Guilds here predicated are equally inclusive—administration, managerial, scientific, inventive, as well as every worker in the industry—nothing less than a regimented fellowship. Whilst I believe that as time goes on the standard of living of all Guildsmen will tend to approximate, I recognise that a hierarchy is necessary to the effective working of the Guilds. The appointments to the administrative and executive offices can no longer come from above; they must be democratic in principle. But it is wise to avoid any political analogy in this connection. When we

speak of democratic election we generally mean the political system of counting noses. An industrial democracy means the choice of the men who know—a choice not obtained by any financial pull, or family influence, but solely based upon fitness. It follows that only those who have the means of knowing can, or ought, to vote. Now, the British artisan is an uncommonly shrewd judge of workmanship. He knows the best men in his own shop. On the principle stated, it is the actual manual workers who should choose their own foremen and sub-managers. In every industry, in every locality of every industry, men work in groups. There are workshop groups, office groups, managerial groups, all these groups linked together in various ways. When I write of democratic election, the principle in mind is really group selection. But the system of choosing the hierarchy is only incidental to the argument; the point now to be emphasised is that a hierarchy is essential. It is rather important to stress this point because I find it assumed that, with the trade unions as the existing nucleus of the future Guilds, their rough-and-ready democratic methods must necessarily be adopted and regarded as sacred. There is absolute unity amongst thinkers of every school that industry must be democratically administered; but that broad fact by no means binds us to any inappropriate method of democratic election or selection.

And now let us suppose that we have finally discarded the wage-system and co-ordinated into National Guilds every industrial factor. What are the dimensions of these Guilds, and if the wage-system is abolished how are the Guildsmen to be paid?

Please observe that the use of the word "National" is deliberate. In former times the Guilds were local; in the county of Norfolk alone there were six hundred. Industrially considered now, locality has ceased to count. The railway, motor-car, telegraph wire, telephone have annihilated space, whilst the tendency of every industry is to concentrate and unify. A textile Guild for Lancashire only would be a futile undertaking; much more futile any local engineering Guild. The Guilds must be organised on the national basis or not at all. There is another convincing reason for the National Guild: We have already postulated that it must maintain its own unemployed; it logically follows that the care of the sick and the pensioning of the aged should be undertaken by the same bodies. If we are to have the Guilds on a national basis, it is clear that they must be numerically very strong. My own analysis of the industrial population leads me to conclude that not more than twenty Guilds are required. Here, for example, is a list of thirteen main industries, each employing over 100,000 persons:

| Trade Group. | Net Output. | Persons Employed. | Net Output per Person. | Average Annual Wage. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | | £ | £ |
| Building and Construction | 42,954,000 | 513,961 | 84 | 59 |
| Coal Mines | 106,364,000 | 840,280 | 129 | — |
| Iron and Steel | 30,948,000 | 262,225 | 118 | 82 |
| Shipbuilding | 17,678,000 | 184,557 | 96 | 72 |
| Engineering | 49,425,000 | 455,561 | 108 | 67 |
| Clothing and Millinery | 27,237,000 | 440,664 | 62 | 36 |
| Railway Construction | 17,103,000 | 241,526 | 71 | 67 |
| Boot and Shoe | 8,965,000 | 126,564 | 71 | 46 |
| Cotton | 46,941,000 | 572,869 | 82 | 50 |
| Woollens | 19,452,000 | 257,017 | 76 | 40 |
| Printing | 15,288,000 | 172,677 | 89 | — |
| Bread and Biscuits | 11,590,000 | 110,168 | 105 | — |
| Laundry | 7,161,000 | 130,653 | 55 | 32 |

I particularly draw attention to the tribute that Labour pays Capital. Note also that in Railway Construction, where the engines are largely built for use and not for profit, the net output is only £4 in excess of the average wage—an extremely significant fact. These may be considered the main industries, the others being largely ancillary or subsidiary. If any reader imagines that the National Guilds here proposed are not much more than large co-operative societies, I hope these figures will disabuse his mind of any such misconception. The reorganisation of industry on Guild principles is a mighty affair, greater even than our present war organisation. And should I succeed in convincing you of the substantial justice of my argument, pray

do not advocate it amongst your friends as a little, inconsiderable thing. The abolition of wagery, with all its implications, spiritual, intellectual, and material, is a greater event than the abolition of slavery; the building up and bringing to efficiency and maturity demands the diplomacy, the skill, and piety that go into the building of cathedrals.

We may very shortly dismiss the question as to the substitute for wages. We now understand, I hope, that as wages is the price paid for labour as a commodity, when labour ceases to be a commodity it ceases to receive wages. What, then, does it receive? The answer can be most easily made by an analogy. We do not go into the labour market to buy soldiers' labour, for the simple reason that the work done by the soldier is in no sense a commodity. It is a duty, perhaps a privilege. The consequence is that the soldier is on "pay"; whether he be general, colonel, major, lieutenant, or private, he draws his "pay." And he receives pay whether he is fighting or "in reserve" (the military equivalent for industrial unemployment),—or—if he be a professional soldier — during peace. Now, this distinction is not merely verbal. It expresses a conception of work and duty poles asunder from wage-servitude. Oddly enough, when wage-earners go on strike, they say they are on "strike pay." Whilst words do not change facts or conditions, I think the new conditions would almost certainly change the word, and Guild-pay would become the natural and usual custom. But from whence would the pay derive? From the products of the Guild, probably measured by time. I have not the space to argue this question. Those interested will find it discussed in *National Guilds*, pp. 81, 82, 136, 137, 181, 182, 183, 184.

There are many aspects of this new idea; but I must now finally only briefly refer to the relation between the State and the Guilds. For sound reasons, notably the necessity that as citizens we must control our national destinies, it is supremely important that all the Guild assets should be vested in the State. The fundamental idea of the Guilds is that they shall exercise full control over labour and enjoy complete autonomy in all industrial transactions. Possessing such enormous economic power, the State must look to the Guilds to feed its budget. How is it to be done? If all the industrial assets are vested in the State, then let the State rent them to the Guilds by a charter in which the terms are inscribed. Here we hit upon another economic doctrine. Rent originally was a tax in return for a charter or licence. This gradually grew into the economic rent as we know it to-day. But the abolition of wagery *ipso facto* destroys economic rent. The State would impose, not precisely the equivalent of economic rent, but a charge measured only by State requirements and not the full economic burden which the Guild could bear. As a consequence, all personal taxation would disappear.

Those who follow philosophic thought cannot fail to observe the growing importance of "function." Señor Ramiro de Maeztu has just published a book, *Authority, Liberty, and Function,* in which he is clearly and admittedly influenced by the new conception of function, which has arisen out of the discussion on National Guilds. When the Guilds are formed, and when they in their turn proceed to constitute a Guild Congress, it is easy to visualise a large national organisation responsible for practically all our economic activities. I welcome such a consummation for at least two reasons: Because I am sure that such an organisation would carry on the business of production and distribution far more humanely and efficiently than under divided authority; and, secondly, because I believe the State should be relieved of all economic functions that it may the more freely devote itself to those spiritual problems the solution of which is the distinguishing mark of a great people. I assert, without arguing, that the political life of Western Europe has sunk to so degraded a level that politics is no longer an occupation fit for gentlemen. Every great issue that emerges is now never dealt with on its

merits; the "interests" confuse and choke it from its birth to its ineffective culmination. Education, foreign policy, public health, local government—every discussion upon these subjects, pregnant as they are with vital consequences, is vitiated by finance and selfishness. Either we must purge our Parliamentary procedure of these diseased elements or sink into spiritual inertia and shame. I am old-fashioned enough to wish for a return to the old "grand manner" in politics. It will come back only when the subjects discussed and the temper in which they are approached are worthy of it.

In my third and final article I will deal with the practical and immediate application of Guild principles to existing conditions both in war and the period that follows peace.

*(To be concluded.)*

## FROM A LONDON WINDOW

THESE dark, wet streets; this blanket of grey sky;
These huddled houses, rang'd in dreadful rows,
Too maim'd to stand alone; the stark, bald prose
Of all this life; this starving of the eye;—
What think these joyless forms that hurry by?
O, dream you that yon shivering woman knows
The joy she lacks? or that yon urchin trows
Aught of Youth's glorious immortality?
Alas! the very thickness of the shell
Hath dull'd the sense of dark imprisonment.
So the dumb ox forgetteth he is driven,
Being never free; the soul too straitly pent
Feels not its bars. It needs some touch of heaven
Fully to taste the deep despair of hell.

E. A. WODEHOUSE

# MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

*By E. J. SMITH*

## Voluntary and Municipal Schemes

*The Bradford Corporation is taking the lead in fulfilling the Nation's responsibilities to the Mother and Child. All who have read in our pages its Chairman's sketch of what has been done and still remains to do, will welcome this continuation of his awakening articles.*

IV.

VOLUNTARY workers enjoy the proud distinction of being the pioneers in the great cause of maternity and child welfare, and are justly entitled to all the credit that belongs to those who have broken the difficult ground out of which has sprung the steadily ripening public opinion favourable to conceding to motherhood some of the consideration and care which have so long and unwarrantably been denied. But it must be obvious to all who put the work before the machinery by which it is done that, in towns and cities at any rate, the tasks involved in so stupendous and urgent a problem must either outgrow the very best of which voluntaryism is capable, or fail. The finer spirits in every great forward movement, however, rejoice when the more generous outlook so far grips the community that it becomes willing to bear the standard of reform and reconstruction to higher altitudes than voluntary effort is able to reach, and alternatively regret when the loftier vision fails to fire public imagination sufficiently to induce it to shoulder the sacred cause.

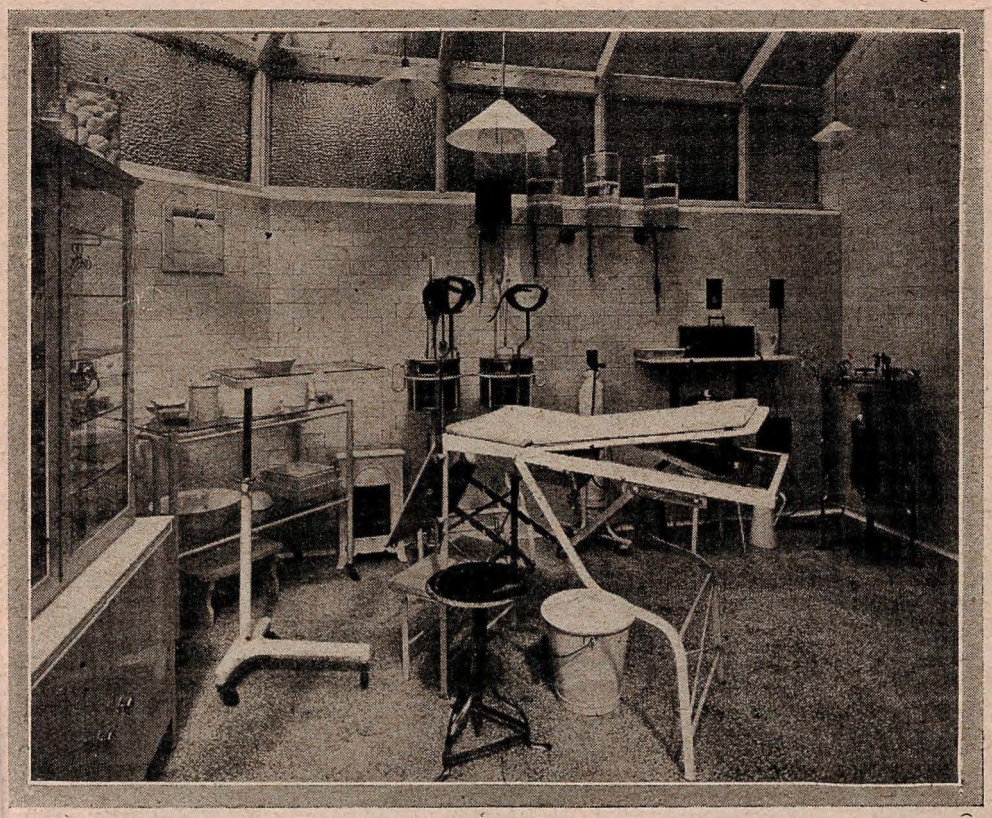
There are, however, other aspects of voluntary and municipal methods of grappling with the tremendous issues involved in the grave problem of maternity and child welfare that call for careful consideration. The Nation and its activities depend for their very existence upon the quality and quantity of the child life available, and consequently it is the nation's first and highest duty to see that the sources from which it draws its strength are such as to justify its past, maintain its present, and ensure its future—that truly national responsibility cannot be discharged by, and ought not to be left to, the benevolent alone. We have become so obsessed with money-making that we have never stopped seriously to ask the price of our gains, and if voluntary effort will relieve us from doing so, we are never likely to, so long as an adequate supply of labour is forthcoming to meet our needs. Under a purely voluntary system the greater proportion of the well-to-do contribute nothing, whereas if these burdens were borne through the rates and taxes all would help to carry a load for which collective responsibility cannot be denied so long as we permit evils it is in our power to prevent. Indeed if the voluntary policy had been adopted to perpetuate instead of to remove the gross injustices involved in neglect, it could not have been better devised, while to leave such vital issues to precarious—however well-meaning—voluntary effort, when nations with which we have to compete in the world's markets are adopting drastic and far-reaching measures for their solution, is to raise barriers against ourselves that are equivalent to digging our own graves. Money-making and the recognition of human needs do not usually run in harness, and those immersed in business

prefer that our skeletons should be kept in their cupboards—that being out of sight they may be also out of mind—and until men are compelled to pay for the sin and folly of our present methods the greatest offenders will never stop to think, much less to realise, that virtue is ultimately cheaper, as well as better, than vice, and that the proper care of the mother and her child is far less costly, and much more beneficial to the State, than the maintenance of prisons, workhouses, hospitals, and asylums, which constitute the alternative.

Before leaving this subject the writer is constrained to utter a long overdue protest against the unwarrantable assumption that in some way or another, never explained, municipal service lacks "the human touch" which voluntary effort claims.

"Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

But, thank God, these priceless virtues are not the monopoly of well-intentioned people, whose circumstances and disposition enable them to give valuable assistance in ameliorating the condition of those less favoured, though not always less worthy than themselves. The writer is a voluntary worker who for some years has devoted *the whole* of his time to promoting the public health of Bradford, but he would be ashamed to claim that for that reason his work is of a higher order than that done by the respective staffs at the Municipal Maternity and



MATERNITY HOSPITAL. OPERATING THEATRE.

Child Welfare Centres, the Sanatoria, the Fever Hospital, the Convalescent Home, and the like public institutions for which the Health Committee of the Corporation is responsible. On the contrary, his experience compels him to record the fact that he has never seen, in any form of service, public or private, or, indeed, in any home, a finer standard of enthusiasm, devotion, patience, and love than characterise the daily round and the common task of those who, in ministering to the poor and heavy-laden—through these channels that some would fain have us believe lack "the human touch"—substitute hope for despair, and resolution where failure has destroyed effort. And this is confirmed over and over again by the unsolicited testimony of those who, as patients, have been the recipients of the practical sympathy, generous service, and untiring loyalty to need, which salaries can neither buy nor pay for. Indeed, these jewels are the glory and pride of all that is best in the medical and nursing professions, and they render an ill-service to the sacred cause of healing who seek to magnify their own work by belittling that of others, and meanly inferring the absence of "the human touch" in institutions they have never seen and whose redeeming work will be found more easy to envy than to surpass. Not what we have, but what we are; not how much we possess, but how much we give in proportion to our means and opportunity, be it money, ability or service, is the true standard of measurement for voluntary and paid workers alike. In Bradford it was the failure of high-minded and altogether excellent voluntary effort that compelled the municipality either to take over the four "Babies Welcomes," out of which our present scheme grew, or see their doors closed. The efficiency of our equipment is not challenged, but whatever claim the city may have to distinction in maternity and child welfare work, is neither to be found in its buildings nor their machinery, indispensable as both undoubtedly are, but in the magnificent personnel, the elevating atmosphere, and the fine spirit which pervades them all. If the nation is to have a future, the tasks confronting us are too momentous and sacred to be prejudiced and impaired by internal dissensions; the cause is ever greater than the human instruments by which it is to be won, and in the meantime there is urgent need and ample room for voluntary and paid workers alike. Said Nelson to two officers not wholly congenial, on the eve of Trafalgar: "Yonder is the foe, shake hands."

### The Bradford Scheme.*

The writer has been asked to give a general idea of the scope and character of the Bradford Scheme, a task that must necessarily be briefly and inadequately discharged, but one which within those limits has been rendered easy by the series of illustrations which have accompanied the articles.

*The Ante-Natal Clinic* consists of a suitable waiting-room and a well-equipped consulting-room, where skilled medical advice and assistance are available on all matters relating to expectant motherhood. In cases where operative treatment is necessary, beds are provided for the purpose at one of the Municipal Hospitals.

*Municipal Midwives.*—A beginning has been made with this singularly important branch of maternity work by putting on the staff of the Health Committee some of the best qualified midwives in the City, and it is hoped to extend the service as opportunity affords till it embraces the whole area.

*The Maternity Home,* the first municipal institution of its kind in the kingdom, has ten beds, a labour room, and an excellent operating theatre. It is intended primarily for cases where (1) difficulties are anticipated at birth, (2) where these arise after birth, and (3) where the home is unsuitable for the married mother to be confined in. Those familiar with the character of many working-class homes will realise how large class 3 is, and they will not be surprised to learn that it has

* A complete description and full explanation of the working will be found in "Maternity and Child Welfare," published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd., at 1s.

already been found necessary to double the accommodation, which is now being made into twenty beds.

*The Infants' Department,* a new three-storey building, is at present unique in this country. *Its Clinic,* on the first floor, consists of waiting, dressing, recording, and weighing rooms, doctors' consulting rooms, a treatment room, an isolation room, and a dispensary. The staff of 40 includes three whole-time lady doctors, a qualified dispenser, and an adequate number of nurses and assistants. Over six hundred babies attend weekly on the average, and in view of the fact that about half the infants are found on registration to be suffering from some disease or defect —frequently unrecognised by the mother —the need for the supervision is obvious. Having thus provided for complicated cases at the Centre, the simpler ones are now to be taken in hand through the medium of District Consultations. The work is followed up by kindly supervision in the home itself, a duty which devolves upon a staff of twenty women health visitors. The purpose of all this is not to destroy home life nor attempt to find a substitute for parental care, but by well-directed and timely helpfulness to elevate and strengthen these mighty influences.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. UNDRESSING ROOM.

*The Infants' Hospital,* situated over the Clinic—with an open-air balcony—contains twenty beds devoted to the treatment of babies suffering from malnutrition of that severe kind which is frequently complicated by other troubles. The curative results of this method of

treatment are wonderful, alike in their completeness and their rapidity, and the hospital is growingly appreciated by those who know from actual experience the magnificent service it is rendering to the City.

The *Milk Depôt* (on the ground floor of the Infants' Department) supplies a number of public institutions, including hospitals, sanatoria, school feeding centres, and the cooking kitchen in which meals for expectant and nursing mothers are prepared. These necessarily create a fluctuating demand, and the surplus is converted on the premises into cream, butter, and cheese for Health Committee's institutions, in which an average of 500 persons —patients and staff—are boarded daily.

The *Infants' Milk Laboratory* (adjoining the Depôt) is attached to the work of the Clinic and Infants' Hospital. The breast feeding of all infants cannot—at present—unfortunately, be ensured in cities where child-bearing women have to work in factories. Consequently, if the inevitable bottle-fed babies are not to be abandoned to the perils of inexpert hand-feeding, it is necessary to provide for them a food as suitable as medical science can suggest. For each such infant, therefore, the medical staff prescribe the food best adapted for its individual needs, and the prescription is modified from time to time in accordance with the child's requirements.

*The Educational Aspect* of the enterprise cannot be overlooked in view of the growing recognition of the fact that the care of infancy forms an important field for specialised work and is rightly demanding special equipment on the part of those engaged in it. Consequently, at the Infants' Department there is a scheme for the training and certification not only of probationer nurses in the hospital, but of student nurses in the institution, and to these it is hoped shortly to add the training of doctors. Speaking of this Infants' Department, Mr. Herbert Samuel —when President of the Local Government Board—said :

"I do not think I have ever seen any institution in any town or any country which struck me in a greater degree as being well-devised, admirably organised, and urgently needed by the population whom it serves."

*Feeding of Expectant and Nursing Mothers.*—While everything possible is done where artificial food is inevitable, the goal ever kept in view is breast-feeding. Advice, therefore, has been supplemented by meals, for in many of the poorer homes malnutrition in the mother is the unmistakable cause of failure of breast-milk for the child. A well-equipped cooking depôt has been established, where wholesome and suitable food is prepared on the first five days of each working week and then sent in heat-proof vessels by motor-vans to eight feeding centres, where some 500 expectant and nursing mothers are fed, the meals being served by ladies, who constitute the only voluntary workers associated with the scheme. These meals must not be associated with relief, for they are essentially medical treatment given primarily in the interests of the baby to be born or the child that has already arrived, and it is therefore essential that the mother should be under continuous supervision. Consequently, the meals can only be had on condition that the expectant mother attends the Ante-Natal Clinic, and the nursing mother the Infants' Department, and that not less than four dinners a week are taken out of the five which are provided.

*Pre-School Clinic.*—Hitherto there has been a serious gap between infancy and school age, in which the good results secured during the earlier period have often been undermined, if not actually lost. In Bradford, this important gulf is been bridged by the Pre-School Clinic, where the medical inspection and treatment previously carried out by the Infants' Department is continued till the child passes into the care of the Education Committee. The staff consists of two doctors, aided by such expert advice as may be required, and four fully-trained nurses. By the work of this department it is hoped to raise the general standard of health of the school children in the City.

*Post-School Clinic.*—This is designed

to link up school age and insurance age. The period of 14 to 16 years is one of transition from childhood to youth, from school life to working days, when the severe tax of continuous manual labour and comparatively long hours is first encountered, and therefore calls for helpful oversight. By means of the Post-School Clinic it is hoped to form a junction with the medical work connected with factory employment, street trading, and the like, and generally to continue careful supervision and treatment, which will then have been carried on from the antenatal period without a break.

*Special Department* for treating eye, ear, nose, and throat troubles. To meet this problem a separate building has been set apart at the City Hospital. It consists of waiting and consulting-rooms, dispensary, operating theatre, and three wards with twenty beds. This institution, believed to be a model of its kind, is under the care of a consulting surgeon, a resident doctor, and an efficient staff. In one of the wards cases of *ophthalmia neonatorum*, a disease attacking the eyes of the newly-born and said to be responsible for 75 per cent. of the cases of congenital blindness, are treated. Where indoor treatment is necessary, the mother, as well as her child, is admitted, in order that the breast-feeding of the little patient—which is regarded as supremely important—may not be interfered with. In the other wards deafness, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, &c., are dealt with, and the treatment often makes all the difference between a dull child and a bright one, a happy life and a miserable existence.

FEEDING OF EXPECTANT AND NURSING MOTHERS. COOKING KITCHEN.

*Women Health Visitors.*—The connec-

tion between the institutions and the public they are intended to serve is made by a staff of twenty women Health Visitors. Their duty is to carry out the system of home visitation, and their work consolidates the complete scheme by bringing the homes of the poorer section of the working classes into direct contact with every agency indicated in this limited review.

The municipal scheme began by taking over from the Voluntary Committee the whole of their stock-in-trade, consisting of four Babies Welcomes, in May, 1912, and was confined to that work, carried on in unsuitable premises and under bad conditions for over two years. The Maternity Home, Infants' Department, Children's Clinic, and Special Hospital were opened in 1915.

Apart from the cost of food—which, in view of the fact that Parliament has long since legalised the feeding of school children, cannot be much longer excluded—and the expenditure on the Milk Depôt, the Local Government Board contributes in the form of grant one-half the amount involved in administering the scheme, the whole of which is controlled by the Health Committee of the Corporation, and imposes a net outlay of some £14,000 a year, or 2d. in the pound on the rates of the City.

From the dates given above it will be obvious that the complete scheme has from the beginning had to contend with ever-increasing war time difficulties, in which a steadily increasing number of mothers have been induced to neglect their little ones in order to work in textile and munition factories, while many who have been unable to meet the enhanced cost of living by such means—including some soldiers' dependents—have been compelled to reduce the family budget. At the same time the benevolent sections of the community have been doing war work at high pressure; doctors have been going to the front in larger numbers, and those remaining behind have been compelled to neglect the children in order to attend to the adult population. The anguish of bereavement, the strain of anxiety, and the increasing recourse to drink amongst women have all prejudiced materially the vital work of maternity and child welfare. These considerations, however, have not prevented many well-meaning, but thoughtless, upgrown children from digging up the seed in order to ascertain how far the plant was justifying the money spent upon it. These people have acted as though the disastrous results accruing from neglect should be rectified in as many years as they have taken generations to accumulate, and that the only test of efficiency in a City whose normal conditions are a menace to child life is to be found in the infant motality tables. Yet, judged from that manifestly inadequate standard, something has been done even in these times of unprecedented stress and peril.

In 1914 the infant mortality of England and Wales only fell 4 per 1,000; in Bradford it dropped 6; while in 1915 the infant mortality of England and Wales rose 5 per 1,000, though in Bradford it increased only 1. Taking the five years 1911-15, the infant mortality of England and Wales declined 7 per 1,000, but in Bradford it fell 10 (at the time of writing the figures for 1916 are not available), and the death rate is a pretty reliable index of the damage rate. Yet the conditions in a strictly industrial city like Bradford are manifestly less favourable to child life and welfare than throughout England and Wales, which include not only large industrial centres but immense country districts, residential areas, and health and pleasure resorts. Unless, however, healthy birth-rate can be increased the fall in infant mortality and the growing longevity of the people, coupled to the steady trend of the population from the agricultural villages to the towns, will not prevent the death-rate gradually overleaping the births. What will then become of the City and its activities? The child is the only key that can unlock the future.

*(To be continued.)*

# THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY CONGRESS

*By JOHN SCURR*

*The list of urgent State work placed before us by this Conference will touch the national conscience. Can we be content while double the amount of the "Victory War Loan" is required to give decent homes to workers? There need be no unemployment after the war if ways and means are carefully planned beforehand.*

THE recent Labour Party Conference loomed largely in the public eye because of the discussions concerning the inclusion of Labour Members of Parliament in the Cabinet and the issues of peace and war, and but little attention was paid to the really important work, from a working-class standpoint, which the Conference achieved—viz., the drafting of a programme of reconstruction after the war.

A superficial observer attending the Conference might suppose that nearly all the seven hundred odd delegates were indifferent to the resolutions. Discussion did not exist at all. The mover spoke a few words, a formal seconder was found in most cases, and the resolutions were carried by a shout of "Agreed!" The superficial observer would have been wrong. The reason why no discussion took place was because all the proposals had been debated in branches, in executives, and in committees of the trade unions and other societies. Although the resolutions were mostly in the name of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, this body cannot really claim much credit for initiation. The resolutions were formed by dovetailing, under certain definite heads, the proposals of the four hundred odd societies affiliated to the Congress. The programme thus drafted may be considered as being the attempt of two and a quarter million organised workers to draft a constitution for Labour.

The proposals may be placed under two headings — temporary and permanent. Temporary in so far as they deal with positions that will arise when the European conflict is over; and permanent in so far as they outline methods which will change the basis upon which our present social system rests.

The war has in the economic sphere produced a condition of things previously undreamt of. In Great Britain at the present time some eight million people are, either directly or indirectly, employed by the Government as soldiers or munition-makers. When peace comes a terrible position will arise if all these workers are discharged without any organised attempt being made to place them in peace industries. It is comparatively easy for many industries to cease in order to supply the need of one supreme industry, although the unemployed rate mounted violently during August, 1914; but it is by no means easy for one great industry to cease and supply the needs of numbers of small industries which have been suspended since the war.

To discharge all the workers in the war industry would be a calamity, and would, in the words of the Labour resolution, "bring to the whole wage-earning class grave perils of unemployment, reduction of wages, and a lasting degradation of the standard of life. Labour is of the opinion that this evil state of things can only be stopped by 'deliberate national organisation.'"

In effect this means that the Government should only discharge the soldiers and the munition workers as the trade to which they formerly belonged re-establishes itself, and the demand for labour

arises; and that no soldier or munition worker should be discharged without suitable provision.

This proposal is supplemented by the plan suggested for the prevention of unemployment. It is stated rather dogmatically that "the Government can, if it chooses, arrange the public works and the orders of National Departments and Local Authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labour in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year." This means that Government work should fluctuate with that of ordinary trade, Government work increasing as ordinary trade declines, and vice versa.

The Conference next supplies a list of urgent State work as follows:

(a) The rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums to the extent, possibly, of 200 millions sterling.

(b) The immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, &c.

(c) New roads.

(d) Light railways.

(e) The reorganisation of the canal system.

(f) Afforestation.

(g) The reclamation of land.

(h) The development and better equipment of our ports and harbours.

(i) The opening up of access to land by small holdings and other practicable ways.

In addition, the Conference also asked for:

(a) The raising of the school age to sixteen.

(b) The increasing of the number of bursaries for secondary and higher education.

(c) The shortening of the hours of labour of all young persons to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime.

(d) That wherever practicable the hours of labour should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rate of wages.

In formulating these proposals the Conference placed its finger upon the most obvious defects of our modern industrial system.

On the permanent side the Conference declared for the extension of the principles of the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act to other industries, and demanded a minimum wage of not less than 30s. per week for all trades.

It next demanded the nationalisation of railways and mines. These two resolutions laid down no new principles, except in so far as they said that due arrangements should be made for the participation in the management, both local and central, of the employees of all grades. This would indicate a growing desire on the part of the representatives of Labour towards the adoption of the Guild system in industry, but as yet it is very tentative. So far as the declarations of leaders are concerned, the phrase may mean anything, and in the minds of some it undoubtedly means co-partnership and profit-sharing—two ideas to which the rank and file of Labour are absolutely opposed.

Proposals were also made for a reorganisation of our agricultural system as follows:

(1) That the present arrangements for the production and distribution of food in this country amount to nothing short of a national disgrace and must be radically altered without delay;

(2) That it is imperative that the Government should promptly resume control of the nation's agricultural land, and organise its utilisation not for rent, not for game, not for the social amenity of a small social class, not even for obtaining the largest percentage on the capital employed, but solely with a view to the production of the largest possible proportion of the foodstuffs required by the population of these islands at a price not exceeding that for which they can be brought from other lands;

(3) That this can probably best be obtained by a combination of (a) Government farms, administered on a large scale, with the utmost use of machinery;

(b) small holdings made accessible to practical agriculturists; (c) municipal enterprises in agriculture, in conjunction with municipal institutions of various kinds, milk depots, sewage works, &c.; (d) farms let to Co-operative Societies and other tenants, under covenants requiring the kind of cultivation desired;

(4) That under all systems the agricultural labourer must be secured a decent cottage, an allotment, and a living wage;

(5) That the distribution of foodstuffs in the towns—from milk and meat to bread and vegetables—should be taken out of the hands of the present multiplicity of dealers and shopkeepers and organised by Democratic Consumers, Co-operative Societies and the Local Authorities working in conjunction.

This resolution was enthusiastically supported by the members of the Agricultural Labour Union who were attending the Conference for the first time; and they made considerable use of the recent report issued by the Board of Agriculture concerning the German methods of dealing with this problem. It is rather significant to find that a class composed solely of industrial workers is paying attention at last to the agricultural problem. Trade union strength is much vitiated by reason of the fact that the labour which exists in the country districts is attracted by the comparatively higher wages of the towns, and that consequently the poorer class of unskilled labour finds itself actively competed against by the countrymen. This in turn reacts right throughout the whole of industry, as, by reason of the extra pressure, the semi-skilled man becomes a competitor of the skilled, and so the whole standard of labour is lowered.

Suggestions have been made and are being made that Labour, as a whole, will have to take over the question of the complete trade union organisation of agricultural labour, as despite many gallant efforts, from the time of Joseph Arch onwards, it is found impossible for the agricultural labourer to organise himself effectively.

Other resolutions dealt with taxation and the franchise, in which a full adult system was demanded.

Altogether the Conference laid down the principles along which Labour will advance in the future, but before most of the proposals become practical politics the Labour Party itself will have to consider seriously its own organisation. Its defect at the moment is that it is composed in the mass of representatives of trades unions, and therefore represents the industrial side and not the political side of the movement. The consequence is that decisions may be made at the Congress, but, owing to the lack of organisation in the country in a political sense, the members of the trades unions simply record their votes in most cases for candidates of the old parties. At least, this is what prevailed before the war, and there seems to be no sign of an alteration. On the contrary, it would seem as if an attempt will be made to exclude the purely political elements, such as the local Labour Parties, the I.L.P., and the B.S.P., to make the whole Labour Party an Industrial Party. If this plan does succeed it will matter very little as to the programmes which the Labour Party Conference may draft, as a purely industrial Conference to carry out any political work is bound to be a failure, and we should see the Labour Party, as at present constituted, going into the limbo of experiments which have been found useless.

# THE UNSTATELY HOMES OF ENGLAND

*By L. ORCHARD*

*If the dwellers in the "stately homes" once awakened to the mischief wrought to health and morals by unstately habitations, our citizens would not long suffer in this way. Such descriptive articles as this are valuable as a help in getting rid of insanitary cottages and houses. Strict inspection and condemnation must be accompanied by the construction of up-to-date cottages.*

WHILE looking through a paper recently, my attention was arrested by the heading of an article: "Hatfield, One of the Stately Homes of England," and memory carried me back over the years of poverty and trials, during which we had dwelt in, not one, but several *unstately* homes of England.

There have been and probably are now many houses exactly like them, inhabited by a class of people whom I call the respectable poor; that is, people who do not proclaim their poverty from the housetop, do not attend any place of worship for the "loaves and fishes," and are utterly incapable of servility under any circumstances of life. Their greatest desire is to have the work to do which will enable them to earn the wherewithal to live in independence and freedom.

Our first "unstately home" consisted of a cottage of three rooms, one over the other, and connected by two staircases; the back door, leading to the garden and out-places, being on the top storey, quite close to the bedroom door. Every bit of refuse, dust, cleaning water, etc., had to be carried to the top floor to get out of the back door. That cottage was so unique in its arrangements that we are never likely to forget it!

The next was a decided improvement. It had two tiny downstairs rooms and a scullery, two bedrooms, box room, and landing. One had to go some distance to the pump for water, and after a short sojourn in the cottage the ceilings began to behave in a remarkable way, large portions often falling down without any warning. Our little girl of two years had a really remarkable escape from the first fall. A second and third occurred just as our little home was in apple-pie order, awaiting the arrival of a little stranger.

After a long interval of many ups and downs—considerably more of the latter than the former—we took up our abode in yet another of the unstately homes. This was originally two small cottages turned into one; we lived here seven years, and as far as our means permitted did our best to transform that sometime evil-smelling, damp, unwholesome place into some semblance of order and cleanliness. If I had then picked up a paper and read, or anyone had approached me and said these words, which I read lately in a Theosophical paper, "It is our duty to make even our back doors beautiful," I should probably have thought, or replied: "Beautiful, indeed, the back doors! But most of us have our work cut out to make sweet and clean, and fit for human beings to breathe in, the inside of our homes."

We really made that old tumble-down place look extremely nice, inside and out, but the circumstances under which we had to leave were such that they have hardened my husband's heart for all time against ever spending even a little bit of his hard-earned money upon another man's property.

The house was sold over our heads

while I lay ill in bed, the only one of several lots of very old property which the landlord succeeded in disposing of at a sale. As soon as I was fit, we had to turn-out, and, there being simply no other house to be obtained, we had to take rooms, and eventually left the town. This place was notorious for its lack of housing accommodation for working men, yet the scenery and country around were the most beautiful I have ever seen. The town was situated at the foot of one of the famous Cotswold Hills, and to climb up and go round that hill simply helped one to forget all material troubles and anxieties; it seemed as if Nature poured out lavishly of her treasures, just to help some of her children to bear the unequal burden of their lives.

In that little town I ascended the Hill in more ways than one, for there dwells upon it, and in its wooded vales and valleys, the inexpressible Divine Spirit of Beauty and Serenity which helps us to live with hope in our hearts.

## IMMORTALITY

WEEP not!—my heart is scalded by thy tears . . .
Is *this* the fruit of all my trust in thee?
And is the faith we gathered through the years
So frail a thing that thou must weep for me?

As thou and I have oft been friend and foe
(Growing by thoughts and deeds both gross and fine),
Who is this dark Immortal, cloaked with woe,
But an ancient servitor of mine and thine?

Then peace! and dream no more that I have gone,
That the dark Angel, with a single stroke,
Could end a life grown old ere Babylon
Did free herself from the Assyrian yoke!

And when the business of thy day is done,
Then fill thy mind once more with joy and peace:
Remember our company (of whom thou, too, art one),
And our high purposes, which cannot cease.

From Thebes to New Troy Town, we've walked this earth
(Nay; from Avilion to Hy Brésil),
Learning again slow truths of ancient worth . . .
Friend of my heart, *am I not with thee still?*

JASPER SMITH

# INDIAN HOME RULE

*By A. J. WILLSON*

*Notes on the Presidential Address of the Hon. Amvika Charan Mazumdar, at the thirty-first Indian National Congress, held in Lucknow on December 26-29, 1916.*

THE President's opening speech is a dignified and firm, yet unmistakably loyal, declaration of the will of the Indian people to be a self-governing unit of the Empire, and its force is largely increased by the fact that a few days before it was pronounced the All-India Congress Committee and the representatives of the All-India Moslem League conferred together in Calcutta, and on November 17, with one voice, resolved to make a joint demand for a Representative Government in India; while for the first time since Surat in 1907, the right and left wings of the Congress have sunk all differences and unite to forward Home Rule. Everything shows that the country is rapidly awakening to a sense of its responsibility and capacity, and those who speak hopelessly of India as too heterogeneous in composition ever to be able to unite as a Nation forget that history shows her largely under one rule in the past at different periods, and they either ignore, or do not know, that the warp and woof of Hinduism and Islam weave the north and south, east and west of that vast country into one loose-textured fabric upon which is embroidered the ideals and aspirations of almost every religion existing on earth. Because of this, in spite of the striking differences in local customs and modes of expression and many surface quarrels, the right man can touch a chord that will reverberate all over India.

The President of the National Congress concentrated upon the one absorbing thought of the day—Self-Government within the Empire—as " the problem to the solution of which all subsidiary questions are mere corollaries." In his epitome of the events leading up to the present demand, he gave Britain ample credit for the efforts she had made to help India, at the same time that he plainly touched upon her mistakes; and by a careful study of his remarks we may " see ourselves as others see us " in a very instructive way, and, incidentally, obtain valuable clues to the workings of the Indian mind. Throughout it all sounds the appeal to the British love of fair play :

> The descendants of Howard and Wilberforce, of Burke and Bright, of Macaulay and Maine, and of Canning and Ripon are not yet extinct. It is a nation of giants who refuse to tolerate injustice and perpetuate serfdom wherever they may exist, if only they are satisfied of their existence, and who possess a responsive heart to the call of freedom. It has been truly said that it is not Britain's heart, but Britain s ear, that has been so long deaf to the wail that has been raised in this country.

The very first words of the address strike the note of honest revolt against repression :

" It was Lord Curzon who on occasion said that it was not given to an Indian corporal to carry the Field-Marshal's baton in his knapsack."

The non-admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of His Imperial Majesty's Army is an ever-open wound to loyalty and self-respect. Lord Curzon, however brilliant and well-intentioned as a Viceroy, by his tactlessness certainly contrived to alienate Indian popular feeling from the Empire in a way which it is acknowledged might have proved dangerous to us all in 1914 had not Lord Hardinge's personal sympathy and statesmanlike rule intervened and restored confidence.

The Hon. A. C. Mazumdar pointed out how the selfish despotism of the East India Company had been succeeded by the

more benevolent despotism of the Crown rule, which, while it widened the views and, by its desire for their welfare, deepened the loyalty of the people, often forced progress along lines alien to their natural genius, until, having exhausted all the resources which a personal benevolence could supply, it slowly and imperceptibly yielded to the infirmities inherent in its nature, " and by a process of natural evolution resolved itself into a system of barren and sterilising bureaucracy." " It sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, but it cannot allow them to grow," as he pithily put it. At the same time the spirit of the Indian people, stimulated by contact with their Aryan cousins from the West, makes them ever more and more conscious that self-expression along their own lines must be their goal if they would take their place as free men in the new world that is evolving before our eyes.

The lack of popular education is therefore most earnestly deplored :

> In a country which, with t e exception of Russia, is larger than the continent of Europe, th re ar now no more than 150 colleges of all sorts nd little over 1,300 high schools and 127,000 primary schools,

while the population is over 255 millions; a percentage of barely seven literate men.

> This is the sum total of educational progress m de under a benevolent despotism during a period of 160 years. . . . The people demand a general diffusion of elementary education for the mass as preferable to no education, while the Government insists upon better education for a few rather than widespread light for the many. . . . Political considerations have been largely introduced in the Department of Education,

and patriotic youths are frowned down as " disloyal."

In regard to administration, the speech declared :

> The greatest defect in the administration of criminal justice in this country lies in the fusion and combination of the judicial and the executive functions—a system in which the prosecutor and the judge, the man who works up a charge and the man who sits in judgment over that charge, are rolled into one.
>
> The Press Act of 1910, conceived in a spirit of repression, has reduced the Indian Press from its position as an independent critic of the Government to that of an institution entirely dependent upon sufferance.

Up to February last year 220 newspapers, both English and vernacular, had ceased publication since the outbreak of war. Even one so far above suspicion as Mrs. Besant is

> Charged by the Madras Government with matter seditious printed at her press. The Madras High Court has distinctly found that there was nothing seditious in her writing. Two High Courts have concurrently held that there may be illegal forfeitures under the Act, and yet they were powerless to grant relief. . . . I hope the matter will not rest here, but will be carried beyond the seas and heard in a free country by a free people. . . .
>
> The Defence of India Act, like the Defence of the Realm Act in England, was no doubt necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, but the purposes for which it is being used appear to be entirely foreign to the spirit and outside the scope of this extraordinary enactment. . . . In one province alone nearly 600 young men have up to this time been arrested. . . . Anarchism is the common enemy of mankind throughout the world. . . . But a general crusade against a community in the name of anarchism is justified neither by reason nor logic nor considerations of expediency.
>
> An almost insurmountable colour bar has been drawn up that runs through almost every department of the State, which the children of the soil are forbidden to cross.

Under the Arms Act, " a man like Maharaja Jabbar Jung Bahadur may not carry a single revolver, though his driver Jones may have any number of them." English people over here fail to realise that the mere *possession* of arms, quite apart from the use of them, is enough to bring insult and fine or imprisonment upon the most respected Indian gentlemen, with the result, amongst many others, that dacoits who scorn laws, and so are armed with guns, can only be driven off with sticks by law-abiding citizens. Where, as in Hyderabad, Deccan, Hindus and Moslems are firm friends under Indian rule, the men habitually " bristle with arms " in all the streets, as the poetess Sarojini Naidu reminded the Congress during the course of its proceedings, and no evil results accrue.

The President deplores that " India is regarded to-day throughout the civilised world as the recruiting ground for coolies necessary for manual labour . . . the last relic of slavery within the British Em-

pire." The possibility of the colonists, accustomed to deal with Kaffirs and Negroes and regarding all coloured races as inferior, having a voice in the future rule of India, with her heritage of philosophy, religion, and valour, has much to do with the present stir in that land.

In regard to the Swadeshi movement, he remarked:

The War has disclosed that in 1905 the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain but against Germany and Austria, and that if the authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. . . . The railways are one of the most important State concerns. . . . To transfer them to any private individual, or individuals, or to allow them to manage them, may be an act amounting to a serious infringement of public rights and an abdication of a State function. . . .

India, self-contained and contented, with its natural defences and internal resources, presents a bulwark against all foreign aggression.

Indian States, entirely administered by Indians, are pointed to in answer to the statement that only Western races can rule there. Some of the States with an administration composed of Indians are even marching ahead of British India, particularly in education, judicial reforms, and industrial progress.

As loyal subjects of His Majesty, we of the Congress deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the War as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the "scrap of paper" has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII. and King George V. still remain unredeemed. . . .

Here are our demands, which, God willing, are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing State as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the War, India shall have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the Colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian, and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the Dominions. India must have complete autonomy, financial, legislative, as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations, and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local Governments would be impossible. For this the Services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any Service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a Service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General, with a number of Ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this Ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary Cabinet.

6. The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one-fifth may be appointed by the Cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual Budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like Money Bills, and except the military Estimates the entire Budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each Province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a Cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province 75 members, all of whom should be elected by the people, and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should, of course, be the same conditions and restrictions as in the cases of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive

functions of the State. The judicial administration, whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts, both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect, and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the Statute Book, and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a National Militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards, and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The Commissioned ranks in the Army should be thrown open to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

14. A full measure of local Self-Government should be immediately granted throughout the country. . . .

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

The above is a summary of our demands. We do not fix any time-limit, for the duration of the War is uncertain, and there must be a transitory period through which the process must pass. But if we fix no time-limit, we agree to no indefinite postponement either.

In England is the real seat of power, and the battle of India must be fought on British soil. Though it is we who must fight it out, we must have the British public as our ally. That public must be informed and influenced so as to enable it to come to a correct judgment of our case. There is an erroneous impression in certain quarters that as our grievances are so numerous and so palpable they must be known to the British people also. But who is there to carry your message to England? You certainly cannot expect Reuter to do it. You certainly do not believe that retired Anglo-Indians will proclaim their own defects and shortcomings. On the contrary, there are the standing official reports always to present a roseate view of the Administration, taking credit for whatever is good, throwing the entire blame for all that is bad on your shoulders, and justifying all sorts of repressive measures. The British public in their ignorance easily swallow all these *ex parte* cock and bull stories, and consider the Indian Administration to be a perfect Utopia. So you must have a counsel of your own to represent your case before the great tribunal of public opinion in Great Britain if you do not wish judgment to go against you by default. Sir William Wedderburn is performing this function at no small sacrifice to himself.

The British Committee and its sole organ, *India*, must be maintained at all costs if we are to carry on our operations at the vital front. It has always seemed to me of the utmost importance to associate with the British Committee at least one competent Indian, permanently located in England.

The last words were to the youth of India:

Remember of what great nation you are born. It was for you that in the early morning of the world the *Vedas* were revealed, and in a later period democratic Islam came with the *Koran* and the practical Parsi with the *Zend Avesta*. Yours is the heritage of three of the most ancient civilisations of the world which have formed, as it were, a glorious confluence of three streams in this sacred land of yours, while to these in the dispensation of an inscrutable Providence a fourth has recently been added to constitute a *Sagara-Sangama* for the deliverance of your race. It was for you that Vyasa wrote and Valmiki sung, and it was for you that Patanjali evolves the loftiest of philosophies and the *Gita* expounded the sublime mysteries of life. It was here that more than two thousand years ago Buddha Gautama, the truest and greatest benefactor of mankind, first taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood of men, which now sways the minds of one-fifth of the population of the habitable globe; and it was here that five hundred years ago Shri Chaitanya preached the gospel of love, fraternity, and equality from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Narbudda; and now modern civilisation is prostituting science, filling the air, land, and water with deadly engines for the destruction of God's creation. But let us not be great only in the worship of a great past. A mighty wave of changes is surging throughout this world, and India is passing through a momentous transition. Her future is in your hands. You can either make or mar that future. . . . Unite and stand solidly shoulder to shoulder, resolved either to conquer or to die. What is life worth if we cannot live like men? Firm and resolute in your purpose, be always manly and dignified in your attitude and sober and cautious in your steps. Be loyal to your King and devoted to your country. Difficult as your task is, constitutional must be your method: There is no royal road to freedom. Reverses there must be but reverses should only stiffen your backs. Do not despair, for despair is the keynote of failure.

# INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

## AUSTRALIA

THE old civilisations expect from the new original methods of work! Have the members in the new lands realised the possibilities which lie before them? We can but give some outline of what is done and leave it for others to judge whether there is ought of newness in our ways.

There are, of course, the isolated members, those who live almost in the never, never part of this sparsely populated land, who would be so grateful if they could attend those meetings which near members sometimes neglect. But they work on bravely and often manage to gather together a few to whom the news of the coming is in truth "glad tidings." Far from the centres which lecturers visit, these earnest workers yet play an important part, each making a little nucleus where the light of the Star may shine, and from which it may ray forth to link itself to other centres, and thus help to make a network of silver light, whereby the Fishers of Men may draw human hearts nearer to themselves.

Members who live in the large country towns should, and surely often do, establish regular meetings, first drawing together a few whose thought is akin to their own; then gradually, as knowledge grows, venturing to lecture to any who can be induced to come. Similar, too, is the work carried on in the suburbs, though the members of these latter groups have the opportunity of attending city lectures, and, we hope, gaining inspiration from them for their own work. That inspiration is, indeed, sure when Mr. Leadbeater is the speaker, but not all have the privilege of journeying to where he is.

Training classes have been established in various centres, wherein members, especially the younger ones, learn how to express their ideas clearly and accurately, so that none may appeal to them in vain for information about the Order and their expectation. Some have undertaken to systematically distribute leaflets, going from house to house, or from one part of the country to another. One group has issued a useful pamphlet entitled "Meat Substitutes." And everywhere members are concerning themselves with organisations connected with the welfare of children, recognising the enormous importance of these in a country where a new sub-race is a-forming. Several members are devoting all or almost all their time to the Kindergartens, Babies' Aid Society, and School for Mothers.

Naturally much energy is at the present time devoted to war work of various kinds, and in that connection the peace and confidence which come from an understanding of the Order give added courage and wider powers of usefulness alike to those who serve at home and to the dauntless ones who don the khaki.

There is one very important form of activity, established by a devoted member of the Order, who came as a visitor to these shores, and to whom we ever owe a deep debt of gratitude. We hope that that good work may be continued through the years, at least until He comes; but, if that is not possible, the one who founded the depot will have the satisfaction of knowing that already thousands of people have, through her effort, become familiar with the name of the Order and its symbol, if not with its objects.

"The Little House on the Hill" one non-member has called it, and it seems as if the name is likely to cling. A quaint lamp hangs without, and on one night in each week sheds its soft light on the artistic and daintily arranged objects in the window, that window which attracts so much attention. Many are those who pass, pause, and then turn back to look more closely, and perhaps come in to ask for the leaflets which they see are freely given. Sitting quietly

within, the comments of passers-by are often audible. They exclaim about the beauty of some picture, or vase, or motto, and " wonder what the place really is." Sometimes one reads aloud to another the Declaration of Principles, and always the remarks which follow indicate appreciation. Nuns come in to ask for rosaries, and people of all shades of belief and disbelief bring perplexities to be disentangled; no section of the community seems to oppose, and most are interested. Men enquire whether it is anything to do with masonry. Soldiers come for books small enough to accompany them on the long voyage which leads to the field of action; one tucked a little flower into his pocket-book, a link with that place of peace, to help perhaps through times of stress, recalling the fairy-like daintiness of pictures, books, statuettes, brass-ware and hand-painted china, and the wealth of flowers, brought by loving hands, that the depot may be more beautiful and attractive. It is little wonder, perhaps, that a stranger remarked: " What a sweet little place this . . . what is it about it . . . as soon as I came in the door I felt as if I was in church."

Of course, there is a strenuous side, but for that there are willing helpers, mostly people who give part of their dinner-hour, or come when the long work of the office is over, and it might be expected that they would go home to rest.

When the window has to be cleared and re-arranged, that is called " spring-cleaning." When a large case, containing valuables hidden amongst much straw, needs to be unpacked, a responsible official likens it to birds' nesting or a big surprise packet with no blanks. So the many, many things are accomplished; and the tall quiet man who covers the library books calls it our " play "; and if we so think of it, that takes away the strain. It *is* part of the great Game. They are playing for the helping of the world; we are learning to co-operate, to play too, and so help to prepare the way for One for Whom the Order of the Star in the East exists.

## FRANCE

SINCE my last report in September there is more life in the Star movement in France. The Order has taken a room, a " salon-bureau," nicely furnished all in blue and white, in the building of the Theosophical Society. We had some good meetings. The *Bulletin de l'Ordre de l'Etoile* has returned to life, and Mlle. Isabelle Mallet has been appointed by me as its editor.

It is necessary to have our own paper, as so few people read English. For this reason the *Herald of the Star* cannot have a large sale in France, but as many are now learning English, especially the young people, we hope to have in the future a closer intercourse with our dear friends and Allies.

In the provinces, six centres only out of twenty-four are fairly active. The others are for the time being lifeless. France has still ten of her departments invaded by the enemy. We have members at the front and many who are scattered over the country. All our life is taken by the war. One cannot work as in other countries where there is peace and quiet living. In this time one can only do one's best.

ZELMA BLECH

## NORWAY

THE Star work in Norway has in the last couple of years been progressing well. We are glad to report that our Danish and Swedish Star brothers have done their best to co-operate with us in keeping our national organ, *Stjernebladet,* going, as have also our Icelandish and Finnish brothers, wherefore we send our best thanks to them all. From Denmark we have received interesting Star articles from the Danish national representative.

Two thousand copies of the Christmas number of *Stjernebladet* for 1914 were published, nicely illustrated, which were sent to most of the clergy, teachers, &c., and the remaining copies were sold. In this number the readers obtained a good view of the aim of our Order and its leaders.

In the *Stjernebladet* for 1915 we tried to make our Star members interested in the evolution of the religions and the great religious Teachers that they no longer might look upon the coming of the new World Teacher as a phenomenon, but as a natural link in evolution.

The Christmas Number of 1915 was also fully illustrated, and was intended especially to give information for outsiders.

In 1916 we have made a great step forward in that Mr. Erick Unset has become editor of *Stjernebladet,* and now intends to have it published monthly. This means more work and more financial help.

Our plan is now to bring the work into line with the *Herald* and publish articles about all the new ideas of value, as we believe the coming Master will accept any person who works for the well-being of his fellow-men. Our new editor especially wants to get young people interested.

Our hope is that our Star members will more and more learn to know the happiness and joy that follows work for the "Order of the Star in the East."

HELEN EGELSRUD

## SWITZERLAND

IT is difficult at the beginning of a year's work to have a clear idea of what our activity shall be. Nevertheless, the splendid programme of social activities drawn up by our Elders has aroused many. Our members have understood that now we must follow the Path of Service, that something definite has to be done to prepare for His coming.

Some of our workers are teachers and professors, but they find it difficult to bring new ideals into the old forms. The best thing would be if, in time, we could have such an Educational Trust as you have in England. We have devoted different meetings to the study of the question, and hope to form a committee whose sole duty will be to study methods of education and new psychology.

We have also, as you asked, formed a *Herald* National Committee, and shall do our best either to send articles or accounts of important books published.

The programme of social training issued by C. Jinarajadasa has been printed in our monthly *Message de l'Etoile.* We hope thus to reach many people and to initiate them to service.

Our meetings are very well attended, full of harmony and strength; we have had beautiful music, specially on the 28th of December.

At the beginning of January I made a tour in Switzerland with our General Secretary, and for the first time a meeting of the Star was held in East Switzerland.

Although we feel the war has attained its acutest point, and though Switzerland suffers a good deal on the economic side, we are full of bright hope, and send to our English brothers all good wishes and brotherly feelings for this New Year 1917.

MARIE-LOUISE BRANDT

THE following message, sent to the Indian Sectional Organ, *Brothers of the Star,* will be read with interest by Mr. Arundale's many friends in all lands:

## A MESSAGE FOR 1917.
### By G. S. ARUNDALE.

DEAR BROTHERS,

The Organising Secretary has asked me to write a little message to you on the occasion of that, which is to Western peoples, the New Year. It is well that India should have responded so eagerly to the call for men and women, boys and girls, eager to enter the army which is everywhere preparing the way for the Coming of the Great World Teacher. Every year that passes brings with it increasing evidence as to the truth of the statement made by our beloved Protector, more than six years ago, that in the near future we might expect the Coming of one of the World's mightiest Brethren. No fact indicates His Coming more clearly than the present world-wide war, for not only has every Nation been brought startlingly face to face with its own imperfections, its own superstitions,

its own weaknesses, but the East has in a wonderful way been drawn more closely to the West than we should ever have thought possible. The war has been the means of breaking up old forms and old orthodoxies, and all kinds of barriers which otherwise might have been impassable obstacles between the World Teacher and His message, and ourselves. The Nations of the world are growing free to learn, for, in the strain of the conflict, with its attending sorrow, anxiety, and agony, men and women come face to face with the God within them, and the contrast between the lower and the higher determines them to make another effort to free themselves from much of the darkness of the unreal which has hidden from them the Sun of the Real. When the Great World Teacher comes the Sun of the Real will be shining in all His glory, it will be as the midday radiance after the darkness of the night, and it is well that we should suffer now and grow in humility that then there may be less of selfishness to stand between us and the love of our Elder Brother.

Then as regards the drawing closer of East to West. We see clearly how imperative it is that the peoples of the world should begin to cast aside the prejudices of colour, race, and faith, in view of the Coming of the One Who is the Father of us all. While the Christian, or the Mohammedan or the Hindu thinks himself superior to all others, deems his faith the only true road to salvation, he will selfishly analyse the teachings of the Master to see if, perchance, they extol his faith above all others. If they do, then, indeed, is the Master the greatest of all. If they do not, He is an impostor. So with regard to race. There is but one family in the world whatever the colour, and it is not well that there should be among us any arrogance of race when to Him all races are alike and win His equal love. As some of us know, it is in order that a deeper welcome may be given to Him that India is now struggling to be free. She, too, must break asunder the forms in which she has been constrained to dwell. She, too, must learn that her traditions and her faiths are no less mighty than those of the West, and she must realise that she has an equal place with all other Nations on the surface of the globe. Every Nation has its own contribution to make to the service of the world. Each has its own note to sound, and India must learn to sound hers. Thus, and thus alone, will a perfect harmony of joyous greeting reach the Lord Maitreya in His Himalayan home, and proclaim to Him that the world is ready for His Coming.

We are all servants of the Star, whether we belong to the Order of the Star in the East or to its younger brother, and we must never forget that, in truth, we are but simple soldiers in the great army of preparation. As the soldier who is fighting in the battle-fields of France and elsewhere, must above all be distinguished for his complete and willing obedience to the orders of his superior, for without such obedience no triumph can ever be possible, so is it with us in the spiritual army. In such critical times as the present it is not so much for us to reason as to carry out the orders of those who *know* in what way the world must be prepared. Enough time will be given to us in the future to work on our own lines, to follow our own desires, to act according to our own reason. This is the time of intuition and of obedience. Intuition we have shown, for it was intuition and not reasoning that made every one of us a soldier of the army. Obedience is our next task, for when so mighty a work has to be done as the preparation of the world for the Coming of its Greatest Teacher, the direction is not left to the feebler intelligences of ordinary mankind. It is the greatest of our world-family who, for the time, assume to Themselves the guidance of mankind, and expect us to follow them as soldiers are enjoined to follow their officers, to the death. When this present world-wide war is over, those who have fought, and who are now specially exercising the faculty of obedience, will be able once again to act according to their will or fancy. But they will be all the better for

the training through which they have gone. Similarly with us. In future lives we, too, shall, once again, be able to act almost exclusively according to our own intelligence, but we shall act all the more wisely if, during these few short years, we willingly and faithfully subordinate ourselves to the greater Will which calls upon us to be channels for its manifestation to the world.

I ask you, above all, to be unswerving in your loyalty, first to our Protector, second, to our Head. These two are, for us, the appointed channels between the Elder Brethren and the world as a whole. So completely consecrated are Their lives to the service of the Masters, especially in such a life as this, that we may safely trust ourselves to them. And unless we learn to give to these two great elders a whole-hearted devotion and willing service, it will be long before the opportunity will come to us to receive directions from the great Rulers of the world Themselves.

So my word to you, my brothers, is, loyalty in thought, in feeling, in action. Give yourself wholly to your leaders for the next few years, so that in the future you may, some day, be to others the inspiration our great leaders are to us to-day.

Affectionately yours,

GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

# AN EXPERIMENT IN FELLOWSHIP

IN Edinburgh a group of women have, for the last two and a half years, been trying "an experiment in fellowship." In the first instance they were called together by one who was distressed over the present conditions of Church life to see what could be done to better them. The members belong to different denominations, different social circles, are engaged in different kinds of work, and are "very unlike one another," but all are united by the desire to carry out Christ's command to love as He loved, by the cultivation of a spirit of fellowship to help to heal dissensions in the Church, and through the diffusion of the spirit of love hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth. This they strive to do in daily life by beginning each day with a quiet waiting on God, by meditation on the life of the Lord of Love, by carrying the practice of love into every act of life, and by "a daily act of fellowship with the Church Catholic, militant and triumphant, with desire after the unity which is the Lord's will." Weekly gatherings are held for worship, intercession, and fellowship of silence, and occasionally longer periods are set apart for conference and prayer. The movement has grown and prospered exceedingly; the inner unity and fellowship beneath the diverse forms of the Churches being profoundly felt. The members have now acquired a chapel for their own use, which they are willing to lend free of charge to any Christian organisation for the purpose of meeting there.

# BOOKS WE SHOULD READ

JANUS AND VESTA: A Study of the World Crisis and After. By Beuchara Branford. Chatto and Windus: London. 6s.

Education is united power and stability; ignorance begets weakness and rebellion. The long future is to those . . . races . . . that recognise and apply betimes these great . . . facts.—*Janus and Vesta*, p. 211.

The Poet sees Man. . . . The Novelist sees men eating biscuits.—*The Times Weekly Supplement* in January.

THE ideal educationist sees both. The work of reconstruction consists in building for to-morrow, with yesterday's materials, the fabric of to-day.

To each and all Mr. Branford's book must appeal. His catholicity of mind, its height and depth, range and adaptability, places *Janus and Vesta* in the forefront of books to be read by the thoughtful.

In the author's words, "Read backwards and forwards." In fact, it can be opened anywhere and read for a few moments, with advantage, by those who have to read thus or not at all, in a day of national and necessary table service. Mr. Branford is a seer, prophet, practical idealist, and "divisional inspector in the service of the London County Council." Truly, "each man, in his time, plays many parts." It is given to few to-day thus to blend spiritual illumination with constructive intellectual capacity.

Teachers should be torch-bearers, seekers after genius, not only cultivators of talent. The author of *Janus and Vesta* believes that every man possesses genius—*i.e.*, direct inspirational power to perform some one thing in a manner productive of ceaseless joy to himself combined with pleasure and profit to others. Mr. Branford is free from the heresy that would divorce substance and spirit: he knows that matter without spirit is dead, and that spirit without vesture cannot function in a world of phenomena. The world's greatest discoveries, in all departments of human life, owe their very being to this union of Janus and Vesta, learning and love, knowledge and inspiration. What are the Universe and all contained therein but living witnesses to the spirit of the unmanifest, working through manifestation, and organic forces working through the facts of generation? "The facts of science," says the seer, "melt under time . . . the myths of Truth abide its pressure. . . . Fact and Myth are indissoluble: that the one can be many and the many one is the unique and supreme paradox of truth. . . . But of his fate man grows increasing master; the more loyal his service to fact, the more faithful his reverence for myth. . . . We can conceive no fact that contains not some mingling of myth, and no myth that contains not some ferment of fact."* In this conscious, deliberate suffusion and intermingling of spirit and substance lie all promise and potency of creative reconstruction, as of each educational activity and social experiment whose definite aim is preparation for the Coming.

The astrological symbol of Aquarius, The Man (this is the Aquarian Age), shows him as Water-Bearer, his feet on the Mountain, standing "between heaven and earth" pouring from his vessel the waters of immortality, for the service of men. Thus Man the Thinker is also Man the Giver, with his immemorial sacrifices, bread of thought, wine of inspiration, water of life.

To one who reads with poet consciousness—*i.e.*, a contemplative rather than ethical or scientific outlook—it seems that many valuable pages of *Janus and Vesta* are but a necessary and practical exposition and elaboration of those priceless lines from *In Memoriam*, which "come home" with poignant significance to-day:

* Pp. 159—215.

Life is not as idle ore

. . . . .

But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And batter'd with the shocks of doom

. . . . .

To shape and use.

With its corresponding contrast:

The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mists, the solid lands
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

. . . . .

But in my spirit will I dwell,
And dream my dream and hold it true.

So to-day we watch the joyful emergence of life from the sorrowful waters of death, knowing that the germ of renewal hides within tireless response to the highest within us. "Though he slay me yet will I trust in Him." Seldom is it given to the pilgrim of life to watch the dual processes of destruction and re-creation. To-day, above all, must the man of destiny* stand erect and fearless, facing all the present terror and welter, strong in faith, invulnerable in hope, inviolable in love. Not in wringing of hands comes our salvation, but in gradual harmonisation of life's three creative forces, thought, emotion, action. Life in thought alone is represented by the hermit; few are at this stage to-day, yet let us not dare to judge, much less condemn, one solitary spirit. Life in emotion alone means the sentimentalist rampant, he who allows himself the pernicious luxury of clouding the clear light of reason with sickly or muddy hues of personal colouring. Life in action alone means that life becomes a series of hasty manœuvres, executed against a background of "the world as barracks." This leaves the actor no time to think, for he is mobilised and scheduled out of life into mechanical existence.

The life of Preparation is a life of balance, of golden means to an Age of Gold, a new Renaissance of spiritual, mental, emotional, physical worlds, wherein revitalisation of all circumferences literally inspires the new central spiral! This may seem a fanciful metaphor; it is nevertheless an actual description of the forces and processes at work to-day. Life must be lived more, not less intensely; it is a change of values that is necessary.

True to type, Mr. Branford takes the threefold division of Man the Thinker:

1. *Artist* (Super-mechanical being) in a world of beauty and ugliness. *Art-craft.*
2. *Teacher.* Philosopher or super-organic being. In a world of truth and error. *Culture-craft.*
3. *Priest.* Superhuman being. In a world of good and evil. *Priest-craft.**

The author's further classifications seem to the writer open to discussion, though full of interest; yet the primary division "leaps to the eye" as intuitively true and scientifically sound. There is work to-day for all labourers in the vineyard, more especially those whose life purpose is to "make straight in the desert a highway for our God."

To the reiterant query, "Watchman, what of the night? . . . Will the night soon pass?" the author of *Janus and Vesta* replies with a lyric outburst of direct illumination that may well inspire and gladden the spirits and hearts of all watchers, messengers, and servers whose life it is thus to herald the New Day, the Day of His Coming.

"Some great Myth . . . is even now dawning, destined to mould the new world as its forerunners have the old."

Its inspiration will be the living spirit of these grand myths of the past, founded on the rock of the eternal needs of man's nature and spirit. World-wide will it be, compassing flashing East and sombre West. . . . Above all, with sublime prophetic foresight of the spiritual yearnings of the centuries to come, bestowing on all the noble freedom that spiritual law, accepted with willing reverence, alone can bestow; yet with a great sanity that realises that the birth of an ideal comes only with travail and labour matching its majesty and truth.**

L. F.

*As distinct from creature of fate.

* P. 11. ** Pp. 217—218.

THE CARE OF THE SCHOOL CHILD. Edited by James Kerr, M.A., M.D. 2s. net. National League for Physical Education and Improvement, 4, Tavistock Square.

A COLLECTION of papers, each by an expert on his own subject, yet so simply arranged as to be comprehensible to the person of quite average intelligence. They are brought out under the auspices of the National League for Physical Education, with an able introduction by Bishop Boyd Carpenter. It is difficult to specialise in such a collection, but the paper on "Physical Development" seems to me to stand out as marking an epoch, especially in the elementary education.

It is the more or less prevalent practice to give the physical education department into the hands of a teacher of general subjects who has taken at the most ten and often only five or six three-quarter-hour classes once a week on this subject.

The futility and harm done to the child's body by this superficial smattering is disastrous; and Mr. Cobb brings this point out strongly and illustrates it by some excellent and withal simple diagrams. The suggestion of co-ordination between the ordinary teacher's diploma and a special physical education diploma is certainly a step in the right direction, but I might remark that there are already existing several colleges providing fully trained experts on this subject, which could surely be drawn upon. The paper on the "Mental Hygiene of the Child" is also a complicated subject dealt with in a masterly fashion. However, it is impossible to select for special praise where all are so good. It is undoubtedly a book for all who are concerned with the child; and one would like to see it in the hands of every teacher, though mothers and nurses would also be greatly helped by its perusal.

D. C. B.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE NATION. By Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner. Translated by C. K. Ogden, Editor of *The Cambridge Magazine*. With an Introduction by Viscount Haldane. Macmillan and Co., London, 1914. 6s. net.

THE essays and addresses which compose this valuable book are the result of a life devoted to educational pursuits by a man of broad and practical mind. Director of Education in Munich and with twelve years' experience of teaching in classical and trade schools, Dr. Kerschensteiner is himself well equipped with experience and has also carefully studied the works of great writers and educationists who have faced these problems in the past.

He tells us that at twelve years of age he chose the teacher's profession, because it entailed only five years' study, as against six or eight to become a merchant and twelve to prepare for the priesthood. The cramming that he underwent during those five years in more than *thirty* subjects left him mentally "quite at a standstill." After a time, however, a hunger for knowledge seized upon him, and he fastened on one subject, Mathematics, that "most exact of all sciences," if we except the Science of Life itself. In order to study to his own satisfaction, he resigned from the elementary school, determined to excel as a teacher. Gradually, in following his one aim, other things opened out; the smaller world of books and men expanded into the larger; he grew to know more of the world out-

side; and his writings are widely appreciated and are translated into various languages.

In March, 1914, he wrote in the preface to Mr. Ogden's English translation which is before us:

"The rivalry of two countries in the matter of education is far more welcome, far more profitable, and far more glorious than any competition in armaments. When two neighbours are each truly educated both may dare to live in peace and to devote all their strength to the improvement of their own homes and their own families. . . . I have been in England often enough to have learnt, like all Germans who know it well, to love the people and the country. I have often held up certain educational institutions as models to my fellow-countrymen." . . .

Within six months from the time he penned these words Britain and Germany were at grips over the body of Belgium, and the "Hymn of Hate" was chanted in the schools he had cherished.

Dr. Kerchensteiner states the problem of popular education thus: "It is the systematic training and organisation of the people to take pleasure in active constructive work for the common good." The Intellect must be trained, the Will developed, and Opportunity to Act must be placed in the way of every youth and maiden. Practical and organised work is recognised as a necessary part of the school curriculum, and "every boy and every girl before ending the eighteenth year of life shall have learned some vocation unless they are engaged in higher studies." "Our book schools must be changed into schools of practical work," and individual talent must determine the form of that work. A radical change has to be made in the state of things in which "only the young man who is versed in everything, and whose memory answers to every question as the electric bell to the touch of its button," "can obtain the 'certificate of maturity' while yet, for the practical purposes of life, he is an empty vessel."

These words are of universal application, but because of language difficulties they especially remind us of the results of the present system of examinations in India; the methods advocated by Dr. Kerschensteiner are largely on the same lines as those sketched in the *Central Hindu College Magazine* in reform articles on Education by Mrs. Besant.

From the elementary school, common to all, the way is to be open by "continuation schools" for boys and girls until they are fairly launched on the sea of life, well equipped to face sunshine and storm.

The passages on the physical care of school children tempt to quotation, as does the description of the Munich school system itself, but we resist, for the book is one that will aid in establishing schools on a better basis, and we hope it will be widely read and carefully studied by everyone interested in education. In these days who is not interested in a question so vital for our future?

Viscount Haldane, in his introduction, welcomes the book, for "democracy is becoming a reality" and the people cannot be driven, so they must be supplied with right knowledge and trained to seek for themselves a way to a better state and to higher ideals. He warns us that the movement of which Dr. Kerschensteiner is a pioneer is of far-reaching scope, whose significance has not been appreciated here except by a few; if we do not keep up with it, in a few years our workmen may be heavily handicapped when competing with fellow-workmen, trained from their youth under skilled masters of their crafts. Public opinion here must be aroused, and the ideas this book stands for should be widely spread.

A. J. W.

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